Re-appropriating Matrifocality: Endogeneity and African Gender Scholarship

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Abstract
A central concern of many Southern sociologists has been the crisis 'intellectual dependence' (Alatas 2000). Averting what Hountondji (1997) refers to as 'extraversion' involves separating what is idiographic in Western social science scholarship from its nomothetic aspirations; what Chakrabathy (2000) called 'provincializing Europe.' It involves excavating local 'libraries' (Zeleza 2006b) and scholarship that takes its 'locale' or research site on its own terms. 'The study of Africa', Oyewumi (2004) argued, 'must start with Africa.' In this paper, we explore the works of Ifi Amadiume and Oyeronke Oyewumi as such ventures in endogeneity, and examples of the contribution that African sociologists make when they take their ethnographic data on its own terms; without status anxiety.

We examine the contributions of Amadiume and Oyewumi to gender scholarship, focusing on the idea of matrifocality or matricentricity. While not a new concept, the idea of matrifocal or matricentric societies acquires distinct valency in their epistemic framework and as the basis for theorising matriarchy. Rather than an exercise in the archaeology of a 'mythical pre-historic past' (Eller 2000), matricentricity in Amadiume's works accounts for the structural and ideological conditions of many African societies. It affords us the basis for transcending the 'biologic' (Oyewumi 1997) of dominant western feminist discourses. Beyond the epistemic rupture that it produces in Gender Studies, we argue that the concept of matrifocality has wider heuristic value. We illustrate its theoretical value for rethinking 'Identity', beyond the prevailing patricentric framing, and in allowing us to make sense of contemporary African data.

Keywords: *Matrifocality, Matricentric Society, Gender Scholarship, African Sociology, Endogeneity*

1. Introduction

Much of the discussion about the state of the Social Sciences and the Humanities in Africa has often been driven by grievance and pessimism. Much of this rightly point to the imperial character of the global division of labour in knowledge production. The crisis of brain drain and the state of our faculties often disable rather than empower the younger generation of African scholars who are the focus of our efforts. The starting point of this paper is Paulin Hountondji's (1992, 1997) concern about the crisis of theoretical extraversion in African scholarship. Related to this, therefore, is Dipesh Charkrabathy's (2000) point about the imperative of "provincializing Europe"; in other words, to understand Europe and its dominant knowledge systems as specific products of specific location (idiographic) rather than ideas and principles that are inherently universalistic in their explanatory powers (nomothetic). The result is the imperative of elevating, for global gaze, the different 'libraries' of Africa. Using the sociological enterprise as our point of departure, we explore existing works that demonstrate distinct epistemic value within the African sociological landscape.

For this purpose, we focus on the works of two African scholars, Ifi Amadiume and Oyeronke Oyewumi, as exemplars of such distinct epistemic contributions within African Sociology. In their specific cases, their works produced epistemic ruptures in the global discourses around the sociological understanding of gender relations and how we understand 'gender'. We illustrate such seminal contributions by exploring their efforts to theorise 'matrifocality.' We further suggest that the concept of matrifocality produced in their works offer us the heuristic basis for not only understanding gender relations but issues of identity and a better handle on the political task of the struggle for gender equality. Amadiume and Oyewumi demonstrate what can be achieved when we allow the local ethnographic data to speak to how we do Sociology, in ways that are distinctly epistemic in outcome.

Previously, we made a distinction between three types of scholarships within the African social sciences: 'regurgitation', 'protest scholarship', and works of distinct epistemic significance (Adesina 2006). Scholarship-as-regurgitation imposes received categories (concepts, theories, and paradigms) on local conditions. While the data and the sociologist may be local the narrative and analysis function as extensions of Euro-American discourses. At its best this mode of scholarship results in "translation—articulating the tenets of African culture and ideas in western academic terms" (Zeleza 2006b:202). These works deploy local data without challenging the received theories and conceptual frameworks; they reinforce rather than alter the terms of international division of intellectual labour. (Adesina 2001, 2006, 2008).[1]

1 *The short discussion here is a refinement of earlier ideas in (Adesina 2006, 2008).*

Protest scholarship seeks to negate the terms of the international division of intellectual labour—in which Africa and Africans supply the data and their Euro-American counterparts supply the theory. Often these may generate a lot of materials but do not necessarily generate new *epistemic insights that march the distinctness of the local ethnographic data on which they stand*. By contrast, endogeneity requires that we treat local ethnographic data not simply as items of scholarly narratives but explore the extent to which they instigate distinct epistemic insights or lead to epistemic rupture. The works of Ifi Amadiume and Oyeronke Oyewumi represent such ventures in endogeneity which produced epistemic rupture in gender scholarship. They offer insights into how a new generation of African sociologists can meet the challenge of intellectual reclamation. I will use the re-appropriation of the concept of 'matrifocality' or 'matricentric' societies to illustrate the point.

2. Matrifocality

In its popular usage, 'matrifocal family' refers to female-headed households, often with absent fathers or male spouses.[2] Parkin (1997: 29) defines the matrifocal family as one "where adult males regularly leave home for long periods to work or for some other purposes." Raymond Smith (1956) was the first to attach the concept (matrifocal) to this type of family structure, partly as a point of departure from Fortes. In his efforts to isolate what he considered the irreducible 'elementary components' of family and kinship, Fortes (1969: 261) argued that an individual is tied, 'bilaterally' to both the mother's kinship line (matri-kinship) and the father's kinship line (patri-kinship). No one, he argued, "can become a complete social person if he is not presentable as legitimately fathered as well as mothered." As Smith (1996: 39) notes, the essence of Fortes' formulation was to make the nuclear family universal and the irreducible basis of kinship. In his formulation, patriliny and male-headed families are the norm; indeed Fortes believed that his formulation covered Ghana's matrilineal Akan nation. Much of the strong mother-centric families that other western anthropologists observed in the Caribbean was explained by the high incident of "illegitimacy" and unstable family structure.

Smith's (1956) study of "lower-class" Guyanese households showed a high degree of mother-centred activities and family structures, although households normally arose from the cohabitation between a man and a woman. In the early period of child-bearing, the woman is dependent of the spouse in a rigid division of labour: the man takes little or no part in child rearing but supports the woman who is pre-occupied with child rearing.

> As the children grow older... [t]he woman is gradually freed from the constant work of childcare and when the children begin to earn, they contribute to the daily expenses of the household. It is at this stage that one begins to see more

2 *Cf. http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/matrifocal.*

> clearly the underlying pattern of relationship within the domestic group; whereas the woman had previously been the focus of affective ties she now becomes the centre of an economic and decision-making coalition with her children. This increasing 'matrifocal' quality is seem whether the husband-father is present or not. (1996: 42).

While the households become female-headed with age and widowhood, Smith argues that this matrifocal arrangement is evident in both male and female-headed household. Matrifocal families tend to exhibit bilateral kinship.

Two things are important in Smith's idea of Matrifocality. First, it is linked to the separation of domestic and non-domestic division of labour. This dimension of mother-centric households was highlighted in Elizabeth Bott's (1968 [1957]) study of English families; they exhibit strongly "segregated conjugal roles" and they reflect the low labour market participation of women. Bott noted that kinship networks revolve around mother and children and a high incidence of clustering female relatives, especially in contexts where "there are no particular economic advantages to be gained by affiliation with paternal relatives, and whenever two or preferably three generations of mothers and daughters are living in the same place at the same time" (Bott 1968: 137). The bilateral kinship relationship is much closer to the Guyanese cases than Smith himself acknowledged.

Second, the characteristic, as in Bott's cases, is found predominantly in lower-class households. Even for the Guyanese society, the women-centred families and kinship network are not the 'ideal' family or kinship network. Most middle and upper class Guyanese families are patrifocal and patrilineal. In a sense, matrifocality is a common feature of unstable family structures, absent fathers and/or 'illegitimacy'. Both cases Smith's Guyanese and Bott's English) tend to exhibit bilateral kinship.

In both cases matrifocality diminishes as we move up the class structures of the societies and reflect gendered division of labour with the exclusion of women from extra-domestic economic activities.

In a later refinement Smith (1996 [1973]) identified three distinct aspects to his idea of matrifocal families:

1. **"Domestic relations"** with "marked sex-role differentiation where men are excluded from participation in child-rearing" and other domestic activities or chores (p.54), and women are largely excluded from extra-domestic economic activities. It is this 'functional interdependence' that produces female-centred domain of the household.
2. **Familial relations**, by which he argued that "by far the most important element producing a matrifocal quality in lower-class West Indian kinship is the low priority of solidarity emphasis placed upon the conjugal relationship within the area of 'close family' ties" (p.55).

3. Finally, **"stratification":** "the absence of property and status considerations is particularly conducive to the development of a matrifocal system" (1996: 56), although this is not necessarily about poverty.

Smith made a distinction between his ideas of matrifocal structure and family networks, on the one hand, and Fortes' formulation regarding the Ashanti lineage system, on the other hand. For him the critical difference, and why he did not attach matrifocality to the Akan case, is that while there is a large incidence of female-headed households, at the juridical level the focus shifts to the men in their roles as mother's brother or brother. In other words, "the intensity of affectual relationship between women and children" (1996: 56) regardless, the kinship system revolves around paternal authorities.

More generally, in Smith's sense of the concept, matrifocal households do not represent the normative household or kinship systems of their societies but the result of low economic status and juridical exclusion of women. While certain family structures in such societies may be matrifocal, *the society itself is not matrifocal or matricentric.* This is a fundamental point of departure for Amadiume and Oyewumi. It is in these three dimensions of Smith's understanding of the concept (domestic relations, familial ties, and social stratification) that matrifocality takes a different meaning in the works of Amadiume and Oyewumi.

3. Re-appropriating Matrifocality

Amadiume (1997) shows greater preferences for 'matricentric unit' (1997: 18) or 'matriarchal principle' (1997: 36) as her organising concepts. Further, it is within a wider, alternative framework for making sense of gender relations that the concept gains normative status and certainty. Rather than an aberration, the societies that supplied their ethnographic data are matrifocal. Families are not matrifocal because of low economic status, poverty, the absence of men, gender allocation of household tasks, or economic exclusion of women. They are, because they are, structurally matricentric. It is within this context that 'matrifocality' assumes its distinct meaning and its heuristic value as a sociological category. It is this wider of 'matrifocality' or 'matricentrism' as the organising principle of the society that this a distinct venture in endogeneity.

3.1. Ifi Amadiume: An Introduction

In her 1987 book, *Male Daughters, Female Husbands,* Ifi Amadiume turned the gender discourses of the preceding decades on their heads, ***precisely*** because she took the sociational dynamics of Nnobi (in Eastern Nigeria) that provided the field data ***on its own terms without undue anxiety about what those who had erected the global gender narratives had to say or think***.

While dual-sex, the Nnobi community was predominantly matricentric, stretching from its myth of origin, to the household; from mode of organising economic production to its system of governance, Amadiume identified a "strong matrifocality and female orientation... [in which] mother and children formed distinct, economically self-sufficient sub-compound units classified as female in relation to the male front section of the compound" (Amadiume 1987: 27). Central to the kinship network is *umunne* or the spirit of shared motherhood (1987: 56). The data show dual-sex economic activities, material wealth, etc. Men and women convert material wealth into prestige and titles, with the highly sought title of *ogbuefi* available to men and women. The institution of 'first daughters' means that they or men take on many 'wives.' As Amadiume (1987: 31) notes "first daughters, barren women, rich widows, wives of rich men, and successful female farmers and traders" take on wives; a phenomenon she referred to as "female husbands." Procreation intercourse happens between the wife and chosen relatives of the 'female husband', with resulting offspring recognised as the child of the 'female husband'.

Land inheritance goes to sons as well as "male daughters." A woman's right of access to land for production in her husband's homestead is guaranteed both by having a son or a 'male daughter' (1987: 34). The dual-sex roles are also reflected in juridical terms: lineage men and women perform distinct juridical roles. The organisation of patrilineage daughters (*umu okpu*) is formal, encompassing married and unmarried daughters of the lineage with leadership based on seniority. The oldest daughter heads the *umu okpu* regardless of marital status. Amadiume highlighted the power that the *umu okpu* exercised in the lineage of birth of the women. They are responsible for ensuring peace and settling dispute; ensuring that the lineage is strong, giving verdicts and imposing fine. The power covers women married into the lineage as well as male-kins. In addition, they control the patrilineage funerals, a function that gives them great power within the lineage.

In the wider domain of political administration of Nnobi, parallel to the male title holders is the organisation of *Ekwe* title women who hold veto power in public decision making and political administration. They also control the market system, a vital part of the economic life of the community.

3.2. Oyeronke Oyewumi: An Introduction

Oyeronke Oyewumi's 1997 book, *The Invention of Women*, focused on the Yorùbá society. The book confronts the totalising gender narrative in Western feminist discourse. As Oyewumi argued, "the cultural logic of Western social categories is based on the ideology of biological determinism... a 'bio-logic'" (1997: ix); a tendency to impose social roles and categories on the anatomically female or what she called "ana-females" as distinct from "ana-males". This "body reasoning", she contends has been imposed on the reading of African societies and ethnographic data, even when the interaction of biology and the

social in these societies tells a different story. Put simply, "in pre-colonial Yorùbá society, body-type was not the basis for social hierarchy: males and females were not ranked according to anatomic distinction" (1997: xxii). Indeed, she argued (and contrary to the general thrust of western feminist discourse), in the Oyo-Yorùbá sub-group from which she derived her data "there were no women—defined in strictly gendered terms—in that society." For Oyewumi, this is because the concept derives from the "philosophical discourses about the distinctions among body, mind, and soul and in ideas about biological determinism and the linkages between the body and the 'social'" (1997: xiii).

Put simply, "gender was not an organizing principle in Yoruba society prior to colonization by the West... Rather, the primary principle of social organization was seniority defined by relative age" (1997: 31). Yorùbá language is not gendered and categories such as "male" or "female" do not translate easily in the language since there is very little about the association of such socially-constructed categories with anatomic maleness or femaleness (1997: 33). 'Okùnrin' and 'Obìnrin' (the English notions of male and female, respectively) "do not refer to gender categories that connote social privileges and disadvantages... [;] they do not express sexual dimorphism" (1997: 34-5). "A superior is a superior regardless of body-type" (1997: 38).

Similarly, the concepts of 'husband' or 'wife' do not have the same social meaning as in English.

> With regards to the categories husband and wife, within the family the category *oko*, which is usually glossed as the English husband, is non-gender-specific because it encompasses both males and females. *Iyawo* glossed as wife, in English refers to in-marrying females. The distinction between *oko* and *iyawo* is not one of gender but distinguishes between those who are birth members of the [consanguine] family and those who enter by marriage (Oyewumi 2006: 317).

Here Oyewumi may serve as a corrective to Amadiume's idea "female *husband*" since the category "husband" in Nnobi does not coincide with and is not determined by anatomical maleness. However, "seniority is highly relational and situational in that no one is permanently in a senior or junior position; it all depends on who is present in any given situation. Thus it is neither rigidly fixated on the body nor dichotomized" (Oyewumi 1997: 43). As in Amadiume's data, Oyewumi found the same strong matrifocality and seniority-based status among consanguine relations rather than biological differentiation. As she notes (Oyewumi 2006: 317), the Yorùbá society that supplied her data,

> Is non-gendered because kinship roles and categories are not gender-differentiated. Significantly then, power centres within the family are diffused and are not gender-specific. Because the fundamental organising principle within the family is seniority, based on relative age and not gender, kinship categories encode seniority not gender. Seniority is the social ranking of persons based on their chronological ages.

The principle of motherhood suffuses the ideological framing of social order and social relations to the point of the sacred/mythical powers adduced to the child-bearing position of women or *ìkúle abiyamo* (Oyewumi 1997: 38). Kinship network is based on similar principle of those who shared the same womb; uterine kinship defined around motherhood. While patrilineal for the most part, Oyo Yoruba, as with most Yoruba societies are best understood as dual-lineage. As in Amadiume's data, the lineage female descent organization (*omo ile*) has similar rights and influence within their lineage regardless of anatomical differences.

However, unlike the Amadiume data, Oyewumi's data does not suggest strict dual-sex division of labour. Rites performance or priesthood is not exclusively male; priestly activities have men and women functionaries. A key difference is in the absence of the institution of "female husband." Inheritance would suggest that female children are not disadvantaged relative to their male siblings.

Outside the domestic sphere, women economic activities reflect the same principle of independence and autonomy. Markets are largely controlled by women and long distance trading among the Yoruba is female-dominated. This stretches to the public realm of public administration; again Oyewumi's data suggests women's presence in the political sphere up to the office of the Alâfin Oyo--the political head of the Oyo Kingdom. Several lower-level political functionaries (Baálè) were women as well. The more recent political history of the Ibadan sub-segment of the Yoruba suggest that women were active occupants of the senior political office of *Iyálóde*. The history of Oyo Kingdom shows that there were anafemale and anamale *ìlàrí*, the political functionaries who also act as body guards to the *Alâfin*.

While Oyewumi's data does not suggest the absence of 'patriarchy', it does challenge our understanding of "male rule" and the effectivity of such idea in light of the distinct fracturing of the assumption that biology equal the social. Amadiume (1987, 1997) repeatedly stressed the dialectical interactions between patriarchal and matriarchal institutions, as binary opposites, in the Nnobi context.

What the works of Amadiume and Oyewumi demonstrate is not simply supplying data to validate theorisation from the North; what Hountondji (1991, 1993) called 'extraversion'. Rather, they allowed their data to produce conceptual outcomes appropriate to its uniqueness. The result is an important, epistemic, shift in our understanding of a global idea of gender; because they took their locales seriously enough to engage with them without undue anxieties of what "the world has to say" about them.

4. Theorising Matriarchy

In her 1992 paper, "Theorizing Matriarchy in Africa", Ifi Amadiume sets about the task of theorizing "the vexing concept of matriarchy, not as a totalitarian system--that is, the

total rule governing a society--but as a structural system in juxtaposition with another system in a social structure" (2005 [1992]: 83). The starting point for Amadiume is differentiating "between Eurocentric scholarship and an Afrocentric perspective", the latter being studies that take the African locale as its starting point. She identified the works of Cheikh Anta Diop as one instance of the later, especially as they relate to "the institutions of kinship, kinship ideologies and the state" (Amadiume 2005: 83). Much of the anthropological works of the 19th and 20th century on kinship and descent, Amadiume argues "derive from specifically Indo-European histories" which were mapped on non-European experiences: "other peoples and their cultures were seen through European eyes" (Amadiume 2005: 83). Fortes' resort to patrifocal nuclear family as the norm from which others are judged is an example of such Eurocentric approach.

The idea of a linearity of human evolution—in which individualistic, social contractual relations with its familial root in patriarchy as its highest form—is an illustration; a patriarchal ideology that Cheikh Anta Diop identified as having been reproduced at the level of the state (Diop 1991, Amadiume 2005: 84). This is the context of Fortes giving evolutionary primacy to the monogamous, patriarchal, nuclear family. While Smith is averse to Fortes' racialist discourse, his understanding of matrifocal households as the non-normative Other rests on anthropologists' linear conception of human evolution.

> In all the so-called scientific comparative reconstructions by nineteenth century theorists, African data were left out... [and] it was African data that effectively overturned theories of general evolution of kinship (Amadiume 2005: 85).

In the African context, rather than patrifocality, Diop demonstrated that matrifocality is the norm. In the long history of Africa that Diop (1991) mapped, what emerged are the "juxtaposition of systems" of filiation. The significance of such juxtaposition is that "there was an absence of matrius opposite a patrius in the juridical role" (Diop 1991: 121, Amadiume 2005: 89). What several African ethnographic data show[3] is that "the matricentric unit is [not only] an autonomous production unity; it is also an ideological unit" (Amadiume 2005: 88), which generates distinct 'moral codes' (1997: 35). In several of the so-called patrilineal African societies, matrifocal logic defines the norms of social relationship. Unlike Wendy James (1978), Amadiume argues for going beyond this to make the link with matriarchy even in patrilineal and patriarchal contexts. It is common to miss this link.

In making sense of matriarchy and matriliny and the easy dismissal of "the link between gender and a particular type of descent, specifically the possibilities of authority and power for women in matriliny" (2005: 90), Amadiume suggests that what is needed is a "*structural analysis of the metaphorical symbolism of matriliny (biological connection*

3 *These include Fortes' Tallensi data (Ghana), Claude Meillassoux's Guro data (Côte d'Ivoire), and Paul Riesman's Jelgobe data (Mali-Burkina Faso).*

between generations or motherhood) and the matriarchal ideological construct generated from this symbolism" (2005:91). As she argued:

> The invisible, transitory or distant role of man as father in African kinship was extremely difficult for the European mind to accept... Unlike the Europeans, Diop as an African had no difficulty in talking about a "matriarchal regime".

The paradox is particularly stark in the case of James, a feminist anthropologist, who seemed unable to "comprehend the idea of matriarchy"; what Amadiume called "a refusal to see what is staring one in the face! (Amadiume 2005: 91-2). Much of this reluctance to move from an acknowledgment of matrifocality to matriarchy is because "for many people, 'matriarchy' connotes a system of domination, the reverse or mirror-image of patriarchy" (Dashú 2005: 185). For instance, Dashú (2005:186) settles for the idea of 'matrix society' rather than acknowledge or attempt to theorise matriarchy. However, for Amadiume, matriarchy refers to the exercise of power by women within their societies. *In other words, matrifocality is not simply about 'mother-rights' or a society or family being 'mother-centric'*, rather Amadiume shows how it reflects the domains of the legitimate exercise of power by women; it transcends the sphere of domesticity into the 'public' arena of governance and juridical power that women exercise in the communities. As mentioned earlier, even when marriage takes them away from their compound of birth, the patrilineage daughters (the *umu okpu*) continue to exercise strong political and juridical power within the lineage. At the political level women of the village exercise direct political power through the Women's Council. The *Ekwe* titled women hold veto power in the village deliberative assembly (Amadiume 1997: 85). The consensus-focused public decision-making process also made disregarding the women's voice near impossible. The political matriarchal system, as Amadiume (1997: 85) shows, exists "in dialectical and structural relationship with the *umunna*-based patriarchal system, both in dialogue with each other." Oyewumi made similar arguments relating to the significance of seniority ordering, rather than gendered, in the exercise of power and control within the lineage. The consanguine links does not, *ipso facto*, result in the diminution of the role of women. The Nnobi political system also involves "a third classificatory system: the non-gendered collective humanity, *Nmadu*" which is grounded in a "non-discriminatory matriarchal collectivism as a unifying moral code and culture generating affective relationship" (Amadiume 1997: 85).

In a re-interpretation of the Ashanti data, Amadiume pointed to the that matriliny here is "both concrete and ideological, it is through their mother and not through their mother's brother that men trace status, rank, and rights. The matrilineal groups holds and transmits property." But beyond the kinship network, Amadiume pointed to "the reproduction of matricentric unit, the tripartite matriarchal triangle at the superstructure level in the centralized political systems" (p. 92).

In using the category of *matriarchy* Amadiume's point is not that women exercise a totalising power of domination. Rather, it is that matricentricity is not simply about the affirmation of uterine or mother-rights but in the distinct sphere of political and juridical power that women exercise, as well. The over-riding matricentric character of the society is therefore not in the absence of centres of the political and juridical roles for men, as against women, but in the "in the all-encompassing matriarchy, all Nnobi were bound as children of a common mother, the goddess Idemili." In Amadiume's data as in Oyewumi's, uterine kinship holds much stronger bonds of relations than agnatic kinship ties—even when the siblings are from different fathers.

Plate 1: The Nnobi Dual-Sex System

obi – male	*Mkpuke* – female
Headship = *diokpala* (first son) *di (dibuno)* = husband • the person has a male status in cultural classification of gender • in biological sex-gender the person can be man or woman.	**Headship** - Mother - wide - mother • the person is culturally classified as female, even when playing the role of *di* = husband.
The unit composition Headship over: • one or more *Mkpuke* units (matricentric units or households) • therefore family	**The unit composition** • matricentric = mother and siblings • therefore household.
Economy • dependent on *Mkpuke* productive units for labour, raw food and cooked food	**Economy** • the smallest production unit • autonomous • has its own farm or garden
Ideology • Patriarchal in ideology of *umunna* (common fatherhood) • jural force • competitiveness • masculinism, valour • force, violence	**Ideology** matriarchal in ideology on *umunne* (common motherhood) moral force collectivism ideals of compassion, love, and peace

Source: (Amadiume 2005: 94)

The paradox is that the same analytical confusion and the hostile response to the works of scholars like Amadiume, Oyewumi, and Nkiru Nzegwu, even among African feminists, one would argue is rooted in , rooted in a specific western gender discourse. Eller's (2000) attack on 'the myth of matriarchal prehistory' was not directed

at Amadiume or Oyewumi, specifically. Indeed, other than in a footnote reference (p. 197) to Cheikh Anta Diop via Amadiume, Eller simply ignored the works of the African gender scholars. Nonetheless, Eller's polemical attack on what she called "feminist matriarchalists," from a supposedly feminist perspective, followed a familiar line: that an affirmation of women's biological reproductive capacity is to 'essentialise' women and that claims of a matriarchal past—as the sub-title of her book suggests—is unhelpful in advancing contemporary women struggle; such claims of a matriarchal past may hold emotive value, but essentially anti-women. Dashú's (2005) thorough-going critique of Eller's should suffice for now. As Dashú noted, much of Eller's critique of Marija Gimbutas (1971) caricatures the works of the people she critiques, especially, the works of Marija Gimbutas. As Dashú (2005: 192) noted, "what is truly unfair is to condemn a scholar's work without bothering to analyze her text. Eller never describes Gimbutas' theory in its own rights or quotes from her historical analysis." Similarly, Eller ignored fairly contemporary data from North America, from the *Iroquois,* which demonstrate strong political and juridical roles of women, within the clans as well as the Iroquois (*Haudenosaunee*), apart from being matrilocal and matrilineal (cf. Jennings 1984, 1985; Tooker 1985; Fenton 1998, Ritcher 1992; Ritcher and James, 2003). The postmodernist 'deconstructionist' proclivities that is so reminiscent of Anthony Appiah, whose influence inspired Eller, produced all deconstruction but no constitutive basis for making sense of not only the pre-historical data (as in Gimbutas) but the abundance of contemporary ethnographic and social historical data. It bears noting that in her effort to knock down what Dashú called the 'straw dolls' of matriarchy—from which in fact most feminist writers, including James cited above, run away from—she substituted a totalising and perpetual notion of patriarchy. The paradox is that Eller (2000) is cited approvingly such anti-feminists such as Robert Sheaffer.[4] More importantly, Amadiume and Oyeronke are not describing a 'mythical pre-history.'

