Sociology of ‘Developing Societies’
Sub-Saharan Africa

Sociology of “Developing Societies”

General Editor: Teodor Shanin

THEMATIC VOLUMES

INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF “DEVELOPING SOCIETIES”

Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin

SOCIALIST “DEVELOPING SOCIETIES”?
(in preparation)

THEORIES OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION
(in preparation)

REGIONAL VOLUMES

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
Chris Allen and Gavin Williams

SOUTH ASIA
Hamza Alavi and Kathleen Gough (forthcoming)

THE MIDDLE EAST
Talal Asad and Roger Owen (forthcoming)

SOUTH-EAST ASIA
John Taylor and Andrew Turton (forthcoming)

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN
(in preparation)

LATIN AMERICA
(in preparation)

Sociology of “Developing Societies” Sub-Saharan Africa

edited by Chris Allen and Gavin Williams

M

Selection, editorial matter and Introduction © Chris Allen and Gavin Williams 1982

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without permission.

First published 1982 by
THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD
London and Basingstoke
Companies and representatives throughout the world

ISBN 978-0-333-27675-4 ISBN 978-1-349-16876-7 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-16876-7

Typeset in 10/11 Baskerville in Great Britain by
THE EASTERN PRESS LIMITED

The paperback edition of this book is sold subject to the condition that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise, be lent, resold, hired out, or otherwise circulated without the publisher's prior consent in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition including this condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

For Thomas Hodgkin
(1900–82)

Contents

Series Preface	ix
<i>Teodor Shanin</i>	
Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction	xv
<i>Chris Allen and Gavin Williams</i>	
I. Colonialism and Class Formation	1
Colonialism and Capitalism	
<i>Teddy Brett</i>	3
<i>Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido</i>	10
Commerce	
<i>Claude Meillassoux</i>	23
Migrants and Proletarians	
<i>Joel Gregory and Victor Piché</i>	27
<i>Colin Murray</i>	30
<i>Robin Cohen</i>	34
II. Gender, Production and Politics	41
Women, Production and Capitalism	
<i>Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay</i>	43
<i>Maureen Mackintosh</i>	46
<i>Carmel Dinan</i>	52
Women, Nationalism and Revolution	
<i>Foster Mubanga</i>	58
<i>Allen Isaacman</i>	62
III. Peasants, Poverty and Patrons	67
Poverty and Inequality	
<i>Polly Hill</i>	69
<i>Gavin Williams</i>	76
Peasants and Patrons	
<i>Bonno Thoden van Velzen</i>	84
<i>Richard Jeffries</i>	89

IV. Prophets, Priests and Rebels	93
Religion and Resistance	
<i>Thomas Hodgkin</i>	95
<i>Wim van Binsbergen</i>	101
Rebellion and Revolution	
<i>Renée Fox et al.</i>	112
<i>Basil Davidson</i>	117
V. The Urban Poor	121
Hidden Forms of Labour Protest	
<i>Robin Cohen</i>	125
Mines, Migrants and Protest	
<i>Charles van Onselen</i>	132
<i>Charles Perrings</i>	135
<i>Robert Gordon</i>	137
Trade Unions and Class Consciousness	
<i>Richard Sandbrook and Jack Arn</i>	142
<i>Jeff Crisp</i>	150
Petty Producers and Casual Labour	
<i>Chris Gerry</i>	155
VI. African Bourgeoisies	161
Nationalism, Corruption and Accumulation	
<i>Thomas Hodgkin</i>	165
<i>Frantz Fanon</i>	166
<i>Donal O'Brien</i>	168
<i>Dan O'Meara</i>	171
The Bureaucracy and Accumulation	
<i>Colin Leys</i>	176
<i>Michael Cohen</i>	179
The Military and Accumulation	
<i>Billy Dudley</i>	184
<i>Michel Martin</i>	188
<i>Terisa Turner</i>	190
The Bourgeoisie and the State	
<i>Gavin Williams</i>	192
<i>Colin Leys</i>	195
Bibliography	203
Index	214

