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THE NEW ELECT : A STUDY OF

AN EMERGING EAST AFRICAN

INTELLIGENTSIA

by

MANFRED STANLEY

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A dissertation in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and
Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy at New York University.

John Langstaff

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE TRADITIONAL SETTING	18
III. THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY	32
IV. THE TRANSFORMATION OF ENCOUNTER	64
V. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE	207
VI. SELF PROCESS	246
VII. SOCIETY, POLITICS AND RELIGION	306
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	337
BIBLIOGRAPHY	366

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils, - no, nor the human race, as I believe, - and then only will this our State have a possibility of life and behold the light of day."

- Plato

Through the ages the image of the philosopher-king has intrigued the Western imagination. Despite those theories and ideologies which stress the situational aspects of leadership and the environmental conditions of progress, complex societies in travail have turned time and again to some supposed version of the philosopher-king who seemed to point the way to the establishment of a new and final Jerusalem.

But what the Western world has come to know as knowledge, though a prime pre-requisite, has yet to make one a philosopher or a king. The necessary alchemy of historical forces, social organization, individual psychology and educational policy remains a mystery. Yet millions in the new worlds emerging beyond the borders of the West are learning to look with hope to those few of their sons being transferred into "Bachelors", "Masters" and "Doctors" - the keepers of the gates to their New Jerusalems. What are they like, these new gatekeepers? How do they see the world, and themselves? Will they, like Moses, frustrated by the burdens of their task, end exhausted

with only a glimpse of the promised land, leaving to others the task of leading their people into it? Or will there emerge from among their ranks those with the foundations of wisdom and innovative skill necessary to create and lead a humane society?

This is a study of intellectuals, the new elect in the societies of Asia and Africa which are passing into independence. In these societies, moving from past to future, the generalization made by Shils (1963:188) concerning their importance is of obvious applicability.

"Intellectuals are the creators of the deeper orientations of public opinion....especially in under-developed countries where they have few competitors apart from the traditional centres of authority. Politicians and journalists influence opinion on day-to-day issues, but scholars, research workers and philosophers are the creators of the long-run opinion that, in a sense, will determine the future of their countries as much as economic and geographical conditions will determine it. In so far as human efforts can ever determine the future of a country, the deeper permeative influence of intellectuals on the basic assumptions of public life is as important as any other factor."

The locale of the study is East Africa. At the time the data was collected this area of the world was on the verge of political independence. A new generation of university graduates was being created at Makerere College, University of East Africa, whose post-graduate life was to be affected by the problems and promises of national independence. A unique opportunity presented itself. Karl Mannheim (1949:146) wrote some years ago that

"...Utopias and counter-images are the creations of individuals and not of restive but inarticulate masses, although thwarted intellectuals may become their allies

and spokesmen. It is their articulation of discontent and their deliberate counter-symbols which crystallize mass consensus and action."

History usually presents us with such matters in the accomplished forms of revolutions, social movements, assassinations and wars. It is seldom that we can stand at the intersection of history and subjective experience and study the state of mind of those about to be playing leading roles in the process of historical change. Even as one so often wonders upon seeing an artist viewing his finished product if this indeed was the vision which drove him on, so this question arises of those who fashion history.

This is a survey study of the self-image, of the visions of history, society, politics and religion formed by a generation of students in the relative detachment of the university environment: images and visions formed before the conscription of those who hold them into leadership roles by the new institutions arising in their midst. One day these visions and their creators may disappear from history, or else they will be remembered as the foundations of a new society. In any event, they will not remain the same. It is important for the scientific understanding of change, for educational policy and political communication that the subjective intents, the perspectives and the aspirations of potential world-historical figures be understood before their time of testing arrives. Otherwise we can never know what they really wanted and how the hard marble of historical circumstance comes to alter the

artist's design. This study attempts to describe, analyze and place into historical perspective these images, fears, hopes and aspirations on the part of a generation of new African intellectuals who are still in college as their societies pass into political independence.

The fieldwork was carried out in East Africa between the summers of 1960 and 1961 at Makerere College of the University of East Africa. Three fundamental limitations were set on the scope of the investigation.

- a) It was restricted to men both for practical reasons and because of their relative importance in direct political decision-making.
- b) It was restricted to students who had never travelled or studied outside of East Africa. The reason for this decision was that the recipient of transplanted Western education has been relatively neglected as a research subject, especially in Africa. As such opportunities spread, proportionately fewer numbers will receive such education in places other than their own indigenous environments, and we felt it time that research appropriate to this development was emphasized.
- c) The study was restricted to a comparison of students from two East African tribal societies.

This restriction arises out of the obvious fact that tribal origin and affiliation in Africa is still of great sociological significance as compared with the artificial national boundaries imposed by the colonial administrations. As J. C. Mitchell (1956:34) has written, with reference to another research

context,

"The better-educated Africans appreciate that tribalism is divisive and make pleas for 'unity' but such pleas are made in a context of Black-White relationships: they seek African unity against Europeans. From the evidence we have at present, tribalism...is still the dominant category of interaction in social fields in which Africans alone are involved. But it is not a relevant category in the field of Black-White relations."

The two tribes chosen are Buganda in Uganda and Kikuyu in Kenya.

These were selected for the following reasons.

1. They are two of the most politically important tribes in East Africa in terms of number and influence on political affairs. No East African Federation, for instance, would probably be feasible without some form of organized cooperation between elite representatives of societies as powerful and disparate as Buganda and Kikuyu.
2. These two societies are more heavily represented at Makerere than any other.
3. They present startling contrasts in social and cultural structure. Buganda was a centralized monarchy with rank and prestige of clans and individuals affected by their position in the structure of political power and by their influence at court. Kikuyu was a loosely integrated society of clans and sub-clans cross-cut by age grades.
4. They also present startling contrasts in their respective colonial and missionary histories. For instance, one experienced the presence of European settlers, the other did not; in one Christianity penetrated to its institutional core, in the other it did not.
5. An extensive literature is available on both societies.

A sample from the two populations was chosen on the basis of a dormitory Hall of Residence which was found to be representative of the total population of students at the time in terms of two variables:

- proportion of the two populations as against all others, and
- course of study expressed in terms of the two categories of Arts and Science subjects.

There was a satisfactory reason to assume that this sample was also representative of year in school, geographic district of origin, and religion expressed in terms of Protestant vs. Catholic for all the Baganda and Kikuyu students then in attendance at the College.^{1*}

The basic intent of this project was to carry out an intensive social-psychological survey of this sample in order to help achieve an understanding, at a level deeper than is usually afforded by general survey studies, of the subjective correlates of massive historical change. The type of change with which we are concerned in the present context is modernization.² The subjective world we are going to explore is that of the new intellectuals who, in their various capacities, will be called upon to bring this change about. The sociological theory of the self implies that historical change means changes in the meaning and experience of what it means to be an "individual" as well. But further theoretical development of this aspect of social psychology awaits empirical research designed to correlate the psychic and socio-cultural aspects of change. This research is offered as a contribution to such empirical literature.

The logic of this study as a whole is based upon certain methodological and theoretical principles which define how we conceive our contribution as fitting into the larger development of scientific research and theory.

*Note: Footnotes appear at ends of chapters.

The sociology of intellectuals has received renewed attention in recent years. With respect to non-Western as well as Western societies the study of strategic elites generally and intellectuals as agents of social change in particular has now been firmly established.³ One manifestation of this interest has been social-psychological survey studies of the values, attitudes and opinions held by intellectuals and other potential agents of change. From one methodological point of view, these surveys can be roughly divided into two general types. Some incorporate into the study design an attempt to take account of the historical, social and cultural contexts as influences upon the formation of subjective responses. Others, while recognizing their importance in principle, do not incorporate the study of these factors relative to the survey results.⁴ The latter type of survey has come under some criticism by writers such as T. R. Williams (1959:59-60) who points out that

"...isolation of survey responses from the context of the social behavior patterns of individuals who provided them leads to a deformation of the nature of the responses, since they are removed and treated completely apart from the structure of behavior in which they have functional social meaning. The apparent willingness of most students of survey research to ignore relevant features of form, structure, order and arrangement in the isolation and statistical treatment of responses raises fundamental doubts about the scientific usefulness of survey research conclusions."

This study has attempted to take serious account of this type of criticism in two ways. One is the use of diverse survey methods including a variety of open-ended techniques. The other is an effort to incorporate an examination of

environmental influences in relation to the survey results. The Methodological Appendix to this study contains a detailed discussion of both these points. But for the purpose of this present introductory chapter, a further word on the second point is relevant.

Superficially, criticism of survey studies often seems to be based simply upon the argument that one should take into account the 'situation' in which a respondent is located and relative to which his responses have meaning. This criticism is not easily dealt with, however. For it is not sufficient to define an actor's 'situation' in terms of the role interactions in which he is involved because such roles are parts of institutions which are themselves embedded in a society and a culture undergoing both long-term and short-term historical change. Thus any attempt to delimit an actor's 'situation' involves in some sense an arbitrary decision. In the present research context which has to do with what is commonly referred to as the non-Western world, a consideration of 'situation' confronts us directly with the concept of acculturation.

East Africa is an area of rapid change and transformation arising out of the impact of elements of Western society and culture upon indigenous societies and cultures. One of the criticisms of the concept of acculturation has been that the term implies the transformation of a society or a culture as a 'whole' and thus tends to be used too loosely. How this issue is handled in research depends upon the units of analysis in which one is interested (e.g. social forms, cultural patterns

or 'traits', behavior patterns, or individuals). Those working with the concept of acculturation have come to approach the term with some caution. For instance F. Voget (1951:220-231) now speaks of "differential acculturation" on the ground that

"Studies in acculturation increasingly have demonstrated that anthropologists can no longer treat native societies in process of change as if they were socially and culturally homogeneous units."

In a social-psychological study the focus is upon individuals choosing to accept, reject or otherwise accommodate themselves to new stimuli.⁵ Very helpful to a social-psychological approach has been the position taken on this by the British anthropologist J. C. Mitchell (1960:31) in his use of the term "social field".

"At our present stage of thinking it appears that the concept of the social field is the most useful tool we have with which to analyze social systems. The social field embraces the range of social relationships within which the effects of actions in part are likely to spread. Within the field there are likely to be clusters of highly interconnected social relationships in which actions in one part have a direct and immediate effect on other parts, while other parts of the field will be relatively unaffected by or isolated from these actions."

From this point of view, social change can be studied in terms of the degree of integration or mal-integration between the rates and kinds of change characteristic of 'one to ...n' social fields. In the present study we shall use the term acculturative field to denote a social field in which change processes are taking place of a kind associated with the traditional term acculturation. It is clear that any social-psychological study of change, focusing as it does on individuals, must not only locate them in relation to some acculturative field relevant to the researcher's interest. It is also

necessary to indicate the mode of relationship existing between that field and the total society of which that field is one sector. These points provide the basis for the design of the present study and its presentation.

The first step is to provide a brief description of the two societies from which our sample of students derive. This description is based upon the ethnological literature on Buganda and Kikuyu relevant to their cultural and social organization in the last quarter of the nineteenth century just prior to the onset of British imperialism in East Africa. In this restricted sense, one may speak of this description as one of the base-line of change. Chapter II is devoted to a discussion of these ethnological data.

In Chapter III we deal with the dimensions of socio-cultural change which have transformed the two societies. These changes have not operated in the same way in both societies and the chapter analyzes, relative to the material presented in Chapter II, why these historical differences have come about.

In Chapter IV we restrict our focus to the acculturative field or sector directly relevant to our interest in Baganda and Kikuyu university students. This sector is the secondary and higher educational institutions which form the critical transmission points for the alien ways of thought, aspiration and life style which together transform students into a new elite in their own world. There is little empirical research data on this topic in relation to the social-psychological aspects of encounter between African students and the various

agents of Western education in Africa. Yet the dynamics of this encounter are at least as historically important as the more formal educational designs drawn up by planners relative to manpower requirements and so forth. For it is in the human dimension of interaction in the social field with its potential for problems in communication and adaptation that planned intentions are translated into deeds. This chapter therefore reflects empirical investigations carried out by the writer on both the secondary and higher education levels in Kenya and Buganda relevant to the following question: what were the specific dynamics of social interaction between African students and representatives of Western education which help account for some of the ways in which Western culture and institutions appear to African students as reflected in subsequent chapters of this study.

In Chapter V the characteristics of the sample are presented with emphasis upon social origins and family history. The focus of this chapter is upon family history and socialization environment. This is based upon the assumption that the socialization environment of a person in a region of rapid but uneven rates of change operates as a kind of baseline for 'definitions of the situation' which are of great importance in the subsequent acculturative history of an individual. Thus the social psychologist's interest in variations of subjective 'definitions of situations' must be grounded in a comprehension of diversities in socialization experiences within the socio-cultural environment and of the changes taking

place within it to which the individual must learn to adapt himself and his identity. The theoretical and methodological rationale for our approach to this problem in the present study is elucidated in detail within the Methodological Appendix.

The theme of Chapter VI is experience of the "self" and deals with the topics of sex, love and marriage; life goals and career plans; aesthetic experience and anxiety, on the part of the survey sample.

Chapter VII reports on world-views in relation to politics, society and religion and examines the ways in which "self" is related to these perspectives.

Chapter VIII concludes the study by summarizing the findings and relating them to issues of educational policy and inter-cultural communication.⁶

A final word should be added concerning the relationship between the present study and the larger question of the sociology of elite formation. A phrase commonly utilized in popular, journalistic and even some social science communication with reference to the individuals with whom this study deals is "the educated elite". There are some sociological and psychological assumptions latent in each of the three words of this phrase which should be made manifest lest they mislead those who use it into empirically false directions.

First, the word "the" can suggest that the variable 'western education' is correlated with the emergence of a sociological group or stratum characterized by similar outlooks, aspirations and self-definitions, and hence by corporate consciousness. This may or may not be true.

Second, the word "educated" suggests a single unitary phenomenon or 'thing'. But anyone acquainted with British education with its emphasis upon early specialization, for example, would have grounds for predicting that this system, transferred to culturally alien soil, might produce rather different interests and outlooks among students who majored in Science as against those who entered an Arts subject such as economics. This would be especially true in a context of a lack of general background education derived from Western-style popular arts and mass media. Further, there is the question of the influence of missionary-culture upon subject matter and student-teacher relationships. Finally, there is the fact that education is embedded in institutional contexts which have different histories of development in different areas, and hence different structural relationships with the environment. This means among other things that in different areas, different sectors of the population are selected out for exposure to Western education for differing reasons. Thus the very meaning and functions of education can vary from one context to another.

Finally, the word "elite" raises even more questions. Does this term imply that there exists a condition of influence on the part of Western-educated persons over those of their fellows lacking such exposure in a given society? If so, what is the nature of this influence? Is this influence sought for or does it just devolve upon those holding the qualifications for it? Does this influence lead to joint response based on

corporate consciousness or is it handled on the basis of many diverse factors?

Obviously the present study cannot answer such questions definitively. However it is hoped that the material presented here, when combined with other related empirical investigations, can help to provide the foundations for a scientific understanding of the contributions of highly educated persons to the great transformation known as modernization.

In conclusion, perhaps the best statement of the significance of this project is a comment by Daniel Lerner (1958: 74-5) with respect to his own work in the Middle East.

"....the great dramas of societal transition occur through individuals involved in solving their personal problems and living their private lives. But certain of these dramas signify more for the future than others....The meaning of events is best clarified by those whom we perceive at the moment of 'engagement' - a moment which occurs when an expansive Self, newly equipped with a functioning empathy, perceives connections between its private dilemmas and public issues. This is political consciousness, in the larger sense, and its acquisition distinguishes those who have been pierced by the present and in responding, shape the future....What they are today is a passage from what they once were to what they are becoming. Their passage, writ large, is the passing of traditional society...."

Notes

1. Details can be found in Chapter V.
 2. For basic purposes in our discussion we accept as a general definition of modernization the transformation of a relatively undifferentiated kinship-based society into a more complex differentiated one under the impetus of the goal of economic development. Among the long-range criteria of "complex", as commonly understood, are institutional specialization and segmentalization; urbanization; increasing functional rationalization of the division of labor exemplified in the bureaucratization of society. These are, of course, largely formal criteria. The question of the range of content possible within formal limitations is very much still an open question in social science. Daniel Lerner (1958), for instance, distinguishes between Westernization and Modernization, suggesting that the latter reflects more exclusively a desire for the material power and affluence associated with Western nations minus the philosophies and ideologies associated with Western culture. But he adds that "It is not clear, however, that modern ways and words can be so easily and so totally sundered." (pp.46-7). John Kautsky (1962) discusses the same distinction and seems to contradict, or at least qualify, Lerner's comment when he points out that since "...industry in its most modern form involves automation ...the question arises whether it is this new form of industry with its new social and political consequences, rather than the very different older forms most of us are familiar with that will be adopted by underdeveloped countries in the future....Not only will such countries not be saddled with obsolete industrial plants, which cannot practically and profitably be modernized overnight, but they will not be slowed down by obsolete ideologies that developed with earlier types of economic organization and change even more slowly than the latter." (p.28)
- This issue is very much alive with regard to differences between Western industrial societies as well. In

political science it is currently exemplified in the conflict over the merits of the convergence hypothesis concerning the United States and the Soviet Union. For our limited purposes here, however, involvement in these complexities seems unnecessary.

3. The classical framework of analysis was provided by Karl Mannheim (1956:91-170). The renewed interest in this topic is exemplified by publication of an anthology (George B. de Huszar, 1960); by a textbook devoted to intellectual as well as other elites (Suzanne Keller, 1963); and by theoretical articles devoted to the role of intellectuals in social change and modernization (Harry J. Benda, 1962:235-252, Edward Shils, 1962: 195-235). In the context of the present study it seems unnecessary to become involved in the semantic debates concerning the meaning of "intellectuals" and distinctions between this word and "intelligentsias". We use it for our purpose in the same simple sense as does Shils (1963:199);

"As far as the definition of intellectual is concerned it is a complicated thing, but for very rough and approximate purposes I would regard as intellectuals persons who have, in under-developed countries, a higher education, who have a university degree or - that criterion may become less and less useful - who follow intellectual professions such as medicine, law, journalism, school-teaching, university teaching and so on." *

4. Examples of studies which do not go out of their way to incorporate environmental considerations in the research design are Gillespie and Allport (1955); Herbert Hyman et.al (1958:275-292); M. Cormack (1961); F. Zweig (1963). An analysis and bibliography of related cross-cultural attitude research can be found in E. Jacobson, et.al. (1960:205-224). Examples of studies which do attempt to take account of environmental factors at least to some extent are John and Ruth Useem (1955); L. H. Battistini (1956); Bennet, Passin and McKnight (1958);

Wen-Han Kiang (1948); Edward Shils (1961); G. Jahoda (1961); H. and M. Smythe (1960); and J. Lifton (1964: 369-384). Also relevant are the essays in the two issues of Daedalus (Summer 1960 and Winter 1962). Naturally these studies vary considerably in terms of methodological rigor.

5. Cf. the important and germinal study of H. G. Barnett (1953).
6. Following Chapter VIII is a Data Appendix. Here the main body of rich data, relevant to Chapters V through VII, are presented in the form of both tables and categorized summaries. The study concludes with a Methodological Appendix containing a brief discussion of specific aspects and problems of the study relating to methodology.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL SETTING

There are certain limitations to any description of the societies of Kikuyu and Buganda in terms of their existence at the time of the coming of the Europeans. Even though there is a good deal of published and unpublished literature about these two societies, ethnographers and other observers are not necessarily in agreement on all issues. There are bound to be ambiguities about those specific structural and cultural features which are farthest removed from the life experiences of observers who write about societies alien to their own. Furthermore, some of the published literature has been authored by persons who were not trained anthropologists. This chapter is based upon selection from the literature of generalizations on which wide agreement exists.

Buganda is one of the so-called Interlacustrine Bantu kingdoms of the region around Lake Victoria.¹ These societies were characterized at the time of the coming of the Europeans by territorial rule of a paramount ruler, chosen from among members of royal kinship groups. Such rulers characteristically chose their subordinate officials, or chiefs, from among their loyal supporters and placed them in charge of territorial sub-divisions. Margaret Fallers (1960:13) states that "The relative prominence of these latter forms of political selection....marks the Interlacustrine kingdom-states....off

from most of their Bantu speaking cousins of central and southern Africa."

The kingdom of Buganda covers part of the north-western and western margins of Lake Victoria between the Nile River in the east and Lake Albert in the west. The total area is now approximately 17,200 square miles (excluding open water). The empire of Buganda grew by military conquest, expanding in size from the districts of Busiro, Kyadondo and Mawokata (which surround the present township of Kampala) - by the time of arrival of agents of the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 - to thirteen districts including the Sesse Islands in Lake Victoria. Also by that time tribute was being received from still other areas including southern Busoga.

Buganda, with an average elevation of four-thousand feet, is part of a plateau lying between Lake Victoria and the Western Rift. The characteristic appearance of much of the country is that of low flat-topped hills separated by swampy valleys which are now filled with papyrus or reeds. The most productive soil is known locally as murram and it supports most of the cash and subsistence crops. The greatest density of population and the most extensive growing of cotton and bananas is in the area of heaviest rainfall in the north-west and the south-east.

The basis of the subsistence economy in Buganda was the farmer and his holding, on which he planted a banana garden (of which a great number of varieties were recognized) and the annual crops which included beans and (in the short grass) millet. Bark cloth and banana beer were also important :

products. The Europeans found the Baganda growing sweet potatoes, maize and groundnuts as well, but these were not indigenous to the country. People of means held herds of cattle which were a sign of wealth as well as a source of meat and milk. A farmer sometimes had one or two cows and usually some goats. Everyone had chickens which were used in Buganda both for gifts and ceremonial purposes. Pigs were not domesticated but were hunted wild by men for food.

After the declaration of Protection in 1894 by Great Britain, Buganda became one of four provinces within the Protectorate of Uganda, although with somewhat special status. It was, at the time of independence in 1962, composed of three districts: Mengo, Masaka, and Mubende.

The Kikuyu² are one of the two Bantu-speaking peoples inhabiting what came under the British to be known as the Central Province of Kenya (the other is the Kamba). A distinction is often made between what some call the "Kikuyu tribes" as against the "Kikuyu", the former referring to the inhabitants of all five districts of Kiambu, Fort Hall, Nyeri, Embu and Meru which lie in a belt from south to north.³ The other category refers only to those residing in the three districts of Kiambu, Fort Hall and Nyeri surrounding the city of Nairobi. In the present study we have restricted ourselves to consideration of these three districts plus Nairobi, the old settler areas of Nanyuki and Thika and the squatter land around Nakuru (Rift Valley) both with reference to our general remarks on the Kikuyu society as a whole and

our selection procedure for deriving our sample.