Similarly, Bakare-Yusuf's (2004) critique of Amadiume, Oyewumi, and Nzegwu, among other derived from a basic mis-reading; she claimed that "some African scholars have begun to question the power of gender to explain African societies" (2004: 61), when the thrust of their arguments is that gender relations might play out differently in different societies; and that the experience of western women cannot be assumed as universal. Bakare-Yusuf adopts similar deconstructionist strategy as Eller, without offering alternative ethnographic data. Rather, Bakare-Yusuf did the exact opposite of what Oyewumi (2004: 8) called for: that "the analyses and interpretation of African must start with Africa." Bakare-Yusuf produced a narrative of "Africa [as] the West waiting to happen or… is like the West, albeit a preformed or a deformed West" (Oyewumi 1997: 21).

Further, what Oyewumi did not do was to claim "that a culture (in this case her Oyo-Yoruba) has in some way remained pure across time without discontinuities or

4 *Cf. http://www.debunker.com/patriarchy.html.*

paradigm shifts in collective self-understanding" (Bakare-Yusuf 2004: 68). If anything, what came through in Oyewumi (1997, 2005), especially in Chapter 4 of her *Invention of Woman,* it is the erosion of women's power—economic, social, and political—in different transitional phases, most recently under European colonialism. The same was repeatedly and forcefully demonstrated by Amadiume (1987, 1993, 1997, 2000). Indeed, nothing reveals this more than her account of her field research (see Amadiume 1993). The erosion is a pattern noted in other archaeological, social historical, and ethnographic studies (Gough 1962, Gimbutas 1971, Dashú 2005). What Diop, Amadiume and Oyewumi demonstrate is the importance of historical sociology; one that goes back to before late colonialism and how Indo-European influences profoundly reshaped many African societies—a process that is ongoing. As Amadiume notes;

> Much has been written in denunciation of studies focusing on origin. Yet for colonized people, historical depth and continuity on which a non-colonial status and identity depends is an imperative as strongly demonstrated by Diop (1987, 1991). The advantage in looking at kinship from the perspective of historical origins is in the sense of meaning, in order to locate the origin of a social concept or phenomenon. (2005: 96)

Amadiume, however, anticipated such responses:

> *"Matrifocality is a cultural construct even if the metaphor used derives from the female reproductive role. It throws into question the derogatory dismissal of these ideas by European feminists as essentialist and limiting to women's choices. It seems to me that the important thing here is the ideological message generating the notions of a collectivism of love, nurturance and protection derived from womb symbolism. As James says of most African societies, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, 'there is a deeper and historically more enduring level at which the nature and capacity of women are given primacy in the definition of the human condition itself'.* (1997: 153-4)

Rather than being a deviation from the norm of patrifocal, male headed, nuclear family, matrifocal and matricentric household units represent the premise of a diversity of African communities and social formations, whether 'patriliny' or 'matriliny' or dual-lineage. In many of these, it is not the absence of the male person that marks the household as matrifocal; it is the primacy given to uterine or womb-relations. It is the shared motherhood that allows for a sense of single boundedness even among siblings of different fathers. In matrilineal kinship systems, the father-figure may not even be the basis from which children derive status. In matrilineal and matrilocal system, the matrifocality is more strongly so. Even in patriarchal kinship systems, patriarchy has fundamentally different effectivity from the Victorian ideas of gender relations.

5. Heuristic Value of Endogeneity: some provisional notes

The value of the seminal ideas in African gender scholarship represented by the works of Amadiume, Oyewumi and others is not only in the epistemic rupture concerning how we understand gender relations beyond biological determinism or bio-logic. On its own this would constitute a remarkable contribution to global sociological scholarship. However, matrifocality in African gender scholarship has heuristic value beyond how we theorise gender. They provide an analytical framework for making sense of a range of other social phenomena: rethinking kinship network, how we theorise 'identity', etc.

Much of the discourse around identity in the last twenty years has sought to distinguish between issues of ethnicity, race, religion, etc., from class. When people speak of identity politics, for instance, they generally refer to non-class forms of social construction of self (individual or collective) and its implications for social activism. Much of the underlining logic of these discourses, especially around race and ethnicity, derives from patrifocal and patriarchal logic. It is within the logic of patrifocal and patrilineal descent that the obsession with the certainty of the biological-genetic link of the child to the father becomes the basis for constructing the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. With racialist boundary-marking, pigmentation and physiological attributes became the markers of such genetic certainty, and foundation of racist ideologies and social practices.

Matrifocality and matricentric kinship systems offer different bases for thinking through the concept and meaning of Identity. The principle of matrifocality is not only in transcending the bio-logic (biological determinism) that maps social attributes inexorably on biology but in its implications for identity and inclusive social order. If the child is a child of the compound, the child belongs to the compound regardless of patrimony. It makes the category "Coloured" or "Biracial" (worst still "Mulatto") ridiculous. We can see this in West Africa, the African-American kinship network and among the various indigenous peoples in Southern Africa. The principle of shared motherhood—hence matrifocality—is central to this. In such contexts, as Nkiru Nzegwu (2005) noted, fatherhood may be social rather than biological. The institution and practice of 'social parenting' provide us with the basis for rethinking identity. Beyond shared motherhood, inclusivity is grounded in a commitment to the community rather than the biological certainty of genetics. Similarly, categories such as 'child fostering' (cf. Isiugo-Abanihe 1984, 1985) would seem to me grossly inadequate in a complex social relationship; it would represent a distortion grounded in patrifocal paradigm.

The implication of the above is that we need to completely rethink the categories that we use in making sense of descent and kinship ties in many African contexts. The categories that we use, such as 'matriliny', 'patriliny' or dual-descent, become inadequate for making sense of social phenomenon that define our lived experiences that is far more complex than such ideas of uni- or dual-descent can capture.

Equally significant are the implications of the works of Amadiume and Oyewumi, and the idea of matrifocality for gender equity. First, biology does not determine sociality and patriarchy, patriliny and patrifocality are not primeval to human sociation. Second, from the primary unit of household and kinship systems, economic production and ownership, to the political administration of the public realm, matricentricity suggests a different logic than patrifocality and patriarchy. The exclusion of women from economic and/or the public realm of politics and sociality are not inherently human or African. Even where we can speak of patriliny, it does not suggest ana-female subordination or inferiority. Many so-called 'patrilineal' societies are in fact 'multiliny', with children being able to draw resources for social status and standing from the multiple permutations of descent that is available from either side of parenthood—social or biological.

Finally, for African activists and scholars working for gender equity, the works of Amadiume and Oyewumi point to the basis for appropriating the "useful past" from a diversity of African pre-colonial histories. As Amadiume (1997:23) argued:

> As European feminists... seek possible ways out of their historically oppressive patriarchal family structure... inventing single-parenthood and alternative affective relationships... in the African case we do not need to invent anything. We already have a history and legacy of a women's culture—a matriarchy based on affective relationships—and this should be given a central place in analysis and social enquiry.

Appreciation:
Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Sociology Seminar Series at Rhodes University (April 2010) and at the World Congress of the International Sociological Association (July 2010, Göteborg, Sweden), the *Magubane at 80 International Conference* (August 2010, Tshwane, South Africa), and as the keynote lecture to the 2010 conference of the Nigerian Anthropological and Sociological Association in April 2010 (Zaria, Nigeria). I have benefitted immensely from comments of the participants at these varied sessions, and thank them for this. Finally, I express my appreciation to the ASR editors and reviewers for their comments. The usual disclaimer applies.

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A Drum's Trans-Atlantic Journey from Africa to the Americas and Back after the end of Slavery: Annobonese and Fernandino musical cultures.

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Abstract
Musical instruments are an intrinsic part of culture accompanying people as an essential factor in shaping the identity preserved through memory. In Equatorial Guinea there are some ethnic and social groups: Fang, Bubi, Ndowe, etc. It is in relation to the Annobonese and the Fernandinos musical culture, that the concept of "Return trip to Africa" becomes meaningful. This paper discusses this focusing on instruments such as cumbé, kunkí, and dances such as cumbé or bonkó, which constitute an African legacy that has returned and has become a part of Equatorial Guinea's musical culture. The paper's main point is that the identity given by the African elements has remained active until today.

Keywords: *Gumbé, cumbé, kunkí, Fernandino Creoles, Annobonese, Equatorial Guinea, musical instruments, slavery.*

Introduction

Musical instruments are an intrinsic and living part of the material culture that travelled with people in their historical development. These material objects have accompanied communities which have travelled in the course of history, migrating for different reasons. These instruments are an essential factor in the shaping of identity preserved through memory, and they also form part of their spirituality. In the American continent, ritual musical objects as symbolic reinterpretation have played a role in granting not only identity but also security to communities after their brutal uprooting from their original social and physical environment. These objects have provided memories, allowing self-representation and relocation through a search of stability in the home.

The search to recreate a "home" during slavery had an influence in the transmission and reproduction of instruments and music and material culture; for example, following the abolition of slavery at the turn of the 19th century, African musical culture was enriched by contributions from newly-freed African slaves from the Americas. It entailed the return of a new sort of "African" culture to the African continent after exposure to European influences on the other side of the Atlantic. The return leg of this journey which began in the nineteenth century, spanned the twentieth century (with genres such as the blues, swing, reggae and Afro-Cuban) and continues to the present day with popular urban music in Africa drawing increasingly on external influences in a globalised world (Aranzadi 2009:36). The *gumbé*, a drum-dance which the Jamaican maroons "gave back" to the African continent in 1800, is the earliest example of a "return trip" phenomenon that shows all the features of African-influenced American music (Collins 2007:1).

There are social groups that have built their identities with contributions from elements that have made a return trip across the Atlantic; examples will include: the Annobonese and the Fernandino Creole people, both inhabitants of Fernando Poo (today's Bioko) and the island of Annobón respectively (Spanish colonies), the inhabitants of Clarence-city (founded in 1827), settlers from Sierra Leone and other African social groups like the Santomeans and Jamaicans (Usera 1848:18). One can also include Cuban settlers who were emancipated and deported from Cuba on many occasions between 1861 and 1897 (Unzueta y Yuste 1947:206-211) (Castro Antolín 1996:45). There is a continuous communication by sea between the little Island of Annobón and the Island of Fernando Po and this does have a profound influence on their musical culture. Of all these possible influences on Fernando Po and later on Annobón, the most important trans-Atlantic cultural currents were those that ran between Jamaica, Cuba and Sierra Leone (influences from the Deep South of the United States would also arrive in Sierra Leone).

In the case of Equatorial Guinea, two elements constitute this journey: one is the *cumbé/kunkí/kunké*, a square frame-drum adopted by Fernandino and Annobonese, which comes from Freetown Krio culture formed by three groups: Jamaican Maroons,

U.S. settlers and slaves recaptured from different ethnic groups in Sierra Leone and other parts of Africa. The second element is the *bonkó* or *ñánkue* among Fernandino and latter adopted by the Annobonese, which came from Nigeria via Cuba (where the slaves preserved and transformed it), and directly from Calabar in Nigeria.

These musical objects are not only a reflection of a culture; they are also constituent parts of the processes of self-representation and belonging in a dynamic process of interaction of material culture and societies in motion. They represent a reconfiguration of the Atlantic culture in a complex process of social relations by the coming together of peoples in the colonial situation after the abolition of slavery. In this paper, this "return trip" is explored. The specific focus is the drum and in discussing this, attention is paid to the music that accompanies it. Both are also discussed in some passages within the context of the rituals in which they are used. The paper starts with the discussion of the *gumbé* and expanded in latter sections to include other drums, music and rituals.

1. The *gumbé* from Jaimaica

The first reference to the *gumbé* drum in Jamaica was made in 1774 by the traveler Edward Long, an English planter who lived on the island from 1757 to 1769 (Long 1774 Vol. II: 423), and is mentioned again in Freetown in the 1820s (Harrev 2001:3). Hutchinson (1861:112), the British consul at Fernando Po from 1855 to 1858, describes the *goombee* as one of the "immoral" dances of the inhabitants of Freetown.[1] It is known by different names: *gome* (Ghana), *gube* (Mali), *goumbe* (Côte d'Ivoire), *kumbeh* (Nigeria), *maringa* or *malinga* (Congo), etc. In the Bahamas, Trinidad or Jamaica it is known as *gombe*, *gombay*, *bench drum*, *gumbá*, *goomba*, *goombah*, *gamby*, *goombeh*, *goombey*,*goombay*, *gumbay*, *gumbe*, etc. (Aranzadi 2009:144). The *gumbé* supplied an important building block for various 20th century African acculturated popular music genres such as the *makossa* of the Cameroons, or Yoruba *juju* music (Collins 2007:181).

In Fernando Poo (now Bioko), we can attempt to find the Jamaican legacy in two contexts: through Jamaicans who came to the island or as a result of the contribution of the Krio culture which was taken from Freetown to Clarence (today's Malabo). The black Jamaican missionaries who landed at the Island with John Clark (who supported the repatriation of Jamaican blacks to the African continent) were qualified schoolteachers prepared to educate the population (Martín del Molino 1993:103). They lived in many parts of the island between 1844 and 1846 (Sundiata 1972:170).

On the island of Jamaica, the maroons (slaves who had escaped to the mountains) used a drum known as the *gumbé*. They formed communities which preserved their own culture for two-hundred years in a constant struggle for survival in the face of British rule. The city of Freetown, founded in 1787 in order to accommodate the emancipated slaves, received a group of 550 of these maroons in 1800 (Rankin 1836 Vol. I: 108).

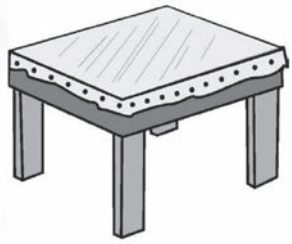
Jamaican *Gumbé*. Photo: Kenneth Bilby

Having been betrayed after a peace treaty, they were taken by the British to Nova Scotia in 1796 and to Freetown four years later.[2] The *gumbé*, a square drum with legs, is an important cultural symbol for these maroons as it is associated with the invocation of their ancestors (Bilby 2007:15), and played an important role in the 18th century, in their fight for freedom against the British. It was used for the communication of messages and also to warn them of future attacks being planned by the British. The sound of these drums provoked a trance from which these premonitions were made (Lewin 2000:160).

The *gumbé* is still used today by the descendants of the maroons in Jamaica. Currently the *gumbé* enjoys a continuing presence in Krio culture in Sierra Leone. This drum is also still used Freetown to enter into a trance and predict the future in events such as baptisms and weddings.[3] *Goombay* has also been influential on three of Sierra Leones's 20th century popular dance-music styles: namely assiko, maringa and milo jazz (Collins: 2007:180).

Gumbay in Jamaica
(Belisario 1836)

Jamaican *Gumbé*
Photo: Helen Roberts 1913
(Natural History Museum New York)



Jamaican *Gumbé* 1920 (Cuba)
described by Fernando Ortiz.

Of the two possible routes of Jamaican influence, the most likely is that the Annobonese *cumbé* dance-drum arrived via Sierra Leone, since the Annobonese playing technique of using the heel of the foot is not the norm in Jamaica, where it is held between the knees. In Sierra Leone, according to Van Oven, the drum is currently played both ways (Harrev 1998 [1987]: 11). The possibility of a direct route is unlikely due to the prohibition of drums and dances by the Baptists in Fernando Po (Lynn 1984:273), however, it is clear that the *gumbé* spread from Freetown to several other African countries just as the Krio language (Pidgin English), which also spread from Freetown. In relation to the Krio language, one needs to mention that Equatorial Guinea has its own distinctive Pidgin (Morgades 2007:31). However, in the twentieth century, the pidgin language remained an important vehicle of communication in Bioko: "only a few spoke Spanish [in 1917]" (Bravo Carbonell 1917:46) and over 120,000 workers, mostly Nigerian (Igbo, Ibibio and Efik) were imported from the 1940s to the mid-1960s (Sundiata 1996:181-182).

2. The *Cumbé* Iin Annobon

Owing to the uninterrupted influx of workers and especially of artisan carpenters[4] Equatorial Guinea would be added to the list of countries to which the *gumbé* would spread. It is a drum with legs and a double frame and wedges on the back to hold the drum skin taut. It is made using modern carpentry techniques with screws on the side to hold the drum skin to the frame. In addition tools such as the saw have been

used in various countries as musical instruments including Equatorial Guinea where the Fernandino used a saw accompanying the square drum with legs[5]. The *cumbé* is part of the traditional Annobonese musical culture and was known as *kunkí* by the Fernando Poan Creole people. The Bubi who live in the north of the island have been influenced by the Fernandino, and have used and called it *kunké*. [6]

Annobonese *Cumbé* (with larger *cumbé*, little *tambalí* and *chin*)
Photo: Isabela de Aranzadi

As mentioned earlier, the *gumbé* spread from Freetown to different countries in Central and Western Africa. Among these countries was Ghana where it has become absorbed into different musical styles as 'gome', the neo-traditional simpa music, the neo-traditional gahu music and was introduced into konkoma highlife groups" (Collins 2007: 181). A specific example would be a musical group called "Kpehe Gome Group" in Ghana which used the drum. The group was formed in 1954 with the *Ga* fishermen who returned from Fernando Po (Collins 2007:5). In fact, according to Hampton (1979) the *gome* was taken to Ghana by Ga workers returning from Santa Isabel (Malabo). It was introduced via Fernando Po in the 1940s and 50s. The songs that were accompanied by the use of the drum were in Pidgin English, sung by workers of multiethnic origin in Fernando Po, and were meant as entertainment on the day of rest, usually, Sunday (Hampton 1979:5). The Ghanaian workers learned the use of the drum and the songs from the Sierra Leonean and other West African workers who were in the city of Santa Isabel. The *cumbé* drum from Annobón is exactly the same as the *gome* of Ghana and the *gumbé* of Freetown, where it still constitutes a sign of identity among the krio people. A musician from Sierra Leone (grandson of the great musician Ebenezer Calender who played the *gumbé*), who listened to some recordings of the Annobonese *cumbé*, confirmed that this resembles the "old style" of *goombay* music in Freetown.[7] Maringa,

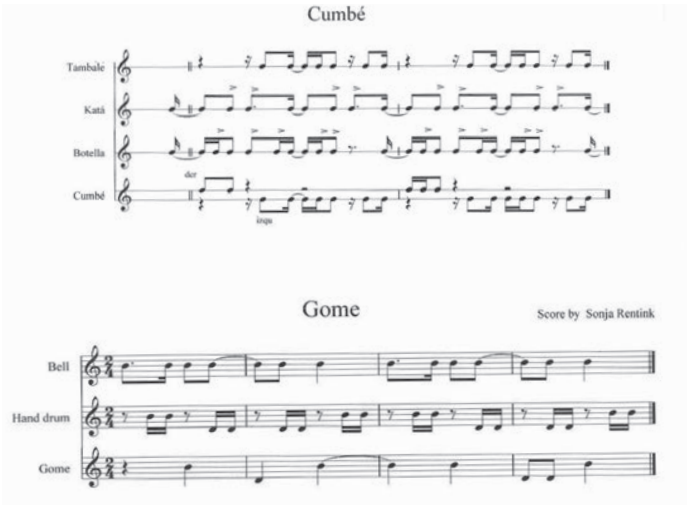
associated particularly with the late famous Freetown guitarist Ebenezer Calender, utilises the giant goombay frame-drum upon which a player sits (Collins 2007: 180).

Gumbé in Sierra Leone
Photo: Kenneth Bilby

Annobonese *Cumbé*
Photo: Isabela de Aranzadi

Gome in Ghana
Photo: Flemming Harrev

Comparing the scores of the Ghanaian *gome* (Rentik 2003:35) and those of the Annobonese *cumbé* (Aranzadi 2009:138), we may deduce in both, the use of the afro-Caribbean rhythm patterns employed in many Cuban rhythms. In the case of the Annobonese *cumbé*, the *katá* (two sticks which are struck against each other and which accompany the *cumbé*) produces the pattern. As far as the *gome* is concerned, the pattern is longer and is played by a bell.



The Annobonese *cumbé* is a dance with a clear element of courtship, present in Europe since the age of "courtoisie" in the Middle Ages, a markedly Western phenomenon. In 1826 there is reference to a dance whose only accompanying instrument was the *goombeh (gumbé)* drum. Williams describes it in Jamaica in 1826 as a kind of bolero, a "dance of love" as they called it (Lewin 2000:94). The *cumbé* is usually danced by couples (Aranzadi 2009:144) but on the African continent it is more common for dances to be either exclusively for men or exclusively for women.

Annobonese couple dancing the *cumbé* in Palé (Annobón)
Photo: Isabela de Aranzadi

It is a slow dance. It begins with all participants standing still on flat ground, forming a circle, and in pairs. One of them leads the dance and can be either at the centre or in a pair in the circle. At the start of the dance men and women stand in a circle, alternating between men and women. The *cumbé* drum is played with only the hands until the moment known as the *punt*, marked by the rhythm of all the drums (the leader of the dance is called *pe punt*). From that moment onwards it is also played with the heel of the foot and the music acquires a greater dynamism and energy. At that moment, the women turn around and stand facing the men in pairs, when the leader of the dance gives the signal. This dance is practiced at festivals (especially on Saint Anthony's Day) and commemorations and often takes place in the town square of Palé, the most important village on the island situated in the north of Annobón (Aranzadi 2009:145).

For the Annobonese it constitutes a sign of identity and they respect it as the tradition of their elders in the same way as the other major traditions in Annobón such as *sanguitá* or *dadj'i*. This is a mixed age group. They perform the *dadj'i* dance in weddings and funerals of some members of the same age group (Aranzadi 2009:128-

143), (Panadés 2007:117-124). In *dadjì* funerals, they dance with stick of the same size as the deceased's. The stick is brought out in the final death ceremonies" (Elá 2005:15). The only instrument in this dance is the little tambourine, the *tambalí*.

For decades many Annobonese have migrated to the island of Bioko in search of work and they have preserved the dances of *cumbé* and *dadj'i*. Recently incorporated into Christian rites are some instruments such as the *tambalí* or drums from *mamahe* / *bonkó* of Annobon such as the *rolin,* singing in fa d'ambô with their own rhythms. In the "Claretianos" church (Malabo) one can witness the Annobonese mass today. Each ethnic group has its own mass in its own language rhythms and musical instruments (Fang, Bubi, Kombe, Creole-Nigerian).

Annobonnese *Cumbé*. Photo: Isabela de Aranzadi

The accompanying instruments are two drums, the *cumbé* which provides the base rhythm and whose sound is deep and powerful (large in size, it is played with the hands and with the heel of the feet) and the *tambalí* square tambourine of a similar construction as the *cumbé* which is played with two thin sticks *(öpá tomböl)*. The *tambalí* that is used is the *doblá,* whose sound is higher-pitched. To accompany the drums they use two idiophone instruments; the *chin* (iron sheet which is struck), and the *katá* (two thick sticks which are struck against each other). When they do not have a *chin*, they use bottle to produce a beat. The *cumbé* provides the base rhythm and the *tambalí* makes the solos, playing polyrhythms over the ostinatos produced by the *chin* and the *katá*.

The Annobonese especially admire the elegance of the older generations in the *cumbé*-dancing. The songs have been adapted and are sung in *fa d"àmbö* (a Creole Portuguese). They are composed by a member of the community and are incorporated into the traditional body of popular folk songs. The transmission of knowledge to do with the handling of instruments has an initiation component, managed by a "dad" who is familiar with the rhythms and who must "bless" the person being initiated. The person

being initiated carries an offering and will be summoned to play the *cumbé* from that moment onwards. "Papá Pavil'a"[] was the master and initiator of the few musicians who currently play this drum in Annobón and Malabo.

3. The Bubis have no Drums but Bells

There has been some authors such as Crespo (1950:150) and Manfredi (1949: 104-108), who describe a square drum in the 1950s among the Bubi. However, in Bubi tradition the drum has not been used. Although in some cases such as in the Aymemi dictionary, the term "drum" is translated as *ribetté* (1928:313), this Bubi word was used to designate the log or *mölëlo* used in the funeral ceremony of the same name, accompanying the songs of praise. The life of this trunk was short as it only lasted as long as the funerals. The *mölëlo* began at sunset, firstly with the sounding of the spirit's name by the sacred trumpet. The *mölëlo* ceremonies lasted between four and sixteen days depending on the importance of the dead person's spirit. The trunk or *ribetté* or *mölëlo* was played furiously so as to make it "talk" and at the end of the funeral rites came the "smashing" of the trunk into pieces which was then thrown into a hidden ravine. The total disappearance of the *mölëlo* indicated that all memory of the spirit's material presence in the world had been wiped out (Martín del Molino 1989:139-142).

The *elëbbó* (Bubi bell). Baumann 1888

The Bubi drum that these authors describe in detail was therefore an acculturation from the Creoles due to the influence of a powerful group existing on the island. The Bubi have no drums, but bells. According to the inhabitants of Moka, in the south of Bioko, the drums carried by West African workers coming to the island, "bothered" the spirits

and were banned by the elders of the village. The *elëbbó* (Bubi bell) is characteristic of the spirit represented by each priest. It is an identifying spiritual element and is used in the dances. It cannot be found in any other culture.

These authors refer to the same drum that is currently played in Annobón. The *tambalí* is used as a tambourine, it has no legs and it is smaller than the *cumbé*. It has one drumskin and two frames held in place by wedges. In Ghana and other African countries like Mali, we find a drum identical to this and with the same playing technique, called the *tamalin* or *tamlin*.

Tambalí and *cumbé* Annobonese. View of the back of *tambalí*.
Photos: Isabela de Aranzadi

The *Museu de la Música* in Barcelona holds two examples of tambourines from Spanish Guinea dating from the first half of the 20th century (which are slighty larger than current ones). The Fernandino Creole people used this square tambourine to accompany the large, square *kunki* drum in the *kunki* dance. This small drum is known by different names in other parts of Africa: *sikko* (Sierra Leone), *samba* (Nigeria), *sákara* (Liberia), *konkoma*, etc. *pletia* (Ghana), *tamelin, tambourim, konkoma* (old Ghanaian word), *ashiko, assiko* (Senegal), *asiko, siko, samba* (Nigeria), etc. (Aranzadi 2009:205).

4. The Kunkí between the Fernandino

There are two elements of Fernandino musical culture which have experienced the "return trip to Africa" phenomenon, a journey which was also completed by the *gumbé –cumbé – gome – kunkí - kunké*. The *kunkí* dance was accompanied, by the *kunkí* (a square drum with legs), by people who conserved the traditions originating in Sierra Leone, from 1827 (foundation of Clarence city), onwards. The Fernandino had a continuing relationship with Sierra Leone and sent their children to school in Freetown (Navarro 1859:73). The *koonken* or *koonking* (the English spelling) was danced in 1830 Freetown by the settlers and has been described by some authors. It is described by the traveler

Rankin (1836: 268) and Sibthorpe in his *History of Sierra Leone* (1970[1868]:52). It arrived from Nova Scotia (Canada) in 1792 with the 1131 freed slaves who had taken part in the American War of Independence on the British side and who had originated in Virginia and South Carolina Rankin (1836:82-87). Some of their songs were brought with them from America and others were created in Freetown and were often satirical in nature and on such subjects as love and loss, and also contained allusions to known (and also white) people (Walker 1976: 310-311), (Rankin 1936:288).