Series Preface

The question of the so-called “developing societies” lies at the very heart of the political, the economic and the moral crises of the contemporary global society. It is central to the relations of power, diplomacy and war of the world we live in. It is decisive when the material well-being of humanity is concerned; that is, the ways some people make a living and the ways some people hunger. It presents a fundamental dimension of social inequality and of struggles for social justice. During the last generation it has also become a main challenge to scholarship, a field where the perplexity is deeper, the argument sharper and the potential for new illuminations more profound. That challenge reflects the outstanding social relevance of this problem. It reflects, too, an essential ethnocentrism that weighs heavily on the contemporary social sciences. The very terminology which designates “developing” or “underdeveloping” or “emerging” societies is impregnated with teleology which identifies parts of Europe and the USA as “developed”. Images of the world at large as a unilinear rise from barbarity to modernity (or vice versa as a descent to hell) have often substituted for the analysis of actuality, as simplistic metaphors often do. To come to grips with a social reality, which is systematically different from that of one’s own, and to explain its specific logic and momentum, is a most difficult conceptual and pedagogic task. It is the more so, for the fundamental questions of the “developing societies” are not of difference only but of relationships past and present with the countries of advanced capitalism and industrialization. It is in that light that we encounter as analysts and teachers not only a challenge to “sociology of development”, but also a major challenge to radical scholarship itself.

The Sociology of “Developing Societies” series aims to offer a systematically linked set of texts for use as a major teaching aid at university level. It is being produced by a group of teachers and scholars related by common interest, general outlook and commitment sufficient to provide an overall coherence but by no means a single monolithic view. The object is, on the one hand, to bring relevant questions into focus and, on the other hand, to teach through debate. We think that at the current stage “a textbook” would necessarily gloss over the very diversity, contradictions and inadequacies of our thought. On the other hand, collections of articles are often rather accidental in content. The

format of a conceptually structured set of readers was chosen, sufficiently open to accommodate variability of views within a coherent system of presentation. They bring together works by sociologists, social anthropologists, historians, political scientists, economists, literary critics and novelists in an intended disregard of the formal disciplinary divisions of the academic enterprise.

Three major alternatives of presentation stand out: first, a comparative discussion of the social structures within the "developing societies", focusing on the generic within them; second, the exploration of the distinct character of the main regions of the "developing societies"; third, consideration of context and content of the theories of social transformation and change. Accordingly, our *Introduction* to the series deals with the general issues of comparative study, other books cover different regions, while a final volume is devoted to an examination of basic paradigms of the theories of social transformation. They therefore represent the three main dimensions of the problem area, leaving it to each teacher and student to choose from them and to compose their own course.

The topic is ideologically charged, relating directly to the outlook and the ideals of everyone. The editors and many of the contributors share a broad sense of common commitment, though there is among them a considerable diversity of political viewpoint and theoretical approach. The common ground may be best indicated as three fundamental negations. First, there is an implacable opposition to every social system of oppression of humans by other humans. That entails also the rejection of scholastic apologia of every such system, be it imperialism, class oppression, elitism, sexism or the like. Second, there is the rejection of "preaching down" easy solutions from the comfort of air-conditioned offices and campuses, whether in the "West" or in "developing societies" themselves, and of the tacit assumption of our privileged wisdom that has little to learn from the common people in the "developing societies". Third, there is the rejection of the notion of scholastic detachment from social commitments as a pedagogy and as a way of life. True scholarship is not a propaganda exercise even of the most sacred values. Nor is it without social consequences, however conceived. There are students and teachers alike who think that indifference improves vision. We believe the opposite to be true.

TEODOR SHANIN

Acknowledgements

The editors and publishers wish to thank the following who have kindly given permission for the use of copyright material:

Africa-Studiecentrum, Netherlands, for the article "African Migration and Peripheral Capitalism" by Drs Victor Piché and Joel W. Gregory from *African Perspectives*, 1978.

Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd for an extract from *Freedom and Labour* by P. Harries-Jones (1975).

Cambridge University Press for extracts from *Rural Hausa* (1972) by Dr Polly Hill; *Saints and Politicians* (1975) by D. O'Brien; "The Second Independence: A Case Study of the Kwilu Rebellion in the Congo" by Renée C. Fox, W. de Craemer and J. M. Ribeaucourt, from the journal *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 8, part 1, and "Nigeria" by Terisa Turner from *West African States: Failure and Promise* edited by J. Dunn (1978).

Canadian Association of African Studies for extracts from the article "Corporate Interests and Military Rule" by M. Martin, in the *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 7, 2, 1973.

Centre for Developing-Area Studies, McGill University, Montreal, for the article "The Wrong Side of the Factory Gate: Casual Workers and Capitalist Industry in Dakar" by Chris Gerry, originally published in *Manpower and Unemployment Research* (now called *Labour, Capital and Society*) vol. 9, no. 2, November 1976; an extract from "The Labouring Poor and Urban Class Formation" by Richard Sandbrook and Jack Arn published in Occasional Monograph Series, No. 12, and the article "The Labouring Poor, Trade Unions and Political Change" by Jeff Crisp, originally published in *Manpower and Unemployment Research* (now called *Labour, Capital and Society*) vol. 11, no. 2, November 1978.

Rex Collins Ltd for an extract from *Nigeria: Economy and Society* by Gavin Williams.

The Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office for an extract from "The African Middle Class" by T. L. Hodgkin, in *Corona*, 8, 3, 1956.

Croom Helm Ltd for an extract from "Domestic Labour and the Household" by Maureen Mackintosh from *Fit Work for Women* edited by Sandra Burman (1979).

Mrs V. Dudley and the Ibadan University Press for the article "Instability and Political Order" by the late Professor William Dudley.

Dr C. Gerry for his paper "Urban Poverty, Underdevelopment and Recuperative Production in Dakar, Senegal" (1977).

Robert Gordon for extracts from his book *Mines, Masters and Migrants* (1977).

Heinemann Educational Books for extracts from *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa* by E. Brett, and with University of California Press for extracts from *Underdevelopment in Kenya* by C. Leys.

Heinemann Educational Books and Africana Publishing Company for an extract from *Black Mineworkers in Central Africa* by Charles Perrings.

History Workshop, for an extract from the article "Lord Milner and the South African State" by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido from *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 8, 1979.

The estate of T. L. Hodgkin for an extract from the article "Mahdism Messianism and Marxism in the African Setting" in *Sudan in Africa* edited by Y. F. Hasan.

Professor Allan Isaacman for an extract from his paper *A Luta Continua: Creating a New Society in Mozambique*, no. 1, Southern Africa Pamphlets, a joint enterprise of Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems and Civilizations, State University of New York at Binghamton; Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University; Centro de Estudos Africanos, Universidade de Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo.

Claude Meillassoux and the International African Institute for an extract from the Introduction to *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa* (1971).

The Merlin Press Ltd for extracts from "Capital Accumulation, Class Formation and Dependency" by Colin Leys from *Socialist Register* (1978).

Mouton Publishers for extracts from "Pragmatists or Feminists?" by Carmel Dinan in *Cahiers d'études Africaines* (1978).

Oxford University Press for extracts from "The Afrikaner Broederbond 1927-1948" by Dan O'Meara in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*,

vol. 3, no. 2 (1977) and "Migrant Labour and Changing Family Structure in the Rural Periphery of Southern Africa" by Colin Murray from *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1980).

Penguin Books Ltd and Little, Brown & Company for an extract from *Africa in Modern History: The Search for a New Society* by Basil Davidson (US edition *Let Freedom Come: Africa in Modern History*).

Pluto Press Ltd for an extract from *Chibaro* by Charles van Onselen (1975).