The Kikuyu arrived in their present setting as a result of migrations generally in a direction from northeast to south. The history of these migrations is a complex one. It is estimated that the migrations reached the Fort Hall area (about sixty miles north of the city of Nairobi) approximately 1550 A.D. after which they began to cross into Kiambu (between Fort Hall and Nairobi). At the time of arrival of the Europeans, the area occupied by the Kikuyu tribes was a homogeneous zone bounded and demarcated ecologically by plains or high ridges. The Kikuyu migration was blocked to the southeast by the Kamba who resisted fiercely any encroachment upon their land. A strip of territory running north to south on the eastern side of Fort Hall became a no-man's land between the two tribes which neither could dominate. Beyond Nyeri were the powerful Masai. Westward lay the cold climate of the Aberdares Mountains which precluded agriculture. Farther south the Masai again presented a formidable barrier since on the southern drier plains Masai warriors were invincible. The Kikuyu, agriculturists who deforested almost all land under their control, left a strip of forest as a protective barrier along southern Kiambu, and this strip formed the southernmost line of Kikuyu expansion. Kiambu was the scene of heaviest casualties wrought by the small-pox epidemic of the early 1890's which swept Kikuyu country. As a result, the Kikuyu withdrew from most of the Kiambu area, in their view temporarily. It was at this point that the Europeans arrived and

the foundations for the complex land conflicts to follow were laid.⁴

The Kikuyu were agriculturists whose major crops were sorghum, millets, beans and sweet potatoes (although today maize is the most important crop, both for subsistence and for sale). Other crops now grown are pigeon pea, European potato, cassava, bananas, sugar-cane, yams, arum lily, various fruits, tobacco and coffee. The Kikuyu did not use cattle as standard value but rather goats and sheep, although cattle had great prestige value and a wealthy man was sure to own ten to twelve head.

While there was some external trade between the Kikuyu and the Masai and Kamba tribes, there was very little contact between Kikuyu and the Arab or European slave and ivory traders of the nineteenth century.

With regard to social organization and world-view of Buganda and Kikuyu there exists an extensive literature which is difficult to summarize. It is important, however, to avoid a discussion cast either in terms so general as to stress only the continuities between these two Bantu societies or, on the other extreme, to concentrate exclusively upon the quite striking differences between them. Both perspectives, similarities and differences, are essential to a proper understanding of contemporary persons from these two societies. We have chosen to summarize these major points of similarity and difference between the two societies most relevant to an understanding of the significance of the data later to be

presented. Our description of the pre-colonial state of these societies, we wish to emphasize, is relevant approximately only to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, around the time of the first contact between King Mutesa of Buganda and Henry Stanley, the explorer.

It has been argued that certain similarities in the world-view of Bantu societies in Africa warrant the conclusion that these world-views form an internally consistent 'whole' subject to local variations.⁵ At least there can be said to have been definite similarities in organization and outlook as well as radical differences between Buganda and Kikuyu at the time the Europeans arrived. We will summarize first the similarities and then the differences.

A) Both Buganda and Kikuyu were integrated societal systems in which a complex balance of rights guaranteed every individual a minimum level of survival, social insurance and identity. No detailed consideration of these rights leaves any room for simplistic distinctions between 'communal' vs. 'private' rights in these societies. There existed in both a complex balance of individual and communal interests which facilitated the perpetuation of the community as a system plus the development of socially recognized variations of individual abilities. However the institutionalized criteria for social mobility in the two societies seem to have been rather different.

B) In both societies wealth was functionally more important for status enhancement rather than for capital accumulation.

C) In both societies kinship was an important principle of social organization although, by the time of the European arrival, this was less true of Buganda than of Kikuyu.

D) Despite some scientific confusion about this topic, it is clear that there were some religio-magical attitudes common to both societies. This is most obvious with regard to life and death. In neither society were the dead considered irrelevant to the living; they were consulted and their pleasure and displeasure was an important factor in the explanation of events in ways foreign to Western culture. In both societies magic as a mode of relatedness to people and nature was important. In both societies the line between the natural and the supernatural was not what it is in our society. It is quite difficult to state positively what that line was for traditional Buganda and Kikuyu. (In such analyses it is usually easier to state what was not included under the concept of the supernatural than what was.) Further, both societies, as was true of so many traditional societies throughout the world, shared a similar concept of "explanation". The idea of accident played a small role, if any; and almost anything unusual required explanation. (Typical is Lucy Hair's anecdote about a Muganda woman who answered her query about the special attention paid to the birth of twins in Buganda with the remark, "well, when most people have one child at a time and someone suddenly has two, isn't that an extraordinary thing?") It is in this light that the activities and importance of traditional religio-magical personnel can be understood.

E) In both societies an individual life was important and the idea of social superfluosity was a strange concept. It is in this context that the meaning of social and existential security in non-Western societies must be approached. For security of identity and person (i.e. the sense of belonging and the right to survival) was based upon concrete social position. In exploring the reasons for this assertion, one arrives at a deeper level of awareness of the relevance of social organization and world-view to the idea of psychic security in many traditional societies (and, indirectly, to problems of insecurity and "alienation" in our own). In a community in which everyone is involved in complex patterns of reciprocity and in which the interests of the dead are relevant to the living, human life - almost by definition - cannot come cheap. This is true for at least two reasons.

In a social system based upon a delicate balance of reciprocal obligations, the loss of a person involves disruption of those patterned institutionalized obligations thereby necessitating a more or less complex readjustment. The value of the individual life is thus based on quite objective structural criteria rather than upon ideological assertion only. Everyone is, in some sense, "needed" in that he has a function to perform.

A second reason why societies such as we are discussing provide security for individual life of a relatively rather high order lies in their theories of death. When it is believed that the dead are not only not reduced to a state of non-being, but can actually cause suffering for the living,

the principle of reciprocity does not cease with death. Few things are as fearful in such societies as the prospect of an ancestral spirit exacting revenge against parties guilty of transgressions against it in life. Thus fear of what a man can do to a transgressor against his rights in life after he dies is an important sanction against non-conformity with norms.

Despite these similarities, however, marked differences between Buganda and Kikuyu existed by the middle and last quarter of the nineteenth century.

A) While almost no society is a 'kinship-organised society' in terms of the popular misconception of the absence of any non-kinship regulating principle, traditional systems differ both in the importance placed on the kinship principles and the nature of the non-kinship principle of organisation in which kinship ties are embedded. Buganda and Kikuyu in the nineteenth century differed with regard to both these points. The major non-kinship regulating principle of Kikuyu was the age-grade system; of Buganda it was the principle of independent hierarchical political status and power in relation to the pivotal symbol and status of the king (Kabaka). Although this point about Buganda must be expressed not as a static fact but in terms of a dynamic history of tension between the kinship and the political principles, it is true to say that by the mid-nineteenth century the political principle had achieved sufficient importance to render Buganda a hierarchical authoritarian state. The relatively greater importance of the kinship

principle in Kikuyu resulted in a largely de-centralized and non-authoritarian age-grade social organization with rather vague political boundaries.

B) These differences are reflected in accounts of the traditional ontology. The realm of the ancestors and the gods in Buganda were reflections of the living social structure. The muzim (only loosely to be translated as spirit) of a dead farmer was of relatively little ritual importance (even for his relatives) compared to that of a dead king. And a local clan "god" (lubaale) enjoyed a far more modest significance than the great dynastic balubaale (pl.) with their national cults and extravagant temples. On the basis of the published accounts, it is difficult to imagine a Kikuyu writing of his traditional society as Kalibala (1946:71-72) has written of his, that "...religion was a political factor in Buganda politics" and that "...the gods...were thorough politicians behind the scenes." Likewise it becomes comprehensible why religious ceremonial was of little integrative significance in Buganda as compared to the single greatest social and ritual occasion, the accession of a new king to the throne. One might say that the history of Buganda reveals that even as the king and his agents gradually won out over kinship leaders (the clan elders, or bataka), so the hero gods won out over the ancestral spirits and gods of the clans in the realm of the dead.

C) It appears possible from the accounts that fear played a more significant role with regard to social control

in Buganda than in Kikuyu. If so, the reasons are not difficult to understand. In Kikuyu the age-grade system provided an institutionalized and predictable basis for social mobility. Within this system there operated other 'safe' criteria such as genealogical status and favored personal abilities such as wisdom, memory and articulateness. What ultimately counted in Buganda, on the other hand, was the more capricious criterion of the king's favor. Kalibala (1946:96) has put the matter simply and directly.

"Fear in the Buganda social structure became a part of social conduct because each social level aspired for political recognition; that is, each individual wished to be appointed a bit higher than his social status."

(This brings to mind the sardonic remark attributed to Gerald Portal, an agent of the British Government sent to arrange the Protectorate Declaration of 1894, that "...the religion of the Muganda peasant is that of his immediate superior, that is, of the man who has the most power to cause him constant inconvenience.")

A sharply hierarchical stratification system with as wide a range between top and bottom as was the case in Buganda is consistent with a certain devaluation of the value of life on the lower rungs of the social ladder. Yet such was the social distance between the king and all others within the society that a strange element of egalitarianism was introduced into the social fabric. The lowest farmer could theoretically be raised to the highest grade of chief or even prime-minister (katikkiro), even as the latter could be suddenly killed, both fates at the pleasure of the king.

Yet one was not entirely unprotected in traditional Buganda. The farmer was not tied to his land and the possibility of the loss of his villagers and their tribute acted as a brake upon the irresponsible exercise of power on the part of a chief. Likewise the influence of the chiefs and the clan leaders usually acted to hold in some check the great power of the monarch.⁶

D) Finally, Buganda - as such societies tend to be - was much more of a "conquest state" than was Kikuyu whose expansion was comparatively peaceful and whose military activities were primarily centered around the capture and defense of cattle. By the time of the European arrival, Buganda had been in considerably more extensive touch with the outside world than had the more isolated society of the Kikuyu.

All the foregoing points are relevant to an understanding of the subsequent course of events. What the Europeans encountered in Buganda and Kikuyu were functioning social systems. The dissolution of the patterned fabric of a society by alien forces of change can result in social and psychological catastrophe for the human agents of that society. Whether or not, to what extent and why this resulted from the impact of European culture on Buganda and Kikuyu is the broad question to which we must now briefly turn.

Notes

1. Buganda is the name of the kingdom within the larger country of 'Uganda'. Originally these two words meant the same thing since Uganda was the word for Buganda in Kiswahili, the East African contact language. In more recent times the two words became distinguished in order to reflect the two distinct political entities. Goldthorpe and Wilson (1960:9) cite the number of Baganda as 836,000, this figure based upon the East African census of 1948. Population distribution is patchy throughout Uganda as a whole and neither Buganda nor Uganda has what could be called a problem of over-population. For an important evaluation of the various East African censuses which have been carried out up to 1948, see Goldthorpe (1955:Appendix VII).

2. The correct term is really the plural term Akikuyu. However we use the more popularly known and used term Kikuyu to avoid confusion. Goldthorpe and Wilson (1960:10) cite the number of Kikuyu as 1,026,000. This figure is also based upon the 1948 census. The geographic areas of Kikuyu country have a serious problem of population pressure in terms of average density per square mile which is vastly greater than that of the rest of Kenya. The official East African Economic and Statistical Bulletin Number 11 released in 1951 estimated that as of that date about 70% of all Kikuyu resided on their tribal areas in Kiambu, Fort Hall and Nyeri districts. About 4,500 had emigrated to Tanganyika. And 25% of the total estimated Kikuyu population was believed to occupy the then "White Highlands" area. As a result of the emergency, a good deal of population resettlement occurred with Operation Anvil (the removal of the Kikuyu from Nairobi City), the migrations of squatters from the highlands to the Reserve, and the villagisation scheme. The great population pressure in Kikuyu areas at that time, which

continues into the present, is evident in the following table.

<u>District</u>	<u>Area in square miles exclusive of public grazing areas and forest reserves</u>	<u>Average density per square mile</u>
Kiambu	324	777
Fort Hall	583	515
Nyeri	336	536
All of Kenya	220,000	27.5

3. These district designations have been altered since the political independence of Kenya.
4. It is unfortunate that the history of these areas is so often written just from the perspective of colonial incursions. It is often true, and this applies with particular force to both the Kikuyu and the Baganda, that the post-European arrival and pre-arrival historical processes are intimately linked in the sense that had the Europeans arrived at some other time, the historical consequences would have been quite different.
5. We use the term "world-view" in approximately the sense in which it is used by Redfield (1953), especially Chapter 4. A discussion of the literature underlying the hypothesis of a Bantu world-view can be found in Jahn (1961), especially Chapter 4.
6. Buganda has sometimes been cited as a major example of African feudalism. For the best discussion of the degree to which this was and was not true, see Mrs. E.M. Chilver (1959).

CHAPTER III

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY

The world of the nineteenth century has been altered almost beyond recognition. For modern Europeans the events of the twentieth century have transformed the imperious confidence of their fathers into an introspective self-doubt. Toward the world of their own ancestors, contemporary Africans reveal a range of attitudes from 'enlightened scorn for the heathen' to a wistful nostalgia for a more 'innocent' state of being.

This theme of cultural and psychic ambiguity with respect to social change is a familiar one both in the popular and the scientific consciousness; so familiar indeed as to have been transformed almost into a historical and literary cliché. The image of the inevitable destructiveness of the encounter of Western and traditional institutions has quite justifiably, however, come under increasing attack by social scientists engaged in detailed research in the contemporary dynamics of social change. Transformation is not necessarily destruction. Confusion of the two is probably an outgrowth of the contemporary Western conscience in relation both to its imperialist history and to its more or less latent but still not extinct romanticism about the 'noble savage'. Both "transformation" and "destruction" are partly morally evaluative terms and it

is not for us here to pass judgment as to the moral appropriateness of one or the other in relation to the societies of East Africa. But there is a level of meaning on which they are more or less scientifically appropriate, and it is to this level that we shall confine our discussion.

With regard even to such scientific discussions, Southall (1961:1) has warned that

"There are too many catchwords; detribalization, the breakdown of traditional authority, the emergence of elites and of new political and economic forces, the emancipation of women and the rise of nationalism. The variety and contrasts of Africa are greater than ever before. There are both air-routes and foot-safaris, talking drums, newspapers and radios, doctors, lawyers and gangsters as well as lion men and witch doctors. It is difficult to find the less spectacular truth between the extremes."

In the present chapter our concern is to examine briefly the meaning of social change with reference to two societies. This approach, of course, assumes the meaningfulness of the concept of "society" in systemic terms. Most anthropologists and sociologists would probably agree on the applicability of this term with regard to the relatively clear-cut and independent (in the sense of boundary-maintaining) social units which comprised most of the social world of traditional Africa. What the term means in modern Africa, in view of the changes which have occurred there, is an entirely different matter. Opinions range from assertions about the unaltered survival of "tribalism" to apocalyptic visions of rampant social disorganization.

One may begin with the fact that, especially in the last decade, social scientists active in Africa have sounded

warnings against the assumption that the impact of Western social institutions has had uniform effects throughout the continent. It is generally agreed now that at least two broad types of considerations must enter into any account of social change in a particular area. These are, first, the particular policies of the agents of change (e.g. religious, administrative, economic, military etc.). The second factor is the preconditions for change already existing in the traditional society (e.g. ideological predispositions, trends, structural cleavages etc.).

We shall begin with a brief historical commentary on the rise of British imperialism in East Africa with special emphasis upon the particular policies of the agents of change. After that we shall turn to the determinants of response to change on the part of the societies of Buganda and Kikuyu.

There was little that merited the term "consensus" in Great Britain regarding the declaration of Protection in August, 1894 over Uganda, or the similar declaration of the Protectorate of East Africa (later known as Kenya) in June, 1895 (Cf Oliver, 1952 whose material is based on the archives of the British Foreign Office up to 1902). Indeed the initial announcement was phrased largely in negative terms. The venture was a product of the not always reconcilable aims of British military and economic expansion for the greater glory of the nation, and of private laissez-faire free enterprise which, in a period of rising protective tariffs against Britain, required the security of official sovereignty over

territories where economic imperialism was already taking place. There was also the important influence of the missionaries, whose interest ranged from a simple desire to convert the 'heathen' to the nineteenth century Victorian dream of progress and civilization in Africa of a David Livingston. Thus the imperialist drive into East Africa began for Britain with an alliance between two major orientations: economic exploitation for profit, and the doctrine of what was later to be called the dual mandate. The latter measured the justification of imperialism in terms of its combination of the development of the world's resources for the benefit of man with the promotion of the 'moral and educational progress' of the natives of those regions. In view of the significant strength of parties representing the aim of economic profit, however, it is hardly surprising that the British government was not during this period able to embark upon any clear-cut policy of economic or administrative development for its new dependencies. The basic understanding was always that British colonies would become self-financing as quickly as possible. Further, as Wallerstein (1961:65) has pointed out,

"Though the British may have felt it their duty to accept the 'white man's burden' and bear the responsibility of advancing African interests, they did not assume that Africa one day would be an extension of Britain, or Africans one day British."

Sir Harry Johnston (first Special Commissioner to Uganda) proclaimed four principles underlying British intervention in Uganda. One reason was political: Uganda was an important

stage on the route to British India, and also it was argued that whoever controlled Uganda controlled the Nile. A second reason was the philanthropic duty of the "white man's burden". The third reason, seen as a practical solution for the second, was the need for European settlement and enterprise in those areas deemed suitable. Fourth, Johnston saw Uganda as an outlet for Indian enterprise, trade and emigration. "East Africa is and should be (he said) from every point of view, the America of the Hindu." (Apter, 1961:47) In 1901 Johnston urged an administrative amalgamation of the Uganda and East African Protectorates, and this issue of "closer union" was to recur time and again in East Africa (Cf Rotberg, 1963).

But the British government shared no such grandiose visions. Its image of a Protectorate, consistent with laissez-faire ideology, was a setting in which the home government had necessary powers of interference without any reciprocal obligations beyond defense against external aggression. Very little interference was intended, especially of a kind which would cost money. In the face of this ideological impediment, no concrete long-range development goals were possible.

In 1902, not as a result of any careful planning, Uganda's Eastern Province was transferred to the East Africa Protectorate; a fateful step which was to dominate the subsequent history of Kenya and Uganda to the present day. The importance of this event arose out of the fact that this Province presented the East African Protectorate with a large area of excellent farming land with good climate for Europeans,

and thus it was Kenya which was to feel the brunt of the settler problem, and not Uganda.

This brings us to the great issue which was fated to cause such misunderstanding, bitterness and violence - the introduction of European settlement. In light of this bitterness, it is difficult to view objectively the historical reasons for this policy. Many Africans, in the sharp glare of hindsight, find it almost impossible to see how a man like Sir Charles Eliot (Commissioner for the East African Protectorate from 1901 to 1904) could argue, on the grounds of African advancement, that the most efficacious policy would be the introduction of European settlement. Because of the historical importance of this event, and the profound moral and political confusion it was to engender, it is necessary briefly to review the steps by which this policy came into existence.

During the first half of 1895 the Liberal administration in England was under pressure from the Conservative opposition to construct a railway to Uganda with the purpose of developing the economic resources of the new Protectorate. When the Conservatives came to power later in 1895 they ordered construction to begin on a railway from the coast to Lake Victoria. The cost exceeded all expectations, especially since labor had to be imported from India. (The final cost exceeded seven million pounds.) By June 1899 the line had reached Nairobi which at that time was a little more than a collection of tin huts. By 1903 the railway was almost

completed but, ironically enough, due to the transfer of the Eastern Province, it had not touched any piece of Uganda territory. (In 1927 the Busoga railway was joined to the main line from Kenya, and not until 1931, when the Nile bridge was built at Jinja, did the main line finally reach from Kampala to the coast.) At a cost to Britain of 9500 pounds a mile and an annual loss of 50,000 pounds a year (excluding interest on the capital cost), the railway project had considerable numbers of opponents. To understand the context of the "settler" decision, it must be understood that the railway, to its proponents, was a venture in the highest realms of idealism and daring. Joseph Thomson (the first European in 1884 to cross Masailand and find a quick and efficient route from Lake Victoria to the coast) grasped both the dimensions of the dream and the enormous impediments in the path of its fulfillment. After writing of the great poverty he witnessed and the hostile Kikuyu and Masai he had to fight along the route the Uganda railway was later to cover, he wrote the following comment in which we may glimpse what the stakes were conceived to be: (quoted in Marsh and Kingsnorth, 1953:77)

"Many people have proved with most convincing logical power that a railway is the proper means to open up the country. They have sketched with a daring hand a few thousand miles of the iron road, connecting the coast with the various great lakes: bringing untold wealth to Britain, and taking unlimited quantities of its (industrial) wares and flimsy adulterated cottons instead. To make the picture complete, they have told us to expect, as an important result, the stoppage of wars and of the slave trade - industrious and contented tribes taking to civilized ways, and shouting unanimously for

missionaries to come over and help them. The utter absurdity of such brilliant schemes will require no further proof than the remarks I have made upon the hopeless prospect of developing any trade in the interior for several generations to come."

Yet even before the railroad had reached Nairobi, it had already saved countless lives and had halted the great famine of 1898-9 which had struck the Kamba people through free distribution of rice which had been transported from the coast by rail to the stricken area. Today, with the hindsight of a somewhat altered ideological perspective, one realizes that a different policy would have been possible; the policy of developing African agriculture through a long-term economic, administrative and educational program. But in the context of the economic ideology of the time, the enormous expense invested in the railway by government bordered on the indefensible and had to be redeemed. The basis of the decision to encourage European settlement, then, rested on the assumed need for a rapid financial return. It also rested upon the fact that - due to the transfer of the Eastern Province to Kenya - the latter contained what appeared to be limitless and virtually empty highlands beyond the Rift Valley with an ideal climate and soil for intensive cash-crop farming. Thus it was that imperial administrators genuinely concerned with "native advancement", among them Sir Charles Eliot, came to the conclusion that, for Kenya, only the introduction of European settlers could bring about this goal since only they could hope to develop the territory economically on a private basis. As Ingham (1952:211) has aptly put it regarding this attitude,

"His view was typical of his age, when no one had as yet questioned the right of civilized men to develop the resources of the world and their long-term duty to teach primitive people the code of behavior and scientific knowledge of the civilized world."

And thus it was that by a historical twist of fate, it was Kenya and not Uganda which was to experience the racking problem of the settler issue, despite the fact that the railway was originally conceived as a means of developing the new Protectorate of Uganda since the flag had not followed the line of trade from the coast inland, but rather had "followed the cross from Uganda to the sea" (Oliver, 1952:162).

Two other factors played a role in the decision to encourage European settlement in the East African Protectorate. One of these was the influence of Hugh Cholmondeley, the third Baron Delamere, whose powerful personality put to the service of his vision of a "white man's country" was to provide the stimulus of leadership (Cf Elspeth Huxley, 1935). The other was the fact that the proposed area of settlement seemed truly empty. What the British could not know at the time was that the disastrous famine and smallpox epidemic of the last decade of the nineteenth century had forced the Kikuyu to withdraw to Nyeri and Fort Hall districts, largely abandoning Kianbu, and that in their view - by tribal custom - they retained the claim to the land they had vacated.¹ The tragic stage was set.