The contradiction operated in memory of its musical culture as a repository of different identities and always in relation to "other." Following the need to assert their Africanity in relation to "other" Europeans in America, which represented numerous prohibitions on the use of drums prior to 1700 (Epstein 2003 [1977]: 30), in their return to Africa they continued to maintain a differentiation in relation to "other" Africans they considered inferior (under the influence of colonizers):

> "…We rejoiced at the thought of returning to the warm and fruitful land of our race, able to draw from its inexhaustible resources the treasures of which our negro brothers who dwelt there were so ignorant; and we felt a pride in considering that we were blacks about to revisit the country of savages, with some small 'stock' of education, and that we might lead others to improvement." (Rankin 1834:87).[12]

The word 'stock' is significant and describes the content (in) material that they brought with them in as a privileged social group facing the black Africans. The *kunkí* survived in Santa Isabel (today`s Malabo) until the 1970s and was part of the culture of the descendents of the first Sierra Leoneans. It was sung at major events such as weddings, baptisms and *komodja* (old Yoruba term used to describe the traditional christening or *pulnadö*, which now comes from pidgin for to pull out of the door, i.e. the newly out-born-out of the door, literally). The *pulnadö* is the initiation ceremony for social integration of a newborn between de Creoles in Malabo.[13]

The Fernandino accompanied it with three square drums: the *kunkí* (this was a large drum, fifty centimeters across, and had four legs one meter in length) and two small, square tambourines (of fifteen and twenty centimeters across) built in the same way, called *tambalí,* one of which was higher in pitch so as to produce lively rhythms and polyrhythm's, and the other as accompaniment. It was also previously accompanied by an accordion, a saw and a bottle. Women wearing long dresses of a single solid color that came down to the ankles performed the dance in circular formation (as in Freetown), while the men played the instruments. It is similar to the Annobonese *cumbé* dance, but this one has a more "fiery" rhythm.[14] In 1971 there were three women's associations, since for the Fernandino this is a women's dance (as in Sierra Leone in 1830). The square *kunkí* drum was played (as is the case today with the *cumbé* and the *gome*), with the drummer sitting astride the four-legged drum.

5. The Bonkó From Nigeria/Cuba To Fernandopo

The other element of Fernandino musical culture that was involved in the "return trip to Africa" phenomenon is the *bonkó* or *ñánkue*, ritual–dance that is practiced today from mid-nineteenth century in Bioko, later introduced in Annobón at the beginning of the twentieth century, under the name of *mamahê*. This dance can be found on the island of Annobon for three generations, introduced in the early twentieth century from Santa Isabel, by Ton Bale. It is a ritualistic dance that comes from the Efik people in Calabar (Nigeria) and transformed in Cuba before come back to Fernando Poo. Both the *bonkó* and the *ñánkue* refer to the same dance and came to Bioko[15] directly from Nigeria with the Efik and indirectly from Cuba with the deportees and freed Cubans. According to some members of the secret society of Bonkó, including their descendants, Daniel Nathaniel Kinson took the dance in the mid-nineteenth century to Santa Isabel. He married Sara Robinson, an Efik Nigerian woman dancer who introduced elements of the rite. She was initiated in Efik rites in Calabar and their son Samuel Norman bought a high grade in the *Ekpe* hierarchy. He was initiated in Nigeria. According to Diego Kinson, (great-grandson of Daniel Nathaniel Kinson):

> "They went to Duala and traded in palm oil. Betoté Akwa was a Duala, the first king of the Akwa, and his sister married Kinson [her was the first wife]…"There were two kinds of Sierraleoneans. Some brought American traditions such as the *kunkí* (they also danced the Charleston), and others (non-slaves from Sierra Leona), they danced the Basá *ñánkue*. The creoles called it the *ñánkue* of the Basá"… "They all came from Sierra Leone, but with different status"… "They wore a raffia costume similar to the *mekuio*"… "My father knew the rituals of Nigeria and belonged to the *Ekpe*. The black loyalists founded the masons to which the great grandfather and the grandfather belonged"… Daniel Nathaniel Kinson[16] brought Mendé people (a tribe from there)" [17]

The Sierra Leonean people practiced as teachers (along with the Fanti of Ghana) of newly freed slaves as they arrived to the island after being rescued from captured slave ships (Martín del Molino 1994:62).[18] Most of these slaves, recaptured during the 1820s and 1830s, were from the region of Calabar in southern Nigeria (Lipsky 2004:9). Migrations from Sierra Leone also drastically increased the population of Fernando Poo.

The secret society *Ekpé* from southern Calabar met in the Nigeria-Cameroon frontier area before borders were established (Sosa 1982: 32,62), and was exported by slaves to Cuba, where it became known as *Abakuá*. Thanks to the *cabildos,*[19] the language, traditions, musical culture and rituals were maintained among the African slave population. The *cabildos* were the heirs of the religious *cofradías*[20] of Seville and they allowed unity among the "negros de nación" (blacks of the same origin). The feast of the Epiphany (Three Kings' Day) was the most important religious and cultural for blacks in Havana. The

funeral ritual of the secret society *Abakuá* is known as *nánkue* or *ñankpe* in Cuba. In Nigeria *nyankpe* is one of the highest ranking positions in the secret society *Ekpe* or *Egbo*. Holman (1834:393) also mentions the position of *yampai*[21] as high-ranking in the Nigerian society called *Ekpe,* or *Egbo*, described by some other authors in the 19th century as Goldie (1901:30) and Mary Kingsley (1897:532) among others.

Bonkó dance in Malabo (Bioko). The *ñankue* mask. Comparison with Nigeria/Cuba. Photos Malabo and Annobón: Isabela de Aranzadi. Nigerian: www.afrocubaweb.

In the *bonkó* dance ritual there are many elements inherited from the ritual of the Nigerian secret society *Ekpe*, transformed and known as *Abakuá* in Cuba where there are the funerary rite *ñánkue,* which celebrates the secret society. The *Abakua* is a hierarchical society and therein, the *irimes* or masks also represent the ancestors and spirits performing different ritual functions in some ceremonies (Cabrera 2005 [1959]:9, 16, 261). On the other side of the Atlantic, among the Fernandino creoles, the whole development of the dance in Malabo is carried out over the Christmas period, with the Epiphany being a very important day, as it was in Cuba. In Santa Isabel "deported Cubans practiced *ñánkue*. It was a kind of demonstration against the colony".[22] The dance finishes with a salute to the authorities. It is these days taken by the President Obiang but in the Spanish colonial era would have been taken by the governor (as in Havana). One of the *bonkó* masks in Malabo, with three African faces, *Papá fero*, represents evil. They carry this character tied with a chain to symbolize that evil is not to be part of the community, like among the Cuban *Abakuá* where the *írime* is tied and led by *Enkríkamo.* The word *írime* comes from the Efik word *idem* (mask).

Papá Fero tied to a chain following young people in the city of Malabo.
Photo: Isabela de Aranzadi

The costumes in Nigeria are adorned with small bells called *enkaniká* (Miller 2005:25).[23] The *ñánkue* is in Bioko the main character and dancer of the Fernandino Creole people who has bells dangling around his waist, and makes them sound, like a symbol of power, and the dance acquires greater energy through his skill. It is called *bonkó* in Malabo and some Bubi villages. It was also exported to Rio Muni and is practiced in some Fang villages under the name of *abakuya*. [24]The mask has evolved depending on the village. They have a president and the members of the association are initiated by a person versed in the rite, song and dances and there are many women who sing in Pidgin English. The rhythm is different and has been adapted to the Fang style.[25]

The town of Santa Isabel received exiled *Abakua* as well as Efik merchants who were Ekpe. In 1828 Great Duke Ephraim, in 1861 King Eyo III and in 1874 the trader Efik Joseph Hensaw (Miller 2009:127). Muñoz y Gaviria describes this visit (1950: 208-210). Many workers were later to the island.

> "In contemporary Calabar, the memory of those who left for Fernando Po to find work on plantations in the nineteenth century remains strong. In the 1980s, a group of Ekpe musicians recorded this popular phrase:
>
> *Ete unyeneke ubok utom* — *you say you are unemployed*
> *Anana ubok utom di ika Panyá.* — *If you are jobless let's go to Panyá.*
>
> Panyá is a rendering of the name España (Spain) into some local English varieties of Nigeria and Cameroon" (Miller 2009:128).

The dancer (*ñánkue*), is accompanied by the five *bónkó* drummers who play vigorously and engage in dialogue with the dancer in the centre. The *ñánkue* has an uncanny similarity with the Cuban *írime* of the *Abakúa* society, described and recorded at the time.

We can observe the evolution of the costume and mask of the dance by comparing

four moments in history on both sides of the Atlantic: in Nigeria, Cuba, Anobón and Malabo. In Nigeria the tradition survives today of using a pointed hood that is also observed in the engravings and pictures in Cuba in 1870 and in the early twentieth century (Landaluze 1881:141) and (Roche Monteagudo 1908). In the 1900s and 1910s Jones described it in the same way (1962:243). Subsequently there is testimony of the transformations in Malabo involving the addition of some "tentacles" called "horns" and there are some descriptions in 1950s (Álvarez 1951:222). The hood can still be seen in Annobón, although some small "tentacles" have been added to the head. The *bonkó* (*mamahê*) reached this island one hundred years ago and as a result of isolation, the evolution was less notable (ships visited the island once a year). Finally we see the evolution in Malabo, where the transformation results in a pointed hood filled with much more "tentacles" or "horns" and many bright Christmas decorations and many small mirrors. In the costume one can also see the influence of the *Abang* female dance in the prominence of the back part, from which many handkerchiefs hung. Its body is covered with plant fibers and this is observed as early as the 1920s (Arija 1930:137). In Annobón the costume has been conserved just as it was formerly used in Malabo, according to the Annobonese who had lived on both islands.

Another term of Efik origin is the word for the bell used in the rituals, a bell without a clapper, which is played with an iron rod, accompanying the drums and producing a rhythm distinctively Caribbean in character. Among the Fernandino it is called the *kön-kön* (Aranzadi 2009:166, 261). In Efik the term is *a-kañ-kañ* (Sosa 1982:403).

One of the drums which they use in the *bonkó* or *ñánkue* dance is called the *rolin*. According to the Fernandino, this drum arrived on the island with 19th century Cuban deportees. These Cubans lived in *Barrio de los Congos* and later, by 1873, had been assimilated into the Fernando Poo Creole English-speaking population (Díaz Matarranz 2005:118). One of these Cubans wrote that there were some musicians among the group of his fellow deportees with him, on the same boat (Bravo Sentíes 1869:99,103). By 1891 there were some Cubans within the landowning class (Sundiata 1972:231).[26] Esteban Montejo ex-slave and Cuban maroon recounts that some *ñáñigos* (members of the *Abakuá* secret society) were taken to the Island of Fernando Poo from Cuba (Barnet 1966:90). In 1869 the deportee Juan Saluvet described dances that he saw in Fernando Poo that resembled those of the Cuban *cabildos,* with their drums, rattles and castanets (Saluvet 1930[1892]:144). Another Cuban deportee compares Sundays in Santa Isabel with the Epiphany in Havana (Valdés 1898:67).

The ñañigos in Cuba in 19th century. Roche y Monteagudo (1925[1908]:99)

The Cuban deportee Manuel Miranda speaks of a significant number of *ñáñigos* who arrived in 1897, singing in *ñáñigo* and using spoons to play jars and plates. He also describes how Cubans and Sierra Leoneans gathered together in a the same *balele*[27] in the city (Miranda 1903:12-16, 31). The word *ñíñigo* is used by the Fernandino creole people in the rules of the *ñíñigo ñánkue*[28]. The sense of the sacred, the search for the Africanity, the spiritual consideration and the connection with the ancestors is common to both sides of the Atlantic. This dance of funerary origin has a component, of memory, of remembrance, and is intended to honour ancestors[29]. The objects (drums), are part of this symbolic and ritual content.

Fernando Ortiz states that the drums that Mary Kingsley describes in Fernando Po in 1897 (Kingsley 1897:67). were of the "Duala type", similar to those of the Cuban *ñáñigos* and introduced by the Afro-cubans.

> "… when many of them took their liturgical dances with them to Fernando Poo, such as the dance which today is known as the Fernandino *yangué*, which is a funeral dance originating in Calabar (*ñañkpe* or *ñañkué* means "death" in the *ñáñigo* language), and which the people of that nation brought with them and established in Cuba. Their children, many years later, having adopted this tradition, would later return it to Africa." (Ortiz 1996 [1952]: 322).

The *Ékue* society uses the *Ékue* drum which, as Fernando Ortiz describes (1995:5), is a friction drum with a sound box and a drum skin held in place by wedges and rods. The *Ékue* drum is rarely seen and it is only known to certain initiated members. It is recognized by its rough and mysterious sound that evokes the terrifying roar of a leopard or the deep voice of great mystery. Hugh Goldie notes that at the end of the 19th century the Efik people of southern Nigeria believed that the *Ékue* (*Ekpe* or *Egbo*) [30], which means leopard, occupied the highest spiritual rank and supreme territorial power. Its name cannot be uttered, its voice sounds like the growling of a ferocious animal, and it is never seen because it is brought out from the woods hidden in a sort of small shed (Goldie 1901:30-32). Similarly, Mary Kingsley, in her chapter on secret societies, amongst which we find the *Ukuku* ndowe and the *Egbo* in Calabar, she describes the

sound of this "hidden" being that represents the highest rank in the spiritual hierarchy (Kingsley 1897:534). These societies have played a judicial role (Perrois 1979:47) of social regulation in the same way as the *Mekuio* (Ndowe) (Aranzadi2009:99) or extinct *Ngil* (Fang) (Alexandre 1958:63).

The *Ekué* drum is used in the Cuban secret society *Abakuá*, for whose members the most important objects are symbolic drums which perform a ritualistic function. It is the sacred instrument, where the voice of the divine spirit its heard. It is also used in certain ceremonies of the Fernandino Creole people. The society of *bonkó* has a special fiction drum that is used in the *crai Egbo* ceremony (where they lament the death of a brother, a member of the *bonkó* society).

6. Processes of the Reception of Musical Elements

On the island of Bioko, formerly Fernando Po, there are processes of reception and appropriation of musical elements such as rites, songs, instruments, and clothing for dancing, etc, as symbols that give an identity sought for its direct relationship with a powerful group which, when it modified the social space, exerted its influence through culture. This is the case of the Fernandino creoles in a historical position of authority in the social structure for its socio-economic power. In 1843 they formed the City Council and Lerena gave them wide powers of control over Santa Isabel and in the surrounding area (García Cantús 2004:175). In 1840 they lived in the town 900 "civilized" blacks and only 15 Europeans (Guillemar de Aragón 1852:61). In 1897 the Fernandino Daniel Nathaniel Kinson who, according to the Fernandino, brought the dance of *bonkó*, belonged to the "Consejo de vecinos" (he was second mayor) in Santa Isabel, and is described by one of the deported Cubans (Valdes 1897:35).

> "Its community extended from the city of Clarence, later Santa Isabel and Malabo nowadays, around the coast of the island during the nineteenth century. The Fernandino would be the pioneers of trade on the island by establishing trading posts and plantations of tropical crops, a point of attraction, a symbol of progress and a factor that would make Clarence and later Santa Isabel a cosmopolitan city." (Sundiata 1996:182).

In some Bubi villages in the north (Baney, Rebola, Basakato) or near Luba (Barrio Las Palmas, Batete) they have introduced the rite of *bonkó,* characteristic of the Fernandino Creoles in a acculturation that occurred by the continuous contact between the two cultures in the mid nineteenth and early twentieth century, the period in which this ritual dance starts and develops on the island. There are testimonies in 1890 of the ritual dance "as a manifestation of non-Westernization of this community, in a letter from a Creole Fernandino called Barleycorn" (Sundiata 1996:151). Also, the use of the dual frame, four legged drum called *kunké* expands amongst the Bubi people of these towns

and in the city itself, through contact with an influent group in the social structure.

We see the "return trip" phenomenon in the case of the *bonkó*, since Efik culture (of the region of Calabar in the south of Nigeria) arrived in Fernando Po via Cuba, where Efik people were taken as slaves. The Annobonese *mamahê* dance comes directly from the *bonkó* or *ñánkue* dance of the Creole people retains some ritualistic elements .

We also find loan words in musical terminology. The *rolin* is a drum that is used by some groups in Guinea. In Jamaica the maroons of Moore Town have a drum called the *rolling*. In Sierra Leone the same term *rolling* is used for one of the square drums that make up the *sikko* group of instuments. *Katá* is a term used by both groups (Annobonese and Fernandino creoles), to designate the sticks which are struck together as an accompaniment. In Jamaica, *katá* is the name of the sticks which accompany the drum among the *kumina* people (non-maroon African Jamaicans). In Cuba the term *katá* denotes two bamboo sticks which are struck together as an accompaniment. There are also some *efik* words in songs in Malabo In Malabo songs (some in pidgin and others in Spanish), some terms are preserved from Efik such as *Abasí* (Aranzadi 2009 b:18). In the legend relating to their origin (Sosa 1998:317), the *Abakuá* refer to the princess Sikan, the daughter of the Efor people. One day she approached the river to collect water in her pumpkin. When she was filling it, she accidentally caught and killed the sacred fish Tanze, the voice of *Abasi* (the supreme deity) and holder of the great mystery (also called Uyo). As a punishment for her profanity, Sikán was ritually sacrificed and her skin was used to cover the first sacred drum (*Ekue*), which only a select few could see. Other term is *Dibo*, repeated in many moments during the procession. It refers to Divine Voice. .The *maringa* is a song of Cuban influence that the Fernandino sing at the end of the *bónkó* ritual-dance and the Annobonese sing at the end of the *mamahê* (it is the term in Annobón for the Fernandino *bonkó*). In Gabon the word *maringa* is understood to mean a large, square tambourine played with the heel and the same term is used for the songs and the dance that are accompanied by this drum (Pepper 1958:49). González Echegaray (1956: 26 and 1964:149) classifies the *maringa* as a Cameroonian-influenced guitar song with a markedly Cuban feel due to deportees and freed slaves who established themselves on the island. It is a dance practiced by the Fernandino, as Daniel Jones notes in his novel *Una lanza por el Boabí* (1950: 146) and as do other authors in the early 20th century (José Más 1931 [1919]: 96). From the 19th century onwards the *maringa* was practiced independently of the *bonkó*. At first with an accordion and later with the guitar always accompanied by the large, square *kunkí* with legs, and also by the small, square *tambalí* tambourines. Nowadays the dance of *bonkó* and also *mamahê* (is the *bonkó* in Annobón) are rounded off with singing *maringa*.

Conclusion

Material culture elements such as instruments, dance and songs, have made it possible to maintain alive the memory of who they were, where they came from and who they were connected to. They have also helped establish a symbolic bridge to their original parentage. The identity given by the African element has remained active until today. Firstly, as we have seen, among the slaves in the Americas. Then, among the freed slaves when they returned to their "home areas". This took place from the late eighteenth century onwards, as the multi-ethnic society that was originally created in Freetown,

> "…when the Krio community embraced the church and other institutions introduced by Europeans there was little room for their own culture and the *gumbe* answered this need, becoming over the years the dominant musical style, serving to unite the different peoples from the Krio culture." (Harrev 1998 [1987]:9).

Later, this identity lived on, when they expanded in Africa reaching Fernando Po from 1827, as a symbol of the Creole culture that was even exported from Santa Isabel to countries such as Ghana. Finally when, under the influence of this island, it also reached the remote island of Annobón and these elements became an important part in the Annobonese musical culture.

Peoples who are physically remote but close in their identity are connected (Jamaican maroons, blacks in the south of the United States, Settlers in Freetown, groups of recaptured slaves, Africans from different parts of the coast, Fang from Equatorial Guinea, Bubi from the island of Bioko, Fernandino creoles from Malabo, Annobonnese from Annobón, etc).

On the islands of Bioko and Annobón there has been a "return trip" phenomenon insofar as dances and musical instruments are concerned. Although they have European influences, they are African in character (liturgical song, syncopated rhythmic patterns and with polyrhythms, dancing in circles, etc.). Instruments such as the *cumbé*, the *kunkí*, the *tambalí* and dances such as the *cumbé*, the *kunkí*, the *bonkó*, the *mamahê* and the *maringa*, constitute an African legacy that has returned from America, a "return to Africa" within Equatorial Guinea's musical culture.

Dedication: To my father, Íñigo de Aranzadi, who lived with the fang, learning their language and recording their traditions, and who was made an adoptive son by Etó Mebimi from Abere Esatop.

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NOTES

1. The quotes are mine.
2. The ethnomusicologist Kenneth Bilby gathered oral testimony over three decades on this event in the past, recounted by Maroons elders in Jamaica (Bilby 2008: 378-390).
3. Seydu (a musicien from sierra Leona) in personal communication 2010.
4. Flemming Harrev (1993: 6), (2001:7) and in a personal communication in 2008, pointed out to me the contact and the possible cultural influences between workers in West and Central Africa. "In the Belgian Congo alone 5,000 West Africans were recruited in the 1890's to construct the railwayline from the Atlantic port city of Matadi to the present day Kinshasa. He points back to Freetown - the capital in the first half of the 19th century of all the British West African territories (Banjul, Freetown, Fantiland, Lagos and Fernando Poo), and its unique, at least to Africa, Krio (or Creole) culture - as the focal point for the development of these early styles of urban music and dance". It is also quoted by Collins (2007:184). Clarence City was rapidly built with the wood brought by Owen from Freetown (Ríos 1844:61). The only craftsmen were carpenters in the 1840s (Usera: 32). I consider this factor to be very important because the African workers with their expertise in carpentry were the ones who were and are versed in such a sophisticated technique as the construction of this drum (in Malabo today there is a carpenter and musician named Hipólito Teruel who builds this drum). Freed slaves and creoles possessed this knowledge involving many technical skills, learned from the Europeans who hired them in different parts of Africa during the early colonization.
5. The saw was also played in Annobón with the box, the *tambalí* and the bottle. Juan Murcia (President of the cumbé) still plays it today.
6. Aranzadi (2009:37, 74,137,160,205,261,278) and Elá (2005:32).The Bubis also use the word *kunké* for a little square drum similar to a tambourine called *tambalí* by the Annobonese people.
7. Seydu is a musician from Sierra Leone, the great musician Ebenezer Calender was his grandfather who played *maringa* and the old style of *goombay* music in Freetown. (Personal communication 2010).
8. This rite is a Christian syncretism which originated as a spiritual need as a response to the abandonment by the Portuguese for many decades during the colonization on the island. See Zamora Loboch (1962), Caldeira (2005:10) and Aranzadi (2009:128-130).
9. In Malabo they play the *bottle* making the same rhythmic pattern as the *katá*. The big *cumbé* with legs is larger than in Annobón, where it is similar in size to the Jamaican *goombay*.

10. Isidro Lisso Alzina was born in 1918-1920. Another master was Gregorio Lisso Muñoz, born in 1932 (Desiderio Lisso personal communication 2008).
11. Nuria Fernández (personal communication 2006).
12. The quotes are mine.
13. Morgades personal communication 200. This ceremony is described in Sierra Leone in the period 1827-1828, among Yoruba liberated slaves (Sibthorpe 1970) (1868: 52).
14. Described by Diego Kinson (Creole Fernandino descendant of a Sierra Leonean who arrived in Fernando Po in the middle of the 19th century), in a personal communication in 2008.
15. The first reference to the relationship between the "*yangüé* fernandino", the "*ñáñigos* cubanos" and the "Calabar inglés" was made by Moreno Moreno (1948:83-84).
16. The Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs possesses the document signed by King Alfonso XII awarding the Medal of Isabella the Catholic to Daniel Nathaniel Kinson in 1902 when he was seventy three years of age. His son Samuel sued Mayo because they would not emancipate him, he being a son of a Knight of Isabella the Catholic.
17. Diego Kinson (personal communication 2010).
18. "Los sierraleonas […] se erigieron en maestros (junto con los *fanti* de Ghana) de los nuevos esclavos liberados que iban llegando a la isla, tras ser rescatados de los barcos negreros capturados".
19. In this Cuban colonial context a 'cabildo' denotes a group of slaves of common ethnicity, who maintain and transmit their traditions in the language of their ancestors and who would gather to celebrate on festive occasions according to the traditions of their places of origin.
20. Brotherhoods.
21. Observe the similarity between the words: yampai=yampe=nyampe=ñankpe=nya nkpe=ñánkue=yangüé, etc.
22. (Teobaldo Kinson personal communication in 2007).
23. Ivor Miller, a research fellow in the African Studies Center of Boston University has made a re-encounter between Cuba and Africa. "That's why it's extraordinary that the *Ekpe* in Calabar can listen to a speech by the *Abakuá*, or music and chanting, and understand it and recognize the rhythm and many of the words. The *Ekpe* system has nine different grades. One of those grades is called *bonkó*. *Bonkó* in reality represents the universal mother, the myth of the woman in the origin of the legend". See more on an interview with I. Miller (2007).
24. Note the similarity with the Cuban term!.
25. Felipe Osá (in a personal communication in 2009).
26. The Kinson were among them (Sundiata 1974: 98) and (Sundiata 1996:93, 169,

187, 217, 248). See also Clarence-Smith (1994:183).

27. Colonial term to describe the dances of the blacks.
28. The *ñíñigo ñánkue* is the name appearing in the statutes of Bonkó society to refer to the Bonkó. With this term they refer to the dance as a whole: masks, drums and costumes.
29. Homage is paid to the dead by the Bonkó on December 24th in the cemetery, December 31st in the old cemetery at Santa Isabel (under the asphalt of a street in the present-day Malabo) and on the morning of the 25th visits are paid to the houses of bereaved people belonging to the Bonkó society and Basilé wher many members of Bonkó society died in an accident some years ago.
30. *Egbo* is the highest hierarchical grade in the *Bonkó* society. According to tradition, this post was occupied by one single person known as *big Egbo* (as with the Efik). It is currently a council comprising ten people. This council runs society, judges the members thereof and draws up the statutes.
31. Teobaldo Kinson's personal communication.
32. The initiation and the punishments are performed in the *Bonkó* is meted out over the five drums. In Annobón in January 2009 I observed that a long and supple saw is used to beat the soles of the feet. Those punished are the ones who did not attend the call after Mass to start the procession of *Mamahê* through the town of Palé. This event takes place in the big square hut used as a meeting place by *bonkó/mamahê* society, following the *maringa* songs and dance that closes the procession, the dancing and the singing. It presents a characteristic Annobonese jocund context, but no age or any other condition is excused.
33. Miller (2009: 43, 56, 57, 180, 206. 211, 216, 238, 290, 349, 352).