Presence Africaine for an extract from *The Damned* (1963) by Frantz Fanon, originally published as *Les Damnés de la Terre*.

The Review of African Political Economy for an extract from "Hidden Forms of Labour Protest" by Robin Cohen.

Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd for an extract from *Religious Change in Zambia* by W. van Binsbergen.

The Royal African Society for "Political Radicalism in Africa" by Richard Jeffries from *African Affairs*, 77, 308, 1978.

Sage Publications Inc. for extracts from two articles "From Peasant to Workers in Africa" by Robin Cohen and "Taking the Part of Peasants: Rural Development in Nigeria and Tanzania" from *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa* (vol. 1, Sage Series on African Modernization and Development) edited by Gutkind and Wallerstein. Copyright 1976.

Sociologische Gids for the article "Controllers in Rural Tanzania" by Thoden Van Velzen (*Sociologische Gids*, 19, 2, 1972).

Stanford University Press for extracts from *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* edited by Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay. Copyright © 1976 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

The University of Chicago Press for extracts from *Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa* by Michael Cohen.

Introduction

In editing this collection we have tried to make our selection systematic and coherent, able to stand on its own as an introduction to the sociology of Africa, and serve as a part of a series united, as Teodor Shanin's Preface points out, by shared interests, outlook and commitment.

Sub-Saharan Africa, as a unit of study, is marked both by local variation, the product of ecology and precolonial history, and by broad uniformities, the product of colonial history. We have focused on the common aspects of African social structures and processes, while not denying or ignoring local variation. In particular we have included material on South Africa. In its level of development (notably in industry and agriculture), in the completeness of the proletarianization of its African population, and in the sophistication and effectiveness of its state, South Africa is anything but typical of Africa in general. Yet such features raise analytical and methodological issues common to the study of all developing societies, while the history of their attainment in South Africa is both of particular comparative interest for the study of contemporary Africa, and has had a major impact on the entire southern (and Central) African region (see *Marks and Trapido*, *Murray*, *van Onselen*, *Gordon*, *O'Meara*, below).

Precolonial African societies were characterized by marked differences, even to some extent within the same ecological zone, in their changing forms of agricultural production and political arrangements, and in the nature and significance of their involvement in trade networks (see Davidson, 1969; Davidson, 1978; and for case studies Iliffe, 1979; Meillassoux, 1967). The dual impact of European capitalism and colonial rule imposed a degree of uniformity on these diverse patterns, without wholly eradicating them. This uniformity can be seen in economic and political structures, in the social transformations resulting from them, and in ideology.

Colonial economic development in "black" Africa was relatively modest in scope and intensity, focusing on mineral exploitation, and on peasant production, sometimes combined with settler production, as in East-Central Africa (Brett, 1973; Cowen, 1979; Palmer, 1977) and in nineteenth-century South Africa (Bundy, 1979). Outside South Africa,

production is still largely reliant on mining and peasant agriculture rather than on manufacturing industry and large-scale commercial agriculture, where growth has been recent and limited. Thus those social categories and processes characteristic of development and industrial growth are less conspicuous in Africa. Even rural society has not been wholly transformed into a peasantry economically and politically incorporated within a capitalist economy and state (Klein, 1980; Hyden, 1980). The African working class is small, relatively ill-defined, and in social and cultural terms not distinct from the broader mass of the urban poor (see Part V). Similarly the bourgeoisie is of recent origin, small and weakly capitalized. It tends to accumulate through political ties and corruption rather than through efficient use of capital, and has been and is currently subordinate to foreign and state capital (see Part VI).

Politically, colonial rule relied heavily on existing systems and holders of political authority, incorporated, transformed and even created to form part of an integrated and subordinate administrative system, staffed by African officials known uniformly as "chiefs". Peoples with different systems of kinship, languages and forms of political integration and organization were differentiated and designated as distinct units, as "tribes", forming one basis of the politicization of ethnicity characteristic of post-war Africa.