To people unacquainted with Africa it is sometimes difficult to understand how two continuous areas like Kenya and Uganda could have experienced such radically diverse

colonial histories. Yet different they were; no settler problem was to plague Uganda, despite pressure from men like Johnston and Sir William Morris Carter. Among the major reasons why European settlement was never finally considered necessary despite the pressure in favor of it is the pressure of those who, like Sir Hesketh Bell (Governor of Uganda from 1905 to 1910 after having been Special Commissioner), strongly opposed settlement. Another important factor was that permanent settled African agriculture could be encouraged since the wasteful and inefficient shifting cultivation methods were unnecessary in the fertile lake-shore region where the staple food of most of the major tribes was plantain which could be grown many years in one garden.

As the British government reluctantly was sucked deeper into the affairs of its new East African dependencies, British public opinion sought to clarify the exact nature of the rights which the Crown could properly assume over land. On the advice of its legal advisers, the government stated in 1899 that a declaration of Protection enabled the Crown to claim sovereign rights over land which was not subject to private rights of other parties - i.e. "unoccupied land". There is little doubt that the British government never intended to interfere with indigenous land rights; the problem was that for a long time it was not understood what "occupied" or "unoccupied" meant in relation to customary land tenure. When this did come to be understood, it was too late for the Kikuyu. Lord Hailey (1956:714) has analyzed the various land regulations and came

to the conclusion that it was not only the intransigence of the settlers but the failure of the British government ever to define adequately the terms of colonization and its control over it which led to the subsequent troubles in Kenya. As time went by it became ever clearer that the colonization decision, involving as it did hardy pioneer settlers from Britain and South Africa imbued with concepts of free enterprise, created a dilemma for the British government in Kenya which caused it to vacillate until shocked into final decision by the horrors of the Mau Mau war. The greatest dilemma was to be that of the Kenya government. Its power was both weak (due to lack of adequate personnel) and, anachronistically, very wide since the whole of the Protectorate's economic life (land, minerals, rails, steamers and harbors) was technically in the hands of the State. In the face of this, the European settler community was to define what it considered its interests in the context of a defensive and hostile 'under-dog' psychology quite puzzling to outsiders. But from within their limited perspective, product of an ideology comprised of the themes of Christianity, laissez-faire and a Social Darwinism frozen into their hearts by a harsh and frightening environment they never came fully to understand, the settlers became, in a sense, sadder victims of history than the Africans they so mistrusted.

The final comment we shall make here about the common strand of problems which the British faced in East Africa generally, and in whose broader context local variations must

be viewed, has to do with the issue of law and justice. In India the British found a crystallized system of Hindu and Muslim law which they could comprehend. Their problem there was to super-impose a new system that would not appear to emphasize the fact that India was passing under the dominion of a foreign power with a legal structure that was based upon a different and alien faith. It became part of British policy to maintain as much as possible a customary law based upon the social and religious life of India. But to their confusion, in much of East Africa the British were to find little evidence of what they considered a conception of law as an instrument of authority which could be deliberately employed for purposes of preserving social order and safeguarding private rights. Much of African customary law was based on principles of kinship and religion which the British did not comprehend fully. Only in those African societies which had a centralized political system did the British find what they could recognize as a judicial system with agents responsible to a ruler. Yet even in these societies legislative power was, from the European point of view, vastly under-developed in relation to judicial power. As Lord Hailey has pointed out, where law derives its validity from custom as opposed to enactment, the conception implicit in the theory of a separation of powers of a ruler as law-giver and as judge cannot arise. The British administration set about changing what in their evolutionary perspective appeared as a backward situation. Because of the diverse conditions existing in

different societies (such as among the Baganda and the Kikuyu), these efforts were to bring about quite different results. More than changes in legal procedures are involved when punitive and deterrent sanctions are substituted for compensation; enactment and codification for custom; and territorial for tribal law. The relevance of the whole range of African traditional institutions is called into question by such changes, and here too the societal fates of Buganda and Kikuyu were to diverge again, in congruence with the ways in which they had already done before the first Europeans had ever heard of the strange kingdom near the Nile.

We can now turn briefly to considerations of the special experiences of Kikuyu and Buganda.

A number of writers have pointed to different dimensions along which traditional African societies differed. The implication is that these differences are important factors in the subsequent history of change. The types of factors cited by writers as important include means and organization of livelihood, religion, political organization and socio-economic organization. Some, though not all, of these analyses are relevant to any account of the diversities in the colonial histories of Buganda and Kikuyu.

By and large, means and organization of livelihood (Herskovits, 1955:11-29, and 1962:51-113) is not a very relevant variable in the present discussion. As concerns the factor of religion, despite the voluminous literature on comparative religion, little has been written on the specifi-

cally religious factor in receptivity and resistance to social change in the sense in which Christensen (1959:257-279) and Messenger (1959:279-300) tried to deal with this issue in Ghana and Nigeria respectively. An important contribution in this respect is the monograph by D.A. Low (undated) in which he analyzes the sociological reasons, relative to the nineteenth century historical and cultural setting in Buganda, why Christianity gained entry into that society with such comparative ease.

There is an extensive and growing literature on the political organization of traditional African societies inspired in part by the pioneering attempt by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (1940) to construct a typology of such systems. This material has recently been subjected to intensive classificatory analysis by Coleman (1960:247-369). He presents a four-category classification of political systems based upon the scale and degree to which political authority was centralized and operated "...continuously through explicit institutions of government.". These types range from "large-scale states" to "small autonomous local communities". (Buganda lay somewhere between the first and second types, while Kikuyu was of the third type.) In his discussion, Coleman shows - in terms relevant to Buganda and Kikuyu - how differences in these political systems contribute to differences in political perspectives, orientation to change and to political authority on the part of Africans involved in the contemporary politics of these societies.

A similar attempt is that of Apter (1961:84-107) who applies his analysis directly to a study of Buganda political sociology. Apter's typology of traditional political systems is based on the interaction of types of value systems ("instrumental" vs. "consummatory" which refers to the degree of integration of values into the actual fabric of the social structure) and types of authority structure ("hierarchical" vs. "pyramidal" which refers to the degree of centralization vs. decentralization of specifically political authority). Apter relates his analysis to the comparative study of social change by demonstrating the following generalization.

"The pyramidal and consummatory combination was an extremely subtle integration of religious and social ties which, easily frangible, was less adapted to change than the hierarchical and instrumental type. The hierarchical and instrumental type, based upon a traditional bureaucracy and autocratic kingship, was more amenable to change, modernization, and social development, absorbing the consequences of such change so as to strengthen, not weaken, the system." (pg. 87)

This analysis is directly relevant to any comparison of traditional Buganda and Kikuyu. Buganda was an almost pure example of the hierarchical-instrumental form of political specialization which is capable of transforming itself into the contemporary political category of "modernizing autocracy" (Apter, 1961:20-28). Kikuyu, on the other hand, was a society which did not even fit into this typology since it was a "stateless" or "segmentary" society (i.e. one which did not show political specialization). Apter does not discuss these latter types of society. But it is clear that societies with political specialization fare much better under policies

of indirect rule because the imperial power has a system recognizable to it with which to work. Societies without political specialization (like Kikuyu) fare less well because such systems were subject to radical misunderstanding on the part of colonial administrators and hence were prone to administrative error (such as the transformation of certain forms of the traditional Kikuyu status of elder into the quite foreign notion of "chief").

Perhaps the most relevant contribution to the study of comparative social organization and change in relation to Buganda and Kikuyu is the work of Karl Polanyi and his colleagues (Polanyi, Arensberg and Pearson, 1957). The value of this contribution cannot be overrated, and for our present purpose we cite the relevance of Polanyi's development of societal models based upon the three major institutionalized patterns of social integration; reciprocity, redistribution and exchange (Polanyi et. al. 1957:250-251).

"Reciprocity denotes movements between correlative points of symmetrical groupings; redistribution designates appropriational movements toward a center and out of it again; exchange refers here to vice-versa movements taking place as between 'hands' under a market system. Reciprocity, then, assumes for a background symmetrically arranged groupings; redistribution is dependent upon the presence of some measure of centrality in the group; exchange in order to produce integration requires a system of price-making markets. It is apparent that the different patterns of integration assume definite institutional supports....

Reciprocity behavior between individuals integrates the economy only if symmetrically organized structures, such as a symmetrical system of kinship groups, are given....Similarly, in regard to redistribution. It presupposes the presence of an allocative center in the community, yet the organization and validation of such a center does not come about merely as a consequence of frequent acts of sharing as between individuals.

Finally, the same is true of the market system. Acts of exchange on the personal level produce prices only if they occur under a system of price-making markets, an institutional setup which is nowhere created by mere random acts of exchange. We do not wish to imply, of course, that those supporting patterns are the outcome of some mysterious forces acting outside the range of personal or individual behavior. We merely insist that, if in any given case, the societal effects of individual behavior depend on the presence of definite institutional conditions, these conditions do not for that reason result from the personal behavior in question....

Only in a symmetrically organized environment will reciprocative behavior result in economic institutions of any importance; where allocative centers have been set up individual acts of sharing can produce a redistributive economy; and only in the presence of price-making markets will exchange acts of individuals result in fluctuating prices that integrate the economy. Otherwise such acts of barter will remain ineffective and therefore tend not to occur. Should they nevertheless happen, in a random fashion, a violent emotional reaction would set in, as against acts of indecency or acts of treason, since trading behavior is never emotionally indifferent behavior and is not, therefore, tolerated by opinion outside of the approved channels."

This passage has been quoted at length because it is so important in any comprehension of the differences in social organization between Buganda and Kikuyu. Further, redistribution fits logically with the hierarchical type of political structure, while reciprocity is more appropriate to the stateless types in Apter's typology.

The dominant mode of societal integration of pre-European Kikuyu society was reciprocity in the sense in which this concept is used by Polanyi and his associates. This pattern was based upon the institutional support of a de-centralized symmetrical social structure. The latter's main feature in Kikuyu was the age-grade system which imposed a framework of reciprocal relationships and obligations upon members of otherwise almost independent kin groupings. This pattern of reciprocity was also present between the living and the dead, and between the tribe as a whole and its high god (ngai).

The latter was symbolized in the small ritual grain granaries which appeared on the main roads leading to the cultivated fields a few days before the ceremonial harvest sacrifice. These granaries, comprised of grains contributed by everyone who had harvested a crop, represented a gift of the first seasonal crop to ngai in return for the gift of rain which made the harvest possible. (Kenyatta, 1938:257-259) The pattern of redistribution was also present on a subsidiary level as a mode of integration. A modified form of redistribution on the family level was reflected in the custom whereby the wife was responsible for collection and redistribution of grain from a central granary sufficient to feed her family for the period between harvests. On the sub-clan (mbari) level, this pattern was reflected in the redistributive functions with respect to land rights vested in the status of muramati (a status which can only loosely be translated as sub-clan elder or head who was technically a kind of trustee for the sub-clan and who had the right to allocate land rights within the framework of customary land tenure regulations). On the tribal level redistributive functions were, on certain occasions, vested in particular councils of elders.² The exchange pattern was also present in Kikuyu market activities and inter-tribal trade relations. The traditional processes of work, land tenure, accumulation of wealth, and relationships between the living and the dead was structured by this de-centralized and largely reciprocative social framework.

Into this setting, through the medium of imperialism,

there arrived agents of nineteenth century European ideologies which were to have a profound impact upon the socio-economic life of the Kikuyu, especially with respect to the meaning of land and labor. These ideologies, as we have indicated, included elements of Christian individualism, Social Darwinism, more or less unilinear evolutionism, and laissez-faire theory of economic man and society.³ However it would be misleading to assume either that these ideological themes were necessarily inherently related, or that all people drew identical administrative and behavioral implications from them.⁴ As Sorrenson (1963) has shown in his historical study of the official British theories of land tenure in East Africa between 1895 and 1939, many of the early British administrators were quite benevolent in their concern for the rights of Kikuyu with respect to land and did what they could to prevent the ravages of freehold land tenure from destroying the traditional fabric of Kikuyu society too quickly. It is clear from his account, however, that administrative leeway was severely restricted by a combination of factors including, a) the laissez-faire ideology which restricted government action once the settlement program had been instituted, b) a lack of knowledge about the traditional land tenure system, c) the difficult task of administering many different tribes within a single framework, and d) by the lack of a clear-cut philosophical goal for the reconstruction of African society aside from the vague expectation that it would develop similarly to that of the British. With respect to the last point, a report in 1910 envisioned

four stages of evolution on the road to civilization for Africans. The first was "tribal society" in the reserves; the second was labor for European farmers; the third was urban employment; and the fourth was the stage of professional occupations. But this process, it was predicted, would take centuries to evolve. Girouard, the writer of the report, was a proponent of gradualism, as was also Lugard. The process was expected to begin with the government employment of chiefs and the education of their sons; the substitution of Protectorate for tribal law; and the gradual individualization of land. This paternalistic benevolence, felt by its proponents at the time to be in the African interest, was later to become viewed by the new Kikuyu politicians as a rationalization inhibiting change and modernization. At any rate, it is clear that, no matter what institutional sector one examines, the problems of British administration with reference to Kikuyu appear in retrospect to be almost inevitable given the nature of the two socio-cultural systems which encountered each other as a result of imperialism.⁵

Unlike Kikuyu society, the dominant mode of societal integration in Buganda, by the time of the coming of the Europeans, was redistribution based upon an increasingly centralized institutional structure. More precisely, the system was characterized more by a balance of power between institutional interest groups than a clear-cut predominance of one institution over all others. This is what made (and still makes) Buganda politics so confusing to the outsider.

This generalization was reflected in the distribution of property rights as well. The principle of redistribution was obviously reflected in the manner in which property rights were distributed from one level of the political hierarchy to another. But the balance of power was manifested as well, reflecting especially the tension between the principles of redistribution and reciprocity as modes of integration. Kalibala (1946), for instance, points out that theoretically the Kabaka possessed absolute rights over all lands. He could give any piece of land, occupied or not, to whomever he pleased. Theoretically the right to redistribute land after the death of the occupant was also in the hand of the king. This right was reflected in the custom whereby, after an individual died, and the family and clan funeral rites were conducted and succession and inheritance was determined, the clan elders presented the beneficiary to the king with various traditional ceremonies which included gifts to the Kabaka from the estate of the deceased. If the king gave his consent, the transfer of property rights was accomplished as planned. But the king, if he wished, could transfer these rights to someone of his own choosing, the original beneficiary then inheriting only the personal wealth of his benefactor. However Kalibala makes clear that the king in fact objected very rarely since such rights were generally considered as within the province of the clans. Conflicts were avoided, he states, by virtue of an understanding being reached between the king and the clan elders (bataka) before the ceremony just mentioned actually took place. The structure for this negoti-

ation was provided by the special relationship which existed between clan elders and the king in his status as their patron (sabataka). But the principle of redistribution based on central authority was reflected, despite all this, in the attitude that the king (but only the king) could interfere with the actual operation of a homestead by its rightful occupants. This represented both a limitation on a man's rights but also a guarantee of his rights, the latter being reflected in the phrase quoted by Kalibala (1946:178-179): "I am also a king's servant; you cannot do this to me."

Kinship, however, was not the only basis on which relations of reciprocity were based in traditional Buganda. There was another institution, namely blood-brotherhood, which cross-cut kinship lines with reciprocal obligations of another sort. Here too Kalibala's description (1946:Chapter IX) is most useful with respect to our present discussion, because certain features he stresses throw into bold relief the reciprocity functions performed by this institution. For one thing, Kalibala clearly distinguishes between what he calls "true" blood-brotherhood and other forms of blood relations. The former had nothing to do with clan totems whatever; it could only be instituted between members of the tribe (all other relationships being faked for reasons of political expediency); the relationship was binding for life and was often recognized by descendants of the participants as binding upon them to some degree; and assistance was obligatory in emergencies without question, these obligations not being set forth in

detail since the concrete situations might vary - hence the principle of reciprocal obligation itself was stressed. The power of this institution to cross-cut not only kinship ties but barriers of political hierarchy was reflected in the fact that, theoretically at least, the statuses of participants in blood-brotherhood became immediately equalized, no matter what their position on the political hierarchy. (This equality of status, however, did not mean objective political equality since it was not a device for social mobility. Rather it meant that if one participant was politically more powerful than his blood-brother, he could not exercise his right to execute, punish or confiscate the property of the latter since blood-brotherhood was a contract for mutual protection.) Its irrelevance for kinship relations as far as property rights is concerned is equally clear since blood-brotherhood was instituted between individuals and not groups, and other members of one participant's kin group had no such rights in the other participant's kin group. Thus the institution represented a spiritual and moral association (with magical sanctions) between individuals. Kalibala presents a clearly sociological interpretation of this relationship. Blood-brotherhood, he states, functioned as an insurance structure intervening between the family and the clan. In his words,

"....the intermediate point between the helpless single family and the expanded clan organization seems to have resulted in the association of two males who bound both their families (he means their immediate families) in the blood-brotherhood alliance for mutual and prompt assistance." (p. 356)

This writer would add that certain features of the institution

as described by Kalibala and others suggest that it functioned also as a protective prop, from the armory of institutions based upon reciprocity, against the increasing political centralization of authority and power reflected in the growing importance of the principle of redistribution as a mode of social integration. This is to say that blood-brotherhood may have had not only a socio-economic (insurance) function, but a political one as well.

When the Europeans came, they found a kind of cowrie shell currency system in existence although it was not, in the modern formal economically rational sense, a money system, and was not involved in any profit-exchange nexus. The Europeans were also impressed with the discovery that Buganda carried out economic exchange operations by virtue of a complex division of labor based upon village specialization. Villages were centers of social life based on kin and clan relationships. By custom, clans (and hence villages) were specialized in certain productive skills. Thus some villages specialized in the production of medicines, some in pots, shoes, beer, spears, drums etc. These were produced for inter-village trade through markets and traveling salesmen, which functioned under the protection of chiefs (represented by market officers) who, in turn, collected taxes.

It is sometimes overlooked that traditional societies are not necessarily disintegrated by the importation of cash

economies. In the case of Buganda, the fact that this society was integrated through redistribution based on political centralization meant that the introduction of a commercial market-exchange system did not necessarily, even in theory, threaten the basic social fabric of Buganda. Some institutions based on reciprocity (e.g. blood-brotherhood, some aspects of kinship relations etc.) could safely decline in importance without endangering the people's sense of the continuity of society as a whole by destroying its main mode of integration which rested upon the authority and symbolism of the monarchy.⁶

Thus the politico-ideological context in which the modernization process in Buganda under the colonial administration began, supported the traditional mode of social integration in existence at the turn of the century. Further, if one examines the economic history of Buganda, it is clear that the economic changes which have occurred have not been such as to threaten this basic sense of societal continuity, although various institutions have been altered and the dynamic equilibrium which characterized traditional Buganda is no less dynamic today.⁷

At any rate, in the face of the many seemingly modern institutions the Europeans found in Buganda, Apter (1961:63) points out that

"There grew up among the British a myth of Buganda as a knightly and feudal nation....The institutions of the Buganda kingdom appeared in sharp contrast to those of other African nations...."

Out of this myth arose the "special relationship" between the British and the Buganda governments which has been maintained

in one sense or another down to the recent grant of independence.⁸ This relationship functioned to maintain the integrity of the core institutions of social integration. Further, despite those who - like Sir William Morris Carter - wanted to see Uganda developed by European plantation enterprise, the efforts of men like Governor Sir Hesketh Bell and Mr. S. Simpson of the Agriculture Department plus the transfer of Uganda's fertile Eastern Province to the East African Protectorate precluded the alienation of Uganda's land for European settlement. (Even if these efforts had not succeeded in keeping European settlers out, it is conceivable that the "special relationship" would have protected the Baganda from the more ambitious designs of the settlers in a way the Kikuyu were not.) Finally, thanks to the introduction of cotton into Uganda, and the fact that shifting agriculture (the bane of the colonial agriculture departments) was not necessary in the fertile lake-shore region (especially in areas where plaintain which can be grown many years in one garden was a staple), those who wanted to encourage the development of indigenous African agriculture in Uganda were - unlike in Kenya - ultimately successful in their efforts.

We have seen that British administrative motives in Uganda and Kenya were broadly similar. They were benevolent rather than aggressive; evolutionary rather than revolutionary; and protective rather than destructive in relation to indigenous African life and customs. Yet the political, social and economic experiences of Buganda and Kikuyu diverged radically

from each other during the twentieth century. The reasons, as we have seen, lie in the dialectic between the pre-colonial and the colonial phases of the histories of these two societies. We may now summarize these points.⁹

1. In the case of the Kikuyu, the decentralized institutional base was structurally insufficient, as a mechanism of societal integration, to protect the traditional social structure against the impact of another, highly unified, social group such as the European settlers. In the case of Buganda, prior to the coming of the Europeans the basis for societal integration had been redistribution reflecting the gradual shift of power from clan authorities to the monarchy. As Apter (1961) suggests, a centralized hierarchical system is best able to withstand the impact of an alien system if the basis for legitimacy is not interfered with. Since it was not British policy to interfere radically with the Kabakaship as an institution, this condition for stability and survival was met.

2. In the case of the Kikuyu, the sanctions on which such a delicately decentralized system rested were impregnated with religio-magical assumptions. These tend to be unstable in the face of a naturalistically-rational and legally-rational world-view.¹⁰ The disintegration of the traditional world-view helped weaken the structure which relied upon such foundations for support. The decline of traditional sanctions combined with resistance to the institutionalization of Western types (this resistance being based largely on the perceived threat

of many aspects of the Western world-view to communal solidarity) creates an anomic situation. In the case of Buganda, the major sanctions, having already been largely transferred during the nineteenth century from the religio-magical realm to the political realm (the figure of the monarch), were not fundamentally incompatible with the institutionalization of the new European world-view. Indeed, Low (undated:4) quotes Roscoe who had reported that Ndaula, the nineteenth Kabaka,

"...stipulated on ascending the throne that he should not be made the medium of the god Mukasa; accordingly the people appointed Juma, one of Tebandeka's sons, to be priest, and gave him his father's fetishes; from that time onwards one of Juma's descendants has always been a priest instead of the reigning king."

Thus, Low goes on to indicate that

"...the fact that Kabaka was not a priest of the traditional religion meant that he could take part in the ceremonies of any new one with which he might be intrigued, without conflicting with his traditional role, without breaking any tribal taboos, and without horrifying his people." (Hence it follows that) "If the Kabaka could take part in the new religions' ceremonies with such impunity, there was clearly nothing sacrosanct about the indigenous religion."

3. In the case of the Kikuyu, the decentralized social pattern with its associated sanctions was so alien to the European colonizers that serious misunderstandings led to policies which, despite the intentions to the contrary, eventually shattered the traditional framework. This lack of comprehension, plus the fact that Kenya had rich, fertile and seemingly unoccupied land (it had been abandoned by the Kikuyu as a temporary expedient in the face of the devastating smallpox epidemic of the 1890's just as the Europeans came to the area), led to a situation in which - given the context of Social Darwinist and laissez-faire ideologies - settler

influence was conceived by many Europeans as a potentially beneficial historical force. In the case of Buganda, a social system had emerged by the time of the European colonial period which was recognizable to the British and fitted in with the unilinear evolutionary theories dominant at the time in such a way as to place the Baganda into an effective bargaining position during the negotiations which led to the Protectorate and afterwards. As a result, despite changes instituted by the 1900 Agreement, Buganda as a societal system remained intact and patterns of resistance on behalf of customary ways to the commercialization of land and labor largely took the form of rational and negotiated political action rather than anomic anxiety and violence which were to form the tragic dimension of the history of the Kikuyu.