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Structural orientation and social agency in South Africa: state, race, higher education and transformation

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Abstract:
We have taken as our brief and context the latest upsurge in incidents of a racist nature in certain higher education institutions in South Africa. What we contribute to thinking on the subject is Goldberg's (2002) theoretical framework in which he focuses on the emergence, formation, existence and transformation of racial formations as constitutive of social life. In the South African context we apply this framework and its understanding of racial traditions to higher education in order to reveal the shifts across the social formations of segregation, apartheid and constitutional democracy. Our central argument is that Goldberg's concept of racial naturalist and racial historicist traditions of social agency when applied to higher education institutions disclose legacies of a differentiated racial regime. In this regard, we take up the trajectory of racialisation as in its segregationist and apartheid modalities of state formation; its deracialisation in our post-apartheid modality of social engagement towards the non-racial project of constitutional democracy as a movement beyond the shadow of racist thinking both implicit and explicit. The thrust of our engagement is that in order to make sense of racial formations and their modalities of structural orientation and social agency we need to think of racism within the complex of a state-race-class nexus. In sum then, the argument that we make vis-à-vis the differentiated racialised orders is that we need to embed ourselves within our national, South African, and continental, African, contexts in order to challenge the racial traditions that continue to bedevil efforts towards consolidating our constitutional democracy and its concomitant epistemic project.

Keywords: *developmental state, racial formations, higher education institutions, democracy, South Africa.*

Introduction

Historically, in South Africa, racial imperatives were deeply embedded in the institutional processes of the segregationist and apartheid states. Today, despite the social initiatives of the state in the period following the birth of democracy, South African society and its institutions continue to be racially wired. The prefix 'post' in 'post-apartheid' signals, at one and the same time, that the contemporary South African state is beyond the legal and political strictures of the past order, and that the present social order is replete with overdeterminations by preexisting racial formations, in all areas of social life. Democratic transformation has set in motion a process through which the various racialised layers of social action and interaction forged under the segregationist and apartheid orders are being successively peeled off. However, it should come as no surprise that the deepest layers of social life, those concerned with the conscious and unconscious predilections of knowledge production, should be among the last of the excavations of racialised sites that need to take place. It is argued here that it is no accident or quirk of history that higher education arrives late, for in this archaeological site where the racial formation is being excavated we are necessarily dealing with some of the deepest-set bedrock assumptions and metaphysical principles which underpin social life.

Theoretical Problematic

The Ministerial Report of 2008/9 has thrown into sharp relief how deeply embedded is race in the social relations and structures of higher education. In the face of reform initiatives by the current state that aim to negate the previous racial order, what might be defined as the recalcitrance of established structures in higher education suggests that – in the words of the Report – the existing racial legacy may be 'more intractable' than at first believed.

At the heart of the vexed question of the relationship between the current developmentalist state and preexisting racial formations is the issue of the continuities and discontinuities in contemporary South Africa. This paper seeks to theorise this relationship, along with the way in which it is commonly represented and the kinds of social agency it proscribes, at the point where it manifests itself as a social phenomenon in higher education. What is problematic about contemporary discourse is that race and racism are presented as a uniform discourse without any inflections. We are confronted with racism as an homogenous entity, which permits the most bald-faced racism to be accentuated to such an extent that it's more subtle forms disappear from view.

In order to adumbrate the more complex and subtle forms of racism a theoretical language is required, one which provides a way to examine race without assigning to it a validity predicated on scientific legitimation. At the same time it is necessary to

avoid focusing too intently on the pseudo-scientific nature of race, lest racism itself disappears from view. The theoretical problem, then, is to develop a discursive modality that is able to both give credence to the lived reality of racism and simultaneously expound upon its many nuances and inflections without essentialising any of them. Goldberg's (2002) theoretical perspective offers just such an interpretive framework. His concept of racial formation provides a way to talk about racism as something socially constructed, while his account of the racial traditions that attach to racial formation, namely, the racial naturalist and racial historicist modalities of social agency, makes it possible to understand the nuances within both the segregationist and the apartheid racial formations.

A primary theoretical task is how to disentangle racial formations in their most subtle and overt forms from the discourse of development translated as deracialisation and non-racialism. In some of the racial formations currently manifested in the academy, blacks remain in a state of perpetual tutelage, always having one or other mentor imposed upon them, and never capable in and of themselves. What is most insidious about this discourse is that it is constructed as developmentalist and progressive, thus occluding the racial historicist tradition in which it is embedded.

In the process of briefly outlining Goldberg's (2002) theoretical framework, this paper presents an argument for seeing race not as an epiphenomenon but as a structural condition. In so doing it makes specific reference to the historical continuities and discontinuities of racial formations in the political economy of South Africa, from its emergence as a qualified nation-state in 1910, under a segregationist state and its social agency within a racial historicist tradition, through the apartheid state and its shift from a racial naturalist to a racial historicist tradition, culminating in the present conjuncture characterized by a developmental state in a constitutional democracy in which non-racial and anti-racist social agencies are moving the racial formation towards a class formation.

For the purposes of the discussion which follows, the term 'race' is to be understood as the 'face' of social class relations. While race is always part of a race-class nexus, involving complex and dynamic intersections and interrelationships, this paper analytically isolates the element of race, in order to highlight features which are too often repressed in recent South African scholarship on higher education.

Race as Structural Condition

The State-Race Nexus

Under what conditions might one legitimately speak about 'race', as a structural condition, when the very concept is subject to contestation at its foundational level, that is, at the level of its ontological status? Moreover, how is 'race' to be understood in relation to

the emergence of the modern state, higher education and the socio-political project of nation building? These questions relate to the structural relationship we seek to draw between the state, race, higher education and post-apartheid South Africa. The argument here is that 'race' is not some superimposition grafted onto the nation-state, nor is it to be reduced to the affliction of any individual member of society. Rather, the underlying structure giving coherence and definition to the configuration of state, race, higher education and transformation is the broader socio-historical process of modernization. The starting point, then, is to establish the discursive intersection between the modern state and 'race' before setting it in the context of the new South Africa and higher education from the point of view of its structural orientation and social agency.

Drawing on the work of Jewsiewicki and Mudimbe (1995), Goldberg (2002:130) argues that in the same way that states instrumentally invent races as a form of generalized socialization, they invent nations:

> States instrumentally invent nations as a form of generalized socialization. By the same token, states are instrumental in inventing races both as form of socialization and as technologies of control.

The aforementioned process of inventing nations and 'races', is not entirely an arbitrary one. The conditions under which discourses of the nation and 'race' emerge in relation to modern states are such that:

> They do not create races artificially from whole cloth, however, but pick up the threads for designing the racial fabric from various sources, scientific and social, legal and cultural.

In qualifying the inventive process associated with the nation and 'race', Goldberg (2002) moves from a rather unidirectional isomorphic relationship posited between the state and 'race' (whereby state invents race) to a concept foregrounding a dialectical relationship between them. Wider social structures and their relations come to bear on the process of fabricating or inventing nation and 'race'. Most importantly, it is through the dialectic between the modern state and the individual that emergent forms of nation and 'race' are produced. As McCrone (1998) put it, 'nation/race is the meeting point between the State and the individual'.

Nation and race, fabricated by states out of various scientific, social, legal and cultural threads, are at the heart of socialization, and socialization is at the core of social structure. The extent to which states weave race into the social fabric of society is also an indication of the degree to which the modern state itself is fashioned with racially woven threads.

> States then are fundamental to weaving race into the social fabric, and indeed the fabric of the modern state is fashioned with racially woven threads. States thus are endowed or endow themselves with "races" [Sic]; they adjust and adopt races to governmental purposes.

Taking it one step further Goldberg infers, in a dialectical turn of logic, that:

> While states are instrumental in the institutional conceptualization of races, racial conceptions define and refine state formation (Goldberg, 2002: 131).

On this basis, it is argued here that state and 'race' are involved in a deeply embedded structural relationship which constrains social agency in defined ways. It is useful to explore, in the following section, the import of this relationship for understanding the political economy of South Africa, with particular reference to whether and how arguments around continuities and discontinuities between the segregationist and apartheid states and racial formations are relevant to the shift from apartheid to post-apartheid society.

The Race-Class Nexus: South African Dynamics

The early 1970s debate between Wolpe (1972) and Legassick (1975) over the relationship between racial formations and capitalist development offers a number of insights relevant to a better understanding of the continuity and/or discontinuity of racial formations. Arguing for continuity between the segregationist and the apartheid state,[1] Legassick (1975:261, cited in Motala, 2006:8) suggested that the racial division of labour and attendant coercive mechanisms in the nascent mining industry were extended – hence, continuity – to the manufacturing economy which prevailed under apartheid. In contrast to this, Wolpe (1972, cited in Motala, 2006) argued for discontinuity in the sense that the electoral victory of apartheid signaled that the capitalist mode of production had finally prevailed over African pre-capitalist modes of production.

From the vantage point of the state inscribed as a racial formation, it can be argued that the subsidiary position occupied by the African communal modalities in relation to the European capitalist mode, and their dissolution and absorption into the social relations of wage labour, served as the structured historical conditionality of 'super exploitation' or the production of ultra-cheap labour. The costs of the social reproduction of African labour was considered – and effectively enforced – to be much lower than that of their white counterparts. The point here is not about cheap labour per se – for all labour is cheap (Morris, 1977 cited in Motala, 2006) – but rather that cheap labour

1 *The literature on the South African state spans the liberal (Lipton, 1986) and radical (Wolpe, 1972, 1988; Legassick, 1974; Davies et al, 1976; Alexander 1979, 2002; Posel, 1991; Motala, 2006) divide.*

is located at the very heart of the production of surplus value, with the state assumed to be neutral in the relationship of classes (Wolpe, 1972). Thus the continuity between the segregationist and the apartheid states is premised on the structural embeddedness of the racial formation of African labour in the very heart of the economy, at the point of capitalist production itself. In turn, this is the basis for the argument in this paper that that race is not an epiphenomenon but a structural condition stitched into the social fabric of society with its concomitant modalities of racial historicist and naturalist traditions of social agency. In the political economy of South Africa, race and class merge and as such form a nexus.

Racial Naturalist and Racial Historicist Traditions of Racial Formations

Goldberg's (2002) discussion of what is referred to here as the social reach of the discourse of 'race', in the form of its two traditions, namely, naturalist and historicist, usefully illustrates the scope of agency against the backdrop of racial structural constraints. In terms of the "racial naturalist" conception, in some European and wider processes of state formation – especially those where, as in South Africa, coercion was a key instrument of state unification – the resulting state was likely to be more prone to a naturalist conception of racial formation, with racial rule considered as the product of a divine hand or Nature (Goldberg, 2002:74).

By contrast, the "racial historicist" conception is linked to a different modality of state formation, where states growing out of financial centers and founded predominantly on capital formation and circulation – such as in England or France – tended in the course of their development to have inscribed in their bureaucracies the presumption that racial rule is an outcome of history, an historically produced superiority (Goldberg, 2002:74).

Goldberg's (2002) account thus draws a distinction between a political imperative in state formation, namely, the coercive state (the authoritarian-apartheid state), and an economic imperative particularly in capital-based state formations (also referred to as the liberal state). This corresponds in a non-deterministic manner to 'racial naturalism' and 'racial historicism', respectively. The 'overdetermination' of the political in racial states is a necessary outcome of the coercion required to effect and maintain law and order against resistance by the racialised Other. The social dynamic of the economic dimension of social life expressed categorically as class relations in Europe was also cast in a racist discourse, as evident in the exclusion of the working class in earlier discourses of nation-state formation in Europe (Goldberg, 2002).

Traditions of Racial Formations and Social Agency

The implications of 'racial naturalism' for social agency, both collectively and at the level of the individual in relation to the coercive nature of the state, translates into an environment which was particularly restrictive for the 'racialised Other' across a wide spectrum of social relations and hierarchies which are fixed and endow their members with an ascribed status from which there is no exit. 'Racial historicism' allows for the passage of the racialised subject from infantilism to maturity within a developmental paradigm, whereas 'racial naturalism' holds the subject forever in the vice grip of an 'infantile disorder'. It is important to note that both traditions share a common social horizon insofar as both wish to produce social "homogeneity" (Goldberg, 2002). In both naturalism and historicism homogeneity is represented by a European norm vis-à-vis colonialism, either politically as racial rule (white and capitalist) or as an economic model (European and capitalist).

The foreclosure of social agency with respect to naturalism, then, refers to a delimitation of race into one that is not transmutable, while historicism opens up the possibility of becoming modern for those 'developing' states and their citizens. In addition, racial naturalism coupled to coercive states positions social agents as racial outsiders which in effect means that transformative action is directed against the hostile racial state by 'non-citizens' apparently outside of the nation-state structure (the liberation movements in South Africa are a case in point). In racial historicism, on the other hand, social agency is undertaken by citizens of potential citizens from within the system and within a framework of modernization and development.

Finally, for Goldberg all racial states are engaged in the constitution, maintenance and management of whiteness in different forms: European domination, colonialism, segregation, white supremacy, herrenvolk democracy, Aryanism or ultimately even colour blindness (i.e., racelessness). The term "whiteness refers to a structural condition and is not meant to fix absolutely and disrespectfully in privileged and racist place subject positions of persons classified as white" (Goldberg, 2002:195). In other words, race shapes social life in as much as the social conditions fashion racial arrangements (Goldberg, 2002:195). Whiteness stands socially for status and superiority, politically for power and control, economically for privilege and property, culturally for self-assertion and arrogance, and also dialectically for anxiety and a crisis in confidence (Goldberg, 2002:195). It is on the basis of this brief account of the intersection between state, nation, race and class – the state-race nexus, in short – that we wish now to probe the social and institutional imperatives of higher education.

The Social Context and Institutional Imperatives of Higher Education

Considered as an institutional and social problematic, the transformation of higher education in South Africa can be seen as an attempted shift from an apartheid racial formation to a deracialised social formation or, in other words, to a non-racial institutional order. Of fundamental importance is the extent to which the apartheid logic in the organisation of the higher education system has been disrupted by the sensibilities of the new state, informed as it is by a constitutional democratic dispensation.

Social Context and Racial Formations

In the post-apartheid period, what can be identified in institutions of higher education in South Africa, and particularly in English-speaking, historically white universities is not necessarily a national discursive formation as such, but the slippage from the particular to the quasi-'universal'. One encounters a supra-national discursive formation referred to as Western thought or Eurocentrism, which acts as a substitute for contextual embedding in a national context. In other words, in this ontological grounding outside of the national formation, in the West, lies the will to escape the racialised context of knowledge production that characterized apartheid South Africa. The supreme paradox is that the flight to the West does nothing more than render even more pronounced the very racial embedding that is taken for granted in epistemologically privileging European thought. The pursuit of the status of 'world class university' is for all intents and purposes another case of the Western idiographic (or the particular, i.e., Europe) passing itself off as the nomothetic (or the universal).

The immediate relevance of the prefix 'post-' in 'post-apartheid' is that, while illustrative of the social fact that the apartheid state is no longer a legal entity, it nevertheless, like its use in postmodernism or postfordism, also signals that one is not quite far enough beyond apartheid to be able to signify a new social modality except to point to certain *tendencies* and *movements*. Of equal relevance, 'post-' as in postfordism and post-apartheid also connotes that what it precedes has achieved both intensive and extensive social 'penetration'. For example, Fordist techniques of production have been applied not only to a range of industries but also to multinational food corporations (Ritzer, 1997); similarly, the term 'post-apartheid' invokes the connotation that South African society is both intensively and extensively a racial formation. This is the structural orientation of the racial formations of the apartheid state through which the social categories of class and gender were expressed as lived realities.

Political Dimensions of Higher Education: Views From the Top

Discontinuities in the racial formations as manifested under apartheid can be represented by the three Presidents of the constitutional democracy, each of whom have made (and are making) their mark on society in various ways. First, the presidency of Mandela was defined by a symbolism that was predicated upon the newly opened space for the political agency of citizenship. This form of social agency seems to fit with neither of Goldberg's racial traditions (naturalist and historicist), but instead heralds the sociopolitical conditions for the possibility of a deracialised and non-racial social formation. However, the racial legacy permeates our society and as such we need to be theoretically vigilant. To this end, the discontinuity with the racial formation of the past was symbolically realized through reconciliation so as to grasp the new future endearingly referred to as building the new South Africa.

So as to obviate any confusion or conflation between the racial historicist tradition and the nation-building project, i.e. reconstruction and development, it must be made clear that the constitutional democratic content of the developmentalist state is not oriented towards the racialisation of South Africa in any form, black or white. Under the first democratic Minister of Education, Bhengu, we witness the suturing in of new foundational values and principles such as equity and redress (as opposed to the earlier inequitable racial legacies) as well as legislation in the form of the Education White Paper of 1997 and the Higher Education Act of the same year. This opened up a new type of social agency which is neither of the racial naturalist type (a truncated agency) nor of the racial historicist tradition (as perpetual tutelage), but instead a social agency that speaks to the potentiality of a pedagogic subject socialized in the foundational values and principles of democratic access and citizenship in the context of an African Renaissance. The White Paper of 1997 foregrounded questions of equity, access and redress as a means of transforming the reproductive function of higher education, insofar as it no longer serves a racial project but instead a national project with an African continental sensibility.

Second, the presidency of Mbeki was distinguished by the provisioning of a coherent framework for building the nation predicated on African-centeredness and ideologically anchored in modernization and development (Freund 2004:43). In this regard Mbeki opened up the conceptual space of the developmental state to allow for a new set of regional and continental articulations, and in particular sought to break the disarticulation of South Africa from the rest of Africa which had been produced under the racial naturalist period of apartheid known as *baaskap*. At the same time it sought to redress the racial historicist tradition, most manifest during the phase known as *separate development*, when the Bantustans emerged as a response to the African decolonization wave. These necessary correctives to both the racial traditions made possible that form of

social agency described as the African Renaissance. It is also in this context of African-centredness that the racial historicist tradition of social agency becomes distanced from state policy and re-located amongst those in the academies pursuing a Eurocentric agenda *tout court* and thus inadvertently perpetuating the racial formations.

Third and finally, while it is too early to make any firm predictions about the presidency of Zuma, one emerging feature is the consolidation of the developmental state as a key mechanism for steering reforms related to the economically marginalized sections of society (such as the poor, unemployed youth and agricultural workers). In a corresponding process, the new Minister of Higher Education and Training, Nzimande, is placing greater emphasis on access, widening the system, rural development and articulating education with labour market imperatives. This suggests that higher education will be placed in greater service to the economy and society in general. However, the initiatives under Minister Nzimande, particularly with respect to the envisaged plans to expand higher education into rural areas, also reveal a greater contextual embedding in the national project of democratizing access to higher education. This is not merely a spatial dynamic aimed at restoring the underdevelopment of the rural areas in the face of an urban bias, but a challenge to the rural/urban division itself to the extent to which it was closely tied to the logic of capital accumulation under the aegis of the apartheid state.

What this amounts to, in terms of a distinction between deracialisation and non-racialism or anti-racism, is that all three of these presidencies have had to deal with the structural features of apartheid and to confront how these continue to operate in post-apartheid society. While in spirit or ethos we align ourselves to constitutional democracy, in reality we are still confined to the adumbration of apartheid and hence it is more appropriate to speak of post-apartheid in the sense of the project still being one of deracialisation.

Institutional Imperatives of Higher Education: Racial Formations and Social Agency

Higher Education Landscape and Racial Traditions: 1910–2010

This section offers a periodisation of higher education in relation to Goldberg's two racial traditions, both as they articulate with the three presidencies indicated above and in the light of the institutional imperatives that higher education confronts in the contemporary period.

At the behest of the segregationist state, and against the backdrop of early industrialization, all historically white colleges, forged through the underlying conflicts between the two political elects of British and Afrikaner nationalism, were granted university status. This occurred in the context of a framework premised on a qualified

concept of nationhood. It is important to note that, in higher education during this period, class stratification was overlaid with that of race. The South African Native College was not granted university status; in other words, it was not allowed to formally affiliate with the then examining body in the same way as its white counterparts. The College nevertheless became a training ground for many African leaders, suggesting that its social function with respect to the African population was the production and reproduction of a very small African intelligentsia. Traces of a racial historicist tradition are evident, insofar as the local population would be placed on a modernization path. To put it bluntly, under the dispensation of the segregationist state the 'native subject would be civilized' by being located on a linear modernizing trajectory of development, with the implicit though deferred assumption that at some future point there would be an equivalence between the 'native' subject as 'civilized' and the white counterpart.

With the advent of the apartheid state, following the victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948, an expansion of the higher education sector initiated under racial and ethnic policies saw the emergence of historically white and mainly Afrikaans-medium universities (with the exception of the University of Port Elizabeth as a dual medium university) at the same time as the promulgation of the Education Extension Act of 1959 marked the establishment of the first coloured and Indian universities as well as rurally-located black universities balkanized on the basis of supposed ethno-linguistic communities.

The apartheid period reveals imbrications of both of Goldberg's racial traditions. In terms of the overt racist framing of the racial naturalist tradition, the black subject in all its gradations (African, coloured and Indian) was positioned as a political outsider, with limited social agency. This was most evident during the *baaskap* or white supremacist introductory phase of the apartheid state. However, with the emergence of the phase of separate development we witness a shift from a racial naturalist to a racial historicist tradition. This can be attributed to recognition that the black subject was capable of political leadership within his/her own domain, a possibility foreclosed in the first phase of apartheid. Arguably, it was the context of African decolonization that prompted apartheid thinking to acknowledge the social agency of Africans as early potential citizens, albeit under the tutelage of the white state and in the circumscribed space of the Bantustans. It is in this political context that we should understand the emergence of African universities as a function of the need to create an intelligentsia to staff the bureaucracies of these quasi-states.

The demise of the apartheid state and the emergence of a constitutional democracy has been accompanied by the restructuring of the higher education landscape so as to reflect the emerging and more integrated nation. Particularly pertinent here is the process through which existing higher education institutions have been merged. This reconfiguration of the higher education sector inevitably imported the racial traditions associated with both the segregationist and the apartheid state, with their different modalities of social agency. In such a context, the racial historicist tradition is easily able

to masquerade as a developmental discourse aimed at redress, and this in turn impacts directly upon the intellectual division of labour and how it plays itself out in terms of racial formations and the system of stratification.

The racial historicist tradition treats black subjects as potential candidates for development and excellence, and at the same time assumes that white subjects embody excellence and are, in virtue of their whiteness, quite competent. The developmental discourse seeks to go beyond this (and arguably all) racial formations, by embodying subjects and social agency in terms of an African Renaissance. In other words, it aspires not to reach white standards but instead to achieve African excellence.

To the extent to which South African universities operate in accordance with Eurocentric norms, they constitute black subjects as, at best, racial historicist subjects or, at worst, as racial naturalist subjects. In both cases it remains within the adumbration of a racial formation – and is clearly racist to boot. While the deracialising merger process initiated by the state was confronted with huge disparities between institutions and their constituents, within institutions there remain articulations of racial formations that are still continuous with the past. In the process of merging, some of these institutions, essentially racist in Goldberg's sense of racial naturalism, have had to reckon with their own ideological baggage, and challenges of this sort still burst through from time to time, as evidenced in the University of the Free State's "Reitz incident". Other institutions, however, often in the top rank of the institutional type and embedded in a racial historicist tradition with its accompanying paternalistic attitude, have not met with any institutional reconfiguration and have been left largely intact. Paradoxically, the challenges in these institutions to confront the racial formations embedded in their institutional logic are greater than those for whom racism was an explicit form of conduct, largely because the racial historicist tradition blurs in relation to the developmental discourse, to the extent that what was previously an identifiably racialised dispensation might now be considered progressive.

Social Accountability and Reification: Intervention, Autonomy and Social Agency

The issue of the social accountability of higher education institutions is sometimes portrayed as if it involves an isomorphic and unidirectional relationship, where the university is accountable to the state. The reverse, however, where the state is accountable to higher education institutions, is also important, for not only should the universities give account of what they do in relation to their social mandate, but equally so, the state must give an account of its social mandate with regard to its role in the universities. State intervention in higher education is sometimes seen as peculiar to the constitutional democratic state and, moreover, to the South African context, but these perceptions are in need of correction. The reach of the apartheid state into the universities, in terms of faculty appointments, student enrolments and academic content, was both decisive and

debilitating. The racial formation of apartheid, namely, white exclusivity, was influential in determining the demographic character of white institutions, while in relation to the epistemic project it was debilitating inasmuch as radical scholarship was effectively banned from these institutions. It should come as a great surprise to anyone attuned to the legacy of the racial formation of the apartheid state that scholars of supposed note find it difficult to reconcile themselves with the university's alignment with the society's national project.

However, the immense social scale that is involved in the transformation of higher education institutions (a process that cannot occur independently of other social institutions) suggests that the type of state associated with a minimalist social role as favoured by neo-liberal theory would be inappropriate. An expanded space must be opened up for the role of the state, in contradistinction to the retreatism of the neo-liberal state and its social diminution. In the light of this, the developmentalist state, acting in terms of its social mandate, seeks to bring all institutions into its orbit and under a single governance system. This is intended to reverse the havoc that the racial formations and both its traditions have wreaked upon society. To argue that it is not in the best interests of higher education to align itself with this progressive cause is to take flight from society and succumb to the delusion that, somehow, universities under apartheid were autonomous.

The higher education system is still imprinted with the differentiated forms of control characteristic of apartheid, which ranged from direct control (most often in the case of black institutions) to more indirect forms of intervention. Today, this differentiation fosters resistance to transformation, with, for example, the principle of relative autonomy which oriented white institutions under apartheid now being stretched, under the new order, in the direction of almost absolute autonomy, with the converse being the case for formerly black institutions. Considered against the 'reracialisation thesis' (Sayed and Soudien, 2004), one cannot help but be wary of the success of the transformative project in the light of the institutional autonomy and academic freedom that higher education institutions enjoy. There is indeed a very fine line between too much state direction, which undermines the epistemological project, and unfettered institutional autonomy, which makes possible the drawing up of laagers and its attendant racial exclusivity.

Equity, Racial Formations and Deracialisation

Enrolments

One way of determining whether the higher education system has gone beyond its apartheid racial formation, is by asking quantitative questions, such as whether the composition of students and faculty reflect a deracialised patterning. With regard to the

composition of student enrolment, there has been an overall increase in the number of black students in the higher education system (Ntshoe, 2003). While recognizing that statistics can be made to tell many stories from different vantage points, the magnitude of the increase of black students in general and of African students in particular is strong evidence for a discontinuity between the present and the preceding racial formation of apartheid society. This is corroborated by juxtaposing the findings of the Council on Higher Education (CHE, 2004) with respect to headcount enrolments in 1999, against data from the South African Race Relations Survey of 1989. In 1989, out of a total enrolment figure of 380 789, black and white enrolments constituted 43% and 57% respectively, with the former broken down into 29% African, 7% Coloured and 7% Indian. By contrast, in 1999, with a total enrolment figure of 566 000, the proportion of black to white enrolments was 71% and 29% respectively, of which the former comprised 59% African, 5% Coloured and 7% Indian.