The predominance within society of rural communities created for colonial governments problems of incorporation and control, and led to more or less successful attempts to increase the central capacity of government (well illustrated in Iliffe, 1979). This was necessary to recruit and regulate labour, to tax peasants, and to dictate the terms of trade for their produce. Once a function of chieftaincy, in post-war Africa it has been increasingly based on the spread of state apparatuses in the countryside through "rural development". Shaped and legitimated by a common ideology of development involving the external provision of inputs, goals and management, such rural development strategies (and their effects on rural class structures and relations) recur across geographical and temporary boundaries (Heyer, 1981). A similar stress on the elaboration and expansion of state machinery and state role arose from post-war concern with economic development (often identified with industrial development). This requires the creation of an effective bureaucracy and revenue base, as well as machinery for recruiting and disciplining a wage labour force. South African history exemplifies the key role of the state in the creation of capitalist farming and industrial expansion, while several other African states illustrate the contradictions involved in attempting this without adequate central capacity (see, for example, Fransman, 1981). State institutions in Africa are often weak and poorly developed, unable

to articulate and regulate relations between classes, or effectively to intervene in and manage economic, social and political life.

The persistence of a particular conception of development illustrates the ideological effects of colonial rule, particularly on the elite, educated – as Fanon (1965) so acidly argues – for collaboration in both colonial rule and decolonization. Equally important has been the displacement and transformation of traditional religious belief and organization (see Davidson, 1969) by the world religions of Christianity and Islam. These have had profound effects on political consciousness, and have provided vehicles for political action (see Part IV). Together with the relative weakness of urban class formation, the result has been that political consciousness and attitudes have been only feebly influenced by class consciousness. Awareness of inequality, while widespread, is associated not so much with class antagonism as with the desire for, and the mythology of, individual advancement through the intervention of patrons, good fortune, and the like. Rural political life is less a matter of clashes between landlord and peasant, or conflict between the peasantry and the coercive apparatus of the state, as much as the interaction of religion, communal identity, the operations of patrons (public or private) and resistance to further incorporation into the state (see Parts III and IV).

The study of African societies has been shaped by paradigms of wider application which are designed to help our understanding of developing societies generally, and which are discussed by *Brett* (p. 3). Two paradigms have been particularly prominent. In the USA variants of “modernization” theory have been dominant, but while its assumptions have been damagingly exposed by several critiques (Frank, 1969; Taylor, 1979), this has not deterred people from continuing to use the ideas and imagery of the supposed transition from “tradition” to “modernity”. A radical counter-imagery was offered by the sociology of “underdevelopment”, arguing that Europe and North America were not the source of progress, but had deprived the Third World of its “surplus” and blocked development (Frank, 1967). Marxist critics of this latter approach, discussed by Bernstein in the *Introduction* to this series, have tended to revert to the evolutionist assumptions of orthodox Marxism (Warren, 1980: see Palma, 1978; Leys, 1975; Williams, 1978).

Drawing on this tradition, Phillips (1977) has argued convincingly that the proper focus of study should be the development of capitalism in all its forms. This cannot be limited to the instances of Britain, West Germany, the USA and Japan; conversely, the study of African societies must draw on studies of Europe and North America for relevant comparisons, and not only those of Asia and Latin America. South

Africa, but not as yet the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, has been exposed to such comparative scrutiny (Trapido, 1971; Greenberg, 1980; Burawoy in Nichols, 1980); unfortunately the study of South Africa has itself been isolated from studies of East or West Africa. In a small way we hope to contribute to remedying this weakness in this volume by presenting material on southern Africa within an African context.

Studies of Africa, and more generally of developing societies, have been marked by the strengths and weaknesses of a distinctly partisan scholarship. Underdevelopment theory, or the "revisionist" (i.e. Marxist) historians of southern Africa, have opened new ways of understanding African societies which are exemplified in this collection (and see Marks in Samuel, 1981). Yet such partisan scholarship has also been defensive, determined to sustain its own assumptions in the face of the enemy. Its aim has been to convert, and to reassure the converted, rather than to convince, which has inhibited writers from exploring problems and evidence which their assumptions cannot readily accommodate.