Notes

1. Leakey (1952:65) writes that "By kikuyu law these transactions could not be regarded as transferring ownership for many reasons, a few of which may be reiterated.
a) No transaction for the transfer of the ownership of land to a person of another tribe could take place unless first of all the two parties had been linked by a ceremony of mutual adoption....; b) no final transaction of ownership could be completed unless the boundaries of the land so sold were marked out in the presence of witnesses and to the accompaniment of a religious ceremony; c) no sale of land was valid unless other members of the land-owning family had been given a 'first refusal', neither was it valid without the sanction of all the members of the land-owning family. And so from the Kikuyu point of view none of the rights acquired in Kikuyu lands by the white settlers were considered as vesting ownership in the newcomers, while from the point of view of British law, and the country was now administered by the British, the transactions were wholly valid and had been made in absolute good faith." (emphasis in original)
2. One example of the integrative functions performed by these councils is reflected in the role of redistribution in the legal procedure wherein if a plaintiff won a judgment involving a transfer of property from the defendant to himself, this transfer was not carried out directly but rather through the intermediate hands of particular elders appointed representing the council which had rendered the judgment. Likewise if a complaint arose before the claim was settled, it had to be delivered via the council rather than directly. For details see Kenyatta (1938:220-225).
3. For an account of what laissez-faire ideology signified for a pre-capitalist understanding of land and labor in Europe, see Polanyi (1957:163-192).

4. For example the great English liberal economist Hobson (1902:Part II, Chapter 2) attacked the link between Social Darwinism and British imperialism.
5. There is a vast literature on this issue generally for Africa, but for examples which concentrate for Kikuyu specifically on the three-way encounter between traditional Kikuyu social organization, laissez-faire policies, and administrative efforts to form an over-all policy reflecting the changing views of the British government, see Sorrenson (1963 a and b), Savage (1963), Fliedner (1963) and Sillitoe (1963).
6. It should not be assumed, from this sentence, that the tension between the kinship principle of authority and the political principle has been resolved entirely in favor of the latter. Indeed as Apter (1961) has shown so well, historical and contemporary Buganda politics cannot be understood without this tension. However there is little doubt that for Baganda vis-a-vis the outside world, the monarchy represents the unifying symbol of the continued reality of Buganda as an idea and as a nation. This is illustrated by the vigorous rise of the Kabaka Yekka party as a factor in Uganda politics described in Fallers (1964:357-392). Internally, however, the renewed importance of the Buganda clans is an indication that their importance is far from minor.
7. There has, for instance, been some controversy among anthropologists as to whether or not the 1900 Agreement between the chiefs and the Protectorate administration created a fixed landed nobility estate or not. (Cf Fallers 1957 and Fallers 1964:Chapters 3 and 4).
8. For an interesting example of the psychological importance of this special relationship to Baganda both as a means of support for their sense of superiority over other East African societies and as a political weapon, see the document "Termination of Protection: A Memorandum

to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II submitted by Members of the Lukiiko of the Kingdom of Buganda" included as an Appendix in Apter (1961:479-488).

9. The fact that two models, one from the study of comparative political structures and the other from the study of comparative economic organization, proved useful in this chapter suggests that a convergence may be taking place. A high degree of centrality has ramifications throughout a social system to the extent that political and socio-economic modes of integration tend toward consistency. The same seems true in the case of high egalitarian emphasis. Thus we find that a model from comparative economic sociology (Polanyi) and comparative politics (Apter) converge to elucidate a whole range of differences which distinguish Buganda and Kikuyu."
10. We do not mean to suggest with this statement that this is a basic sociological law. Evidence for that level of certainty is not conclusive. We are merely pointing to the general tendency, throughout contemporary traditional societies, for this European world-view to be associated with technological and scientific products which are so enticing to the people of these societies that the traditional world-view tends to be undermined indirectly. This is not the same thing as the assertion (which this writer would deny) that traditional world-views no longer have functions to perform and hence are doomed; or that all Europeans and others share what (somewhat awkwardly) have been termed the naturalistic and the legal-rational world-views. We are suggesting, however, that when religio-magical sanctions form the cement for a delicately balanced social structure, if these sanctions become even partly inoperative, the entire structure is threatened.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSFORMATION OF ENCOUNTER

The word "encounter" in the title of this chapter is based upon one of the fundamental social facts of existence in every human society; every new generation enters life in a savage state, from the standpoint of a given culture, and must be socialized into human status. In the present chapter we shall examine the transformation of this process of encounter between generations. There are, indeed, few topics more important in the study of social and cultural change. What we have come to call education is an arena in which an older generation (or another society) faces a younger generation (or another society) to tell the latter something presumably important about life. The younger generation cannot help but assume that what it receives in this process of communication represents the essence, the distilled core, of what society up to that point considers vital to know and feel. The spirit of that education may come to be accepted or rejected, but its transmission is part of the serious business of life. From this perspective, few topics are of greater significance for acculturation theory than the processes of encounter between cultures through transplanted institutions of formal education and the adaptive problems and role behavior of their agents. This, then, is the basic

theme of our chapter, because for the future intelligentsia of East Africa it is this encounter with transplanted Western formal education which is perhaps the most formative experience of socialization into their new roles which most of them will know. Since most studies of Western education in the non-Western world concern themselves almost exclusively with manpower needs, our emphasis will be on the acculturative aspects of education as a setting for the learning of new roles and values. Thus it follows that we will be more concerned here with the informal than with the formal "official" aspects of this experience. Further, because of the serious paucity of studies carried out from this perspective, we have had to gather most of the data on which this chapter is based.

Our discussion will be organized into three parts. We begin with a brief review of the practices of the traditional societies, Buganda and Kikuyu, which did not know the formal institutional separation of socialization practices into what we think of as formal education on the one hand and informal socialization on the other. Then we shall turn to the rise of schooling in East Africa and discuss this with reference to secondary and higher education.

Socialization and Enculturation In the Old Order¹

Three generalizations hold true with fair regularity regarding education in many traditional societies. The first is that education, despite variations, has largely been geared toward the aims of socialization. As Redfield (1953:121) has put this,

"...it may be safely said that during all of human history until recent times the end of education has been to make, by education, the sort of adult that is admired in the society in which the teacher himself grew up and to make the child ready for a world like that in which the teacher lives."

This is not to say, as is sometimes thought, that traditional education did not involve any forms of instruction in schools, ceremonials or other formal institutions. Jules Henry (1960: 277) provides a number of examples to the contrary which indicate to his satisfaction that there "...is an entire area of the pre-literate world where there are schools similar in many ways to those of the literate world. It is hard to believe that these schools are not a combination of native initiation rituals and the white man's idea of a school." Nevertheless it remains true that traditional education often stressed continuities between past and present in a way that more modern education no longer attempts. Margaret Mead has expressed this distinction rather well.

"Primitive education was a process by which continuity was maintained between parents and children....Modern education includes a heavy emphasis upon the function of education to create discontinuities - to turn the child of the peasant into a clerk, the farmer into a lawyer, of the Italian immigrant into an American, of the illiterate into the literate."²

The second generalization which can be put forward concerning education in these societies is that moral education was at its core. This point can be expressed two ways. First, moral issues were not nearly as separated from cognitive matters as is true in Western education. Traditional education retained at its core a concern with the moral and behavioral dimension of life. Second, because of this, the emphasis was

laid primarily upon fitting the individual into the social community rather than upon the encouragement of individualism as a value per se. Few have expressed this point better than Kenyatta (1938:119,121-122).

"The selfish or self-regarding man has no name or reputation in the....community. An individualist is looked upon with suspicion....

"Europeans assume that, given the right knowledge and ideas, personal relations can be left largely to take care of themselves, and this is perhaps the most fundamental difference in outlook between Africans and Europeans....for freedom of personality is the highest good, and coordination with other people and especially mutual subordination are on the contrary something accidental.... We may sum it up by saying that to the Europeans 'individuality is the ideal way of life', to the Africans the ideal is the right relations with, and behavior to other people."

The third generalization has to do with the relationships between the teacher and the subject matter. This is an issue explored at some length in terms of its implications by Jules Henry (1960:296), who points out that

"In stark contrast with contemporary industrial societies, teachers in all non-literate cultures are role-involved in what they teach: archery is taught to the children by accomplished hunters, agriculture by husbandmen, religion by men and women who practice what they preach (whether it be good or evil) and so on."

This difference, as he shows, leads to contrasts between Western and traditional education in both the content of what is taught (in terms of accuracy, style and many other factors) and the attitudes toward what is being taught on the parts of both teachers and pupils.

One need not belabor the point which follows from this exposition. When traditional education, viewed in the light of these three generalizations, breaks down, it is often

tantamount to a breakdown in the socialization process itself.

With regard to the distinctions between Buganda and Kikuyu relevant to these points, it is not necessary to go into much detail concerning them. Education among the Kikuyu was structured according to its age-grade system. Thus it can be said that adulthood unfolded in Kikuyu gradually through graduation from one age level to the next, culminating in full authority only with the status of elderhood. The distinction between pre-adult and adult in traditional Buganda, however, more nearly approximated that of Western societies in the sense that adulthood was achieved with marriage. Subsequent rights and privileges were dependent upon one's relative position and general fortunes in relation to the political system. Furthermore, marriage occurred at a generally earlier age in Buganda than it did in Kikuyu since young men in the latter society had first to pass through two grades of warrior status. Aside from these distinctions, not in themselves unimportant, the principles of traditional education as elucidated above were similar for both societies.

From Socialization to Schooling:
The Rise of Western Education

An important source of interest in the study of education has been the renewed and refined application of anthropological and sociological theory to the field of education itself. This has been stimulated partly by the growth of sophisticated empirical research in value theory, and partly by a growing realization that educational theory has itself

too long been based upon specialized curriculum planning in the light of established versions of traditional and heretofore implicit goals and values. Thus education as a field of study has been dominated by a utilitarian emphasis in relation to popularly recognized ends such as "economic development", "moral progress", "lifting the natives in the twentieth century" and so forth. The publication of the two volumes edited by Spindler (1955 and 1963) and Henry's (1960) recent contribution to the study of comparative education is symptomatic of the growing interest in the study of education as an agent of value transmission and change.

In the present chapter we obviously cannot hope to discuss the field of education in East Africa as a whole. Our emphasis will be not on what goes on in the classroom but rather upon those aspects of European-African encounter (with special reference to teachers and students) which are relevant to problems of acculturation. Since this alone is a proper subject for many separate studies, our discussion will prove to be very selective, raising more issues than it resolves. Our general focus will be on the elite academic secondary schools and higher (university) education, the latter receiving the most detailed attention through a discussion of Makerere College of the University of East Africa.

The organization of the remainder of this chapter involves, first, a very brief review of the historical aspects of the rise of Western education in relation to Buganda and Kikuyu. Second, there follows a discussion of academic

secondary schools and, third, an analysis of problems in social-relations and educational philosophy encountered at Makerere College.

The history of the rise of Western education in East Africa is a complex and multi-faceted story which would require a separate study to do it justice. The initial growth of education in East Africa occurred in Buganda under the auspices of the Anglican Church Missionary Society beginning in 1895. By 1903 there were about 22,000 children attending C.M.S. schools in Buganda.³ In 1904 Mengo High School opened its doors, primarily for the sons of chiefs; in 1905 there followed King's College, Budo, and, in the same year, Gayaza High School for girls. On the Catholic side, the major schools opened around the same period following the appointment of an educational specialist attached to the Catholic missions in 1901. In 1902 Namilyango was founded by the Mill Hill Mission, followed in 1905 by Kisubi school for girls (also known as St. Mary's). From the beginning, religion and education were inextricably linked. The Church Missionary Society, for example, had stressed education as the moral basis of the Christian presence in Uganda. And Ingham (1956:11) writes

"So there began to emerge a new class, an aristocracy of education which in time tended to usurp the positions of importance formerly occupied by the men who had led the religious factions in war and had won their place in a peaceful land by their strength of character, by their experience and by their powerful following."

Thus education in Buganda, from the beginning, was firmly embedded in the political power structure and functioned

as a major point of entry into positions of influence and prestige in the context of changes brought about by the Protectorate. Because of the link between education and the indigenous structure, the former became a bridge between the past and the future for the sons of the traditional elite, hence assuring the sense of continuity which is so strong a feature of Buganda's development.

In Kenya the situation was quite different. Due to the later advent of the missions, education had barely been instituted before 1914 and originally was characterized by an almost exclusive emphasis upon practical training, Government grants taking the form of a capitation payment for each 'indentured apprentice'. Mission attempts in the field of secondary education remained on a small scale until four Protestant missions pooled their efforts to found, in 1926, the now elite secondary school of Kenya known as Alliance High School. In the same year the Roman Catholic secondary school at Mangu opened its doors. Initially there was resistance to Western education on the part of Africans, but this soon changed for the Kikuyu, the Luo and the Luyia to strong support and a growing demand for more facilities. (Other African groups have been more resistant. For instance education was still in the process of being "sold" to the Embu and the Meru after World War II.⁴) The Kikuyu came to be at the forefront of African pressure for education, and by 1960 the majority of students in the major secondary schools of Kenya originated from this society. (Kikuyu faith in education was such that when hostility against the missions

reached a point where an open breach was threatened, the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association was founded in 1929 to maintain the benefits of education with purely African resources.)

Herskovits (1962:221), in his review of themes and variations in colonial educational policies, points out with regard to the earliest European educators in Africa, that generally speaking

"In their day, an educational philosophy which held that there might be values in African social life and customs on which a curriculum for Africans might be built did not exist."

But many variations of policy nevertheless existed, even among the three British governments in East Africa often changing with the point of view held by particular influential administrators.⁵ The Kenya government held a rather restrictive view of the purposes of African education. The report of the Department of Education for the year 1920-21 (quoted by Ingham, 1962:364) stated

"It will be readily admitted by most educationists that literary education per se is harmful to the ordinary native of Africa."

The report just quoted from was part of a preamble to an educational policy directed strongly toward technical subjects such as carpentry, bricklaying and so forth. Even though this plan, which involved grants in aid to approved mission schools in each administrative district, was strongly approved by the settler-dominated Convention of Associations, it was not put into effect.

A similar view prevailed in many quarters in Uganda.

A special committee appointed by the Governor to report on the possibilities of a Native Civil Service in 1919 (quoted in Ingham, 1962:364) stated

"We are opposed to any extensive literary education for the general native population, and we consider that it should not proceed beyond a standard which will enable a native to learn a trade by which he can earn a living. Unless literary education is complete, or is accompanied by technical training, the native is apt to regard himself as a superior being for whom the ordinary duties and responsibilities of life have no significance."

But the Uganda government, somewhat freer of the strong pressures which bore upon its counterpart in Kenya, pursued a more independent course. In 1922 Makerere College was established to provide instruction in certain skilled trades, and near the close of 1923 the Governor, Sir Geoffrey Archer, invited Mr. Eric Hussey, Chief Inspector of Schools in the Sudan, to Uganda for the purpose of making recommendations for the development of an educational system. As a result of the latter's report, the government undertook a serious development plan in African education; Makerere College began to offer both literary and technical training, elementary and intermediate schools were endowed and established, and an Education Department was created in 1924 with Hussey as its first director.⁶ Similar developments were taking place in Tanganyika, although these plans remained far from unopposed. Such educational developments, however, took place within a strongly evolutionist framework which placed a negative evaluation upon the traditional aspects of African culture (an attitude not unshared by African intellectuals of the time such as J.E.K. Aggrey, the eminent African

educator from the Gold Coast). This evolutionary bias was evident in the Phelps-Stokes Fund Report on African education in 1920-21 which deeply influenced the policy of American mission education in sub-Saharan Africa.⁷ There were exceptions to this philosophical perspective as early as 1925, as evidenced in the report in that year of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, but to little avail.⁸ Even the conception of educational progress conventional during the 1920's received a serious set-back with the onset of the world economic depression. Retrenchment occurred in both Tanganyika and Uganda, "...the previous indiscriminate policy (being) thought to have led to disillusionment and discontent among Africans who were unable to obtain the sort of employment to which they believed their education had entitled them." (Ingham, 1962:366) In Uganda, however, with the coming of Governor Sir Philip Mitchell in 1935, education again received a stimulus. Under his influence, the de la Warr Commission was appointed in 1936 by the British government to study the development possibilities of higher education in East Africa and its report in 1937 recommended the evolution of Makerere College to university status as soon as possible; a policy carried out twelve years later.⁹

After World War II, increasing attention was paid to educational development. Also, with the exception of South Africa and the Portuguese territories, considerably more attention (at least in the form of lip-service) was paid

to the role of traditional African values in the adaptation of Western education to the African context. Here the importance of education in the preparation for independence in the modern world intersects with the newly awakened force of African cultural pride in its search for specifically African contributions to world civilization. This, of course, has worked to create severe problems for African educational policy and philosophy.

At the present time, the educational picture in East Africa generally, and in Uganda and Kenya in particular, is varied and quite rich. Aside from the rapid growth of elementary and secondary education, and the expansion of higher educational facilities through the University of East Africa, other forms of educational opportunity exist as well. These include Teacher Training Colleges, Theological Seminaries, Technical/Vocational Schools, Rural/Farm and Trade Schools, and Commercial Schools.¹⁰ Further, there are expanding opportunities for study abroad; a phenomenon which, rather like the Grand Tour of Renaissance Europe, is coming to be regarded as an indispensable part of the development of a truly educated man. The interesting purely historical aspects of the rapid growth of Western education in Africa, and especially the phenomenal rate of expansion in recent years in the face of obvious need, can obscure the underlying sociological and psycho-cultural issues of acculturation and communication which are as relevant at present as they were over a half-century ago, despite the

patterns of statistical change. To these deeper issues, which will occupy us for the remainder of this chapter, we now turn our attention.

It is obviously impossible to discuss all acculturative issues with respect to the total picture of Western education in East Africa. This writer has concentrated upon issues relating to academic secondary and higher (university) education in Buganda and Kenya thus far, and we shall restrict our discussion to this level. As there are significant differences between secondary and higher levels of education regarding the topics to be discussed, the two levels will be considered separately. Furthermore, we have not included various statistical data about schools generally since these are subject to radical change over short periods of time and hence to obsolescence.¹¹ Our examination will focus upon those issues which reflect deeper problems of acculturation and social change.

In our brief discussion above of the history of Western education in East Africa, we have already mentioned the importance of European attitudes regarding philosophy and goals. These attitudes were comprised of a complex balance of emphases, some stressing the need for education geared to the needs of the average African villager¹², some the need for an educated elite for the sake of leadership¹³ even if at the expense of a generation of average Africans, and others revealing something approaching a sense of guilt for disturbing the alleged equilibrium of an "instinctively happy people".¹⁴ One clear result of the ambiguity of European attitudes toward the

educational enterprise in Africa has been the ambiguity of feeling about the educated African himself. As the East Africa Royal Commission pointed out (1955:201):

"The theory of indirect rule as well as the personal inclinations of many administrators led to the concentration on the development of rural tribal societies rather than the training of an educated urban elite....; there has, indeed, been a tendency to look on the westernized African with suspicion....Those Africans who have abandoned their customary way of life, find themselves excluded from the social and cultural life to which they aspire."

Most observers who have commented upon Western education and its impact upon the societies of Africa have stressed the disruptive and individualizing tendencies of such education, with its focus upon the intellectual-utilitarian at the expense of the moral socialization themes of traditional education.¹⁵ Fundamentally this generalization is not incorrect, but in its stated form it tends toward oversimplification. First, as we shall see later, it tends to be far more applicable to university than secondary education (because of the secular nature of the former), and second, the generalization underestimates the very real philosophical underpinnings of British secondary education in East Africa and its inherent purpose of providing a moral-societal substitute for the consistency of traditional socialization. This purpose is reflected in secondary school structure, social life, and personal perspectives of European secondary school (largely missionary) teachers. If this educational philosophy is not properly understood, two unfortunate consequences follow. First, the radical discontinuities between secondary and higher education

in East Africa will be underestimated and, second, the ambivalencies toward Western education generally both on the parts of European teachers and African students (and teachers) will be inadequately comprehended. If these consequences are allowed to occur, no realistic approach to the reconstruction of educational philosophy (and policy) can be expected in East Africa or, for that matter, in Western societies themselves since the crisis of Western education is universal, albeit with complications appropriate to particular areas.

Before exploring specifically the twin foundations of British secondary education in East Africa, it is necessary to remind ourselves of a common but, in this context, extremely important truism about British philosophy generally. Except for the brief Idealist interlude between about 1880 and 1914 reflecting the influence of T.H. Green, "...British thought has been marked by a strong mistrust of metaphysics and by the preference for the language of common sense, by empiricism, hedonism, and the tendency to exalt scientific method as the proper model for ethics and political philosophy." (Richter; 1956:446) The British philosophical consciousness (and British education), thanks in part to the peacefulness of the social transformations of the 18th and the 19th centuries in comparison to the revolutionary upheavals on the European continent, did not feel itself called upon to wrestle with the abstractions of historical philosophical dialectics.¹⁶ British aversion to fundamental philosophical "speculation" outside the framework of empiricist

"common sense", while subject to numerous exceptions in England itself (e.g. in such diverse figures as Spencer and Green), remained embedded in an almost undiluted form within British educational theory and practice in East Africa. It would be a great mistake, however, to conclude that there were no consistent moral and institutional models underlying secondary education there. There were two bases in fact; religion and the institutional model of the British elite public school.

Eric Lucas, (1959:4) Professor in the school of education of Makerere College, states unequivocally in his exploration of English traditions in East African education that

"From the start formal education in East Africa has been built on religious foundations. Schools were started and maintained for many years by the Christian Missions and every major educational report whether from inside or outside these territories, has reiterated the importance, not merely of including religion as a subject in the curriculum, but of making it the whole basis of school life."

"African schools (he adds), Catholic, Protestant and Muslim, have grown up with the encouragement of governments, administrators and teachers themselves brought up to regard religion as a proper school subject, taught by the regular teachers, usually laymen, rather than by priests and with religious observance an essential part of school life by day. It is this lay element which distinguishes the English tradition from the Roman Catholic, though the aims are common to both."

Actually the last statement somewhat oversimplifies the matter of religious distinctions. Religious distinctions in emphasis were quite complex. However, for certain purposes, broad generalizations are possible and useful. One important generalization is relevant to any understanding of British Protestant secondary schools in East Africa (as against secular

and even Roman Catholic ones). This has to do with the important role of Evangelicalism in Protestant mission theology and motives. It is more or less accurate to generalize that Evangelicalism has played a powerful role in East African Protestantism, including the Anglican church, and that it has survived as a potent factor in East Africa in ways virtually unknown in contemporary Great Britain and other Western societies, not only among African Christians but also among European mission teachers. Richter (1956:447) provides a vivid description of Evangelicalism adequate for our purposes in this context.