In order to bring these figures into Goldberg's (2002) framework of racial formations, it is necessary to establish how the demographic breakdown at the universities compares with that of the total population. This helps to establish whether the universities are becoming more representative of the national population and as such are being deracialised. Towards this end, in 1989, out of a total national population of 36 million, the breakdown as per racial formations was 75% African, 3% Asian, 8% Coloured and 14% White; in 1999, out of a total population of 43.3 million, the breakdown as per racial formations was 77% African, 3% Asian, 9% Coloured and 11% White.

In order to establish some kind of understanding of these figures, namely that of higher education enrolments, we have opted to juxtapose these against the racial formations as represented in the demographic make-up of the South African population as a whole. Despite the fact that this juxtaposition is somewhat of an oversimplification of actual participation rates across racial formations insofar as these do not take account of the demographic structure of each racial formation group and how this in turn relates to participation, the point here is not about participation rates per se but about how racial formations are situated in relation to the political imperative of constitutional democracy which is ostensibly about the unmaking of such formations.

Considering the fact that representation of black students as a racial formation in higher education in 1989 was 43% of the total student enrolment, this translates into 86% of the corresponding racial formation in the total population in South Africa. By contrast, the same proportionate relationship of black students as a percentage of the total student enrolments is 71%, which constitutes 89% of the corresponding racial formation in the total population in the country.

Of the total student enrolment, the percentage of black students in higher education as cited above was 43%, increasing by 28% to 71% in 1999. How does this 28% increase reflect nationally in terms of the dimension involved in the distribution of racial formations in the total population of the country, or in other words, can this increase

be treated as an indication of deracialisation, thus representing a break with the racial formation of the past? When higher education enrolments and the racial formations and their corresponding breakdown in the population of South Africa are drawn together, a significant relationship emerges, which helps to establish the dimensions involved in the deracialisation of racial formation.

In 1989 the proportionate figure of black higher education enrolments and its relation to the black racial formation as an expression of the total population of South Africa was 50% (i.e. 43% of black enrolment in higher education measured against the 86% of black representation in the national population). In 1999, black student enrolments comprised 71% of total enrolments, which when compared to the corresponding racial formations of the total population of South Africa of 89% results in a proportionate relationship of 80% (i.e., 71% of black enrolment in higher education in relation to the 89% of black representation in the national population). Leaving aside the statistical merits of such a comparison, in absolute terms the movement at the level of black representivity in higher education is marked by a significant difference (from 50% to 80%). This clearly suggests that deracialisation is taking place and that the apartheid racist project has been disrupted.

These figures are important for an additional reason, namely that they represent the potential for class formation, inasmuch as they are predisposed towards the production and reproduction of the intelligentsia and are thus linked towards middle class formation. The issue of class formation is fundamentally about deracialisation and as such represents the mechanism for undoing the racist project of apartheid. However, the deracialisation project in relation to its class dimension does not merely rest at the level of student enrolments; more importantly, this class project is only consummated in the form of successful throughputs at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Furthermore, the class project is only realized in the form of a meaningful engagement in the economy through employment, for throughput is not an end in itself. The critical issue here in relation to the matter of continuity and discontinuity in racial formations is that where the throughput rate falls short of expected outcomes, one is not significantly altering the racial formation even though, at the level of enrolments themselves, this might suggest a move towards deracialisation.

Having identified a deracialisation project (or a post-apartheid social moment) in the demographic shifts in student enrolments as they relate to the national population, and having concluded that this process can only be consummated when it reaches the critical mass of a class formation (or a constitutional democratic moment) that no longer carries the markers of an apartheid social architecture, we turn now to the matter of deracialisation as an epistemic project. An epistemic intervention is critical in that it involves the contextualization of the academic project and the extent to which it is embedded in the national and continental formations. The articulation of Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism at the behest of the former is precisely the difference between a racial historicist construction of social agency and one that moves outside the adumbration

of the logic of racial formations and embraces a non-racial and anti-racist sensibility. Baldly stated, the emphasis on Eurocentric modalities to the virtual exclusion of an Afrocentric sensibility in the academic project, masquerading by proxy in notions of academic excellence, standards, autonomy and globalization, are merely versions of the racist underpinnings of racial historicist views.

Emphasising Afrocentrism to the point of excluding Eurocentrism would be equally foolhardy. The issue, rather, is the logic of its articulation in the international dimensions of the academic project in particular and the intellectual project in general. The common criticism of Africanisation, that it is a nationalistic and essentialised project, reveals traces of a sublimated racial naturalist orientation which tends towards the erasure of Africa and its relationship to modalities of knowledge formation. Furthermore, it is a testimony to the decontextualisation of higher education from its national context that the national formation has within this structure not appeared as an epistemic formation in the construction of curricula that are in an organic relation to the context. Instead, there is an over reliance on Eurocentric and Western texts in general in the curricula of academia without any recognition of the irony involved.

The Academic Profession

Goldberg's (2002) concept of racial formations and its traditions alerts one to the manner in which subtle forms of racism disappear from view when constructed in the idea of a developmental discourse and progress. It is important to note that this analysis of racial formations does not have white racism as its sole focus. There is no conspiracy theory under construction here. Rather, racism must be dealt with in whatever form it takes and particularly in its manifestation in the academy. The intellectual division of labour in the higher education system is generally acknowledged to reflect fairly sharply the racial formations of apartheid inasmuch as these represented white domination. The point is not that academics that have the structural position of whiteness and have also acquired professional academic experience, skills and expertise have nothing to offer aspirant black academics. Instead, the intellectual division of labour is predicated on racial formations and to overlook this fundamental social and political feature of South African society is to both reinforce and legitimate and justify the racial historicist tradition and thus racism in such a guise.

Of equal importance is that Goldberg's (2002) work gives credence to and recognizes the lived experiences of people who encounter the social relations of racism in their daily professional lives. After all, to paraphrase Marx, the point is not only to interpret the world, but to change it, and this in turn requires recognizing that racism in South Africa is much more than a contentious and controversial issue requiring further analysis – it must also be combated. To fail to tackle racism head on is to head in the direction of

erasure or amnesia, and leads to denialism and avoidance.

The demographic transformation of academia in the direction of greater racial equity and representivity is merely the tip of the iceberg. A more substantive transformation is required within the core activity of higher education institutions, namely in knowledge production and dissemination. Unfortunately, racial historicist fears that increasing the number of black academics will result in a reduction in standards and excellence ignore the fact that what diversity brings to the epistemic formation is not merely a change in the profile of the producers of knowledge but rather in the very shape and complexity of that knowledge formation.

In other words, for as long as knowledge production continues to be anchored in and dominated by one section of society, academia will continue to produce knowledge that is partial and one-sided, leaving much of the complexity of society untouched. Unlike the deracialising trend in student enrolments and demographics, staff demographics continue to remain skewed. Indeed, in this regard one might speak of the converse of a deracialisation project and continuity with the racial formations of apartheid. Black faculty at the Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch, Rhodes, Free State and the Witwatersrand constitute only 23%, 16%, 17%, 19% and 29% of staff, respectively (DoE, Annual Report 2009).

Migdal (2001) has argued that change in the institutional culture of higher education rests at the margins, meaning that it is through the appointment of new faculty that cultural change is registered. This position is reinforced by Mannheim's view (1956:175) which holds that:

> The physiognomy of a culture changes when the strata actively participating in cultural life, either as creators or as recipients become broader and more inclusive.

It follows that, in the South African academic context, an institutional culture and its modalities of knowledge production can be said to stand or fall with the extent of deracialisation and diversification. Failure to transform at this demographic level, that is, to deracialise, is not merely a superficial bean-counting matter, but speaks to the relevance and significance of the core practices of our institutions of higher education. Where transformation is not in evidence, one might question whether in fact academic excellence can be said to be present. Young Turks of all hues, but especially those from the black racial formation, offer the universities their best chance at epistemic transformation and with it a non-racial and non-sexist future.

Conclusion

This paper has argued not only that racial formations are structurally embedded in racial states (segregationist and apartheid), but that the most obdurate forms of racial

embeddedness are still sutured into the social fabric of society. To speak of racelessness in a post-racial state is to make 'whiteness invisible' as social value and as norm, and is tantamount to returning to the discursive silences and trepidation that discourses on 'race' invoke as social taboo.

For as long as the present is only defined by a modern sensibility in the adumbration of a European/white racial formation, it will remain within the racial historicist tradition of social agency. In order to move beyond racial historicism, the question of deracialisation and its non-racial project has to be contextualized and embedded in an Africanist formation beyond 'race' or 'colour' but nevertheless predicated on a commitment to the transformation of the epistemic formations of academia. The challenge is to reconcile Afrocentrism with Eurocentrism, and for this purpose it may be necessary, as Lash (1990) argues, to appropriate the sociological imperative of postmodernism, which is to "dedifferentiate" difference.

The logic of dedifferentiation is not about indulging in the denial of lived realities such as racial formations, but in taking the prejudice and bigotry out of such differences. Whether an individual chooses to be identified through some racial formation is a different matter from whether there is a structural orientation which facilitates a social agency predisposed to racism. Put differently, racial formations need to be transformed from their present hierarchical structure into more laterally organized forms, and this process can be assisted, in academia, by a shift from forms of mentorship and tutorship predicated upon subtle forms of racism embedded in the racial historicist tradition, to forms which are anchored in a developmental logic and a non-racial sensibility. It seems pointless to speak of a social state in which there is no 'racial' awareness per se; such awareness depends rather on the social content that informs such a concept.

At bottom, what is required is a subtle shift from the notion of a post-apartheid state (one concerned with deracialisation) to a constitutional democratic state proper (one concerned instead with non-racialism, or even anti-racism). In this latter configuration what one should expect to see is an effacement of race in both the race-class nexus and the state-race nexus, resulting ultimately in a state-class nexus. Whether this in turn is in fact the most desirable state remains an open question, but what is beyond contestation is that both the post-apartheid and the constitutional democracy scenarios must be embedded in a logic of articulation of Afrocentrism and Eurocentrism, though most importantly guided by the former.

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Stratégie de survie et culture de jeunes dans les marchés urbains de Dakar : cas des adolescentes travailleuses (Sénégal).

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Résumé
Cet article porte sur la vie quotidienne des adolescentes travailleuses dans les marchés urbains et péri-urbains de Dakar, capitale du Sénégal. Elle vise à approfondir la compréhension et la connaissance sur les stratégies de survie et la socialisation des jeunes dans les rues des villes sénégalaises et sur les logiques de celles-ci dans un contexte social spécifique. Le travail des adolescentes recouvre des activités hétérogènes conçues sous l'angle des stratégies de survie Plusieurs facteurs socio-démographiques et éléments sociologiques expliquent l'insertion précoce des adolescentes dans les activités de production et dans le petit-commerce, en particulier. Les raisons, les motivations et les intérêts des adolescentes d'exercer ce travail sont pluriels mais une logique importante et rationnelle apparaît et réside dans leur contribution à la survie familiale.. Dans ce cadre, il représente pour elles une quête positive de sens construite autour de la recherche d'une survie instrumentale, de la satisfaction des besoins personnels et de la conquête d'un nouvel espace de réalisation. Les stratégies développées participent à la construction progressive de leur identité et permettent une reconnaissance sociale. Ces activités leur permettent aussi de se construire en tant qu'actrices et d'augmenter leur zone d'autonomie et de liberté. Cela exerce une influence positive sur la transformation de leur statut et sur la place qu'elles occupent dans la société.

Descripteurs: *Adolescence, Jeunesse, Socialisation, Pauvreté, Exclusion, Secteur informel urbain, Stratégie de survie, Activités Carrière, Marché, Genre*

Introduction

Cet article situe le travail des adolescentes non dans une approche de victimisation, ni de protectionnisme, mais dans une perspective alternative. La problématique des adolescents et des jeunes en Afrique est assez complexe et interpelle tous les acteurs sociaux : adolescents eux-mêmes, chercheurs, bailleurs, intervenants. Les questions sociales qui l'entourent sont vastes, diversifiées et d'actualité et peuvent être regroupées sous plusieurs thèmes, notamment les questions de pauvreté/exclusion, de l'éducation/formation, de l'emploi, des nouvelles technologies de l'information et de la communication ; les adolescents face aux risques, c'est-à-dire les questions prioritaires de la for services aux soins, de toxicomanie, de la délinquance, des conflits intergénérationnels, etc.

Nous nous proposons dans article d'examiner comment elle se pose dans les communautés d'adolescentes défavorisées, où se développent des alternatives de survie et de carrières.

La carrière des adolescentes travailleuses est progressive et la manière dont nous la présentons mérite certainement quelques validations car il reste de nombreuses hypothèses à vérifier. La formalisation de la carrière de petite-vendeuse en tant que construction d'idéal-type permettra de reconstituer les différentes phases et de comprendre certains aspects de la trajectoire, de l'identité en plus de donner un contenu aux logiques du travail des adolescentes. Rappelons, à ce niveau, que le travail des adolescentes constitue des activités de survie très variées quant à leurs ambitions, leurs valeurs et leurs ressources.

Différents éléments participent à la construction de la carrière des adolescentes travailleuses. Sous cet angle, la carrière des adolescentes travailleuses pourrait certainement être lue et étudiée de diverses manières *compte tenu* des activités, du cadre, etc. Nous pouvons citer l'expérience, le temps, les réseaux de sociabilité, la socialisation, le genre, l'environnement social, l'espace de travail, l'identité, etc.

I Définition des Concepts

L'adolescent un concept en construction

Notons d'emblée que les recherches africaines en sciences sociales sur la problématique de l'enfance, de l'adolescence et/ou de la jeunesse en difficulté (grossesse d'adolescentes, enfants et jeunes de la rue, enfants au travail, etc.) ne sont apparues que depuis une dizaine d'années. Deux raisons principales sont évoquées pour expliquer cette situation.

Selon certains auteurs (Coquery-Vidrovitch, Goerg, Topor, 1991), la première raison est

d'ordre démographique. Elle est due au retard de « l'explosion démographique » dans les pays africains. La deuxième raison est liée aux facteurs sociologiques des « conceptions africaines de l'âge, du savoir et du pouvoir[1] ».

L'analyse des différents écrits montre qu'il semble exister un certain consensus quant à la délimitation du concept de jeunesse. Celle-ci se diviserait en trois périodes : l'enfance proprement dite, l'adolescence et la jeunesse. Toutefois, les tranches d'âge associées à chaque période varient énormément. À cette fin, la construction de ces concepts constitue un travail scientifique difficile même si son utilisation semble évidente. L'analyse des études existantes sur la composition empirique de ces concepts montre une grande variation quant à son utilisation, ce qui soulève de multiples polémiques et controverses entre les intervenants et les différents spécialistes en sciences sociales.

Le concept d'adolescence (qui nous intéresse dans cette communication) est apparu récemment dans les recherches en sciences sociales (entre la fin du XIXe siècle et le début du XXe). Cependant, il a surtout été abordé sous l'angle des « déterminants du comportement sexuel précoce avant ou au sein des mariages, soit ceux de la nuptialité ou encore ceux des grossesses et maternités précoces » (Evina, 1998). Malgré certaines divergences, sa définition transitionnelle en tant que stade débutant à la fin de l'enfance et se terminant au moment de l'âge adulte marquée par la puberté semble faire l'unanimité.

En résumé, dans la littérature consultée, nous sommes confrontée à une grande diversité et à une grande élasticité des classes d'âge quand on parle de l'enfance (moins de 10 ans), de l'adolescence ou de jeunesse (10 -19 ans, 15-19 ans, 15-24 ans : Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1992 ; Delaunay, 1996). Dans la plupart des études concernant ces catégories, chacune utilise des classes d'âges différentes. Aussi, cette classification dépend toujours de critères statistiques très relatives et subjectives. Les transformations dans les sociétés africaines et leur rapprochement des sociétés occidentales industrielles en regard de certains paramètres nous autorisent à nous inspirer de certaines thèses concernant la jeunesse.

En effet, il est aujourd'hui largement admis que l'adolescence et la jeunesse sont des produits spécifiques de la modernité (Diop, 1995).[2] En effet, ces deux concepts sont apparus au début du siècle avec le développement du phénomène urbain, de la scolarisation et des nombreuses autres transformations qui ont eu lieu dans les sociétés modernes.

En nous inspirant de Galland, nous pouvons dire que l'adolescent à l'instar de la « jeunesse est le résultat d'une construction socio-historique constamment en redéfinition dans la société moderne, elle constitue la période de la vie qui s'allonge » (1993). Plus

1 *En Afrique, la société est fondée en grande partie sur la séniorité. La détermination de l'âge est ainsi liée à l'expérience et aux initiations qui peuvent surgir tôt ou tard dans la vie de l'individu.*

2 *Les études ethnologiques nous ont fait connaître de nombreuses sociétés traditionnelles où il n'y a pas d'adolescence. Dans ces sociétés, les garçons et les filles, passent directement de l'enfance à l'âge adulte avec tous les droits et les devoirs des adultes. Cette transition ne peut évidemment être appelée adolescence au sens où on entend maintenant ce mot c'est-à-dire comme une période caractérisée par un statut social différent à la fois de celui de l'enfant et de celui de l'adulte.*

encore « l'adolescence serait donc une époque où le jeune perd son statut d'enfant sans acquérir les privilèges liés au statut d'adulte » (Côté, 1991 : 147).

Dans cet article il s'agit d'adolescents généralement âgés de moins de 20 ans, confrontés très tôt au monde de la production de biens et services (économiques) qui a retenu notre attention. Dans son passage de l'enfance à l'âge adulte, l'adolescent vit certaines angoisses psychologiques que les spécialistes qualifient de crise d'adolescence. Cette crise se trouve aujourd'hui amplifiée par les dures conditions de vie, par un avenir incertain (abandon et ou échec scolaire), par le manque de moyens pour poursuivre des études ou faire une formation, par la pauvreté sous toutes ses dimensions. Cette crise d'adolescence est beaucoup plus manifeste dans les villes où d'autres réalités font leur apparition.

Le concept de travail des enfants comme stratégie de survie

Quand on développe la problématique « des enfants travailleurs » comme stratégies de survie, on perçoit très vite une sorte d'aporie dans la définition des concepts. En effet, les recherches sur le travail des enfants et des jeunes analysées comme une stratégie de survie en sont encore à leurs débuts. En conséquence, le sens donné par les chercheurs illustre plusieurs controverses. Elles sont liées à des problèmes d'ordre conceptuel et épistémologique.

Les notions « enfants travailleurs » sont vastes, complexes et sont sources de controverses surtout quand elles s'appliquent à des enfants et encore plus à des filles. Elles présentent des problèmes d'ordre conceptuel et empirique. Ce qui nous conduit à établir une distinction opératoire entre le travail des enfants dans « l'activité domestique » (*child work*) qui correspond aux tâches ménagères assumées par l'enfant fille ou garçon pour le fonctionnement de l'unité familiale dans son processus de socialisation (Erny, 1981 ; Mbodj, 1993) ou dans le cas d'un apprentissage professionnel (Enda Tiers-Monde, 1995) et le travail des enfants (*child labour*) orienté par la recherche d'un gain monétaire[3]. Cette forme de travail renvoie à une activité productive génératrice de revenus à plein temps. Elle implique une part plus ou moins grande d'abus et d'exploitation.

En partant de ces différents points de vue y compris celui des adolescentes et de nos observations, nous cherchons à déconstruire la notion d'« enfants travailleurs » afin de mettre en évidence les comportements quotidiens et certaines caractéristiques des activités (qui auront trait aux motivations que nous verrons plus loin) des enfants et surtout des adolescentes dans les marchés et parfois dans les rues. Nous considérons le travail des adolescentes comme une activité économique concourant à la production de biens et de services. Cette forme de travail relève de stratégies de survie les plus couramment adoptées par une population juvénile, pauvre et moyennement défavorisée

3 *L'apprentissage professionnel apparait comme un processus par lequel on acquiert un ensemble de connaissances pratiques, un savoir-faire, un savoir être et un savoir-vivre.*

en milieu urbain pour résister à la crise, à la pauvreté ou à l'exclusion. En dépit des nombreuses législations nationales, régionales et internationales, le travail constitue, aujourd'hui plus que jamais, le principal moyen de « survie » ou de « débrouillardise » de milliers d'adolescentes et d'adolescents défavorisés au Sénégal. Ces stratégies de survie constituent des pratiques visant à atteindre un but, une fin, elles se rattachent à un ensemble d'activités de production de biens et de services. Cette définition ou tentative de définition se veut pragmatique et opérationnelle.

II Les etaPes de la carrière des adolescentes

Dans cette section, nous reconstituons la carrière de petite-vendeuse en quatre phases : 1) l'entrée qui correspond à la motivation ; 2-3) deux phases du développement : la fragilisation et l'accommodation; 4) la sortie qui correspond aux projets et aux rêves que nous identifions comme étant l'avenir.

La motivation

Qu'est-ce qui peut bien motiver des adolescentes à travailler dans les marchés ? En tant qu'actrices, ces adolescentes fournissent des explications sur les relations qu'elles entretiennent avec leur activité.

Il faut dire qu'au-delà de la motivation originelle liée à la subsistance familiale, les adolescentes évoquent plusieurs motifs à la fois utilitaires, fonctionnels, identitaires, ludiques ou socialisants, etc. Ces composantes rejoignent les recherches effectuées sur les enfants de la rue ou sur les enfants travailleurs dans la rue en Amérique Latine[4]. Selon ces recherches, ces fonctions sont souvent interreliées et parfois difficiles à départager. Du point de vue des adolescentes, la composante utilitaire est la plus motivante et elle est de loin le motif fondamental. Elle s'explique par les gains obtenus et par leur utilisation. Cependant, nous remarquons que, pour certaines adolescentes, la lutte contre l'oisiveté constitue une motivation aussi importante que la dimension économique. Il ne faut pas oublier que la majorité des adolescentes ne vont plus à l'école et qu'elles sont sans travail formel.

Les modalités d'entrée sont liées à des situations globales de précarité causées par les conditions de vie difficiles. L'entrée des adolescentes est définie ici comme le processus selon lequel l'adolescente évolue dans un secteur d'activité représenté par le micro-commerce afin d'en apprendre les rudiments. Il est évident que la pauvreté, les crises socio-économiques liées aux conditions macro-économiques expliquent la venue des adolescentes dans les marchés. Cependant, de manière objective, la situation des adolescentes est dépendante des revenus de la famille. Or, nous l'avons vu, les revenus familiaux sont très précaires et irréguliers, sinon absents. Pour la majorité des

4 *Voir les travaux de Lucchini 1993, 1996 et Invernizzi, 2001.*

adolescentes, le père ou le frère ne travaille pas du fait de la retraite, d'un licenciement, de la fermeture de l'usine, du chômage des jeunes. Ces différentes situations entraînent des pertes ou des absences importantes de revenus. L'absence de ressources financières et de ressources familiales devient, pour toutes les filles, la raison première de leur mise au travail et de leur arrivée dans le petit-commerce, sur recommandation des parents. Les expressions : « nous n'avons pas les moyens »; « nous n'avons pas d'argent »; « nous n'avons pas de ressources »; « personne ne nous vient en aide »; « mon père ne travaille pas »; « mon père ne travaille plus »; « ma mère n'a personne sur qui compter »; « mon père est mort et ma mère est seule » etc., illustrent la situation de plusieurs adolescentes qui n'ont aucune prise sur leur condition de vie. Les raisons sont simples et elles se résument à l'assistance à la mère dans le commerce et à une aide pécuniaire à la famille. Car, comme le témoigne le discours récurrent des adolescentes « sans argent on n'est rien, on ne fait pas partie des gens valorisés de ce monde d'aujourd'hui ».

Donc, la première raison d'entrée dans la carrière est déterminée par un souci de résoudre le problème urgent de subsistance. Le travail des adolescentes, dans ses conditions, s'explique à partir du lien avec la famille ; elles associent le travail à un devoir, à un contrat moral, à une « dette sociale » envers la famille. Ces expressions illustrent cette condition morale : « il est de mon devoir d'assister ma mère et de connaître les ficelles du métier et, pourquoi pas plus tard, prendre la relève car, tôt ou tard, elle sera obligée de quitter le marché à cause de son âge » ; « je dois soutenir ma mère pour les nombreuses dépenses de la maison ».

Un autre aspect lié au travail des adolescentes est la valeur de la participation de tous les membres de la famille permettant une amélioration des conditions socio-économiques et non pas seulement pour la subsistance. Beaucoup d'adolescentes contribuent ainsi à financer la scolarité de leurs frères ou de leurs sœurs plus jeunes, certaines règlent les factures d'électricité, d'eau ou contribuent au paiement du loyer.

L'autre fonction utilitaire du travail est qu'il représente une source de satisfaction des besoins que les parents ne peuvent pas assumer (habillement, produits de beauté, chaussures ou argent pour les cérémonies...). La satisfaction des besoins matériels personnels constitue de nouvelles donnes pour les adolescentes en situation de pauvreté qui doivent se prendre en charge. Cette dimension est apparue dans tous les récits des adolescentes « je dois régler mes problèmes » ou « je dois subvenir à mes besoins ».

Les adolescentes travailleuses sont des actrices de leur propre survie et de la vie de leur famille. Cet aspect du travail n'est pas analysé. La plupart des analyses sur le travail des adolescentes le réduit à sa dimension économique à un *homo oeconomicus*. Par ailleurs, les rationalités autres que productives sont minimisées. Or, les motifs ne reposent pas uniquement sur la rationalisation économique ou instrumentale. D'autres rationalités (relationnelle, symbolique, socialisante) sont mises en évidence par les adolescentes interrogées. Ces rationalités informent sur l'identité, sur la personnalité et sur l'environnement social des adolescentes.

La fragilisation

La fragilisation apparaît au début de l'entrée des adolescentes dans les activités au marché. Tout au long de la communication nous avons raisonné en termes de processus pour apprécier les situations de fragilisation des adolescentes. Nous n'allons pas y revenir, relevons simplement que notre construction sur les activités de survie s'appuie sur des logiques instrumentales concrètes. Les adolescentes sont arrivées au marché par obligation ou contrainte économique, contrainte de la survie familiale ou de la survie individuelle. Les conditions de l'entrée précoce des adolescentes en activité dans le petit-commerce au marché sont différentes d'une adolescente à une autre. Malgré cela, elles présentent plusieurs similitudes. La fragilisation peut être liée à un début de socialisation par l'activité, l'intégration et l'adaptation. Elle peut être différente d'une adolescente à une autre compte tenu des raisons d'entrée dans le commerce et dans le marché. Pour certaines adolescentes dont l'entrée n'est pas guidée, l'insertion dans l'espace-marché et dans les activités est parfois difficile.