This is well illustrated by the liberal-Marxist "debate" over South Africa. The debate has been defined both by the ways in which the protagonists understand societies, and by their political commitments. Liberal arguments have been notable for their wishful thinking and restatement of the paradigms of neoclassical economic theory (Bromberger in Leftwich, 1974; Lipton, 1979). Marxists, who have convincingly demonstrated the relations between capitalism and the racist political and social institutions of South Africa (Legassick, 1974a, 1974b; Johnstone, 1970; Davies, 1980; *Marks and Trapido*, p. 10) remain, however, uneasy in their handling of the sociological category of race (see Rex, 1970) and are only now developing an appreciation of the contradictions within the present structure.

Obviously, as with the selection of items for this volume, our own values and theories will define what we choose to study and how we choose to do it. The validity of our analysis does not, however, depend on whether it conforms to a theoretical problematic (however sophisticated), but on its capacity to lay bare and comprehend the phenomena it seeks to explain. In our choice of extracts we have therefore preferred material derived less from the practice of theoretical debate and more from the experience of field research and the attempt to synthesize and present analytically a wide range of empirical material. We have tried at the same time to avoid dogmatic prescription and sought for simplicity, clarity and brevity in the extracts chosen.

To keep the book short but coherent we concentrate on one major aspect of African sociology, that of social structure. Thus we have not, for example, drawn on social anthropology, concerned as it generally is

with community rather than class and with culture rather than politics. Nor have we paid much overt attention to the sociology of interpersonal relations, whether arising from the roles of spouse, parent, friend, client, "tribesman" or employee – though all of these are treated in our extracts. Instead we consider the most important divisions within African society, those of gender, class and race. Thus, following a section on the way in which these divisions have been shaped by colonialism and capitalism (which should be read in conjunction with the *Introduction* to this series), we have sections on women, peasants, the urban poor and the bourgeoisie. In keeping with our concern for empirical scholarship, the selection overall has a descriptive flavour which we hope will convey something of the vividness and particularity of African society as well as its attraction to Africanists. We have also aimed to achieve a regional balance, avoiding the concentration of much sociological research, on English-speaking West Africa, and giving due weight to southern Africa.

Each of the social categories with which we deal is discussed from three standpoints: its origin and nature, the forms of consciousness with which it is associated, and its characteristic forms of politics. We do not suggest that each category is sharply defined, with an unambiguous relationship with other categories (see, for example, the introduction to Part V), and with a definite form of political consciousness or strategy. Class concepts should not only refer simply to exclusive, economically defined categories, but also to relationships between members of the same or different classes. Hence our concern is with workers, not "the working class", or with peasants, not "the peasantry". Class membership is one of several ways in which people identify themselves collectively, and forms one of the sources of collective action. Political actions arising out of the experiences and exigencies of specific class situations may yet be articulated in other terms, such as those of religious movements, as several of our excerpts in Parts IV and V will show. Class relations and forms of social identity are continually changing, and we have tried to convey a sense of the historical depth of the process of class formation and of class relationships, especially in our material on southern Africa.

Both consciousness and politics reflect in their ambivalence and flexibility the variety of possible relationships between classes and the importance of divisions within them, most notably within the bourgeoisie. Relationships between classes may indeed be less significant in many instances than, for example, such relationships as those between rural society as a whole and the state (Part III) or between the urban poor and the urban privileged (Part V; *Cohen* in Part VI). Class consciousness is not necessarily either the commonest or the

dominant form of consciousness: religion, ethnicity, status and race are all important influences. The latter three are illustrated below in a variety of contexts from mines and urban politics to peasant revolt. We devote special attention to religion in our material on peasant consciousness and politics (Part IV), both a means of responding to exploitation and a means of securing peasant subordination to rural patrons and the colonial and postcolonial state. During the peasant revolts and armed liberation struggles of the post-war period such religious forms of consciousness have been superseded (as are ethnic forms) by a more explicitly national and class consciousness (see, for example, *Davidson* in Part IV; Marcum, 1969, 1978; Isaacman, 1978).