"As a theology, Evangelicalism preached little more than that doctrine of justification by faith which Protestantism claimed to be the essence of St. Augustine and the Pauline epistles. Actually the Wesleys taught an infinitely simpler doctrine than that of the original Protestant reformers. Caring little for theological subtleties, Evangelicals made an essentially emotional appeal, simple but very powerful. Vividly contrasting Nature with Grace, the eternal suffering that follows from unredeemed Original Sin with the eternal bliss that God in His mercy will confer upon those who call upon Him, their creed summoned sinners to repent and to surrender themselves to the saving grace of God.In the individual, the experience of conversion was to be kept alive by developing spiritual discipline through the relentless, methodical self-scrutiny of every motive and action; socially the Methodists introduced a much-imitated innovation - every believer had to attend both public service and a small group or class which engaged in mutual examination of its members' conduct. Thus the regenerate were taught to destroy the impulsive pleasures of the natural man by doing nothing that had not been analyzed in advance.... Membership in an intimate group of ardent believers did much to reinforce such personal efforts....Such unrelenting examination of motive by self and sect characterized all Evangelicals, whether Methodists or not. Combined with the fervor produced by conversion and assurance, these methods created a powerful, if limited, type of character. Evangelical homes had a way of instilling, even in those of its sons who went

over to the Church of Rome as did J.H. Newman, or to the Church of Science, as did T.H. Huxley, an emotional dynamic, a dedication to cause, and a calling to self-sacrifice."

Now, it would be gross exaggeration to argue that all British Protestant mission teachers shared this orientation completely; as we shall see, many did not. But no one acquainted with Protestant history in Kikuyu and Buganda, and with individual teachers, can deny that it played a powerful role; certainly a stronger one than in Roman Catholicism.¹⁷ It was this dynamic, and this dedication, which drove so many mission teachers to East Africa in the first place; although, it must be added, the dynamic was considerably protected from the crises of conscience brought on in their counterparts in Europe by positivistic science, higher biblical criticism, and world war. The dynamic was likewise protected in East Africa from erosion by the inexorable forces of change by the sectarian institutional-authoritarian structure of the secondary school. No analysis of these schools, and their African products, can be complete without realization of this point. The present African Protestant intelligentsia, whose Baganda and Kikuyu representatives we shall discuss in the following chapters, have been nurtured in sectarian communities designed quite consciously to provide a "whole" way of life in ways not so functionally different from traditional society itself. Graduation from these communities into the "real" world has induced a loss of "innocence" as poignant in its way as the effects of modernization in relation to tribal life. If there is a crisis

of conscience among the teachers in these schools (as this writer's experience has convinced him there is), it too has to do with the growing awareness of the threat to their highest ideals arising out of the processes of change from whose corrosive effects and challenges they had temporarily been shielded by the circumstances of history. The writer has found elements of this crisis of "ego" present in Protestant teachers of both sectarian and nominally secular (government) secondary schools to a greater degree than among Roman Catholic teachers he has encountered. If so, the differences are not difficult to comprehend, given the greater systematic-theological and social-political sophistication of the Roman Catholic Church and its resultant flexible adaptability to socio-cultural change.¹⁸

The second foundation stone of British secondary education in East Africa has been the institution of the elite English Public School which fits into East Africa rather well since "...in a thinly populated country with a selective educational system, it is quite inevitable that the secondary schools should be boarding schools." (Lucas, 1959:12) As is well known, the English Public School at its best was far more than a simple residential boarding school. It was also, according to one critic, "...the source of irony on the theme of social climbing...as well as pomposity, conceit, homosexuality, religion and philistinism."¹⁹ The Public School was associated with four characteristics; boarding, fees, freedom from local control and social selection. (The major

schools of Buganda, for example Budo, fulfill most closely all four of these qualifications since the latter criterion, until very recently, reflected not only ability to pay but actual position in the official "Establishment" of Buganda. The closest example in Kenya is the famous Alliance School near Nairobi, although - there being no real Establishment - social selection has largely meant selection according to intelligence and academic results. If a class structure develops in Kenya along modern lines, Alliance may well become implicated in it.) Public school themes are embodied in words like "character", "leadership", "English", "tradition" and so on, all perhaps best summed up in the term "good form". The good schools (like Eton, Harrow, Winchester etc.), writes Vaizey (1959:28) do

"...encourage the boys to work hard and seriously and they measure their achievements fairly ruthlessly, by the test of the G.C.E. results and entrance to Oxford, Cambridge, Sandhurst and the medical schools. On top of this they take games incredibly seriously; they want their boys to be fit and tough. (Games are not an strongly emphasized in the schools of East Africa.) Because of this they serve meals that are well-balanced, they insist on adequate sleep; personal hygiene is important - it all goes in the concept of 'training', and (consciously) the game that is being trained for is seen as a paradigm of life itself where these qualities will be useful."

All the major Public Schools put emphasis upon religion, most being Anglican (and fairly evangelical in mood), although there are Methodist, Roman Catholic and even Quaker Schools in existence. The Schools are not generally noted for having produced first-rate original minds capable of a high level of spontaneous creativity; rather they are associated with

the production of public servants for the "Establishment" institutions, ideally people with a high sense of service and 'noblesse oblige'. As Vaizey puts it, rather caustically

"The Public Schools train people to accept the cultural norms which they exist to perpetuate and they do this as ruthlessly as any cell in Peking. As a result, while numbers of people walk around convinced that they are wearing themselves to the bone for the public good, they are really walking about keeping the Establishment going."

We are now in a position to understand somewhat the difficulties faced by institutions of secondary education in East Africa. Their religious foundations have been challenged by Africans who have now thoroughly disengaged Christianity and Western education and intensely desire the secularization of the latter. Further, as we have suggested, the specific meanings of the religious foundations have become ambiguous in the minds of the teachers (less so, perhaps, among the Catholics) who are becoming aware slowly that boys are not just boys, and that secondary school life simply postpones necessary confrontation with issues of identity and change in the real world. In this task of application of Christian (and other Western ideological themes - these points do not just apply to Christians) doctrines to life, the teachers are seriously hampered by their cultural biases and lack of anthropological knowledge of tribal life. (These points apply with rather less force to Buganda than to Kikuyu, although it could be argued that the very involvement of the schools of Buganda in the traditional social structure and Christian oligarchy will - in the future - make them less

effective centers for adaptation to change than the schools in Kenya which have always remained outside the indigenous social structure.) At this point, a comment by Vaizey regarding the English situation is of important relevance to the present situation in East Africa;

"It has been a commonplace of educational discussion that a school is a microcosm; in it, the world's game can be played out in miniature; and all under the eye of benevolent rather than malevolent gods. Armed with the knowledge gained in a kind of spiritual link-trainer the pupils can go out into a real world and traverse its skies with confidence. This seems to me a pernicious doctrine. A school is not a microcosm. It is the anti-thesis, in some respects, of the world at large; it is, at most, a part of a child's environment. A child's most important relationships are with his family, then there is a growing series of relationships with the world at large of which his school is only a part, and it may be a not very important part....Why to this there should be added 'character' and 'tradition' is rather mystifying, unless you specifically regard the school.... as a place where the harmful assumptions of society at large were to be eradicated and new values substituted." (pp.44-45)

Viewed in historical context, the problem of how to formulate objectives has always been an ambiguous one for British colonial education. South Africa has been alone in the extreme ideological formulation of educational goals (Kumalo, 1959) but, as Lord Hailey (1956:1221) has written,

"Lack of uniformity and clarity in defining policy is particularly marked in British colonial areas. Policies differ as between French, Belgian and Portuguese territories, but the policy is more or less clearly expressed, and the school system designed on a consistent plan to give effect to it. Part of this lack of system in the British areas is due to the predominance acquired at an early period by missionary activity in education, but in part also it is due to the projection into the colonial field of the traditional disinclination of the British to subject education or any other intellectual movement to State control."

Furthermore, "...the British colonial governments have placed

widely different and indeed inconsistent interpretations upon the policy indicated in the memoranda of the Colonial Office Committee." The result has been local diversion on almost all issues including the timing of the introduction of English into the curriculum, vocational vs. academic emphases, terminal primary education vs. primary education as preparatory to further study and so on. Although our temporal frame of reference in this discussion is coterminous with the eve of independence in Uganda and Kenya, the relevance of these issues is not at all diminished with independence. As Lord Hailey (1956:1227) wisely recognizes,

"The time has now come when the African is in a position to take a more positive part in determining the type of education best suited to his circumstances and the genius of his people. But it is difficult at the moment to go farther than to debate the extent to which the existing systems of education are successful in achieving the particular ends they have been designed to serve."

The setting of these ends has been characterized by some confusion and the British educational legacy has thus been an ambiguous one. The contemporary African generation has been raised in the context of both the strengths and the ambiguities of this system of education.²⁰

Unfortunately there has been almost no direct empirical research on African schools as fields of culture change, although there have been a few attempts intolligently to survey such issues through more or less brief expeditions in the field. The resulting analyses are useful in direct proportion to the intelligence and perceptiveness of the visiting observer. This writer has carried out a brief survey for

purposes subsidiary but relevant to the present main research interest. Finding that it was not possible to comprehend many of the important reactions of East African university students to the experience of higher education without reference to the nature of their secondary school life, we toured the major secondary schools of Kikuyu country and Buganda from which our student respondents graduated. In our discussion, in line with our interest in acculturation, we shall restrict our attention to those aspects of school life which, first, afford an insight into the attitudes and beliefs underlying the policies and activities of British educators in Kenya and Buganda on the eve of independence and, second, which enable us to understand the forces at work upon this present generation of university students.²¹

Before presenting our own conclusions, it would be of value to review some of those arrived at by observers of East African secondary education over the past few decades. A good place to begin is with Murray's (1929:267) important reminder of the influence wielded by the "spirit of the age" upon particular policies and practices, especially those of the missionary societies which, until just over a decade ago, were in almost sole charge of primary and secondary education in the region of Africa with which we are concerned.

"Where the 'spirit of the age' is concerned, it is not easy to contend against it. The modern missionary society...is dependent on the state of contemporary thought. Everything comes back to that - its appeal for funds and for workers, the response to that appeal, its view of its own task, its attitude to the African races to whom it goes, its relation to Government, and its relation to other societies. It is remarkably sensitive to the world in which it works."

It is clear that the importance of this point cannot be exaggerated. Africa, among many other things, is a kaleidoscope of second thoughts on fundamentals, unfulfilled aspirations and ambiguous hopes, all of which have played their role in the minds and hearts of policy makers and educators. Among the many forces which have made themselves felt in relation to such matters are evangelistic motives deriving from Victorian-Imperialist optimism, world war, the idea of the Dual Mandate, the changes in missionary theology relative to the trend away from sheer evangelism in the direction of more humble conceptions of the "Christian witness", the rise of African nationalism, and the ebbs and flows of world opinion.

In 1935 Thurnwald (1935:237-238) cited some of the specific problems of educational method and conceptions. With respect to the latter, he points out that

"...modern education...bestows intellectual knowledge for reproduction and imitation, but it fails entirely in providing other rules of conduct in those situations with which the man drilled in memory work and exposed to individualistic trends is faced today. Teachers with a solely rationalistic attitude of mind are generally disregarding this need. This is mostly the consequence of the under-estimation of the laws dominating the native's life, the ignorance of the many rules with which the African used to administer his society. Still the romanticism of Rousseau prevails that 'natives' live without restrictions and laws, which have only been inflicted upon man by 'civilization'."

However this may have been in 1935, it must be said that teachers have become rather more sophisticated about such matters by now. But this increased sophistication is often superficial, in the sense that many would agree now in principle that such knowledge is necessary but have failed actually

to provide themselves with sufficient understanding to comprehend in detail the problems of adaptation on the part of their African students. Under pressure, the "boys are boys everywhere" dictum tends to supersede all else. This is a generalization with many exceptions, but its importance should not be underestimated either (although the point about Rousseauian romanticism is not widely applicable any longer). Of greater relevance to the present time is Thurnwald's perceptive comment (1935:389-390) on the effect upon many Africans of the growing rejection among some European quarters of the Christian missionary foundations of education and even of Christianity itself. While here especially any generalization is subject to qualification, it is often still true that

"The African; if it suits him, is alert and prompt to imitate (this European attitude) without worrying over its further implications in European life. He receives the sanction of its smartness from that set of Europeans. Whereas the mission tries to eradicate old forms of crude materialism, another materialistic tendency is introduced, so to speak, behind the mission's back. These antagonistic trends of Europeanism confuse and paralyze the African. Consequently the effect of the new religion upon the neophyte is minimized. Although nominally Christian, he is not able to draw moral advantages from his creed."

Formulated thusly, the generalization is oversimplified: the crisis around the relevance of Christian moral theory is anything but confined to missionary fields. Nevertheless an important point is being made with this observation. We have found that among many if not most of the mission personnel within our acquaintance, modern "materialism" (in the sense of money and status idolatry) is viewed as a far greater enemy than either Islam or paganism. Finally, this writer's

experience has convinced him of the contemporary relevance of Thurnwald's comment (1935:274-275) on the European teacher which points out that

"The theoretical scientific training of the teacher and his knowledge of theoretical European pedagogy is of the same use to him as training in European law or European business methods or agriculture and so on is for other functionaries. It is almost more of a drawback to him than a means for handling the problems with which he is concerned. What he really needs is a knowledge of the processes of adaptation, of the ways of native thinking, and the features of their social order from which they are emerging."

And as concerns the African recipient of European education,

"There is always a tendency to bring about a certain harmony among the particles of his new knowledge, old experience and inherited tradition. The African is left in despair as to how to arrange the mosaic of his mind. He expects to find a guiding hand from the same European who provided him with the many new stimulations."

We shall have occasion to return to the latter point later in this chapter where we shall see that the generalization is a perceptive one, although the last sentence needs to be modified by the realization that this expectation is fraught with ambivalence, often tinged with hostility.

In 1947, Professor Turner (1947:69), an ex-principal of Makerere College with seven years experience in East Africa, wrote that

"...either of two defects is common in Mission Schools: on the one hand, too much information and instruction, with strong pressure to industry and obedience but with little stimulus to enterprise and thought; and on the other, an excess of moral precept and homily, with insufficient presentation of the faith and discipline upon which Christian conduct must be based." (In secondary boarding schools there was too much of a tendency for) "...copying from European models, too little experimentation."

In 1954, K.A. Robertson (1954+1955:137), writing on

aspects of the pupil-teacher relationship in Metropolitan English as against East African secondary schools, describes the productive tension between teachers and pupils in English schools which is resolved by the 5th or 6th Forms by way of fruitful intellectual debate. Ideally the outcome of this tension is that good discipline is internalized and need no longer depend upon constant recourse to external sanctions. Speaking of his experience as a teacher in East Africa, Robertson concludes that

"In Africa this tension does not exist. The teacher is assured of respectful attention and one of the major incentives to good teaching is gone.

"I have noticed that to digress from the matter in hand irritates African schoolboys. I think they feel that time is being wasted when they could be more profitably employed copying some new facts into their notebooks.... For one thing (this) places the teacher in a hopeless position: if facts in isolation are valued for their own sake, then a teacher, who can hardly help knowing more, comes to be regarded as better than his students, instead of simply more mature."

The result of this, Robertson warns, is that at worst the teacher may at some point come to be regarded, to all intents and purposes, as infallible. At best, this attitude leads to one-sided teaching, which results in a confusing simplification of ideas. Ideas become accepted as facts, and this in turn can lead to thinking in terms of extremes. The two major factors to which Robertson attributes responsibility for this sterile teacher-pupil relationship are, first, the lack of group identity due to the dissimilarity of cultures (a situation which the African teacher suffers from as well in his communication both with European teachers and - because

of the status distinction between him and his students - with his students as well); second, the orientation toward success in terms of examination-passing which further stifles deeper communication.

One of the most perceptive and refreshingly stimulating case studies of secondary school life in East Africa is F. Musgrove's (1952) analysis of the Uganda secondary school, at which he taught, as a field of culture change. Much of what he reports is of wider applicability. For instance he points out that "Although the pattern of organization within the school is little influenced by the structure of African society outside, there is, in fact, a complex interaction between the school and the tribes (in the environment)". Among his examples are the role of school fees in inducing changes in mobility patterns and economic behavior on the part of parents and relatives of students; the compensatory function of the school in relation to society's activities relative to the various incapacities of the latter in providing instruction capable of meeting modern demands; changes in social attitudes brought about by the pupils themselves who become accustomed to new amenities, routines of life and standards of conduct. Musgrove also disputes some of the more popular stereotypes regarding the alleged conflict between Western and traditional African ideas which are often said to underlie tension within the pupil's personality. Pointing to the persistence of traditional beliefs such as magic and witchcraft, he asserts that

"The ideas contained in Western culture as presented to schoolboys often cause less tension than might be expected since some are largely restatements, with a new terminology, of beliefs already held. The Hebrew cosmology, which most boys believe to be an integral part of Christian religion, corresponds closely to their own cosmology."

Citing various examples from Bantu cosmology, Musgrove adds that "The spiritual geography of the older Christian religion - heaven and hell, God and Satan, angels and devils, fits easily into this pattern." The analysis is valuable among other reasons for the many congruities between Christian and traditional African assumptions which are used in illustration of the important basic point that

"Within the school and particularly with the more advanced pupils, the tensions arise not so much between the new Western and the old indigenous cultures, but between the two apparently contradictory elements introduced from the West, the religious and the scientific ...the questions are those which were asked of the divines of the late 19th century: How can we square evolution with Genesis? How can we reconcile a scientific account of historical change with the intervention of God in human affairs?"

This point is vital to an understanding of one of our basic assertions to be introduced later in this chapter; namely, that the conflicts and ambivalencies in the African student mind arise not as much from the tension between traditional and Western secondary education as from the irreconcilabilities between two traditions of Western education - that of the sectarian secondary boarding school and the comparatively secularized and seemingly more anomic university life.

Another stereotype which is disputed by Musgrove is that which sees Western education as introducing a basic disharmony between pupils and their families at home. Musgrove

states flatly that

"In the case of this Uganda secondary school it is a very doubtful proposition indeed, and one to be treated with the greatest of caution, that higher education is creating tensions and cleavages between its products and the relatively uneducated villagers."

It is true, however, as he says, that the school "causes social stresses in other ways" in terms of indirect social consequences on traditional custom. (Examples include changes in the age of marriage, mobility patterns, and the inculcation of new tastes which in turn affect other institutions such as polygyny.)

A third stereotype which Musgrove rejects is the oversimplified image of the "new" African as pure materialistic self-seeker. In a comment strongly reminiscent of Thurnwald's statement quoted earlier concerning the African's need for mental harmony, Musgrove asserts that

"The African pupil is seeking subtler satisfactions than are credited in the familiar stereotype of the educated African seeking European-type employment, dress and living conditions, and discarding his uneducated family as now beneath his station."

As we shall see in the following chapter, this is accurate with respect to the African university student as well.

With regard to acculturation theory itself, Musgrove cautions that

"There is no smooth transfer of culture, but a complex pattern of acceptance and rejection. From the culture tensions a new synthesis emerges which is different from both parent cultures."

Of particular interest are some of the examples he uses to illustrate this point. With reference to the modification of

religious beliefs and practices, for instance, he found that

"Some boys reject the Christian teaching of meekness and allege that this is taught by Europeans, at such blatant variance with modern European practice, in order to emasculate the African and condition him to a role of tame subordination. Others, and particularly those under the influence of the Balokole (the Revival), accept the Christian virtue of meekness as a central tenet; it provides them with a strong defence mechanism in the culture conflict. For them, the necessary consequence of meekness and repentance is forgiveness; it is usual for them to claim exemption from school punishments on the grounds that they have repented and are filled with humility, and it is the master's Christian duty to forgive. The influence of the Balokole movement is itself an expression of culture tension: the sect is essentially separatist; it is also salvationist, and its members can relegate all Europeans who are not within its ranks to an inferior standing on earth and eternal torment in Hell. It is difficult to predict the final outcome of our teaching and, in the case of Christian teaching, to be sure whether the resultant attitudes and beliefs can be meaningfully labelled 'Christian' at all."

The deepest cultural obstacle Musgrove attributes to the traditional African conception of causality, both in the world of nature and of man. His pupils, he claimed, were unable to appreciate the concept of long slow action (such as in geology), or social history, tending always to look for purposive actions.

"They want the more dramatic, immediately observable results of human action, or of an agency acting with the more easily understood motive and purpose of, and in the same time scale as, an individual man."

Finally there were obstacles inevitably arising out of more concrete conflicts such as patterns of stereotyped suspicion which sometimes took very weird forms...

Of more recent vintage are the psychology of acculturation studies of Doob (1957 and 1964), who has done comparative research among the Baganda, the Luo and the Zulu

tribes with reference to specific hypotheses about acculturation. He succeeds in clarifying some stereotypes about the importance of the variable of education by demonstrating that variables relative to tribal structure and culture (and even clan differences within a single tribe) are important intervening factors. The Ainsworths (1960) carried out some interesting studies of a similar nature, one of the most interesting of which utilized students in six East African secondary schools, four in Buganda (ranging on a scale from most to least acculturated relative to reasonable criteria such as staff, distance from Kampala etc.), and two in the Nyanza Province of Kenya (one with predominantly Luo students, and one with pupils from many tribes). Among the more important findings relevant to the East African acculturated students as a whole are "....a striking tendency to accept authority, rather than viewing it as punitive or frustrating" plus a tendency to "...care far less for freedom in the sense of Western democracy than for freedom in the sense of autonomy of the African politico-geographical unit, or in the case of the Baganda, autonomy of the tribal unit." Furthermore,

"Skin-color seems to be a subordinate issue in East Africa, probably because other lines of cleavage between African and European--and Asian are so clear. It is perhaps only where acculturation has proceeded so far towards assimilation that other lines of cleavage break down that external signs of distinction like skin-color become a major issue."

In addition,

"Level of acculturation was found to be related

significantly to attitudes to authority figures. The most acculturated group were most frequently capable of balanced judgments--of appreciating both the negative and positive contributions of the authority figures of the new culture."

To a striking degree, insularity of political awareness was present among the students - an observation which we shall also have cause to comment upon in the following chapter. As far as differences between tribes was concerned, as might be expected, the Baganda students as a whole showed a rather higher level of tribal identity and awareness than the others. We are now ready to present the generalizations arising out of our own survey of secondary education in East Africa. They are phrased generally to protect the confidentiality of particular sources, and only those are included which are based upon reasonable consensus among our respondents.