L'accommodation

L'accommodation correspond à la période d'engagement et d'adaptation de l'adolescente dans son milieu et dans ses activités. Avec la durée, l'expérience acquise, les modalités de la vie quotidienne au marché, la *routine* s'installe progressivement. Le travail au marché devient un *habitus pour* reprendre *Boudieu.* Les adolescentes ont pu se familiariser, s'habituer et s'adapter à l'espace marché qu'elles s'approprient. Aussi, elles déploient des habilités, des savoir-faire et des pratiques concrètes qui leur permettent de s'engager et de développer des interactions avec les différents acteurs du marché. À travers le temps, elles développent des stratégies, des tactiques, des rituels qui sont à la fois matériels, individuels et symboliques. Au fur et à mesure qu'elles vieillissent, elles acquièrent de l'expérience, voire de l'assurance. Elles y prennent goût et décident, à un moment donné, de se mettre à leur propre compte. La longue fréquentation du marché, l'insertion dans les réseaux de sociabilité, la connaissance des ressources disponibles permettent aux adolescentes de maîtriser leur existence quotidienne. En surmontant et en acceptant leur condition et leur destin, les adolescentes parviennent à s'approprier le milieu et à prendre contact avec les pairs et les autres acteurs avec qui il sera possible d'échanger des ressources (affectives, matérielles), des fournisseurs et des clients.

La période d'accommodation passée, les adolescentes commencent à nourrir des projets et à saisir les différentes opportunités présentes au marché. Cette accommodation et ces stratégies seront construites différemment. Les problèmes rencontrés, les souffrances, la fatigue, le désespoir se font sentir car certaines filles font l'objet de harcèlement sexuel, d'exploitation, d'abus de toutes sortes en plus les revenus sont très précaires. Le contact

avec l'argent augmente pour certaines les besoins et la dépendance, qui parfois les orientent dans des pratiques déviantes : le cas de Rose est éclairant. Nous le rappelons, elle affirme avoir plusieurs *fars* (petits amis) à qui elle demande de l'argent pour régler des besoins ponctuels. Des pratiques parfois orientent parfois les filles vers la prostitution formelle.

Les perspectives d'avenir

Les sorties ou les perspectives prennent des formes différentes selon le genre, l'âge, l'activité et la représentation que l'adolescente se fait de son travail et du milieu. Contrairement à la carrière des enfants et des jeunes en rupture qui ne dure pas longtemps, la carrière liée aux activités de petit-commerce dans les rues et surtout dans les marchés peut durer longtemps et souvent très longtemps. Aussi, nous parlerons plutôt de perspectives pour les adolescentes travailleuses. Plusieurs possibilités peuvent être envisagées quant à l'avenir. Il peut dépendre de l'organisation familiale : amélioration des conditions de vie ou du revenu familial. Dans ce cas, les parents ou l'adolescente peuvent envisager le retour aux études de l'adolescente aux études notamment à une formation si elle est déjà scolarisée. Ces cas sont assez rares. Certains parents, même s'ils manifestent le souhait de voir leurs enfants retourner à l'école, ne parviennent pas à trouver les ressources nécessaires pour la survie concrète (manger, se loger). À ce propos, nous remarquons que le discours des ONG et des institutions met l'accent sur les liens entre la scolarité, le travail des enfants et leur avenir. On oublie que dans un contexte de précarisation et dans un processus d'exclusion, l'espoir d'une profession ou d'un avenir par une progression socio-économique ou par la scolarisation prolongée peut constituer une utopie, quelque chose de très éloigné de la réalité quotidienne. La scolarisation ne constitue pas une référence positive pour des individus qui luttent pour leur survie et encore moins pour des adolescentes qui sont exclues des circuits formels d'éducation. Nous estimons que la scolarisation des filles, et des filles pauvres en particulier, ne se fera pas si des modifications ne sont pas apportées pour améliorer les revenus des parents et de la mère, notamment.

L'analyse des possibilités de changement de carrière dépend aussi des rapports de genre. Pour les filles rencontrées, le besoin d'améliorer ou de changer leur condition de vie par le statut et par l'identité dépend de leur insertion sociale. Ces possibilités sont individuelles et dépendent directement de l'adolescente. Des expressions locales dénotent de leur volonté d'améliorer ou de changer leur condition de vie et même celle de leur famille : *am diekeur bou bakh* (avoir un bon mari) ou *tuukki* (voyager), faire une formation ou faire de l'import-export. Les adolescentes sont conscientes que la scolarisation ou la formation professionnelle ne garantit pas l'obtention d'un emploi formel ni de revenus importants. Aussi, leurs propos sur la formation cadrent avec leurs besoins de carrières de vendeuses : formation en informatique, en comptabilité, en gestion pour mieux tenir

leur commerce. En somme, elles désirent améliorer leurs conditions de travail. Dans le cadre de la lutte contre la pauvreté, notamment dans les programmes d'amélioration des conditions de vie et de protection des enfants et adolescentes, cette dimension doit être prise en compte pour la réalisation de leur projet.

Pour presque toutes les adolescentes, la sortie du marché ou l'accession à un autre travail et la reconnaissance sociale adviennent par le mariage. Dans ce cadre, elles sont prises en charge, ce qui leur permet de réaliser certains de leurs projets dont le fait d'avoir une maison et/ou paradoxalement, continuer leur commerce mais à une échelle beaucoup plus grande.

Un fait nouvellement engendré par la crise et la pauvreté est que les femmes et les filles ne semblent plus vouloir rester dans les maisons, ce qui contraste avec les femmes plus âgées et la vision stéréotypée que l'on se fait du statut et de la place de la femme car, traditionnellement, la femme sénégalaise était censée rester dans la sphère privée. De plus en plus de femmes et d'adolescentes préfèrent le contact direct avec le monde extérieur et être informées de ce qui s'y passe. Il se dégage du discours des adolescentes, de manière récurrente, les expressions locales *Dem thi kaw*, *fi yorou ka*, *dem été dji* qui signifient « aller à l'étranger », « il n'y a rien dans ce pays », « encore profiter de l'été ». Voyager ou partir fait partie des nombreuses stratégies de survie adoptées par les jeunes et, aujourd'hui, par les femmes. C'est un rêve, voire une obsession pour presque tous les jeunes des différentes couches sociales au Sénégal. Par malheur, certaines sont prêtes à n'importe quoi pour quitter le pays en passant par des mariages d'intérêt avec des étrangers, par exemple[5]. Elles partent pour des périodes déterminées, généralement l'été, pour une durée de quatre à six mois. Il va sans dire que cette nouvelle forme de migration des jeunes filles et des adolescentes comporte beaucoup de risques du fait de leur jeunesse et de leur inexpérience.

III La carrière de petite vendeuse : genre et représentations

Les rapports entre le genre et la trajectoire des mères influent largement la carrière des enfants travailleurs et notamment celle des petites-vendeuses. La représentation que les adolescentes ont de leurs activités résulte d'éléments subjectifs qui leur sont extérieurs et qui ont un caractère plus ou moins contraignant.

Pour comprendre la carrière de petite-vendeuse, il est indispensable de considérer les normes de socialisation selon le genre. Nous avons vu, à travers nos recherches, que le statut et les rôles sont déterminés par une approche déterministe de la socialisation différentielle qui met l'accent sur les stéréotypes, les interdits et les stigmates. En ce

5 *La société tolère le mariage avec les étrangers quoique certaines formes du mariage soient en contradiction avec les valeurs sociétales et religieuses. Certains parents, à cause des contraintes et des pressions économiques, acceptent ces mariages qu'ils essayent de justifier et de légitimer au sein de la société.*

sens, la socialisation a contribué de manière importante à la construction des identités masculines et féminines et à leurs représentations. Nous comprenons pourquoi, aujourd'hui, malgré l'évolution et les changements sociaux, la perception que les individus ont à l'égard du travail des adolescentes n'a pas beaucoup évoluée. Dans cette perspective, nous estimons qu'une approche interactionniste et inter-culturelle qui prendrait en considération les schèmes socioculturels et subjectifs permettrait de mieux éclairer le choix des activités des adolescentes dans les marchés. Cependant, comme le mentionne Invernizzi (2001), la socialisation de genre n'est pas univoque. En effet, elle se construit parfois sur des attentes contradictoires et entraîne des changements qui vont à l'encontre des rôles de genre prescrits. Dans ce cas, ces contradictions peuvent être source de souffrances, d'inégalités car ne correspondant pas aux stéréotypes et représentations féminines et masculines ; d'où le caractère paradoxal du travail des adolescentes dans les marchés et même dans les rues hors du cadre normatif de la sphère privée. Il s'agit de contradictions existantes entre des logiques subjectives de socialisation et les logiques de survie dans un contexte de pauvreté.

La représentation de l'environnement de travail : l'espace-marché

Les liens que les adolescentes entretiennent avec le travail, le marché ou leur environnement dépendent d'un ensemble d'éléments différents. **La conception du lieu de travail est différente selon les types d'activité et aussi selon le genre.**

Nous avons posé comme hypothèse que les marchés urbains et les marchés de rue constituent de nouveaux espaces investis par des populations défavorisées dont les adolescentes en quête de survie et d'identité. Nous avons particularisé l'espace-marché car, jusqu'à présent, la plupart des études sur le travail des enfants et des adolescents se sont limitées ou concentrées sur la rue. Or, le marché constitue un cadre spécifique fermé et totalement différent de la rue. Dans cette perspective, le marché offre plus de protection. Dans le monde urbain sénégalais, la rue est perçue comme un espace arbitraire, essentiellement masculin et donc, à travers les modèles traditionnels, excluant une occupation de la rue par des filles. Pour ces adolescentes, l'espace-marché est connu et le plus souvent maîtrisé, contrairement à l'espace-rue. Cependant, les marchés sont aussi différents que les activités qui s'y pratiquent. La question est de savoir si l'insertion des adolescentes dans les marchés constitue de nouvelles formes de sociabilité ou, au contraire, si elles apparaissent comme des conditions de rupture ?

L'insertion des adolescentes dans les marchés urbains peut apparaître comme une rupture volontaire ou involontaire des espaces de socialisation traditionnels. Cependant, nous pensons que ce passage dans le marché, loin d'être une rupture, constitue une évolution ou un glissement de la socialisation hors des normes conventionnelles. Cette entrée dans le marché représente pour certaines adolescentes une distanciation progressive, un éloignement du milieu familial. Dans ce contexte, les filles ont tendance

à adopter des valeurs différentes.

Il existe effectivement une différence fondamentale entre les jeunes filles qui exercent des activités de survie dans les marchés (comme nous venons de le voir) et les adolescentes en rupture partielle ou totale avec la cellule familiale qui, en raison de conditions de vie difficiles, de pauvreté, de victimisation physique, d'abus sexuel, de violence familiale, etc., se sont écartées des voies traditionnelles de la socialisation et ont adopté la rue comme nouvel espace de résidence ou de vie. Pour ces dernières, la rue constitue « l'ultime espace » auquel elles ont recours pour vivre de manière temporaire ou permanente et souvent pour réussir une quête d'autonomie qu'elles n'ont pu réaliser ailleurs (Bellot, 2001). Ce que Lucchini (1996) appelle la dialectique entre la socialisation familiale et la socialisation de la rue, théorie ancienne de la sociologie classique sur la délinquance juvénile américaine. En conséquence, certaines activités qu'elles exercent dans la rue (prostitution la plupart du temps, vol à la tablette, recel de drogues ou autres) leur permettent tout bonnement de vivre dans la rue et de mieux s'adapter à la culture de la rue qui appelle à d'autres formes de socialisation et de sociabilité telles l'appartenance à des groupes ou sous-groupes, à des bandes, à des réseaux ou à des dyades.

Les adolescentes que nous avons rencontrées ne sont pas en rupture avec le milieu familial. Au contraire, pour beaucoup d'entre elles, la cellule familiale joue un rôle déterminant dans leur quête de survie et d'autonomie identitaire. Les marchés urbains représentent des espaces alternatifs permettant de réaliser des activités de production de façon temporaire ou permanente et souvent pour réussir une quête « d'autonomie, de liberté et de dignité » qu'elles ne peuvent faire autrement. Ce choix est exprimé de manière récurrente par la plupart des adolescentes qui, durant leur trajectoire professionnelle, ont travaillé comme domestiques de maison. Le marché, dans ce cadre, signifie liberté, nouvelle autonomie et espace de réalisation des besoins. Cependant, la réalisation de ces besoins, ne se fait que dans le cadre d'un système de réseautage familial ou relationnel à travers des associations. Les adolescentes sont en quête, dans leurs interactions, d'une reconnaissance personnelle positive et d'une valorisation de soi. Partant de ce point de vue, nous pouvons affirmer que le marché participe à la construction des adolescentes qui, grâce au contact avec d'autres personnes et en particulier avec le monde des adultes, se structurent. Cette construction de soi passe à travers la quête d'une autonomie économique et le développement des stratégies pour la survie. La connaissance du milieu et la présence des parents minimisent les risques d'agression et de victimisation qui sont présents dans les marchés. Comme Young (2003)[6] l'a fait pour les enfants de la rue, nous avons mis l'accent sur l'ingéniosité et les

6 *« This paper examines the 'place' of street children in Kampala, Uganda highlighting their ingenious and resourceful use of the urban environment. Considered 'out of place' in urban public space, street children create their own niches in the marginal spaces of the city. By looking at untouchable spaces, underground spaces and rooftop spaces this paper shows how they develop their own place identities. For survival, street children react to their exclusion by resisting this out of place image and encroaching into crowded spaces or by dominating the street under the cover of darkness. However, in certain city spaces, street children are also legitimised and*

ressources des adolescentes dans un environnement urbain. Nous avons aussi, comme cette auteure, observé que les adolescentes créent leurs propres « niches » ou leurs propres espaces. Ces espaces marginaux sont investis par les adolescentes et leur permettent d'y développer leur propre espace identitaire. Pour survivre et réagir à leur propre exclusion, des adolescentes ont résisté à cette mise à la marge en s'appropriant, de l'intérieur, des espaces publics dont l'espace-marché.

En conclusion, nous pouvons dire que cette manière originale permet de légitimer leur présence dans cette sphère d'activités ; cela transforme progressivement ces activités marginales, en activités acceptables, acceptées, voire normalisées. Cependant, si le marché comme espace apporte des réponses positives aux vécus quotidiens des adolescentes, il constitue encore, selon celles-ci, un lieu de désocialisation et de resocialisation qui est en contradiction avec les valeurs traditionnelles. D'ailleurs, lorsqu'au Sénégal, on entend dire « *Kii khale marsé* » (c'est « un enfant de marché »), cela veut dire beaucoup de choses et, entre autres, « c'est un enfant dévergondé, qui n'a pas froid aux yeux ou qui n'a pas d'éducation ». Ce stéréotype est renforcé par la conception sénégalaise de la place et du statut de la femme. Dans l'imaginaire collectif et dans l'imaginaire des hommes notamment, les filles doivent rester à l'intérieur du foyer. Par conséquent, les filles qui ne correspondent pas à cette image sont stigmatisées comme de mauvaises filles, des dévergondées ou des assimilées. Aussi, pour certaines filles ambulantes qui n'ont pas de place fixe de vente, le marché peut être une source de dévalorisation à cause d'une non-reconnaissance statutaire.

Conclusion

L'analyse des motifs de l'entrée des adolescentes dans des activités de production met en évidence la dimension multi-fonctionnelle du travail des adolescentes et la place primordiale accordée à la survie familiale. Le discours des adolescentes démontre que leurs activités considérées comme des stratégies de survie vont au-delà des critères objectifs, statistiques et économiques universellement reconnus. Elles englobent d'autres dimensions subjectives, culturelles, sociales, contextuelles et conjoncturelles. Cependant, la survie constitue l'enjeu fondamental et revêt toutes les caractéristiques de la rationalité du modèle économique de type instrumental. Devant les difficultés économiques, les efforts de toute la famille pour participer à la survie familiale sont obligatoires et appréciables. Tous les membres de la famille s'adonnent à des tâches productives, différenciées suivant l'âge et le sexe. Les changements dans le mode de production ne

accepted by the social street if they conform to the desired behaviours of that space. The place of street children in Kampala is one which is contested, resulting in a multiplicity of street children's niches being created which vary both spatially and temporally.» Lorraine Young, 2003. « The 'place' of street children in Kampala, Uganda: marginalisation, resistance and acceptance in the urban environment». Environment and Planning D : Society and Space, p. 2.

transforment pas immédiatement, ni automatiquement le travail des adolescentes. Ils ne modifient pas directement les stratégies de reproduction et l'organisation de la famille qui, elle, exerce une influence sur les activités productives des adolescentes. L'histoire du travail des adolescentes doit être saisie à la lumière des changements économiques, démographiques mais aussi culturels.

Amplement déterminée par le parcours social et scolaire antérieur, la mise au travail des adolescentes dans les marchés urbains n'est cependant pas vécue seulement sous un mode négatif. Pour ces adolescentes, il apparaît comme un choix raisonné et rationnel, comme le meilleur choix. Tout en leur permettant de demeurer dans leur milieu social et leur groupe d'amis, ce choix leur permettra d'acquérir rapidement une indépendance financière, une autonomie identitaire à l'égard de leurs parents et d'accéder au statut d'adulte sans être happées par des problématiques de prostitution, de drogues ou autres. Le fait que les adolescentes aient appris à travailler, à gagner de l'argent et à participer à la gestion familiale les valorise et elles se sentent respectées au sein de la famille et du quartier. Certaines se sentent plus libres et plus indépendantes et les stratégies de survie les survalorisent. Pour d'autres, ces stratégies de survie participent à leur formation et à leur apprentissage social. Cependant, il ne faut pas faire l'impasse non plus sur le fait que certaines stratégies de survie augmentent les problèmes de certaines adolescentes déjà fragilisées par la crise d'adolescence et leurs conditions de vie difficiles.

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Understanding Gender-based Violence: Evidence from Kilimanjaro Assessment of Rombo and Moshi Rural

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Abstract
This paper presents findings from an empirical study on the prevalence and beliefs surrounding gender-based violence (GBV) in the Kilimanjaro region. The analysis and ensuing discussion is the result of a representative sample of adults (n=384) surveyed in two districts, Rombo and Moshi Rural, in Kilimanjaro, Tanzania. In contrast to previous research of a similar nature, which has focused primarily on the frequency of violence, this study devotes significant attention discerning the level of social acceptability among its victims and perpetrators situated in a legal and cultural framework. I find that alcohol consumption and the number of deceased children within a household have a direct correlation to incidences of GBV while an individual's level of education and degree of financial independence are inversely related to rates of violence. The influence of bride price and polygamy is inconclusive. Finally, I find that although a portion of the population believes women should have decision-making capabilities, patriarchal institutions and a culture that relegates women as inferior have a significant impact on individual attitudes among men and women to preserve the status quo. These results suggest a greater need to promote a culture of egalitarianism in a sensitive and relevant manner.

Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) is culturally patterned. Previous research shows that GBV is most prevalent in societies with rigid gender roles or in patriarchal communities in which male dominance is engrained in a masculine identity (Heise 1998). This paper reports results from a study conducted in the Kilimanjaro region of northern Tanzania. Its purpose is two-fold as the author seeks to identify the factors associated with high incidences of GBV and to understanding prevailing attitudes among adults. This report focuses primarily on violence against women by intimate male partners, as results overwhelmingly show this to be the most prevalent (though not the only) form of GBV.

Like much of sub-Saharan Africa, the Kilimanjaro region is host to a patrilineal society in which inheritance is traced through fathers. Men benefit from the preservation of the status quo and typically hold more decision-making capabilities than their female counterparts. Evidence of strong patriarchal institutions can be found in the use of a bride price, the practice of polygamous marriages, emphasis on fertility, significant expectations to marry, and paternal control in choosing suitable partners for marriage (McCloskey, Williams, and Larson N.d.). Additionally, a highly stratified sexual division of labor and an inherently unequal distribution of resources contribute to a society in which women are disadvantaged. Because women are reared to work inside the home and are seen as economically less valuable than men, they often have less access to education which perpetuates their seemingly inferior status. Their plight is further compromised by the frequent denial of property ownership, which, in conjunction with a lack of education, makes acquiring assets and increasing human capital exceedingly difficult.

Ecological Framework and Social Learning Theory

An 'ecological framework' is helpful in understanding the complex interactions of gender and power. This model emphasizes certain variables within an individual's social environment and seeks to understand GBV through the interplay of these variables. Heise (1998) best explains this framework as four concentric circles, the first of which corresponds to an individual's personal and biological history. The second circle represents one's immediate context, which most frequently is the family. The third circle accounts for institutions and social structures that affect the individual. Lastly, the fourth circle is representative of one's economic and cultural environment.

This model provides insight into the factors at play in the Kilimanjaro region. On the more micro level are factors such as alcohol consumption and marital conflict, both of which are usually correlated with GBV. In the outermost circles are factors such as the degree to which a woman is considered property and the acceptance of violence as an appropriate expression of disapproval. This study seeks to account for the variables

at play in all levels of one's social environment by discerning which factors put women most at risk and by assessing the degree to which GBV is socially acceptable.

Also useful in understanding high frequencies of GBV is the social learning theory, which posits that behavior is learned by observing and re-enacting the behavior of others, especially role models. Just as gender roles and social norms are learned within a larger cultural context and passed from one generation to the next, so too is behavior (Uthman, Lawoko, and Moradi 2009). Young boys are socialized according to established norms and are expected to adopt and operate within these beliefs. This pressure, while subtle, infiltrates every aspect of the social environment as boys are taught at home, in school, and in the community that their primary responsibility will be to marry and support a family. An inability to provide financially likely causes feelings of inferiority and consequently threatens one's masculine identity. One compensatory response is to assert power in other ways, often through physical and sexual aggression (Mzinga 2002).

Statutory, Customary, and Religious Law

Tanzanian laws regarding GBV are quite progressive compared to other sub-Saharan nations. However, there is a wide discrepancy between legislation and existing behavior in local communities, as law enforcement and a woman's tendency to remain silent have hindered national efforts to reduce GBV. The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania specifically prohibits discrimination and references gender as an unlawful basis for discriminatory acts (Article 13[5]). The Law of Marriage Act of 1978 states that the government of Tanzania recognizes monogamous and polygamous marriages and grants each party the right to property. The government also banned corporal punishment and cited brutality as an acceptable reason for divorce. The Sexual Offences Special Provisions Act of 1998 sought to safeguard a woman and children by expanding the capacity for punishment. SOSPA additionally criminalizes female genital cutting for individuals under eighteen and specifies a woman's right to compensation by the perpetrator if any aforementioned stipulation is violated (Kijo-Bisimba N.d.).

Despite ratification of the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), both international and statutory laws have been insufficient in protecting vulnerable women against the still powerful religious and customary laws that dictate the course of action in many villages throughout the region. Specifically, Chagga law states that female children are prohibited from inheriting property from a land-owning father if he has a son. Like the Chagga, Pare traditions surrounding marriage often include a bride price, which perhaps reflects the belief that a bride is a transferable commodity from her father to her husband (Rutazaa 2005). Women are frequently disadvantaged by religious law as well because both Islam and Christianity – each roughly 40 percent of the population – find divorce morally questionable (Bastien 2005). As a result, women face pressure from religious leaders and

respected community members to remain in marriages that may be detrimental. Thus, the legislation passed at the federal level does not necessarily reflect the beliefs of those who feel more allegiance towards either religious or customary law.

While acts such as Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete's UN-sponsored 'Say No to Violence against Women' suggest movement toward a more egalitarian society (Citizen 2008), they are discordant with the patriarchal nature of customary and religious practices that promote female submission (Rutazaa 2005). This discrepancy is supported by data from the 2004 Tanzania Demographic Health Survey (TDHS) in which 42 percent of men and 60 percent of women validated wife beating as an appropriate and typical aspect of society. In a 2005 study by the World Health Organization in Dar es Salaam and Mbeya, 41 percent of 'ever-partnered' women reported experiencing physical or sexual abuse by a partner at some point in their lifetime (Ministry of Planning, Economy, and Empowerment 2006). These alarmingly high numbers necessitate further investigation into the precise nature of GBV so that government leaders and members of the NGO community can more effectively promote the espousal of egalitarian beliefs among women and men and children.

Empirical Context

The Kilimanjaro Region is located in northeastern Tanzania and borders Kenya to the north, Tanga region to the southeast and Arusha region to the southwest. Kilimanjaro is comprised of six administrative districts (see Figure 1), five of which are rural (Moshi Urban being the exception). Within the six districts there are 121 wards and 449 villages (National Bureau of Statistics & Kilimanjaro Regional Commissioner's Office [KSEP], 2002). This study contains data from Rombo and Moshi Rural and analyzes the experiences and beliefs of individuals residing in fourteen villages in five wards.

Figure 1. District Map of the Kilimanjaro region

Rombo has a population of 245,716 individuals. The three wards represented are Tarakea Motamburu, Mamsera, and Mrao Keryo. Mamsera and Mrao Keryo are categorized as rural wards while Tarakea Motamburu is classified as a mix of both rural and urban areas. Tarakea Motamburu has a population of 17,573 individuals in two villages, Kikelewa and Mbomai. Mamsera has a population of 9,620 and is comprised of three villages, Mamsera Kati, Mamsera Juu, and Mamsera Chini. Mrao Keryo has a population of 8,107 and also contains three villages, Mrao, Keryo, and Mmomwe (Population and Housing Census 2002).

Moshi Rural is more densely populated with 401,369 individuals. The two wards surveyed are Uru Shimbwe and Mabogini, both of which are rural. Uru Shimbwe has a population of 5,574 and has two villages, Shimbwe Chini and Shimbwe Juu. Mabogini has a population of 20,544 in four villages, the largest of which is Mabogini. The others include Chekerini, Mtakuja, and Mvuleni (Population and Housing Census 2002). All villages were surveyed although the majority of respondents were from Mvuleni.

According to KSEP (2002), approximately 75 percent of the population in Kilimanjaro live in rural areas where agriculture is the dominant line of work, accounting for 69 percent of gross domestic product earnings. Because the vast majority work as farmers, accessing and owning land is crucial. Often women are expected to cultivate their husband's land, which does not necessarily result in reaping any output (Gonzalez-Brenes 2004). KSEP estimates that women, who account for 51.7 percent of the population, work an average of 16 hours a day and are the foremost contributors to production.

Characteristics of Gender-Based Violence

Previous research suggests that household violence is more likely when men have multiple sexual partners, consume alcohol in excess, or do not contribute financially to the wellbeing of their children. (Heise 2002, Hinden 2003) GBV is also more likely to be present in households in which women have low levels of education, have trouble conceiving, or do not contribute to household income (Gonzalez-Brenes 2004). Scholars have also identified a link between GBV and HIV/AIDS, which could be attributed to violence as the result of disclosing a positive HIV status or to a woman's inability to negotiate safe sex with her partner (Kimuna and Djamba 2008). The use of a bride price is also considered to increase a woman's chance of experiencing GBV as the practice may be interpreted by a man to imply unrestricted sexual access to his wife (Uthman, Olalekan, Lawoko, and Moradi 2009).

In assessing the effects of household composition on GBV, scholars have found a negative correlation between the number of male children and the prevalence of violence and a positive correlation between the death of a male child and the likelihood of violence (Heise 2002, Hinden 2003). This is perhaps due to a man's increased satisfaction

with his wife for bearing male children, to male children having more opportunities to contribute to the family income, or to a male child's ability to protect his mother. GBV is positively correlated with the number of children in a family, although, interestingly, there is no relationship between the presence female children and incidences of GBV (Gonzalez-Brenes 2004).