In explaining political activity neither liberal nor Marxist analysts have come to terms successfully with the variety of phenomena which have been lumped together under the blanket terms of "ethnicity" or, more crudely, "tribalism". Pluralist theories (Kuper, 1969) have tended to treat such phenomena as *sui generis* and thus requiring no explanation, though, as Melson (Melson and Wolpe, 1971) argues, tribalism cannot be treated as an independent or fundamental variable in analysing political conflict, being itself either an outcome or a mode of such conflict. We are, however, no nearer to a satisfactory account of why conflict should take such a form in some contexts rather than others, though Kasfir (1976) and Young (1976) have made determined efforts. Similarly, Marxists tend to have recourse to the claim that tribalism is just ideology (Mafeje, 1971; see also Leys, 1975), or to make the phenomenon vanish by redescribing it in terms of class, religious or other forms of conflict (see Mamdani, 1976; and discussion in Saul, 1979).

The concept of the state has led a similarly shadowy existence in studies of politics. Often it becomes reduced to the notions of "government" or "administration", seen both as institution and as actor. Marxists, particularly in African contexts, generally try to treat the state as the political manifestation of a class (Jessop, 1982); the problem is then to identify which class. Since the class which informs the state has often proved peculiarly elusive, they have been driven to nominate metropolitan classes, or class alliances (see the material on the "overdeveloped" postcolonial state in Goulbourne, 1980; and discussion in Leys, 1976; Saul, 1979), while Leys in his work on Kenya has drawn on Marx's theory of "Bonapartism" to explain the Kenyan state and its activities in terms of the balance of class forces (Leys, 1975, 1978, and in Fransman, 1982). It is more fruitful to study the various ways in which state activity intervenes in class relations, shown, for example, in rural development (Part III), industrial relations (Part V), and the accumulation of private capital (Part VI), before attempting to

conceptualize the state; Leys, again, is probably the best example of this to date.

Although we have arranged our material according to our chosen social categories, the discussion of each category is not confined to its particular section, and certain major topics – ethnicity, state activity, nationalist politics, etc. – arise in most sections. To use this book effectively, therefore, it should be read as an integrated text; for convenience the index identifies these and other recurring themes, as do the introductions to each part. The book should also be read as an introductory text, for it aims in part to encourage readers to follow up the topics and authors mentioned. In order to keep within the limits of space allowed us while covering a wide range of material and authors, we have cut many of the pieces included, by condensing some passages and omitting others while retaining the flow, sense and style of the argument and (wherever possible) empirical illustration of the analysis presented. A first step, therefore, in following up our selection is to return to the original texts; the full references can be found in the bibliography at the end of the book.

A second step is to consult the introductions to each part, which also function as guides to further reading, listed again in the bibliography; for simplicity a work with several authors is cited under the first author only. In citing further reading we have tended to choose material that is likely to be available in university libraries; that is, in English (though there is a mass of important work in French), and which itself acts as a guide to more literature. Novels are often the most vivid and intuitively satisfying portrayals of social phenomena available, and several are therefore mentioned. Our listings are severely limited by both shortage of space and by the structure of the book, and some earlier bibliographical guides may still prove helpful (Allen in Gutkind, 1976 and in Gutkind, 1977; McClelland in R. C. O'Brien, 1979). Keeping up with new literature is best done by consulting the list of recent publications in the *Review of African Political Economy*, while the most useful journals to read regularly are the *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, *Cahiers d'études africaines*, the *Review of African Political Economy*, and for southern Africa the *Journal of Southern Africa Studies* and the *South African Labour Bulletin*.