1. Generally speaking, there has been a definite attempt in almost all the schools we visited to create the conditions of an English public school. The emphasis is upon the "boys are boys" approach, even in those schools in which Headmaster and teachers entertain doubts about other aspects of the English school tradition. Relative success or failure in relation to this goal depends partly upon the personality of the Headmaster, partly on the sponsorship of the school, partly upon the support the Headmaster receives or fails to receive from his staff, and partly upon conditions pertaining in the environment. By and large, Buganda schools must take more account of the tribal social structure and public opinion

than is the case in Kenya because in the case of the former, as we indicated earlier, the schools are part of traditional society in ways not true in Kenya. It must be kept in mind, however, that this generalization is deceptively simple. The rise of the Kikuyu Independent School movement as early as 1929 suggests that no European school can function totally outside the realm of prevailing public opinion. However, the degree to which a school should in fact adapt itself to indigenous public opinion and cultural values is a matter of some difference of opinion which cannot be said to depend entirely upon whether one is a European or an African teacher. For one thing, officially stated views are not always identical to those uttered in private, especially in the case of African teachers. Furthermore, opinions vary according to what aspects of traditional life are at issue. There is still much ambiguity about what role the school should play, in both Buganda and Kikuyu, in relation to the demands of different sectors of public opinion. In the case of the Kikuyu the schoolboy role has been legitimated within tribal life.²²

2. Our second generalization has to do with the specific role of the Kikuyu and the Baganda students in the schools we visited. In all the Kenya schools visited the images of the Kikuyu were virtually identical. Common words used to describe them in relation to other student groups were "more eager", "more tenacious", "more motivated", "more independent", "more manly". One comment referred to their

love of "secret societies". This does not mean that all Europeans interviewed like the Kikuyu better than the others. Some prefer the Luo who are seen by almost all as second only to the Kikuyu in drive and educability. Attitudes toward the Kikuyu seem partly to reflect deeper attitudes concerning "proper" behavior for "natives". Some find the Kikuyu exhilarating, others fear them. Almost all European teachers and officials interviewed knew very little about traditional Kikuyu social structure and cultural values; most indicated that they genuinely liked the older pagan Kikuyu whom they had met better than some of the younger more Westernized types; and all agreed that Kikuyu pupils came from "all kinds of homes" as far as socio-economic status is concerned.

Attitudes toward Baganda students are more ambiguous. The European teachers in Buganda schools, although they did not know as much about the Baganda as this writer expected them to, of course did know more than their counterparts in Kenya knew of the Kikuyu. One reason is that the major schools are more implicated in the traditional social structure of Buganda, having originally been founded largely as training centers for the sons of the Baganda-Christian oligarchy. Thus, more is known of the background of the individual Buganda student on whom more careful records are kept with respect to this than is the case in Kenya. Generally the Baganda students are considered rather highly cultivated for African students, with backgrounds of exposure to music,

literature and the arts generally. European teachers in almost all the Buganda schools visited state that the upper-stratum selectivity which was true in the past with regard to school entrance is now diminishing. Pupils still come from more financially prosperous backgrounds, but in terms of status there is now allegedly a wider spread ranging from sons of ministers to sons of small landowners and lower civil servants. However pressure is still present to accept into schools the "duller" sons of high ranking fathers. There is a strong desire among Headmasters in Buganda that their schools not be exclusively for Baganda and in one major Protestant school Baganda comprise only 50% of the student body, and in one major Catholic school the figure is 55-60%. The Baganda are viewed as generally the most sophisticated although it is claimed that if the others are given a chance (i.e. relieved from tribal pressures and stereotyped categorization) they can do very well.

3. In Kenya and Uganda (especially the former), despite the sincere desire for the contrary on the part of Headmasters, there is a trend toward greater specialization in school selection on the basis of tribe, district and religion. This is partly due to the official British policy which supported the role of voluntary agencies in African education, and partly to the fact that not all African societies have equally accepted the desirability of European education. Because of the disproportionate Kikuyu demand for such education (only the Luo are generally considered as equally oriented in this

direction), the districts around Nairobi are best developed in primary school facilities. The township schools in the Rift Valley (the old "settler" area) achieve, according to one Headmaster, "staggering" results in the examinations.

Religious specialization of schools is a reflection of the geographic distribution of the missions²³ combined with the Government's policy of sending pupils of particular religious affiliations to schools of their denomination despite the fact that a pupil's religion was often simply a reflection of which mission happened to have a primary school near his home. These factors are leading to what one respondent referred to as "district patriotism" and another as "district tensions" among some Headmasters and schools, despite the avowed desire for "tribal balance"²⁴ among the student body. If this trend is not reversed by the new African government, it may render the schools useless as an agency of integration in the drive to encourage a national consciousness.

4. Concerning the internal life of the schools, in both the Kenya and the Buganda schools visited, there was a deep chasm between the Headmasters and the pupils, and between the African and the European staff. This chasm, it should be made clear, was not necessarily one of hostility. In the case of the Headmaster, the social distance between himself and the pupils reflected both the sharp status distinction and the fact that the former was European and the latter African. The Headmasters were quite aware of this and did

not seem strongly concerned with bridging this gap. They seemed to feel that their authoritative role required it. They were also generally aware of the sharp lack of communication between African and European teachers and did tend to express concern about this. However the Headmasters were unable to do much about it in view of the fact that a third line of cleavage, though not always as sharp as the first two mentioned, existed between the staff as a whole and the Headmaster himself.

The lack of communication between European and African teachers could not be explained by an assumption that Africans were Africans first and teachers second and thus were closer to the African pupils than the European teachers, because this did not in fact seem to be the case. More than one African teacher has told this writer that the status distance between themselves and the pupils was nearly as great as that between their European counterparts and their pupils. Reasons for this situation are varied and subtly rooted in cultural stereotypes and diverse customs. One example among many is the Headmaster of a school with seven African and five European staff members who told the writer that one of the main problems is that European and African wives have little in common, and that the best day is the annual school-leaving party during which "the African becomes a child and romps in games." Africans, he pointed out, are "not at home entertaining us. Their form of entertainment is different - we're always in a hurry. They don't seem free to entertain

us." He described African tea parties with weak tea, stale bread, formal speeches and solemn singing. But "when we go, they do a jig."²⁵ His conclusion was that "we haven't found a common bridge to a jolly good time. Things are affable but not enjoyable. Maybe it's vice versa too." At another school with six Africans (all Kikuyu) staff, and five Western (mostly American) staff, the Headmaster told me that the Africans come to school almost exclusively to teach classes and that both groups had their "own social life". But he hoped the situation would be alleviated if a staff room were built. In one school the Headmaster (a gregarious American) has made a determined effort to break through this barrier and the partial success he has achieved suggests that only through the action and personality of the Headmaster can this situation be altered. These cleavages are of great sociological and psychological importance because they account for a number of highly significant consequences.

a) Such status cleavages can neutralize the effect of many years of experience and residence in Africa for Headmasters and European staff because, combined with the generally "closed" nature of the boarding school community, an enclave of fantasy about Africa and Africans can be maintained.

(This tends to occur more in Kenya than Buganda but it is not entirely impossible in the latter.) If the staff is otherwise sophisticated, the experience in such a community can function positively in introducing the pupil to a wider horizon. But if the staff (especially the Headmaster) also

happens to be hostile in orientation to the secular and urban world, then the preconditions are set for a traumatic experience on the part of the African students after graduation.

(As we shall see, this is an important clue to an understanding of certain problems experienced by African university students.) Thus the social structure of the boarding school with its various status and group cleavages can function to maintain whatever preconceptions the Headmaster and the staff arrived with in Africa.

b) Yet the Headmaster has considerable control over the African pupil's life-chances, because it is the Headmaster who is responsible for character recommendations. It should be said immediately that all the ones this writer has met take this responsibility with extreme seriousness and search their souls with great care in exercising it. But this is not necessarily relevant. As most Headmasters are well aware, the African pupils do not approach them with confidence and hence they really know little about these students. Headmasters recognize their function as primarily disciplinary and try to take account of the experience and opinions of their staff, both African and European. But communication here is often weak as well. Further, the African pupil arrives at the secondary school with experience in adapting to the whims and attitudes of those on whose good-will he is dependent for success and advancement. The closed and structured social system of the secondary boarding school presents a situation in which these charades can be continued

with relative ease. Roles are clear-cut and easily learned, life is not at all unpleasant, responsibilities other than academic are few, and identities in terms of sub-group membership are clear and stable. (There are exceptions to this, especially in Buganda where links to the outside environment are stronger and hence school life is more affected by environmental waves and currents, but the generalization is still a significant one.) In such a context the average intelligent African pupil has little difficulty adapting to the role of a "good boy" and a "decent Christian", especially to the satisfaction of a Headmaster such as the one who told the writer that "we can never understand the African mind" but who felt about African pupils that "the voluntary spirit isn't there; they're used to being ordered to do things - that's their attitude to life, inertia, they're ordered to do something and like it when they're there. They have an infinite capacity for enduring what bores us." That personality and cultural factors not all relevant to sincerity and depth of conviction are operating in such situations is illustrated by a new American Headmaster who told us that his experiences with pupils was so radically different from what he had been led to expect from conversations with more experienced teachers and Headmasters, that he was forced into the position of feeling himself obliged to ignore all advice and to "strike out on his own".

We have dwelt on the dynamics of this generalization at some length because to the extent it is valid, it may be

predicted that not the secondary school but the university (with its looser norm structure, more secular atmosphere, and more complex social organization) will activate the contradictions between the old ways and Western education. It is this very point, indeed, which we shall have occasion to discuss later on in this chapter.

5. The religious and social style of school life is often almost as much a reflection of the personality and attitudes of Headmasters (and to a lesser extent, of the teaching staff as a whole) as it is of the sponsorship of the school. Thus if controlled research were done on this matter with the use of categories as gross as "Catholic", "Protestant" and "Government" schools, it is unlikely that such categories would prove as useful as an outsider might suppose. This writer found that from one Protestant school to another, and from one Catholic school to another, for example, radical distinctions in style were present. In one school chapel was compulsory, in another not. In one school the life and teachings of the allegedly historical Jesus were stressed, in another the emphasis was more on abstract doctrine. In one school the style was propagandistic, in another more scholarly. In one school the emphasis was on controversy, in another it was felt that religious groups "should not be debating societies". Furthermore within a single school one could often find radical divergences of style and emphasis depending upon the teacher. In one school, for example, the writer interviewed two teachers, one of whom obviously combined a

conscious doctrine of the sinfulness of ambition and egoistic striving with an admiration of the independence and drive of the "town school graduates" even though these schools were viewed by him as bad for "character". The other teacher stressed to us his belief that the African in his traditional context was better off than at present and described his colleague of whom we just spoke as inconsistent because while he claimed to believe this as well, he has also described the tribal African as "cow-like". When we asked the latter respondent if he did himself in fact believe this as well, he replied that he did but that he believed it was better to be cow-like and close to nature than individualistic and ambitious, a course which could only lead to unhappiness, despair and sin. Such inconsistencies we found not to be as rare as we had previously thought. Perhaps the conditions of life in Africa force a man to think through his basic assumptions about life and nature; perhaps service in Africa originally attracts men of particular views and predispositions. It is hard to say. But this writer's impression was that the individual teachers he met in East African secondary school life were sharply etched as personalities both in their individual consistencies and inconsistencies. It is difficult to judge the effects of such variety of teacher-types upon the African pupils, for the latter do not reveal their inner feelings to a casual observer. As a group they are extremely deferential in their tone and style of address, considerably more so, in fact, than is true of Makerere students who tend either to be

more aggressive or more quiet than deferential. However there is little doubt that African pupils vary considerably in their responses to school experience, depending upon their histories and personalities. Religious responses range from the fervor of the Balokole (one will usually find some pupils influenced by the Revival, especially in Protestant schools) to the slick materialism of the cynic. What, then, can be said to be true of all schools visited? Despite variations, as stated earlier in this chapter, one finds an emphasis upon the virtues of Christian religion as such, based upon the assumption of its beneficial effects on character formation. Second, the ideals of the boarding school community play a powerful role in the attitudes of the staffs; the effects upon the pupils in schools other than the most elite ones are hard to ascertain. Third, in all schools visited these first two emphases in combination were expected to operate beneficially to break down tribal and stratification divisions indirectly. There was little emphasis upon the direct teaching of race and cultural relations issues, this being in line with the position on this matter taken by the Cambridge Conference Report (1953) and perhaps reflective of British faith in indirect processes of social contact between pragmatically reasonable individuals.²⁶

6. There was a feeling rather widespread among our respondents that there existed little relationship between the secondary schools of East Africa and Makerere College. However there was variation in the degree to which this observation

on the part of respondents was accompanied by hostility directed against Makerere. In some cases this hostility was present in sharp form, in others in mild form, and in some not at all. This writer classed as mild hostility those comments which did not evaluate negatively the college experience as such, but which attributed the lack of communication between school and college to diverse factors peculiar to East Africa. Two such factors were stressed by respondents; one was growth and bureaucratization leading to routinization and consequent depersonalization of social relations, the other was lack of competition for Makerere leading to carelessness in public relations. Responses of this order usually contrasted the local situation unfavorably with the allegedly better relations existing between schools and colleges in the United Kingdom. Responses were classed as sharply hostile if criticism was directed against the effects of Makerere life on students. Such comments were made with particular force by one important Headmaster who, interestingly enough, was held in high esteem at Makerere. In his opinion, "Makerere is the worst place one can go to." Reasons cited for this opinion included the allegations that Christian tutors "don't cut much ice" there; that the prevailing atmosphere is anti-Christian; and that the college was a breeder of conceit, in the sense that the latter was a by-product of life at an institution which - in its casual attitude toward rules and decorum (e.g. calling teachers "sir") and toward Christianity generally - did not provide the preconditions for a genuine and disciplined Christian community.

The respondent stated that reactions against Makerere are not uncommon among both tutors and students who have allegedly told him that "we leave behind (there) what school stood for". This type of attitude, it should be stated, was encountered rarely, although this writer's impression was that more individuals shared it than would express it. Our strong impression is that sharply hostile attitudes toward Makerere are correlated with Christian beliefs of a kind which perceive modern secular college life as a threat to the survival of these beliefs. It is important to point out that this type of division in the interpretation of the Christian faith is by no means correlated simply with the line between school teachers and university lecturers and personnel. This writer has encountered persons on the university level who believed strongly that the view of college life just described is correct; and he has also met secondary school personnel who considered colleagues holding such views as essentially products of "a different generation of Christians" than that with which they would identify themselves. It would probably not be useful for present purposes to explore the frequency with which these various attitudes were encountered in our survey. It is unlikely that all respondents were equally candid in their responses. It is the patterns of attitudes which are important and revealing, and thus have received our closest attention.

7. The final generalization to be discussed has to do with the interrelationships between religious politics and education

in both Kenya and Buganda; a source of tension unlikely to end entirely with independence. Until about 1950 all schools in Kenya were Mission-run on the primary and intermediate levels. Then District Education Boards were set up to provide education for children who could not gain entry into Mission schools. These Boards represented the beginning of secular state education in Kenya; they were brought into being as a result of articulate African public opinion and pressure which is heavily in favor of the secularization of education. Most town schools, because of the religious and tribal heterogeneity of their populations, are now D.E.B. schools. The real role of religious politics becomes visible in the more homogeneous rural areas. The D.E.B.'s, which, in 1960, were financed two-thirds by Government and one-third by the African District Councils, open new schools every year. When a school is opened, people in the area are asked what kind of management they desire for it (D.E.B., Protestant Mission or Catholic Mission), and a real political campaign ensues. There is serious rivalry between Protestants and Catholics in the (then) Central Province, but the situation is more complex than this generalization suggests. It cannot be assumed that there is unanimity among Protestants and Catholics as single groups either. One Catholic order, for instance, receives its money largely from American Italians at the expense of other orders and this creates a certain degree of rivalry. Catholics, with greater sources of funds, are able to open more unaided schools than are the Protestants

and this generates hostility among the latter since it is felt that the system as it was constituted in 1960 worked in favor of Catholic schools since they are expanding in number. Thus if Catholics receive equal aid from Government, but can open a greater number of unaided schools than can the Protestants, it is felt that the outcome amounts to excessive Government aid to Catholics. The issue has become aggravated since the Mau Mau emergency because Catholic schools have been spreading with energy and thrust since that time and the Protestants, who - because they were there first - control more than half of the primary and intermediate schools in the Province (as of 1960), feel a sense of threatened vested interest. British education administrators were themselves privately divided about this issue, some feeling that education should be secularized, others that Government should extend aid equally to Catholics and Protestants, and still others that some account should be taken of relative private resources. It was commonly agreed, however, that vocal African opinion was in the direction of secular education. One example among many of African opinion in this type of conflict occurred when a District Education Board in one district was faced with the common problem of what kind of school should emerge when a third stream of a triple stream school was split off to form a new school. A resolution was passed by this particular D.E.B. to place the new school under D.E.B. management. The vote was seven in favor, two against. The affirmative vote included those of all five

Africans on the Board (among whom was one Catholic) plus two Protestant Europeans. The two negative votes were cast by the two Catholic European members. As a result of this, the Catholic bishop of the district complained to the Ministry of Education and the vote was overturned on the grounds that when a new school was formed through the fission of an existing one, the new school should come under the same management as its parent school. It is not unlikely that the future will see more conflicts of this nature in view of the fact that African opinion is also stressing consistent increase in education, often at the expense of quality in relation to quantity, and resources are limited for the new African governments as they were for the old colonial ones.

The situation in this respect in Buganda is, if anything, even more complex. The history of tri-partite religious conflict in Buganda is well-known, and tensions between religious groups remain serious albeit polite. Now that Buganda is partially integrated into the nation of Uganda, the situation is even more complicated in the sense that diverse threads of world-historical Catholic political experience in Church-State issues are reflected in the relative influence in different areas of Uganda of particular Catholic orders, since the latter are often associated with particular national groupings. Thus, as in Kenya, religious politics can be expected to influence education, although in ways more subtle than any simple dichotomous stereotype of Catholic vs. Protestant would suggest. Aside from the fact that Catholics

do not, as noted, represent a monolithic interest group, there is the influence of demographic factors in relation to districts. Religious affiliation statistics for political districts in Buganda vary radically in relative balance and thus simple nation-wide (or Buganda-wide) generalizations become tenuous.²⁷

These generalizations, helpful as they may be in the information they provide in an area of severely limited information, are of restricted usefulness regarding the deeper and more precise knowledge required for truly scientific formulations of education in acculturation. In the area of comparative education such studies are barely in existence, for - as Philip Foster (1960:113) warns in his incisive analysis of comparative methodology in this field,

"The real problem of transferred educational institutions is to ascertain how they are actually incorporated into an institutional complex and how they become meaningful institutions in terms of the traditional society."

Recently, in what this writer regards as a healthy development, considerable attention has been paid to theoretical analysis of the directions comparative research in this field could take. For instance, in a really exciting article, Epperson and Schmuck (1963) have adapted the more sophisticated aspects of the social psychology of small group analysis to comparative problems of learning in the area of value and norm transmission. Louis Bone (1960) has described a tentative sociological framework for the comparative study of educational systems. And Foster, in the work cited above, has warned against facile but popular stereotypes about the effects of education on economic development and other aspects of non-

Western societies generally.²⁸ Arguing that the great need at the moment was defining the "relevant variables about which data must be obtained", Foster concludes that "nearly all these really significant questions are at the microcosmic level".

"...the relation of education to rural-urban migration, the causal factors in dropout, the impact of formal schooling on social cohesion, and many others of a similar variety....We wish to find out how the school does operate within the community and what functions it actually serves. We wish to know something of the teachers who work in the schools, the children who attend, and what happens to these children when they leave. We wish to know what the expectations of parents are and where conflict is likely to occur between values taught in the school and traditional community values system." (pp. 113-114)

Finally, although we have not dealt with statistical issues directly, proper statistical projections are essential for realistic planning. Likewise, an unrealistic (however popular) assumption can yield misleading conclusions even if the statistics are correct. A recent paper by Richard Jolly (1964) subjects one such assumption to critical analysis; the use of school enrollment figures as a basis for educated manpower projections. Warning that "...it is more important to know what changes are occurring in the structure of education in the population as a whole, and to plan in terms of them, than simply to know numbers or changes in school enrollments", Jolly describes more realistic statistical techniques of projection, pointing to specific areas of data which are still needed. Thus he is able to show that "rapid changes in school enrollments may make only small changes in the stocks of educated manpower" since "changes in the educational levels of

the population as a whole take decades to effect and even rapid expansion of school enrollments may make hardly a dent on the inherited pattern". Failure to pay adequate attention to proper statistical assumptions and approaches, he warns, leads to completely unrealistic expectations for the future. For instance, in Uganda's case

"...even though most of the boys get some schooling today, and about half the girls, over half the population in 1980 will still never have been to school. This is true however fast school enrollments expand in the future. More challenging still, in the absence of an effective and widespread programme of adult education, illiteracy will still be prevalent among the Uganda labour force in the year 2020 A.D."

By using comparative literacy rates in the 19th century for the developing countries of Europe (Belgium, France, USA, and Russia), Jolly shows that even then - in terms of literacy and higher levels of education - these countries were considerably further advanced than Uganda is at present or, given present assumptions, can be for a long time. Thus if modernization is genuinely desired in less developed countries, "educational backwardness demands an approach far wider than plans for conventional schooling".

Our concern has been more in the area of intercultural communication and educational policy with respect to the transmission of values. But here too we have seen that events are still largely determined by unexamined assumptions and patterns whose internal contradictions are the result of historical changes in motives, values and norms on the part of both carriers and recipients of Western culture in East Africa.

Thus far we have confined ourselves to considerations

arising out of secondary school education." It is possible and legitimate to remain on this level of concern since, as we have seen, research in this area of comparative education is in its infancy. But for this writer, secondary education is of interest here as a foundation for a more specific problem; the role of the highly educated in the reconstruction of society and culture. Before turning to this directly with reference to Buganda and Kikuyu, it is necessary to discuss the institutional context in which exposure to Western higher education in East Africa occurs. We therefore now turn to a consideration of Makerere University College in 1960, the eve of independence for Uganda and Kenya.

The same ambiguity of policy which we referred to above with regard to secondary education was true of higher education as well. As Lord Hailey (1956:1229-1230) has pointed out,

"It is especially in connexion with institutions of higher education that the type of instruction given depends on the view held of the place in society which the educated African may be expected to fill...."

"In the British territories no specific statement of principle on the future of the educated African has been made, nor has the educational system been adjusted towards some clearly conceived place which he could be expected to fill. Accepting the general value of an education based on the European model, the British Governments have been content to wait until the products of this type of education have asserted their claim to a position in the political or administrative life of the country. In cases where this position has been accorded, it has more often been in recognition of a claim which has been tacitly encouraged than as the result of a predetermined plan."

Considering the vital importance of the university as an agent of culture change, remarkably little sociological work has been done. Yet, as R.G. Harris (1963:22) has so well put it,

"The University is worth considering at greater length, because it is the place where the potentially most influential members of society are introduced to the most refined standards, quantitative and qualitative, neutral and ideal, because it is the most critical arena in which the clash of systems is fought out and because, consequently, as an active force, it is the most energetic and fully conscious midwife of cultural genesis. All the factors which influence the creation and use of standards in general, and in the clash of systems in particular, apply....to higher education."