While there is a growing body of research investigating gender-based violence in the developing world, the majority of studies have focused on prevalence and its determinants without adequate attention to the underlying beliefs that propagate violence (Hinden 2003). Nonetheless, a general trend in data suggests that both women and men agree that violence is acceptable under certain circumstances. Data on intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe suggests that refusing sex, neglecting children, and arguing are commonly thought of as inexcusable offenses that justify violence (Hinden 2003). Additionally, Hinden found that partners who share decision-making are less likely to resort to violence. The present study aims to gain further clarity regarding both female and male attitudes towards GBV in addition to testing the relationship between attitudes and frequency. Socio-demographic variables, in conjunction with data regarding household composition and support from peers, add further depth to the study by situating beliefs in a larger context of relevant variables.

Conceptual Model and Hypotheses

The questions in this study are based on factors that have commonly been associated with GBV. These factors can be divided into the following categories: household shared-experience characteristics, including socioeconomic status, type of union (monogamous or polygamous), religious affiliation, alcohol consumption, number of children alive and number of children deceased (Kimuna and Djamba 2008). The second and third categories include data regarding the respondent's socio-demographic characteristics and the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondent's partner. The fourth category considers the relative importance of decision-making authority and the degree to which a union is egalitarian. The fifth category explores circumstances in which violence is acceptable, and the sixth category is comprised of a list of statements designed to test prevailing attitudes to which the respondent must agree or disagree.

Based on the aforementioned literature review, it is hypothesized that a high percentage of women will find gender-based violence socially and morally acceptable. The author anticipates that both a woman's degree of economic independence and her level of education will be key factors in decreasing the likelihood of abuse as both lead to female empowerment. It is also probable that polygamous couples will have higher incidences of GBV, but do not necessarily find it more socially acceptable than those in monogamous relationships. This is based on the assumption that there is more likely to be a power differential among polygamous couples. Accordingly, violence is predicted

to be more common among non-egalitarian couples where decision-making is not a joint process (Bastien 2005, McCloskley, Williams & Larsen, N.d.). In terms of positive correlates of GBV, the author hypothesizes that men's alcohol consumption and the presence of a bride-price will increase rates of violence against women.

Methodology

For the purposes of this study, gender-based violence was defined by physical and sexual violence, and thus did not inquire into the nature of emotional or psychological abuse. The dominant beliefs among the populations surveyed are based on patrilineal foundations, which elevate men to a superior status compared to females and bestow greater decision-making capabilities. While this does not imply that gender-based violence is comprised solely of male perpetrators and female victims, it is evident from the data that men experience significantly less violence than women in Kilimanjaro.

Data collection occurred in the form of a survey which included socio-demographic variables, measures of household decision-making, circumstances that warrant violence, and attitudes regarding GBV. Surveys were conducted in either English or Kiswahili. Surveys were thought to be a more effective way of measuring the relationship between socio-demographic variables and rates of GBV than focus groups or interviews. Key variables included one's number of sexual partners and one's HIV status – both of which individuals were more likely to report on paper. It is generally known that women in Kilimanjaro do not often admit to violence committed against them and so it was assumed that focus groups or interviews would not be as conducive to speaking openly about GBV. Furthermore, a survey would be better able to detect under-reporting (providing overtly false or less than entirely truthful responses), which was identified early as a potential concern.

Sampling

Date collection spanned from the 15 June to 20 July 2010. The three-part survey was first tested on a representative sample (n=48) of adults 15 years and older in three villages in Tarakea Motamburu. Afterward, it was decided that training and compensating a trusted local government authority to administer the surveys would reduce error, as individuals had difficulty understanding, seeing, and reading the questions. Participants were selected at random from a list of individuals who expressed interest in a two day seminar about human rights. They were compensated for transport and provided with an afternoon meal. In all wards in Rombo, surveys were administered by the Ward Executive Officer who was compensated 500 Tanzanian Shillings (Tshs) for each survey administered (roughly 0.35 USD). In each instance, this individual was trained to explain

anonymity and confidentiality to each participant, to administer the survey in a private setting, and to administer the survey at random to all adults above the age of 14. The author was present for all meetings with Ward Executive Officers and arranged to collect the surveys the following week. In Mabogini, however, the Ward Executive Officer was unable to administer surveys. In her absence, it was decided that the surveys would be administered during a weekly gathering of village women by their group facilitator, a revered woman who also worked as a translator. Consent was gained a week prior to data collection and confidentiality was already engrained in the collective conscience of the group as women were fined for discussing the details of their meetings with any outsider. In total, the data in this study (n=384) represents a random sample of adults from seventy-one sub-villages, fourteen villages, five wards, and two districts in the Kilimanjaro region.

Socio-demographic Variables

Socio-economic status was tested in two questions, the first of which asked about monthly income. To avoid a large proportion of non-responders and to gauge socio-economic status accurately, there was a follow up question asking individuals to select from a list of possessions present in their household. Possessions included land, bicycle, television, refrigerator, stove or heating device, radio, cattle, and bedding. Respondents were then categorized as having a low socio-economic status (three or fewer assets circled), a moderate socio-economic status (four to six assets circled) or a high socio-economic status (seven to nine assets circled).

Prevalence of GBV was tested in three questions, the first of which asked participants to identify the acts that had been committed against them by their partner at some point in their lives. The second question listed the same variables but limited the time frame to the past twelve months. Acts of violence included being slapped, kicked or dragged, pushed or shaken, punched, having one's arm twisted, having an object thrown at the participant, being forced to have sex, and being forced to engage in a sexual act. A third question asked participants whether their partner had ever caused them to fear for their lives. Violence was measured as non-existent, prevalent but not severe, or severe. Participants were classified as experiencing severe violence if they checked three or more variables and confirmed that they had feared for their lives. It was not necessary for violence to have occurred in the past twelve months for an individual to have experienced severe violence, as those who were widowed, divorced, or separated may have recently experienced a safer living environment.

Measures of Decision Making and Circumstances that Warrant Violence

One set of questions asked participants to identify which household member had the decision-making power in different circumstances. Four questions asked respondents to identify the degree to which they agreed with statements beginning, "It is acceptable for a person to beat his or her partner if…" Each circumstance was analyzed separately to determine the relationship between selected demographic variables (e.g. married vs. single) and prevailing beliefs regarding the circumstance. These questions were loosely based on previous research regarding intimate partner violence in Zimbabwe (Hinden 2003).

Results and Discussion

Of the 384 participants surveyed, females comprised 52.6 percent of the population, while males accounted for 47.4 percent with everyone reporting. There was a fairly even distribution of participants among the wards, ranging from 17.7 percent in Mabogini to 23.4 percent in Mrao Keryo. The ethnic composition was overwhelmingly Chagga (70.8 percent) followed by Pare (11.5 percent). 77.3 percent were Christian. With the exception of gender, the variables listed above had no significant relationship with the occurrence or absence of GBV.

Roughly half (50.2 percent) of the population was between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-four, expectedly higher than any regional average because participants under fifteen were unable to participate. Only 10.2 percent entered secondary school while 77.0 percent completed Standard 7 or below with two participants not responding. In terms of the participants' relationship status, 71.1 percent were married and only 3.1 percent – two participants – were divorced. The high marriage rate speaks to the cultural expectation to marry and the acceptability of remarriage after a partner dies or moves elsewhere. A bride price was involved in 39.8 percent of marriages, although ninety-seven participants did not report. Data support previous research suggesting that the dominant area of work is in agriculture as 55.7 percent of participants were farmers. For the total population, 56.1 percent earned less than 20,000 Tshs. This is roughly equivalent to forty-four cents per day in US dollars.

Socio-demographic Variables Correlated with Gender-based Violence

The author hypothesized that a woman's level of education would be inversely related to her chances of becoming a victim of GBV as education leads to female empowerment and independence. Data yielded interesting observations for women reporting GBV in their lifetime and women reporting in the past twelve months. Of the 202 females

experiencing GBV in their lifetime, there was not a single case of severe GBV reported among women who finished Form 4 or higher and for women who completed vocational training. Moreover, only two women who completed at least some secondary two women reported severe GBV over the course of their lifetime. While this statistic speaks to the low educational attainment of women in general – a problem entirely its own – the data also suggest that prevalence of GBV among women decreases as years of schooling increase. For data specific to women experiencing GBV in the prior year, see Table 1.0.

Table 1.0 Prevalence of Gender-based Violence Against Women in the Last 12 Months versus Level of Education Completed

	No GBV	Yes (not severe)	Yes (severe)	Total
No education	3 (27.3%)	7 (63.6%)	1 (9.1%)	11 (100.0%)
Some Primary	2 (30.0%)	18 (45.0%)	10 (25.0%)	40 (100.0%)
Standard Seven	66 (61.7%)	26 (24.3%)	15 (14.0%)	107 (100.0%)
Some Secondary	7 (50.0%)	7 (50.0%)	0 (0.0%)	14 (100.0%)
Form Four and beyond	8 (88.9%)	1 (10.1%)	0 (0.0%)	9 (100.0%)
Vocational Training	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (100.0%)
Total	101 (53.4%)	62 (32.8%)	26 (13.8%)	189 (100.0%)

It was also predicted that a woman's degree of economic independence or her ability to contribute to the household income would reduce her chances of experiencing GBV. Data confirm this hypothesis and support a growing a body of research which found similar results. Not only does prevalence decline as income rises, but no woman who reported an income of 101,000 Tshs or higher also reported ever fearing for her life. An income of 101,000 Tshs is roughly equivalent to earning sixty-seven USD per month. Among the 106 women who earn 50,000 Tshs, 65.1 percent had at some point feared for their lives.

The author predicted that the presence of a bride-price and a man having multiple partners would both increase a woman's chances of becoming a victim of GBV. However, these results were less clear. In comparing the presence of a bride-price to the number of women who have experienced GBV at some point in her lifetime, we found that

bride-price had a negligible impact. In looking at women who experienced non-severe GBV, 33.3 percent had marriages that did not include a bride-price while 32.9 percent answered the question of bride price in the affirmative. For women who experienced severe GBV during their life-course, 38.1 percent reported no bride-price while 37.8 reported in the affirmative. There is also little discrepancy when looking at the number of women who have ever feared their lives according to whether they had a bride-price. Although the survey did not specifically inquire as to whether the bride-price was consensual, cultural norms suggest that women had little to no agency in negotiating the presence or the terms of the bride-price. It is important to note that a significant number did not respond to the question of bride-price (44.4 percent for non-severe and 22.2 percent for severe GBV). Thus, we can identify no statistically significant relationship between bride-price and GBV.

Data showed no statistically significant relationship between men with multiple partners and female rates of GBV, which differs from previous research. Interestingly, the rate of non-severe abuse remained constant as a man's partners increased when measured against both women experiencing GBV at some point in their lifetime and women reporting for the last year. However, the prevalence of severe abuse increased for women reporting violence during their life span and decreased among women reporting GBV during the prior year. Here, the relationship between having multiple partners and rates of GBV is inconclusive.

The prevalence of GBV among women with husbands who consumed alcohol suggests that alcohol consumption and violence are positively correlated. When looking at non-severe and severe violence over a woman's lifetime, there was a clear and consistent increase in the percentage of women who experienced violence as a function of the number of days a week her partner drank. The same was true for non-severe and severe violence among women in the last twelve months. In looking at the prevalence of violence over one's lifetime, there was essentially no difference between rates of GBV for women whose partners did not drink and women whose partners drank once or twice a week. Here the prevalence was 65.7 percent and 68.8 percent, respectively. When drinking increased to three or four times a week, the rate of violence increased to 62.9 percent. Alarmingly, when drinking exceeded four days a week, 85.7 percent of women experienced GBV during the life course.

Further proof lies in comparing 'no violence' to 'severe violence' when a partner consumed alcohol at least five times per week. The percentage of women who did not experience violence and whose partners drank alcohol no less than five days a week was 14.3 percent as opposed to 60.0 percent of women who experienced severe violence and whose partners also consumed alcohol at least five days a week. However, the same results did not hold true for women reporting only the previous twelve months, as evidenced in Table 2. It is important to keep in mind that, along with a small sample size in some instances, which the number of days per week a person drank is unrelated to the amount consumed each day.

Table 2.0 Prevalence of gender-based violence against women (in the last 12 months) according to partner's alcohol consumption (in days per week)

	None	Yes (not severe)	Yes (severe)	Total
0	46 (60.5%)	19 (25.0%)	11 (14.5%)	76 (100.0%)
1-2	11 (57.9%)	6 (31.6%)	2 (10.5%)	19 (100.0%)
3-4	19 (51.4%)	11 (29.7%)	7 (18.9%)	37 (100.0%)
5 or more	14 (34.1%)	21 (51.2%)	6 (14.6%)	41 (100.0%)
Total	98 (52.7%)	62 (33.3%)	26 (14.0%)	186 (100.0%)

It is also worth noting, however, that of 27.5 percent of the individuals who reported consuming alcohol at least five days a week were women. Question 6.5 asked respondents to determine how strongly they agree or disagree with the statement, "I wish my partner consumed less alcohol." In continuing with the population that consumes alcohol at least five days a week, 26.7 percent of men strongly agreed with this statement. Of the 27.5 percent of women who consume alcohol at least five times per week, 29.2 percent strongly agreed with this statement. Similarly, 76.2 percent of men who consume alcohol at least five days a week agreed with this statement, while for women this value was 23.8 percent. It is conceivable that men believe the social acceptability of consuming alcohol differs for men and women. Regardless, this data suggests that alcoholism is problematic in its entirety and should be sufficiently addressed because of the correlation between alcohol consumption and GBV.

Previous research has indicated a positive correlation between a woman's number of children and the likelihood of abuse. However, the author found no evidence to support this claim and, in some instances, saw rates of GBV decline as family size increased. A smaller body of literature has also investigated the impact of the number of deceased children, which, in this study, was particularly telling (Gonzales-Brenes 2004). Of the 113 females who had never experienced the death of a child, 63.7 percent had experienced GBV at some point in their lifetime. Of the forty-three females who had experienced the death of at least one child, 83.7 percent had experienced GBV at some time. This was hypothesized and was based on the notion that stressful life events such as the loss of a child increase a man's tendency to express himself violently. Along similar

lines, previous research supports the notion that a friend of the same gender within close proximity (e.g., the same village) can mitigate stressful life events and thereby decrease the chances of GBV. However, the author found no relationship between rates of violence and the presence of a nearby friend of the same gender.

There was also not an apparent relationship between the number of deceased children in a family and rates of GBV. For women reporting non-severe incidents of GBV in their lifetime, rates of GBV actually decreased with the death of the first and second child and then increased when the number of deceased children increased to three or more. Non-severe incidents for women reporting in the last twelve months yielded a slight increase as the number of deceased children increased, although again the small sample size makes this finding less significant. There was no clear relationship between the number of deceased children and the number of women reporting severe GBV either in their lifetime or in the span of one year. Nevertheless, 83.7 percent of women with at least one deceased child experienced GBV, while the overall percentage of women experiencing GBV was 69.7 percent. Participants were not asked to identify the sex of the deceased child, nor were they asked to confirm the year in which the child died. This means we can assume no causal relationship between the death of a child and rates of GBV, as it is conceivable that violent behavior existed prior to the death of the child. Future research is needed in this area to discern the precise impact of the child's death.

Attitudes Regarding Gender-based Violence

The author predicted a significant degree of social acceptability and tolerance for GBV among men and women. In some instances, women were more accepting of violence than their male counterparts. This was especially true among victims. For example, question 6.7 states, "Sometimes a man needs to beat his wife to teach her how to behave." 9.6 percent of women who were not victims of GBV in the past twelve months agreed with this statement while 29.3 percent of women who were victims in the past twelve months agreed. Here, the percentage of female victims who agreed was more than three times higher than the number of women not victimized by GBV. In this case, it is conceivable that recent victims of GBV had internalized the abuses committed against them and are now part of the status quo who, perhaps unknowingly, propagates such beliefs.

Moreover, women who had participated in patriarchal rituals or practices demonstrated less of a desire to change existing inequalities between men and women. Question 5.7 states, "Upon marriage, a woman becomes her husband's property." Interestingly, women whose relationships had never involved a bride-price were less accepting of this statement: only 48.6 percent of women who have did not have a bride-price either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement while 70.5 percent of women who had a bride-price either agreed or strongly agreed (eleven did not report). In contrast, 100.0

percent of men who did not have a bride-price either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement while only 51.0 percent of men who benefited from a bride-price either agreed or strongly agreed. Thus, among participants with a bride-price, there was significantly more support from females for a cultural practice that was to their detriment.

This is not to say, however, that the data did not show a significant number of participants with largely egalitarian beliefs regarding gender–roles. Of the six questions that asked about decision-making power, four were answered with the highest percentage in the 'both' category, suggesting that some degree of joint-decision making occurred in Rombo and Moshi Rural. One exception had to do with decisions about food preparation, as 38.4 percent advocated for females to have sole decision-making powers. The other exception concerned decisions about large purchases above 5,000 Tshs, as 42.8 percent of participants believed this power should lie solely with the male. While these two questions suggest a long-established distinction in the sexual division of labor, they also suggest that women have recognized decision-making powers in some circumstances.

Question 5.4 states that, 'It is acceptable for a man to beat his wife when she refuses to have sex or perform a sexual act.' Marital rape occurs frequently in Kilimanjaro and women have neither legal protection nor the voice to condemn such behavior. Here, 9.8 percent of females strongly agree with this statement in comparison to 4.8 percent of men. On the other end of the spectrum, 28.0 percent of females strongly disagreed with this statement compared to 12.0 percent of males. Thus, the data highlight the complexity of the prevailing attitudes towards GBV and emphasize the need for further research, interventions, and education.

Interestingly, women had mixed and sometimes negative thoughts towards the questions which attest to their legal equality. For example, question 5.7 states that "Women should be able to get divorced whenever they want to." While this is a right guaranteed by the constitution of the Republic of Tanzania, 33.2% of women who experienced GBV in the last 12 months strongly disagreed with this statement. Among men and women who have never experienced GBV, 83.3% of women strongly agree with the statement, while only 37.8 percent of women strongly agree. This information is hugely significant as it suggests that substantial degrees of social acceptability for statutory laws that violate female equality are upheld by women. This poses several implications for prevention and intervention strategies.

The percentages of men and women who believe that women should hold equal decision-making power within the household also sheds important light regarding attitudes towards GBV. 32.6 percent of men either strongly disagreed or disagreed with this idea, while only 10.3 percent of women either strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement. Furthermore, 80.1 percent of women either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, perhaps suggesting that women are dissatisfied with their relative lack of decision-making privileges. Concomitantly, 74.5 percent of men either strongly agree or agree with this statement. Here, both men and women suggest they ascribe to

the belief that women should be able to make decisions, although the data suggest that women feel slightly stronger about this belief than their male counterparts.

Limitations

While a sample size of 384 is considered representative for the given population with a five percent margin of error, a larger sample would yield more accurate data. Additionally, while a survey was considered to be the most effective means through which participants could honestly convey information and opinions of a sensitive nature, qualitative interviews and focus group discussions would have provided greater insight into the complexity of attitudes towards GBV in the Kilimanjaro region, perhaps in areas where data was inconclusive. Four of the five wards surveyed are classified as rural, while Tarakea Motamburu is considered a mixed ward. Both districts are overwhelmingly rural, as is the Kilimanjaro region. However, it is important to note that this study did not include the Moshi Urban region and, thus, cannot identify relationships between socio-demographic variables and GBV in an urban setting.

A third limitation is the likelihood of under-reporting, which might be attributed to any number of reasons. While the surveys were administered by trusted and respected local government authorities, this did not necessarily imply that participants felt comfortable in revealing the complete truth. Because silence is a common problem among both perpetrators and victims of GBV, there was undoubtedly some degree of under-reporting. Additionally, because participants were attending workshops to educate and promote human rights and because the surveys were linked to an NGO that promotes female equality, it is likely that participants were aware of the assumed principles of the investigator and her research team. It is plausible that those who interacted with the research team perhaps felt pressured, even unconsciously, to report answers congruent with those of the investigator and KWIECO.

Implications for further research

Attitudes towards GBV did not vary significantly according to age, thus challenging the common assumption that elder members of the community are less progressive. Accordingly, it is critical to continue community outreach to all sectors of the population. Interventions should also continue to target youth who will eventually become the adults who either maintain the status quo or abandon old cultural beliefs in favor of more egalitarian customs and practices. What is lacking, perhaps, is interventions among victims of GBV as results indicated that this sector of the population are among the most tolerant of GBV.

Data confirmed the link between violence and alcoholism. In Kilimanjaro, few services

are available to individuals who suffer from alcoholism and a fundamental understanding of addiction is scarce. In targeting the root causes of GBV, it will be essential to target the problem alcoholism. This will not be easy. In Mrao Keryo, there are with twenty-eight different types of local brew. Interventions that focus on women's rights would perhaps be more effective in combating GBV if facilitators included a dialogue regarding the deleterious effects of alcohol on the preservation of an individual's human rights.

Additionally, data indicated that women who generate an income are far less likely to experience GBV. As previously stated, the vast majority of participants surveyed were agricultural laborers who were well below the poverty line for the developing world. Not only does a woman's income lessen the financial burden of the household and reduce stress among its members, it enhances a woman's social mobility, potentially allowing her to leave abusive relationships. Data also indicated a strong correlation between violence against females and the number of deceased children per household. Issues such as infant mortality, malaria related deaths, and access to services highlight an ongoing need to improve the standard of living as a family of healthier children may lead to a decrease in gender-based violence.

Conclusion

While defining the correlates of GBV is a fairly simple endeavor, understanding individual beliefs and attitudes within the larger community is a more arduous task. Nevertheless, there are some large-scale implications to consider. GBV exists in virtually every society. It is both engrained in and a creator of culture. Yet combating gender-based violence is remarkably more challenging in a nation in which women already face discrimination and cultural subjugation. Legal equality not diluted by ambiguous diction or diminished by dominant religious and ethnic beliefs, is the way forward in creating a society in which gender equality is a cultural value. This is especially difficult in communities in which the status quo is upheld by wide ranging segments of the population. Many attitudes and beliefs regarding legal inequality were supported by women. This poses a host of complications and suggests that interventions should be targeted towards men and women, in perhaps gender-specific interventions which can more effectively target the root of the problem.

It is indisputable that poverty facilitates a host of other harms. However, the problem of poverty in Tanzania is only compounded by a culture that only invests in fifty percent of its population. What many fail to recognize is that investing in the well-being and livelihood of women is synonymous with investing in Tanzania as a whole. All segments of the population, whether male or female, need interventions to promote this notion. A society that values women and utilizes their capabilities in all sectors of the nation – from government to medicine to land ownership and beyond – will surely rise in economic prosperity which will, in turn, ameliorate many of problems tangential to GBV.

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Emerging Reality in Customary Land Tenure: The Case of Kachenga Village in Balaka District, Southern Malawi.

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Abstract
This paper discusses land tenure changes that have occurred in one village in Balaka district, southern Malawi and the forces that have been at work. The current land tenure system departs in a number significant of ways from what is supposed to be the ideal situation. Among the important changes are the diminishing role of the group village headman as allocator of land rights, increasing importance of family heads as allocaters of land rights and the development of an informal land market.

Introduction

Land is a source of food, employment and export earnings for many African countries. Apart from its economic importance, land also has a significant social value. Some sites are regarded as sacred and are treated with great respect as they may be associated with important events in the society's history, for example, its purported origins. Ultimately land provides a site where one will be buried at the end of one's earthly life.

Agriculture is the principal source of livelihood in Malawi. Almost 90 percent of all households can be labeled farming households (Republic of Malawi and World Bank, 2007:44). In most of the country's ethnic groups it is a customary requirement that one be buried among one's own kin regardless of where the death occurred; only then would the soul of the departed rest in peace. Identification with a village is therefore very important to most Malawians and it is reinforced by ownership of a house or crop field.

Human societies develop rules that define the way their members hold or own land, the rights that accrue from such ownership or holding and the obligations that arise there from. These rules in effect regulate the relationship of members of the particular society to their land, and they are enforceable in a formal court of law or customary structures. However, these rules do not remain static: they evolve to accommodate

changed circumstances or are deliberately modified to suit stated government policies (see e.g. Quinlan 1983). The need to modernize agriculture has often necessitated modification of customary land tenures (Malawi Government 1967:399 – 409; Williams 1972). This paper discusses how current land holding practices and control over land in Kachenga village deviate from the norm in matrilineal social systems, and highlights the circumstances that underlie the changes. The data[1] on which this paper is based was collected using formal and informal interviews. The group village head and village heads were interviewed to provide insights into customary land tenure. Further interviews were carried out with heads of households for insights into what was happening at the farm level. The first visits to the site were made in June 2005, but have continued since then as need for more data for the project arises. The site was chosen as a case study of a farming community in a matrilineal context.

Kachenga Village

Kachenga village in Balaka district, southern Malawi comprises 13 hamlets[2], with an estimated population of 1,500. It is headed by group village headman Kachenga who exercises his authority under chief Kalembo.[3] The Yao, who are matrilineal, are the dominant ethnic group, constituting more than 90% of the population. Smallholder farming is the major occupation. Maize, cassava, cotton and sunflower are grown. Since the liberalization of burley tobacco production in 1996, a few households have been growing burley tobacco on their smallholdings.

According to the oral history of the village the first immigrants into the area were groups of matrilineally related kin of the Yao ethnic group under the leadership of Mpilisi Makochela. They arrived in 1951 from Chiunda, a place near Ulongwe in Balaka district which is the headquarters of chief Kalembo. The occupation of this previously uninhabited area was sanctioned by the chief to create a Yao buffer against the Ngoni of Ntcheu to the west. By allowing his subjects to occupy these uninhabited lands chief Kalembo was in effect extending the geographical limits of his authority, later recognized by the colonial authorities. Another view holds that chief Kalembo's authority over the area was already recognized by the colonial authorities and its occupation at this particular time simply confirmed the situation. The latter view seems to be the more correct because the District Administration (Natives) Ordinance of 1912, which created the office of native chiefs, demarcated the areas to be presided over by each chief (Mitchell, 1956:42).

On arrival in what was a large uninhabited area, the various matrilineages under their leaders were allowed to clear different parts of the area for settlement and farming. As a result of this arrangement matrilineages were associated with specific areas of the village, creating matrilineage – based hamlets which took on the names of their leaders. The

earliest of these were Kachenga, Mizinga, Kimu, Chikamana and Mkalawile. Intragroup conflicts led to some members leaving to found new hamlets. These conflicts often arose as a result of competition among brothers for control of ***mbumba***[4]. The ***mbumba*** are main vehicle for achieving social status among the matrilineal Yao (cf Mtika, 2002: 74). A number of the newer hamlets were born out of this competition. The old and new hamlets, however, still recognized the overall leadership of Mpilisi Makochela, who was formally recognized by the colonial authorities as a group village headman under chief Kalembo.