There are signs that interest is shifting in this direction, however; with reference to our present topic, one such indication is the recent article by Wilton Dillon (1963), Research Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, on "Universities and Nation-Building in Africa" in which he presents what, in this writer's opinion, is an outstanding attempt at conceptual and methodological formulation of needed research which he calls a "Schematic Outline for the Study of the Interaction between a University and an African National Community: the Social Setting for Learning Elite Roles and Nationhood." The research which we found necessary to carry out on Makerere College as an institution, as a precondition for the effective study of our student sample, led us in much the same direction as Dillon has charted, although our focus was far more restricted.

Since this area of interest is truly a "frontier" for research, it is necessary to preface our remarks on Makerere College with some more general observations with reference to universities in the Anglo-American world. This is especially necessary in view of the strong although understandable temptation to focus one's attention upon the discontinuities between universities in the Western world and those in non-

Western environments to which the university comes as an alien institution. It is possible to overstress such discontinuities in view of the fact that people who become involved in an institution must learn the roles appropriate to it, wherever in the world such roles may be instituted. While any institution must adapt to an environment, distinctions between behavior whose dynamics are determined primarily by institutional adaptation to a particular environment, and behavior whose dynamics are determined primarily by the institutional role structure itself, should be drawn on the basis of empirical research. It is to facilitate such distinctions that we remind the reader of the following generalizations pertaining to the university institution in the Western world.

The Western university has faced two great problems of transformation in recent years. One may be called a transformation of function. R.G.Harris (1963:22) has succinctly described the dynamics of this transformation:

"...in the Oxbridge or Redbrick variant of the European University, the accepted standards until very recently were aimed at moulding and perpetuating a certain type of man. This type was a polished humanist with the ability to lead or control others of a lower social class, less wealth, or of lesser intellectual and social gifts than himself - these distinctions being decided by convention-standards proposed by himself, his class and his God; he was the living image of one of the most powerful ideal-standards of the University system and of his society. But he was, and still is being, superceded by another type, another image of another and different ideal standard. This is the scientist-technologist who is not ultimately concerned with the "I-thou" of human relationships but with the "it" of external Nature which he has conceived, first, as a mechanistic, and now as an atomistic, system. Like his predecessor he also aims at control, not over men but over things: this would seem to be the only thing they have in common. The second type has not

replaced the first: because today their system is in a period of transition they exist side by side, and the different values and standards represented by these types may combine in any one individual."

That this transformation, combined - as it has been - with the increasing democratization of Western societies which opened wide the hitherto restricted gates of social mobility, has led to a Great Debate as to the proper function of the university is a well-known fact of Western cultural history. There are those who say with Truscott (1951:141-142);

"First of all, let a proposition be re-stated which will serve as a foundation....: that the proportion of research....is, or more correctly should be, the chief part of the aim of every university....If it means a free association of persons formed in order to undertake research, then it is, in the purest sense of the word, a university."

And there are those who argue, with Ortego Y Gasset (1946:58 and 61),

"....science in the true sense, i.e. scientific investigation, has no place in any direct, constituent capacity among the primary functions of the university. It is something independent....the trend toward a university dominated by 'inquiry' has been disastrous. It has led to the elimination of the prime concern - culture."

And there are those who, with Sir Charles Snow (1959), are concerned with the bridging of the multiple "cultures" which have emerged as a result of the impact of humanism and science.

The second great transformation faced by the Western university is one of internal structure in relation to the environment, and also to the issues raised above. Central here is the increasing bureaucratization of the university as a social system, with the inevitable effects upon student-staff relations, and other aspects of communication. Perhaps one of the most sophisticated sociological analyses of the

modern American university (undoubtedly applicable elsewhere) as a bureaucracy structured in such a way as to be almost paralyzed by its own inner contradictions, can be found in an article by Ross L. Mooney (1963). It is organized into seventeen propositions divided into three sets; "the first relating to a split between teaching and research, the second relating to fundamental shifts inside the university since 1900, and the third relating directly to leadership." From the perspective of the theoretical interests of this present study, of course, a focus of major significance is the general nature of student-staff relationships. Here the picture in the Western world seems quite clear. With appropriate exceptions, the general picture emerging almost everywhere corresponds to that described by Truscott (1951:200) with reference to the Redbrick-type university in Great Britain:

"One of the most striking features of questionnaires and debates on university life and of discussions on the subject in student newspapers is the desire which the undergraduate at the modern university seems to feel for a closer relationship with his teachers.... Apparently, however, the relations desired are not so much academic as personal."

Many of the reasons for these problems are clearly set forth in Mooney's analysis cited above. But whatever the reasons, the tensions within the university world, its ambiguous relations with the environment and with its own student body, reflects serious crises of identity and function and, in a deeper sense, a crisis of communication-between generations as well.

Makerere College was established as the University

College of East Africa in 1949 according to the recommendations of the Asquith Commission Report published in 1945. The story of Makerere and its transformation to University status is an interesting one.²⁹ As may be expected, considerable selectivity has operated in determining the student patterns at Makerere. Aside from consciously imposed territorial quotas, these patterns of selectivity have been determined by social and historical factors such as "...intense missionary activity, economic and general involvement with the outer world, and a desire for Western education (which) have made some areas a fruitful field for educational development while others have remained relatively little affected." (Goldthorpe, 1961) Furthermore, the existence of high-grade secondary schools in a given area makes a significant difference. Finally Goldthorpe's evidence "...strongly suggests that Makerere students include a larger proportion of people with literate parents, and with fathers engaged in occupations carrying high social prestige, than the East African population as a whole."

When first encountering Makerere College, one is struck by the seemingly extraordinary richness of student life. The writer has compiled a list of student organizations which is too lengthy for reproduction. These organizations fall under four categories: tribal, territorial, religious and special interest (academic and other). Table I presents the range of student associations in existence at the time this writer was present at the College. It was difficult and not really worth the effort to obtain statistics regarding membership since these clubs tend to appear and disappear with some fluidity.

TABLE 1

Number of Student Associations
by Category

Category	Number
Territorial and Part-territorial	7
Tribal	8
Religious	3
Interests	31
- sports	(15)
- music and arts	(4)
- academic	(7)
- political	(2)
- other	(3)

The tribal groups included the Bagisu of Uganda, the Chagga of Tanganyika, the Bahaya of Tanganyika, the Baluya of Kenya, the Kikuyu, Kamba, Embu and Meru tribes of Kenya (the Embu, in addition, had a separate group), the Luo of Kenya, and the Baganda of Uganda. The multi-tribal territorial associations included those representing Kenya, the Kenya coastal belt, Zanzibar (none of whose officers were African), Western Uganda, and three groups from Tanganyika.

The student journals in the writer's possession, all of which were publishing in 1960, include five tribal and multi-tribal territorial magazines; one religious (Roman Catholic) journal; and six publications devoted to special interests (African literature, English, general, geography and politics). The Makerere Dramatic Society also presents an annual drama festival (cf. Carpenter, 1963) of rather high and original quality. In addition there are sports festivals, art exhibits and other types of activity in which students take part. In

1960-61, the general opinion of the staff, with which this writer concurs, seemed to be that the lowest quality of student extra-curricular output was literary, and the highest quality was to be found in art and drama. (Makerere has a School of Fine Arts which has among its students some startlingly outstanding artists. Further, two students among the writer's sample of respondents have unusual literary ability and one of them has recently begun to publish his work.)

Aside from student activities, the official policy of the College encouraged intensive guidance of students by staff, primarily through the tutorial system under which each student was assigned a personal tutor (outside of the normal class lecture system) whose responsibility it was to know and work with his students on a more personal level. The student-staff ratio was such that this goal appeared reasonable from a purely numerical point of view.

Despite these signs of student activity and interest on the one hand, and the official College policy of encouragement and guidance on the other, it quickly became clear to the writer that divisions of hostility and ambivalence existed among the student body, among the staff, and between students on the one hand and staff on the other.

With reference to the first, there was an attitude of almost absolute mutual rejection between the African students and the Asian-Arab students, both groups acting officially toward each other as stereotyped monolithic out-groups with very little interaction between them, despite the obvious fallaciousness of such stereotypes. (In private, individual

students on both sides often admitted this fallaciousness, but group behavior in public was very often on a different level than that suggested by individual attitudes privately expressed.) Explanations of this are not difficult to formulate. It is simply a reflection of the general line of conflict and mutual hostility existing between those known as "Asians" and those known as "Africans" in East Africa generally; (a division rooted in history, economics and culture, and perpetuated by administrative policy which accepted differences based upon alleged "community interests"). In addition, there existed lines of hostility (or at least mutual suspicion) between certain African tribal groups on campus. There were also tribal alliances, and other levels of hostility and coalitions based upon cross-cutting factors such as territorial and even sub-territorial but supra-tribal loyalties. We did not attempt to map these which would have required sophisticated sociometric techniques and more time than the effort was worth relative to our particular focus in this study. The observations we did make concerning these divisions convinced us that these sociometric patterns of attraction and repulsion are rooted in diverse variables such as a) historical conflicts, b) socio-cultural compatibility between social structures and systems of cultural values, c) ignorance and fantasy perpetuated by some groups about each other (Africans actually often know less about tribes other than their own than many Europeans know about nations other than their own), d) institutionalized myths concerning relative superiority and inferiority of one group in relation to another (such as the conviction on the

part of Baganda of their own absolute cultural superiority). These divisions often underlie group conflicts and behavior which appear incomprehensible and even irrational to outsiders such as Europeans who are staff members and administrators.

The second type of division to which we referred above, those existing among the staff itself, was based upon factors not very different from those to be found in staffs of any university in the Western world, although there were some which reflected features unique to British society. In all Western universities, divisions among staff reflect departmental structures, variations in world-views based upon professional perspectives, bureaucratic competition for scarce resources, and conflicts based upon personality differences of various kinds. Among British university personnel, divisions based upon aspects of British society at large are also visible such as "Oxbridge" versus "Redbrick" traditions, the "two cultures" problem, and personality differences based upon social class distinctions (the latter being perhaps more pronounced in British than in American universities, especially after the opening of extensive opportunities for social mobility through education in Britain subsequent to World War II).

It was on the area of tension between students and staff, because of its acculturative significance, which we focused most of our attention relative to the institutional analysis of college life in East Africa. Student-staff

relations at Makerere during this writer's tenure there were subject to many hidden tensions reflected in rumors, gossip, various evidences of hostility, outright misinterpretations of individual and group behavior on both sides based upon tribal, cultural, and - to a lesser extent (at least overtly) - racial stereotypes. This writer, in his capacity as a Research Associate of the Research Institute, was in a favorably neutral position relative to both students and staff and thus found himself able to establish contacts on both sides which facilitated his own investigations. It was, of course, not considered possible (or desirable) to trace the accuracy of specific rumors or assertions. Rather we considered these symptomatic evidence of communication failure rooted in dimensions of motivation, environment, institutional structure, and inter-cultural relations not always conscious to the participants of the institution. In saying this, we do not mean to imply that in our judgment the tensions we found appeared to us as "pathological" (i.e. exceeding a level of tension normal to any real-life complex bureaucracy under similar circumstances). Africa, obviously, is a context in which formal Western education actually disrupts, to some extent, the recipient's social and cultural ties with his environment by introducing new sets of assumptions, new motivations, and new ways of life. It follows that in such a context (many examples of which exist in the Western world as well, although they have been severely neglected by researchers) the student's responses to education, many of his attitudes to

it, and sometimes even his very conception of what is happening to him, will be strongly influenced by experience with education as a process of total interaction between himself and those responsible for teaching him. In such a situation, the argument of those who claim that the school is not there for general character training or psychotherapy, on the ground that these are more properly the functions of other institutions such as the family, the church, the guidance agency etc., turns out not so much to be wrong as irrelevant.

In view of this perspective which, in a larger sense, underlies our entire study, we undertook our cursory investigation of student-staff relations at Makerere College. We wish to emphasize, first, that no effort was made to look into all aspects of this complex topic and, second, that our conclusions - based upon necessarily limited data - cannot be taken as demonstrably valid. Our conclusions are based at least as much upon participant observation and interview data as they are upon the results of the questionnaires reproduced in the methodological appendix to this study. This writer does feel, however, that these questionnaire results are entirely consistent with all his other data and has sought to restrict his conclusions to a level of generality which does not depart from the evidence cited. The conviction held by the writer that the conclusions to be presented are of use for a deeper understanding of acculturation and education in East Africa reflects more the comparative research neglect of such issues than it does the sophistication of the

methods used in this instance. We do feel, furthermore, that the types of problems encountered will not change much in the next few years because they are outgrowths of underlying realities of communication, structure and adaptation which can be expected to remain relatively constant despite shifts in personnel and superficial policy innovations.

In our survey, two sets of questionnaires were distributed, one to students and one to staff. Copies of the student questionnaire were sent to all students in one Hall of Residence at the College at which the writer was well known since it was from this Hall that the sample was drawn of Baganda and Kikuyu students for the study described in the following chapter. (The Hall of Residence, as will be explained further in the next chapter, presents a reasonable representative sample of the entire student body by year, tribe, district, territory, and course of study since students are assigned to Halls strictly on the basis of vacancies rather than on any other factor which could influence the representativeness of the population of such a Hall.) Of 172 forms sent out, 105 completed returns were received (about 61% and approximately 12% of the total male student population of the College) which we have been made to understand is a very good response at Makerere. The replies seem fairly representative of year, course of study (though less so of Science than Arts), tribe and territory. Table 2 presents a breakdown of student replies by course of study which turned out to be the major discriminating variable on certain questions.

TABLE 2

Science Students	Arts Students	Fine Arts
(47 returned out of 92)	(54 returned out of 75)	(4 out of 5)
Science - 39 out of 66*	Arts - 41 out of 51*	
Agriculture - 4 out of 12	Economics - 6 out of 10	
Medicine - 4 out of 14	Education - 7 out of 14	

*Note: collapsed categories comprising various fields of study e.g. chemistry, physics, maths, sociology, history etc.

The staff survey was less successful since the returns amounted only to 30% of the forms sent out and, in addition, reflect certain biases in that some departments are under-represented as compared with others. Nevertheless, some of the forms were returned with very helpful extensive comments and these, in addition to the interviewing which these returns helped facilitate, has made the effort worthwhile and the results more significant than the methodological limitations suggest. Table 3 presents a breakdown of replies by department.

TABLE 3

	Department	No. of Forms Distributed	No. Returned
A R T S	English	8	4
	Economics	9	3
	History	6	2
	Education**	10	5

TABLE 3-Continued

	Department	No. of Forms Distributed	No. Returned
	Sociology	2	2
	Geography	5	0
	Total.....	40	16 (40%)
S C I E N C E S	Medicine**	25	7
	Chemistry	6	1
	Geology	1	1
	Zoology	6	3
	Botany	6	1
	Agriculture**	11	0
	Maths	5	2
	Physics	6	0
	Fine Arts	4	0
	Wardens of Residence Halls Administration	6 2	3 1
	Grand Totals.....	118	35 (30%)

**Note: actually a separate Faculty but included here for simplification.

We shall now deal briefly with some of the results of this survey, discussing first the student response and then that of the staff. Interpretations and implications will conclude the chapter.

Students: No clear difference emerged when the returns were divided according to first two and second two years at Makerere. There was also no significant difference between responses on the basis of tribe and territory. This may be due either to the relatively low number of students sampled

or to the possibility that students respond to the student-staff relations issue as students rather than in terms of any other status. (The writer's experience leads him to accept the latter conclusion.) We have summarized interesting responses in table form. For questions where longer answers rather than simple forced choice responses were called for, the answers represent the writer's coding categories. Only those answers which showed patterns (as indicated by a small number of coding categories for a large number of answers) rather than highly general and random responses were summarized. In addition to the tables we shall discuss, there were some responses which, while important, were not suitable for tabulation. One of the most important of these questions had to do with student opinion of African staff. The reaction here was very mixed, but an impressive number of students felt that African staff - with certain exceptions - were worse than the European with respect to aspects of student-staff relations when they should have been better. It was claimed that some are more aloof than the Europeans and were bent on showing how much they knew. Only a few of the responses favorable to the African staff were based upon a racial reason. (One comment summed up the African staff with the pungent sentence: "British indifference is ugly on a black face.") The point here is this: while it would be foolhardy to deny that there are elements of race feeling in student response to staff, the reaction to the African staff questions does suggest that the students were

responding more (or at least as much) as students against staff, rather than black against white. The writer's own experience with students tends to bear this out. Kikuyu students, who would perhaps be expected to have the strongest race feelings considering their history, are among the easiest student groups to communicate with (an impression apparently shared by many staff members according to their questionnaires).³⁰

Another question had to do with student opinion on whether staff wives had any influence on the popularity of male staff members. Sixty-four percent of the students said yes, and seventeen percent did not know, while the rest said no. The dividing line between "yes" responses and others seemed to be an experience with a real or imagined slight on the part of some wife. According to the answers to this question, a wide-spread assumption among students seems to be that many wives have race prejudice even when their husbands do not - or are at least less well able to hide it. According to this assumption, some wives are more sensitive to breaches of table manners, to the physical presence of Africans generally, and so forth. Not a single one of the 105 responses suggested that wife hostility might be due to jealousy over the amount of time her husband had to spend out of the house, and might reflect a desire to have her husband home with the family undisturbed for awhile by the intrusions into privacy so common in Africa from the perspective of those accustomed to European standards and rituals of privacy. We have dis-

cussed this point in some detail because it is a typical example of how a lack of understanding concerning a (to some) minor cultural difference can lead to serious stereotyped errors and incidents of group friction.

Another question dealt with student assumptions about what staff thought of them. There was an impressive lack of hostility in the general reactions, considering what one would expect on the basis of verbalized statements one hears among both students and staff. Quite a few students wrote that staff looked upon them generally with sympathy and some understanding of their problems. They felt, not inaccurately, that staff saw them as lacking initiative, as too reticent in class, and generally backward in academic and social background. Only very few suggested that staff considered them inherently inferior. What was sometimes not realized by many staff members, as Table 4 suggests, is that when students honestly discuss this problem and do not just react in a situation they perceive as polemic, they are capable of harsher self-criticism than most staff members would suspect.

TABLE 4

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "IF YOU WERE ASKED TO MAKE AN HONEST CRITICISM OF MAKERERE STUDENTS, PLEASE STATE WHAT YOU WOULD OFFER AS VALID CRITICISMS." (RESPONSE CATEGORIES DERIVED FROM QUESTIONNAIRE ANSWERS.)

Criticisms	No. of Mentions*
- Clannishness and provincialism	34
- General narrowness of interest and ability	26
- Snobbishness (e.g. removed from own people, aloof, self-inflated)	24

TABLE 4-Continued

Criticisms	No. of Mentions*
- Lack of initiative and curiosity	12
- Extravagance and ostentation	8
- Alcohol	6
- Lack of good manners	3
- No answer	6

*Note: Since one respondent sometimes indicated more than one item, the total number of mentions can exceed the total number of questionnaires received.

These responses are interesting in that it was quite rare that students would speak of themselves in such a manner in public, especially to outsiders much less staff members (with certain exceptions among those who were generally trusted and liked); furthermore, the high number of responses citing snobbishness as a criticism suggests a certain amount of guilt feeling regarding the separation of the newly educated from the people as a whole. What perhaps has been tapped here is the anxiety which may come to feed the populist tendencies which Edward Shils (1958) has described as "massively at work" in all countries "peripheral to the most creative centers of Western culture".

Secondary school experience has apparently had a wide variety of effects upon students. When asked to compare staff-student relations in secondary school with Makerere, the answers ranged from "much better than" to "much worse than" with no noticeable pattern. Table 6 presents data relative to problems of adjustment to college life.

TABLE 6

RESPONSES TO QUESTION: "HAS YOUR ADJUSTMENT TO MAKERERE BEEN...."

Easy	A Bit Difficult	Very Difficult
39 (37%)	57 (54%)	9 (9%)
Adjustment Problems Cited		No. of Mentions
1. Lectures, academic work, and the organization of time		41
2. The shock of self-reliance		35
3. Financial problems		35
4. Human relations (e.g. learning to communicate with staff and other students; loneliness, etc.)		18
5. Climate		3
6. Women and sex		2
7. Laxness of religion at college		2

These responses do not appear radically different than what one might expect of students in an English or American university, except that the strong emphasis upon the first problem cited undoubtedly reflects in part the serious problem of language which, despite the remarkable facility of African students with the English language, still presents difficulties when subjects are being studied at a depth characteristic of university education. The first three problems which together could be labeled "problems of self-management" seem to outweigh all other problems of adjustment which is an indication that the former are quite serious because problems four and six (and for a definite minority problem seven as well) do present

very real barriers to adjustment for almost all students with whom this writer has come into contact. Since problems of "self-management", however, involve the very survival of the student as a student, while the other problems involve merely what might be called the level of "happiness" attained in the student rôle, it is not really surprising that the distribution of responses should be what it is.

Tables 7, 8 and 9 present data relative to student attitudes about student-staff relations with particular emphasis upon relations with one's personal tutor.

TABLE 7
RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR PERSONAL TUTOR?"

	Very Helpful	Occasionally Helpful	Virtually Useless
Arts	5	22	27
Science	10	19	18
Fine Arts	4	0	0
Total...	19	41	45
	Very Helpful or Occasionally Helpful		Virtually Useless
Arts	27 (50%)		27 (50%)
Science	29 (61%)		18 (39%)
Fine Arts	4 (100%)		0
Total...	60 (57%)		45 (43%)

TABLE 8

RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "DO YOU EXPERIENCE DIFFICULTY IN APPROACHING YOUR TUTOR FOR ADVICE OR TO DISCUSS THINGS IN GENERAL?"

	Yes	No	No Answer
Arts	36 (67%)	17 (31%)	1
Science	22 (47%)	22 (47%)	3
Fine Arts	0	4 (100%)	
Total.....	58 (55%)	43 (41%)	4

TABLE 9

RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "SPEAKING NOW OF THE MAKERERE STAFF IN GENERAL, WOULD YOU SAY RELATIONS BETWEEN STAFF AND STUDENTS HERE ARE...."

	Arts	Science	Fine Arts	Total
Very good	1	0	0	1
Fairly good	4	9	1	14
Mixed	37	31	2	70
Pretty bad	6	3	1	10
Terrible	6	2	0	8
No answer	0	2	0	2
Very good or fairly good	5 (9%)	9 (19%)	1	15 (14%)
Pretty bad or terrible	12 (22%)	5 (11%)	1	18 (17%)

These tables suggest that student-staff relations is a most complex issue with many criteria involved which operate according to different priorities in different students. The

only real pattern which seems present in these data is the generally higher evaluation of student-staff relations among Science and Fine Arts students as compared with Arts students. This could be due to any of three factors: a statistical accident related to the size of the sample; the closer relations brought about through laboratory and other small group contacts in the Science subjects; of the smaller student-staff ratio in the Science Faculties enabling more personal contacts to be established on a more uniform basis. Some indication of what students seem to be in need of relative to relations with staff is indicated by the types of reasons cited for the forced choice responses. These elaborations actually indicate a high degree of uniformity in, at least, the stereotyped attitude as to what satisfying student-staff relations are supposed to entail. With reference to relations with personal tutors, those students who described their tutors as easy to approach unanimously described the tutor as taking the initiative in getting to know the student, and as seeking actively to break down status barriers. Those who evaluated such relations negatively generally did so for reasons best expressed in the following quotation by an Arts student:

"I don't think I would say (I find it difficult to approach my tutor) because he is this, that or the other, but it's the prevailing atmosphere. They don't encourage us. I feel as if he would ask within him 'hey, what do you want?'. Once in a while I hear a student saying 'my personal tutor invited me to his house' and I say to him 'boy, are you lucky; I wish mine would invite me. I would get to know him and ask questions'. I think it would be rude of me to go and say: 'Mr. _____, you are my personal tutor, can I come to your place for tea so that I can ask a question or two informally?' It just isn't done."