A succession dispute within the leading matrilineage in 1957 led to a split, with one section leaving to place themselves under chief Msamala in the same district. Chief Msamala allowed them to set up a hamlet called Mpilisi. The group that remained behind decided to adopt the name Kachenga for their leader, instead of the original Mpilisi, which was being claimed by the breakaway group. According to our sources Kachenga was actually the name by which the leaders of the immigrant group were known in Mozambique before they settled in Malawi.[5]

Over the years deliberate efforts were made by the group village headman to attract immigrants into the village. By encouraging immigration the group village headman enhanced his status among his peers; but it also meant a larger annual honorarium from government since this was reckoned on the basis of the number of poll tax payers in the village. Kandawire (1979: 101) noted that the Yao village headmen in Mozambique used land to build up followings on the basis of which they would lay claim to higher positions in the chieftaincy hierarchy. The practice was apparently imported into Malawi.

As the new land seekers and marital immigrants were not always Yao, the village now has within its population non – Yao members. Lomwe immigrants from the land pressure district of Chiradzulu constitute the largest minority group. They have a hamlet under their own leader on land allocated by the group village headman.

Land Tenure Normative Practices

Chief Kalembo is referred to as ***asyene chilambo*** in chiyao, meaning 'owner of the land'. The designation ***asyene chilambo*** does not in reality mean that the chief owns the land in the manner of a feudal landlord because the Yao, as is the case with the other ethnic groups in the country, believe land cannot be owned by any one person. His role is understood to be that of trustee and protector of the land on behalf of his subjects. This position of chiefs in relation to customary land is recognized in the Land Act 1965 which is currently in force.

The village headmen derive their authority from the chief who must formally recognize them upon selection according to custom. They form the access point to customary land. Land is viewed as a free good and is distributed primarily for food production and construction of a shelter. Allocations of land to outsiders are made by the group village headman and must be approved by the chief. The intention is to ensure that land does

not pass to strangers to the disadvantage of legitimate claimants. Land disputes are in the first instance heard by village headmen. More complex cases are referred up the hierarchy to the chief. The chief also hears appeal cases from the village headmen's courts.

Women as 'owners' and 'builders of the village' are regarded as the primary right holders. The rights are intergenerationally transmitted from mother to daughter. A daughter is entitled to her own piece or pieces of land when she gets married or has her first child. These two events are taken to signify the attainment of adult status and independence from parental control. The piece of land will come from that share of land allocated to her mother. All daughters born to a woman, regardless of the circumstances of their birth, are entitled to a share of their mother's land. A woman's holding may be built up over time through transfers of land from older matrilineal kin, especially grandmothers, when they become too old to work the land, or die (cf Peters, 1997). Men enjoy secondary rights through the women they marry. They enjoy these rights for the duration of their marriages and survival of their wives (cf Peters 2010). Divorce or death of a wife effectively renders the uxorilocally married man landless as he has no independent claim to his wife's land. He must remarry to be able to gain access to land. His sisters or other matrilineal kin may allow him to use part of their own holdings while in – between marriages. The logic of the situation is that while a man needs a woman to gain access to land, a woman needs a man to perform what are regarded as 'male' tasks in the household such as building and maintaining a house, clearing land for cultivation, constructing the storage bins for the harvested crops and purchase of farm inputs such as fertilizer. The situation described here contrasts with Hilhorst's claim that women's rights in sub-Saharan Africa should be viewed as secondary rights obtained through husbands and male kin (Hilhorst 2000:182). Such a situation obtains in the patrilineal northern region where men have the primary land rights to land and pass them on to their sons. The inheritance system in the northern region effectively excludes women from inheriting land, on the assumption that women belong to their husband's village where they relocate on marriage.

The customary entitlement to land enjoyed by women in a matrilineal social system may work to the disadvantage of families with many daughters. A family with many daughters is likely to experience a decline in holding size faster than one with sons as the daughters must be accommodated while sons move out of the family to live in their wives' villages. The men have no claim on their mother's landholding, except where there are no female heirs.

Three distinct categories of land can be identified in the village: private land, common land and reserve land (see also von Benda – Beckmann 2007: 125)

- **Private land**. This is land for the exclusive use of the family or individual to whom it is allocated. No person may enter or use it without the permission of the landholder. It is land recognized by the community as being used by that specific family or individual to the exclusion of others. The landholder may take measures to protect it against encroachment or trespass. Such measures include constructing a fence around it and the use of charms to keep away trespassers. Residential sites and crop fields are in this category. The rights to this land are transferable according to customary norms.
- **Common land.** This is land to which ***bona fide*** members of the village have the right of access. The village meeting ground, grazing grounds and burial grounds fall into this category. The group village headman may deny access to this land to the ineligible, and may regulate its use where necessary.
- **Reserve land.** This is in effect a 'store' from which further allocations of land can be made when needed. It consists of virgin bush and all land not already claimed by any of the matrilineages. It comes under the trusteeship of the group village headman. The group village headman may allocate some of this land to non–indigenous land seekers provided that future claims of the indigenous members of the village are not jeopardized. Leaders of matrilineages may make requests for some of this land on behalf of their kin when their own runs out. At the time of the study there was no virgin bush available for allocation to new claimants. The increase in population due to high birth rates and immigration has resulted in all good land being brought under cultivation.

The Emerging Reality

Increased Perception of Ownership of Land

While the matrilineages claim ownership of specific parts of the village, it is individual families within the matrilineage who work the land and make the every day decisions on it. These individual families have life time rights of use and occupation and view themselves as owners of the land (see also Nankumba and Machika 1988: 22). The claim of ownership is justified by reference to:

- Uninterrupted occupation and use over several generations.
- Allocations and reallocation of plots within the family without reference to an external authority
- The recognized right to exclude others from entering or using any part of the land

- Recognition by other members of the village of the link between the family and the specific parcel of land.

The notion of another entity beyond the current family in occupation of the land as the real owners of the land appears fictive. Given this perception of ownership families claim the right to let out, give away, pledge and, as is becoming frequent, to sell part of their land. Primacy of settlement is often used by descendants of the original settlers to reinforce their claim to ownership of the land they occupy and use. Whenever land was required for a public purpose as was the case in the construction of the community day secondary school, nutrition rehabilitation centre and police post, the group village headman had to negotiate with individual families to release the land. The fact that the group village headman had to negotiate, rather than seize the land, serves to emphasize his limited authority over land that is already occupied and in current use.

Informal Sales of Land

Directly linked to the increased perception of ownership of land has been the development of an informal market for land. Land is sold informally in the village for the purpose of farming as well as for the creation of business structures. The World Bank (1987: 22) noted that the informal sales of customary land begun in the peri-urban areas where it was bought for building shops and houses but later spread to rural areas (see also Peters 2010: 188). Those that have bought land are people with ready cash either from business or wage employment; while those who sell are either poor families desperate for cash; or those who, for historical reasons, have more land than they need or can manage to cultivate. In all cases brought to our attention the sellers of land were linked to the group of early immigrants who claim primacy of settlement. Prices range from K2000 – K15000[6] per plot depending on size. What is actually paid, though, does not reflect the value of the land: rather it reflects the desperation of the seller and the bargaining ability of the buyer. In some cases existing personal relationship between the seller and buyer are taken into account in the transaction. The high mortality that the village has experienced in recent years has tended to free up some land for sale. This is sometimes done to pay off debts incurred during the illness of the deceased, or funeral expenses (cf Okuro, 2007: 113). An important observation to be made is that land is not sold to close relations: relatives tend to lend or give each other land. The group village headman is routinely called upon to act as witness to these sales. For being witness to these transactions, he receives a 'token of appreciation' in cash. The magnitude of the token depends on the price being paid, although there is no specific percentage attached. The highest so far received for this service was said to be K3000. Recent evidence suggests that what was originally meant to be a token has now become a fee which the group village headman demands for the service.

The phenomenon of informal land sales has been observed in other districts as well (see e.g. Peters, 2010; Bosworth, 1997; Takane, 2005). Jul Larsen and Mvula (2009:185) in their study of land cases in southern Malawi observe that sales of customary land are a common phenomenon and that most traditional leaders have accepted the practice as a new element in customary land tenure. The question that arises is why the group village headman allows land sales when custom prohibits them. In his response the group village headman indicated that he cannot stop a family that wants to sell part of its land holding: he can only advise about the possible negative consequences of such action on future generations who might find themselves landless or land poor. The responsibility for preventing land passing on to non – kin was shifted to leaders of the matrilineages. The evidence, however, indicates that these leaders can be defied by determined land holders. Apparently while custom prohibited the sale of land compliance was achieved by moral pressure rather than by specific negative sanctions. Under the increased perception of ownership of land, as opposed to mere right of use, moral pressure seems inadequate to deter families who see possible benefits in the sale of land. It is also possible to suggest that the group village headman may be acquiescing in these sales because the 'token of appreciation' serves as an incentive. The fact that people now regard land as a saleable commodity is a reflection of the increasing monetization of the rural economy through its links with Balaka town and beyond. In the context of land scarcity and increasing demand landholders are imputing a monetary value to a resource that was traditionally believed to have no such value.

The development of an informal market for land means that families with access to financial resources can acquire additional land and build up holdings, or acquire land through purchase where customary arrangements prevented it; while at the same time, poorer families risk losing the most important social and economic resource that they have. In this development could lie the genesis of social stratification in the village as a few individuals with financial resources could potentially accumulate land for purposes other than subsistence production. There is already one such case of a businessman who had married into the village in the 1990s buying up land for commercial farming.

However, there is a potential risk in the land sales. They may be challenged subsequently by a member of the family needing land in the future. Jul – Larsen and Mvula (2009: 186) reported that in Thyolo district many of the cases that were brought before the magistrates' courts were related to land sales. Conflict arose either as a result of disagreement about a mandate to sell or regret on the part of the seller. Where the seller expressed regret at the sale the customary justice system normally allowed the seller to buy back the land. We recorded one case of a brother buying back land that had been sold by a sister because he felt the elder sister was jeopardizing her children's future. While there is a general acceptance that land can be sold there is a lingering desire to hold onto it apparently because it is the basic means of subsistence for the villagers.

Declining Allocatory Role of the Group Village Head

Natural increase and increased immigration ensured the depletion of virgin bush that could be allocated to land seekers. This in effect means that the group village headman has no land under his direct authority which he can distribute to land seekers. Yet it is the control of access to land that distinguishes the group village headman from the commoner. The disappearance of reserve land has thus led to a decline in the group village headman's status, a situation that Bosworth (1997) also observed in his study of chief Kaomba's area in Kasungu district, in the central region.

In the absence of virgin bush for distribution land seekers now have to deal with individual families which have surplus land. Descendants of the original immigrants from Chiunda, who for historical reasons tend to have larger than average holdings, have become important allocators and sellers of land. The status of heads of families of these groups has risen while that of the group village headman correspondingly declines. In this new situation allegiance transfers from the group village headman to the giver of the land.

The group village headman has in an attempt to remain relevant in land distribution, made several attempts to assert his control over abandoned land, including that which properly belonged to members of the matrilineages. These efforts have been resisted. It was feared that the group village headman would either sell the land for his personal benefit, or give it to his own kin. The chief supported the position taken by lineage leaders that the land previously used by a member of a lineage reverted to the matrilineage and not the group village headman. This incident highlights the appellate role of chief Kalembo as ***asyene chilambo*** in land matters.

Male occupation of land in maternal village

While normatively there should not have been male members of the local matrilineages resident and cultivating land in their maternal village, our study found such cases. Investigations revealed that this is possible under the following conditions:

- Where there are no daughters to inherit a mother's land
- Where a family for historical or genealogical reasons, has more land than it needs or can manage to cultivate.
- Where female heirs are not able to cultivate all their land because of a shortage of family labour, or resources to hire it when it is not available within the family.
- Where the man is in – between marriages (see also Peters, 2010: 183)

Where there are no female heirs to inherit a deceased mother's land, a man's security on lineal land is assured. It is not so assured when the man holding the land has sisters. Sisters are likely to reclaim land from their brother when their daughters or grand daughters need land. It appears that while men can be accommodated on land belonging to their matrilineage, such use can only be temporary. Peters (1997:205) in her study reports that serious disputes between brothers and sisters, or between maternal uncles and nieces arose which might compel men to relocate elsewhere. In these disputes uncles are often accused of witchcraft. The group village headman and lineage leaders confirmed that in disputes over land, customary law is in favour of women as men are essentially usurpers of their sisters' land rights. This view suggests that male presence in maternal villages is merely tolerated rather than accepted. Where the man is the sole inheritor of his mother's land, it is likely that the land would be passed on to his daughters, eventually re-establishing the mother-daughter inheritance pattern (see e.g. Peters, 2010: 185).

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that the land tenure system in Kachenga is undergoing some important changes. Land is increasingly accessed through local families who have more of it than they need. These are largely descendants of the earliest settlers in the village who claim ownership by primacy of settlement. The absence of unallocated land to distribute to new applicants reduces the status of the group village headman while correspondingly raising that of individual families with spare land. A new form of allegiance is created between the givers and receivers of land which excludes the group village headman.

The scarcity of land and monetization of the rural economy has led to the recognition of land as a saleable commodity, which in turn could be fuelling the assertion of ownership of land as opposed to mere right of use. The group village headman has been forced to accept the new reality and adapted to it by assuming the new role of witness to land transfers for which he receives a 'token of appreciation' in cash. The possibility of earning the 'token' could be an incentive to the group village headman for not preventing the transfer of land to non – kin. A new form of land acquisition based on the ability to purchase now coexists with that based on kinship and residence. The possibility for virilocal residence has also developed as men, under some circumstances, acquire and use land in their maternal, rather than their matrilineal villages.

From the changes that have been detailed in the paper it is apparent that land tenure is dynamic and capable of responding to demographic pressure and economic opportunity. The emerging practices and patterns of landholding have not been proclaimed by the chief or the group village headman but are manifest in practice. The subtle changes that are occurring at the village level are evidence that land tenure systems at any historical period must ultimately be understood as a product of many influences, both internal

and external.

Endnotes

1. The study is part of a larger on-going study titled 'Agricultural Development in a Matrilineal Social System' in the Department of Sociology, Chancellor College, University of Malawi, led by the author .
2. A hamlet is called musi (chi yao for village). The larger entity is called by the same name. Hamlet leaders are officially known as village headmen. The group village headman title signifies the office holder's authority over these smaller entities. As used here, the title is gender neutral.
3. The official designation is Traditional Authority (TA). The lowest level of the chiefly hierarchy is village headman (woman); the next level is group village headman then sub - traditional authority (STA). Above the TA is a new creation, Senior Chief; and then Paramount chief. Paramount Chiefs (of whom there are seven) do not deal directly with land matters.
4. A mbumba is a group of sisters and their children under the guardianship of an elder brother. Anthropologists view it as the smallest matrilineal group or 'effective minimal lineage'. A mbumba is a potential basis for political position among matrilineal people as women are regarded as the 'builders of a village'.
5. The Yao began to migrate into Malawi from Mozambique in the early 1860s. They came as hunters and traders.
6. At the time of the study 1 US dollar = MK146.00

QUO VADIS AFRICA UNION? SOME RESEARCH AGENDAS

A Review of Ulf Engel and João Gomes Porto,eds., 2010, Africa's New Peace and Security Architecture: Promoting Norms, Institutionalizing Solutions, Ashgate Publishers, England and USA, ISBN 978 0 7546 7606 5 pbk

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Understanding norms and institutions are the two key concepts in reading through Engel's and Gomes Porto's edited volume. One could even talk of new institutionalism as the main analytic angle and the cross cutting theme that one encounters as one internalises the pages of this excitingly refreshing look at the African Union.

In their opening chapter, the editors kick off by explicitly describing the wrought administrative environment that the OAU functioned in. They vividly describe the corrupt, inept, bureaucratic elite club of dictators in a self made ivory tower removed from society institution that characterized the OAU. Gradually and painstakingly, in July 2000 by the Constitutive Act of the African Union, a new vision and mission of the OAU hence forth renamed the African Union (AU), was borne. The editors, from pp.2-4, outline the fundamental objectives of the new African Union, stressing the core principle that guides the work of the AU, that is, the promotion of peace, security and stability in the continent. The rest of the seven chapters that make up this book analyse one of the reworked and 'new' vision of the AU - the Peace and Security Council (PSC), which the editors have skilfully summarised from pp.4 – 12.

Regional security in a global perspective is the title of the second chapter by Fredrik Söderbaum and Björn Hettne. The attractiveness of this chapter is the conceptual anchorage it provides, from defining and discussing regionalization (p.15) to the current study of new regionalism. The authors posit that new regionalism looks at the increasing set of actors, both state and non-state, and who operate not only regionally but interlink their activities globally. Such that, new ways in which globalisation and regionalism interact and overlap becomes the focal point of analysis. It is important to comprehend their argument from this particular perspective because it introduces two crucial issues

for conceptual understanding, research, analyses and policy innovation. Firstly, new regionalism or analysing the interface of globalisation and regionalism reorients our understanding of peace and security by introducing development or what the authors term, the development-security nexus under the currency Human Security/Human Development. With such a unit of analysis, the authors posit, then new regionalism studies calls attention to how regional bodies, that are concerned with peace and security, interact with global bodies (here in they emphasize the UN) not only on matters concerning peace and security but more so on developmental issues. Two compelling concepts that the authors discuss are development regionalism and security regionalism. Indeed, Söderbaum's and Hettne's concluding observations, that is, whether region centred approach or a UN- led approach is better suited to the development- security nexus (human security) points to a budding field of research that has so far received little attention from researchers, scholars and policy makers alike.

Chapter three, titled Heritage and Transformation – From OAU to AU, traces a gloomy and cynical history of the OAU. Despite its apparent irony, van Walraven's historical contextualisation is invaluable in understanding not only how contextualisation proceeds, but also how through analysing the past, transformations of the present occur. Valuable lessons on institution building form the main attraction of this chapter. From pp. 32 – 55, van Walraven, traces the rationale of the formation of various institutions within the OAU and how these key institutions interacted. Through his vivid depictions, several analytic points can be drawn. His allusion to leadership styles, i.e. personalities and characters, lack of a common will which follows hand in glove with charismatic, visionary leadership v/s. the lack of collective thinking, the interplay of time, space and place, alliance formation, the role of sabotage of ideologies (understood here as ideas that drive society out of its various deadlocks) through the lack of collective action rendered pervasive by power differentials, power struggles, estranged egos and self aggrandisement, unrealistic economic objectives and budgetary issues. Indeed, the analysis of lived experiences and how one can learn from these in order to realise transformation is here the catch phrase.

Chapters four on to Chapter seven are much more empirical chapters that focus on the various pillars of one of the new institutions of the AU, that is, the PSC. Sturman's and Hayatou's Chapter underscores Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act of the AU, which stipulates 'the right of the Union to intervene' a reworked version of non intervention that had characterized the OAU and which had seriously hampered the work of Union at its formation. The pages 'from design to reality: PAC in action' pp.69-74, however illustrate that despite a newly institutionalised PSC, actions have rather been of a fire brigade nature and numerous instances where the AU has shown reluctance in intervening. What is more disturbing is the lack of political leadership. Getting governance issues right seems to be ever more elusive. The chapter is spot on in bringing to the fore the operative discrepancy that exists between global governance,

epitomised by the UN and individual political leadership as constitutive of the AU and the principal of intervention. The catch 22 is finding a marriage between AU governance strategies and UN global governance operatives. The main issue is, where does the AU's right to intervene in individual member states end and where can the UN then take on the baton. End, might actually not be the correct phrase here rather the question that begs further research analysis is where the AU political leadership is rendered impotent and thus inept at taking action how can the UN then intervene. The case of the mediation efforts of Kofi Annan (representative of the UN global governance) and his team (representative of the AU panel of the wise) in the political stalemate that shrouded Kenya post 2008 general elections is illustrative of how global governance could interact with a continental and regional governance. Sturman and Hayatou further go on to point out to yet another discrepancy that trails the work of the PAC. This, in short, can be summarized as a 'chicken and egg' scenario and which surrounds the principle of humanitarian intervention that is the practiced and institutionalised norm of Article 4(h). Whereas a middle ground "sanctions" has been worked out, one can quickly fathom that in a globalised world, where the building of competitive and more often antagonistic alliances is the practice, sanctions might actually serve to exacerbate the problem rather than solve it (except where a strong unifying alliance of states has been formed and which can hold other less powerful states at ransom e.g. ECOWAS and its successful intervention in Togo). Moreover, the AU is compounded with the problem of taking/not taking on too much responsibility. Confronted with an environment that is poverty and disease ridden, from the empirical cases that the two authors discuss in their chapter, one can fathom the silent strategy the AU engages in of none interference lest it rids the Nation-States of their main mandate of Nation building. The cat and mouse strategy of Eyadema's son, rigged elections and a silent observer AU mission to Togo is quite telling in this respect. Yet again, a discussion on global governance as the check mate of regional governance could be here of handy. The chapter concludes by lamenting the increased non-decisiveness of the PSC, further laying impetus to the ardent calls for a consideration of an AU-UN collaboration beyond financial and logistical interventions.

A discussion on the underlying logic of the Panel of the Wise, one of the foundational pillars of the PSC is what graces the pages of Murithi's and Mwaura's chapter. Of interest in this chapter is the philosophical correlation the authors draw between this institution and the institution of the council of elders in African traditional societies. The authors not only draw attention to the moral bases of these two institutions but also their operational similarities. What is analytically critical, however, is Murithi's and Mwaura's pointers that despite these similarities, the Panel of the wise is not an enactment of old institutions into new ways of doing. Pages 80-81 outlines some of the differences whilst pps. 81-90 discusses some of the ways in which the panel has sought current social-political relevancy.

One would have wished a scenario where Chapter six is discussed after Chapter seven thus making for a smooth flow of discussion from the panel of the wise on to the African Standby Force (ASF) to the chapter analysing the methodologies underlying the work of the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS). However, this is a matter of style that one could afford to neglect. Chapter six forms an extremely comprehensive analysis of the magnanimous work of the other pillar of the PSC, that is, the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS). This chapter, written by eight authors including the editors elaborately shows how the AU has consistently sought sustained methodological approach/approaches to the study of potential conflict situations and their prevention. This search for methodological approach/approaches moves the actions of the PAC from mere ad hoc action without consequential follow through to a science of intervention with the hall marks of prediction, near precision, hypothesis building, verification and falsification. Critical in this chapter is the illustrative cases of how data is collected and monitoring done. In reading through the chapter, one is left agape at the meticulous manner in which data is collated, graded and indicators, both structural and dynamic, in the analysis of conflict situations is processed pp.100-103. The chapter is extremely informative on the definitional and conceptual understandings of what structural vs. dynamic causes of conflict could entail. The authors further discuss CEWs situation room, early warning unit and the role of desk officers in the compilation of information, such as, country profiles. Needless to say a researcher interested in Peace and Security issues can only ignore such a repository of data bases at their own peril.

Cilliers and Pottgeiter discuss the African Standby Force in quite extensive detail starting from its conceptualisation, on to its development and the various framework documents that have guided implementation. Of critical importance, is their discussion of the concept of Rapid Deployment and the sustainability of this particular pillar in the near future given the limited inflow of resources (budgetary allocations), the lack of supporting regional frameworks, for example, in East Africa to the continued lack of the will to implement, for example, in Central Africa and lack of a common will, for example, in the Arab Maghreb Countries of North Africa.

Chapter eight is a highly provocative chapter where the editors offer a summary of the overarching concerns of each chapter that forms the volume, underscore the functional discrepancies that the Chapter by van Walraven so illustratively explored and put forward certain theses and lines of inquiry that research could look into. First and foremost, the editors' discussion of the concept of architecture is a welcome relief, for upon reading the title, one can easily dismiss the concept of architecture as the engineering of systems. As the editors point out on page 152, architecture conjures images of structure, design, choice of components, systems, forms and functions and thus readily render for a systems-functionality analysis. However, a deeper analysis of the foregoing chapters dismantle this naive understanding of architecture showing how various institutions have sought to be contextually relevant and thus embedded

in society. Indeed, as the authors point out, the critical question here does not concern the concepts of architecture or regime building but rather the sustainability of these institutionalised mechanisms of maintaining peace and security and working towards development. The editors, page 144, quite aptly identify African States as the enemy in itself and consequently the risk par excellence of itself and its citizens. To drive this point home, they turn to the historical chapter by van Walraven. The authors highlight the need for a conceptualisation of a globalisation-regionalism nexus, where global actors, especially the UN, with enough muscles to turn round decision making tables both at the global and the regional levels are introduced as checkmates to the African State. How such a globalisation-regionalism nexus can be envisaged is still a research gap that needs to be filled.

The second provocative thesis the editors put forward is the continued danger of polarization of security and development. Towards this end, the editors call for concerted research and analysis of a human security approach. Although the editors point to protection as being of importance in thinking through a security-development nexus, the kind of protection that could be envisaged is not forthcoming from their discussion. I dare posit that social-economic protection of various groups at different levels in society is still a research theme that has not been taken very seriously. With the continued logic of neo-liberal reforms, one cannot underscore enough the need for fresh analysis into the forms of social-economic protection under market driven conditionalities, what can further be conceptualised as socio-economic protection under capitalistic systems or capital with a human face. So far, there exist pockets of analysis on social entrepreneurship or philanthropic entrepreneurship (third sector analysis) with the missing link being how initiatives can be interlinked to macro-economic structures to create new economic dynamics.

The ownership of processes by African States is a crucial component of the whole issue of sustainability. Underlying it is the question why African States continue to be enemies of itself and its citizens. The editors put forward the concept of regime building as a possible panacea. Here they emphasize the principled and shared understandings of desirable and acceptable forms of societal behaviour. The editors acknowledge that how one can foster compliant behaviours from member states is still an analytic caveat that requires further research. A starting point, the editors posit, could be to look at institutionalised cooperation and raising the stakes of dissidence so high as to warrant complacency. One should immediately add here that a behaviourist approach will certainly not serve the purpose! The editors commentary of integrating different epistemic communities with legitimacy and which claim authority of knowledge in certain areas is critical to the development and sustainability of regimes. The challenge still looms large and research in this direction is a prerequisite if not a necessity.

At best, this edited volume should be read comparatively with Said Adejumobi's and Adebayo Olukoshi's 2008 edited volume titled the African Union and the New Strategies

for Development in Africa, Cambria Press, New York, ISBN 13 9781604975741. The aim of such a comparative reading should not be to contrast endogenous vs. exogenous knowledge production but rather the objective would be a deeper understanding of the parallel processes underlying AU's architecture and regime building efforts by different epistemic communities. One should quickly point out here that the editors of both volumes have a political economic and international relations background giving them a similar disciplinary legitimacy. Research and analysis of the AU architecture and regime building processes by other disciplines is thus highly called for. More especially, the development-security nexus and consensus building around this is a topical research area that sociologists, economists and political scientists in interaction with regional and global policy making bodies cannot afford to ignore. The realisation of an interdisciplinary research collaboration on the aspects outlined above is ardently called for.