The response just quoted is characteristic of students who claim never to have seen their personal tutors except once; a common complaint. Others deride the artificiality of the afternoon tea where both parties are under strain, not knowing what to say. The following comment sums up this feeling:

"The whole point is that you are either staff or student. We don't meet and if we do it's as if we are not supposed to. They do meet student needs by teaching in class; that's all. There are many more problems that one feels one would like to tell somebody sympathetic in a position of authority - weaknesses academically, finance, employment, personal etc. But my personal tutor is strange to me. How then can I tell him my rather personal matters, much: how can he help me?"

Such responses raise the interesting question of what African students understand to be the nature and function of a Western university in Africa. Table 10 suggests that a sizeable proportion of students feel that a university in Africa should be different than its counterpart in the West.

TABLE 10

RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "DO YOU FEEL THAT STUDENT+STAFF RELATIONS IN AN AFRICAN UNIVERSITY SHOULD BE IN SOME WAYS DIFFERENT THAN IN A WESTERN UNIVERSITY?"

Yes	No	Don't Know
61 (58%)	23 (22%)	21 (20%)

The most prevalent reasons cited by those who said "yes" were the differences in academic and social background of students, and the acute personal problems of students for which they allegedly had no assistance. Some answered "no"

on the assumption that staff-student relations were better and friendlier in a Western university. It was not clear how students felt a university in Africa should differ from one in the West and this was obviously an issue of some confusion for many. This confusion both as to the role a university plays in the West, as well as to the inconsistencies in their own values unrecognized by the students themselves is well illustrated by the following rather representative comment in answer to the question, "What do you believe to be the basic purpose of a university in Africa?"

"The purpose of a university is the same everywhere. What applies to Europe and whites does apply to blacks and yellow people as well. Here I mean that a university should prepare a man to play his role in society, to widen his horizon of thought, to develop his body and soul and really make him a man. But this should reflect the African personality, not the West or East. A university should not attempt to make a European out of me."

We shall have occasion to examine the implications of comments such as these later on.

Table 11 suggests that not all students have a very profound understanding of the range and character of problems which staff experience in their adjustment to Makerere.

More will be said of this later. This lack of understanding at depth, in our view, is an important factor in student-staff relations.

TABLE 11

RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "WHAT ARE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT WHICH YOU THINK THE STAFF FACES WHEN THEY COME TO MAKERERE?" (RESPONSE CATEGORIES DERIVED FROM QUESTIONNAIRE ANSWERS.)

Problems	No. of Mentions			
	Arts	Science	Fine Arts	Total
1. Different culture (e.g. lack of knowledge about Africa and Africans, different ways, etc.)	20	17	2	39
2. No problems: minor problems or question left unanswered	4	19	2	24
3. Human relations (e.g. loosening up, staff-student problems, pressure from other staff etc.)	5	12	0	17
4. Overcoming own prejudice against Africans	6	4	1	10
5. Climate, transport and other physical problems	5	5	0	10

Finally Table 12 reflects the heavy load placed upon the shoulders of a few individuals among the staff but also suggests a lack of communication between students and staff.

TABLE 12

RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "IN THE EVENT OF A DEEP PERSONAL CRISIS, WHAT SINGLE INDIVIDUAL AT MAKERERE WOULD YOU APPROACH?"

TABLE 12-Continued.

People Mentioned	No. of Mentions
Warden of the Hall	54
Student friend	17
Chaplain	9
A lecturer	6
Health officer of College	6
A relative	5
None	5
"It depends"	3

This table contrasts rather interestingly with another which tabulates responses to a seemingly related but apparently significantly different question.

TABLE 13

RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "PLEASE GIVE THE NAMES OF TWO STAFF MEMBERS (ANY STAFF LECTURERS, WARDENS, CHAPLAINS, PHYSICIANS ETC.) WHOM YOU LIKE BEST."

People Mentioned	No. of Mentions
Warden of the Hall	66
Lecturer in same Faculty as student	62
Health officer of College	41
Chaplain	16 (of these 12 are Arts students)
Other	17

Aside from the Warden of the Hall which was polled (who was apparently unusually popular in every way), the two previous tables suggest that popularity and confidence are perhaps not completely correlated. Although over-interpretation on such few figures would be unwise, this writer's experience suggests that the fact that the category "student friend" came second to the Warden in Table 13 is significant. It must be added, however, that as far as we have been able to

ascertain, there is remarkably little actual communication at depth between students of a kind which American students are accustomed to referring to as "bull sessions". A great number of students have commented to the writer that little such communication exists, although it has not been possible to examine whether or not this is related to tribal or territorial differences or is, rather, a general pattern among the student body as a whole. A frequent explanation encountered was that students shy away from controversy with each other except in safely ritualized forms such as student politics (which can get quite involved and even vicious at times). But when it comes to deeper and especially personal problems, despite the fact that one encounters the same types of anxieties over and over again, much of an individual student's tension seems related to the sense of isolation of one who staggers under a burden unrelieved by the sense of communion with others who are, so to speak, in the same boat. The writer was surprised at this in the beginning, but then came to realize that his surprise was based upon the unexamined assumption that the Makerere student body was as relatively homogeneous as student bodies encountered in the Western world. Actually this is not so. As we have indicated earlier, the student body at Makerere is divided along profound socio-cultural lines which are buttressed by mutual ignorance. This means that each student can be sure of being comprehended only by someone acquainted not merely with his own tribe but with conditions in his district, his village

and his secondary school (not to speak of religious differences). Thus it is not surprising that the "student friend" cited in Table 13 often turns out to be another student from the same tribe, district and secondary school as the respondent. All this further suggests that the public and somewhat ritualized hostility (and incidents) between students and staff may perform a latent function. This function may be one of affirming a unifying sense of identity to the students as students which transcends the various divisive identities with which the individual arrives at school. It is a sociological truism that conflict stimulates group cohesion, and it is in this sense that student-staff tensions may actually function to help alleviate anxiety among students rather than exacerbate it. This speculation, however, in the absence of detailed sociometric analysis must remain on a hypothetical level.

Before turning to the data derived from the staff sample, we would like to list with brief comments the types of personal problems endemic among Makerere students. Many of these are noticeably similar to the ones experienced by students in Western universities, and the degree to which this is true seems not to be adequately comprehended by students in the non-Western world. We shall indicate those aspects of anxiety which are more deeply rooted in the African scene. The list which follows includes those issues most consistently encountered among students at Makerere. No attempt is made here to list them in order of importance or frequency of observation which would have required a far

more controlled study than we were able to carry out.

Further, it cannot be said that the students themselves are equally aware of the operation of all these anxieties upon their behavior, although many are. If so, this awareness too often, however, is highly individual and not rooted in a deeper sociological understanding.

1. Financial and material problems: These can range from insufficient bursaries to sudden cessation of support from home, or sudden financial obligations not previously in existence. Aside from the latter, this writer's impression is that this problem is overrated by the students who seem unaware of the considerable financial hardships often experienced by students in the Western world. Students sometimes appear, to an outsider, as "spoiled" in the sense that many compare their financial status not to the environment but to that of the wealthier students in their midst. It is also true, however, that not a few students experience financial problems in the context of a sense of guilt deriving from their inability to fulfill kinship obligations.

2. Problems of psychological stress and related symptoms: These can be quite varied in type and scope. The writer has observed those which range from excessive dependence upon escape mechanism such as alcohol or compulsive social activities, to abnormal fears, lack of confidence beyond the bounds of tolerance, sudden episodes of emotional disorder, outbreaks of intense personal animosities sometimes resulting in serious violence, etc. There is one serious source of tension relative to this which is absent in the Western world; the clash of ontologies. This phrase is abstract but nevertheless accurate since certain types of psychopathological symptoms may be so within one ontology but not another. The most common example, of course, is witchcraft, of which the writer encountered one case directly and one indirectly at

the College. This issue has been altogether too little explored. We have ample reason to believe, nevertheless, that some incidents we had occasion to witness of conflict and its aftermath could only adequately be comprehended in terms of the inevitable ambivalencies and ambiguities attendant upon the clash of ontological interpretations of meaning, causality, and responsibility.

3. Problems of priorities in personal values: These can reflect conflicts between contradictory life goals, lack of any goals, confusion in standards etc. While such issues are obviously not unknown in the Western world, it is equally obvious that they are being experienced with special force in areas of rapid social change.

4. Family relations problems: While not as widespread as some stereotypes would lead one to expect, they do exist. Such problems range from conflicts between obligations to family and career desires, to matters such as lack of emotional support from home, growing cultural estrangement in communication etc.

5. Women and marriage problems: This type of problem is far more serious than in the Western world. For the educated non-Westerner, increasingly oriented to romantic love and individuality, marriage can loom as a crisis of choice between tradition and utopia. Even when the problem does not present itself to students directly, it is experienced in the form of anxiety over whether the "right wife" will ever be found, or whether deep compromises will have to be made between what seems to be a highly Westernized ideal of marriage and the realities existing in Africa now. Even if there were more educated women than there are, the problem seems to defy such facile solution since it appears that many African students have a strong aversion to women educated above a certain level if they are African, even though there is no hesitancy at the idea of marrying an equally educated European.

woman; a resolution of which many fondly dream. Not a few students have informed the writer that the examples set by European wives in Africa have corrupted African girls, a statement which seems to contradict the previous one. This paradox is part of the problem.

6. Problems relative to friendship and community:

This type of problem, too, is more serious than in the Western world. It is experienced usually as anxiety (which tends to grow as graduation approaches) over the question of whether, as rare university graduates, they will be able to find communities they can fit into, friends they can talk to, and roots they can sink in a particular area. Actually, objectively this issue is no longer so serious with reference to the urban areas of Africa, but many students had vague intentions of returning to the rural areas to serve their people, and many give up this intention not always for the often-alleged reason of greed and selfishness, but also because of the kind of fear described here. The price in guilt and the sense of moral betrayal is often heavy and undoubtedly related to the waves of populism which tend to sweep over non-Western intelligentsias in so many different societies.

7. Problems of "Lebensfurcht": Many students experience anxiety over life itself as it looms after graduation with no particular focus of fear. Doubt arises over adjustment to an unknown and competitive world, and fear of loss of control over oneself resulting in extravagance and even alcoholism. The writer found stories constantly in circulation (although not publicly) about Makerere graduates who had succumbed to such "vices", and fear is obviously present that "if it can happen to others, how can I know it will not happen to me?".

As can be seen, many of these problems are manifestations on the individual level of processes of rapid socio-cultural

change. It is with regard to help in matters such as these which students refer to when talking about the presence or absence of staff interest in their personal as opposed to their academic lives.

It is time to turn to a consideration of the problems of an expatriate staff in such a situation. When we have reviewed our data in relation to these, we shall return to the fundamental issues faced by the university as a total institution in an alien environment.

Staff: As indicated in Table 3, the staff response was far more restricted than that of the students. It is too small to reveal any significant pattern such as differences between those whose tour of duty at Makerere exceeds two or three years as against those present for a lesser length of time, although one would suspect the existence of such differences. The sample is also too restricted for any difference between the Science and Arts groups to reveal itself, and the number of incomplete forms made the task of analysis still more difficult. Therefore the results will be discussed for the staff as a whole. Of the 35 responses (out of 118 polled), 25 indicated that Makerere was not their first experience in a non-Western area. Most have had considerable teaching experience in their lives. Of the 16 Arts staff, 4 had been at Makerere under three years, and 12 for three years or more. Of the 15 Science staff, 8 had been at the College under three years, and 7 for three years or over. Of the total sample of 35, those who had been at Makerere

under three years totalled 13 and 22 had been there over three years. Only one African member out of six responded to the poll.

Before discussing the findings, it might be well to say a word on how the staff questionnaire was constructed. The writer had been in residence at Makerere for some months before the study was initiated. During that time he had the opportunity to observe much and to strike up acquaintances (and in a couple of cases friendships) among the staff. With them numerous informal interviews were carried out relative to the problems dealt with in our analysis. Detailed notes were recorded of these initial discussions and on the basis of these, a number of imaginary quotations were constructed, each one representing a particular attitude or feeling on a specific topic having to do with student-staff relations. Then a number of questions were constructed concerning each quotation. These, together with questions about basic sociological variables, comprised the questionnaire. (See methodological appendix.) The reaction of staff was very mixed. Some welcomed such a survey and were remarkably frank in their replies; some showed hostility on their questionnaires (and many obviously showed hostility by not responding at all) either toward the writer or toward students; and many others felt that the survey (or at least some questions) was an intrusion upon private feelings. Makerere students are notorious for not responding to research investigations. The high level of response to the different phases

of our study is an indication of what careful preparation can accomplish even in an environment where social research is not fully institutionalized as a "legitimate" activity and motive. Thus the writer must admit that not hostility but lack of the same careful preparation among staff as was exercised among students is responsible for the low response. However, it must also be said that the survey benefited a great deal from contacts with those staff members who were willing to assist us privately and not all of whom by any means agreed with each other in what they felt they had to tell us.

The most dominant impression derivable from the data is variety - a lack of any one pattern of experience or attitude characterizing the staff as a whole. Table 14 suggests a fairly high degree of adjustment difficulties for a number of staff.

TABLE 14
RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS

A)	"Do you find that students at Makerere are basically different from students with whom you have had experience in the West?"			
	Yes	No	In Some Ways	Don't Know
	5	13	15	2
B)	"What are some of the major problems with students you face here which are outside your experience in a Western university?" (Response categories derived from questionnaire answers.)			

TABLE 14-Continued

Problems		No. of Mentions	
-Different background (e.g. social, academic, philosophical, general reference, etc.)		15	
- Language (e.g. overt lack of knowledge, subtle differences in humor, use of words, flexibility, etc.)		9	
-Lack of intellectual initiative, originality, curiosity, objectivity.		8	
-Lack of self-reliance.		3	
C) "Were you aware of these problems you would face at Makerere which are different from those of a Western university before coming here?"			
	Yes	No	No Answer
	18	11	6
Those who said "yes" did so on the basis of previous experience or deduction from general knowledge.			

Many of the tables suggest underlying disagreement as to the type and breadth of staff responsibility toward students for which the former should be held accountable. Indeed, there is often serious disagreement as to what constitutes "successful" student-staff relations. But that this disagreement may be largely theoretical is implied in the fact that there was a high level of agreement as to the individuals on the staff who were considered outstandingly capable in this area. To the question regarding the

establishment of a guidance unit at the College, 12 responses were in the affirmative, 17 in the negative, and 6 expressed no opinion. Proponents generally thought in terms of a professional guidance staff to handle serious emotional problems, and an appointments secretary to handle employment and related issues. Those opposed based their opinions upon one or more of three general objections:

- a) a guidance unit would further encourage the already serious alleged lack of self-reliance among students;
- b) it would unduly professionalize and hence render artificial the helping relationship between staff and students, especially since many staff would take a guidance unit as an invitation to cut down still further their contacts with students;
- c) the machinery for guidance already exists in the form of the personal tutor system, wardens, chaplains and Health Office.

Although there are areas where understanding of students is seriously lacking, Table 15 suggests that staff have a better understanding of student problems than the latter often think they do, although it is hard to tell whether these responses are based on any depth of knowledge or upon stereotypes.

TABLE 15

RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "WOULD YOU PLEASE LIST SOME OF THE PROBLEMS YOU ARE AWARE OF AMONG YOUR STUDENTS?"

Problems Cited	No. of Mentions
Financial	20
Adjustment between home and College life (old and new world etc.)	14
Women and sex,	11
Academic difficulties	8
Family problems	4
Over-dependence	3
Career worries	3
No answer	4

Whatever may be the accuracy and completeness of this list, or the perceptiveness of its priorities, it does show a reasonably high agreement with student evaluation of their own problems (see Table 6) and certainly indicates more sensitivity to the fact that students do have problems than do the students relative to staff (see Table 11 where the second highest response category was the one which denied that staff experienced serious problems of adjustment at all). We shall have occasion to return to this point later.

Table 16 presents interesting and revealing data about general experience with and opinions about students on the part of staff. Here our previous comment about the variety of staff responses to their experiences at Makerere is illustrated.

TABLE 16
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS

A)	"What criticisms do you feel can be made of Makerere students as a group (that is, criticism which goes beyond the idiosyncracies of a few individuals)?" (Response categories derived from questionnaire answers.)	No. of Mentions
	Criticisms	
	Too passive (e.g. incurious, no self-reliance, uncritical etc.)	12
	Too narrow (e.g. no outside interests, hobbies, no sense of the roundedness of life etc.)	8
	Distant and aloof	3

TABLE 16-Continued

Criticisms	No. of Mentions	
Ostentation and extravagance At least 10 refused to answer in generalities.	2	
B)	"Aside from academic knowledge and skills, do you consciously attempt to instill certain values or standards of appreciation into your students of an artistic, philosophic or religious etc. nature?"	
Yes	No	
25 (Varied but with some emphasis on intellectual integrity and some on religion and some on scientific objectivity.)	10	
C)	"Do you feel that you as an individual have anything to gain from personal contact with students?"	
Yes	No	
34	1	
----- (Many felt this question was ridiculous, but the emphasis was almost entirely on gaining knowledge and understanding of people of another culture. No more than 3 or 4 mentioned personal friendship.)		
D)	"Are those students you know best on a personal level also the ones you are most interested in academically?"	
Yes	No	Not Applicable
16	15	4

TABLE 16-Continued

E)	"Do you find you have any tribal or regional favorite groups of students?"		
	Yes	No	Groups Mentioned
	11	24	Kenya (especially Kikuyu) Tanganyika (Chagga) Arabs and Indians Baganda (both as most popular and unpopular)
F)	"Do you feel it is unrealistic to maintain the academic standards of performance at Makerere which you would adhere to with students in a university in Britain (or the best American or South African universities)?"		
	Yes	No	No Answer
	9	25 (although some recognized this as only theoretical goal)	1
G)	"What do you think Makerere students in general feel about the staff in general?"		
	Opinion		No. of Mentions
	Too remote and aloof		10
	They respect good staff and feel we are reasonably friendly		5
	They mistrust us		2
	"Can't generalize" etc.		12
	No answer		6

TABLE 16-Continued

H)	"At present, do you do any referring of students to other staff members such as the student health officer, chaplain, warden, etc.?"		
	Yes	No	No Answer
(16 of these 19 responses were from the non-Science faculties)	19	14	2

Some of the variety of these responses is due to conscious (and somewhat stereotyped) aversion to generalizations of certain kinds, but some is also quite obviously due to differing interpretations of questions and of the appropriate role to be played by staff in a university of this kind. Question "G" of the table shows that some staff, at least, are well aware of student feelings about the remoteness of staff. One of the major complaints of staff against students, showing up repeatedly in questionnaires and even more so in interviews, has to do with alleged student passivity. This seems to be one of the most frustrating aspects of work with students and obviously reflects experience with the relatively more vocal and active students in Western universities. The impression is reinforced by the fact that many staff, for one reason or another, have a minimum of contact with students outside the classroom, or the "tutor's tea". It is in such formal settings that the African student is at his most passive. But there are other factors involved in staff responses. Table 17, for instance, represents a response to a question designed to elicit role definition.

TABLE 17

RESPONSES TO STATEMENT: "THE BASIC PURPOSE OF A LECTURER IN ANY UNIVERSITY IS TO TEACH STUDENTS AND NOT TO PLAY NURSEMAID TO THEM. I DO NOT SEE WHY IT SHOULD BE DIFFERENT IN A UNIVERSITY IN AFRICA."

Agree	Disagree	No Answer
22	11	2

The following response is typical of those who disagreed with the statement:

"Nursemaids do some of the basic training and motivation of children and if this has been left out or not completed, then it should still be regarded as teaching and is the duty of the teacher. Some of the so-called nursemaid activities are necessary to get the necessary rapport between student and teacher and to get the student into the best condition to benefit from the teaching."

Staff members were asked to write out a schedule of their daily round of activities. These are too complex to reproduce here but these schedules revealed that most staff were involved in numerous activities and details related to their careers of which students seemed by and large unaware. This point also will be returned to later.

It seemed useful to query the staff concerning their attitudes toward their colleagues. Here the greatest amount of resistance was encountered, and yet the responses were forthcoming and are quite interesting.

TABLE 18
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS

A)	<p>"If you were asked to make an honest criticism of Makerere staff, please state what you would offer as valid criticisms." (Response categories derived from questionnaire answers.)</p>		
	Major Criticisms Cited	No. of Mentions	
	General aloofness, too remote, lack of interest in students	7	
	Academic inferiority	4	
	No flexibility, tied to traditional ways, unwillingness to experiment	4	
	Too many "missionaries" and "schoolmasters"	4	
	No answers	9	
	(The rest were inconsequential, minor, miscellaneous comments.)		
B)	<p>"There are very few among any staff in any university who are gifted enough both to maintain the standards of their profession and to establish a personal bond with their students. It requires a special talent to walk the thin line between taking an interest in your students as individuals and deteriorating into full-time social workers at the expense of your profession; between easy informality and the familiarity which breeds contempt."</p>		
Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	No Answer
16	10	2	7
<p>"Do you place yourself in this kind of special category?"</p>			
Yes	No		No Answer
6*	16		13

TABLE 18-Continued

B)	"If you agree with the (initial) quotation, do you feel that this talent is something generally undefinable - is 'just there' in the personality, or do you feel that these people have qualities and techniques which could be consciously learned by all who would like to improve their relations with students?"			
	Just There	Can be Learned	Both	No Answer
	13	3	9	10

* Often accompanied by question-mark.

Now, it is obvious that the questions asked on the survey were projective. That is, they were formulated in full knowledge that interpretations of their meaning by respondents would vary and that, in some cases, the alternatives offered were insufficient or superficial. The questionnaire was purposely designed to elicit stereotypes, if such existed, and to encourage complex responses of a type best elicited through interviews. In this we apparently succeeded because even many of the questionnaires which were returned marked "no answer" on most questions carried comments which proved to be quite helpful. By and large this writer was impressed with one aspect of these responses which had impressed him also with respect to the student replies: the high degree of soul-searching revealed in private as against what one encounters as the "official line" in public. As could be expected, the staff responses were, in a sense, more "sophisticated" in their variation and articulation. It is also interesting to note that staff, by and large, seem to rate

student-staff relations at Makerere far higher than do students (see Table 9).

TABLE 19
 "RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "WOULD YOU RATE STUDENT-STAFF RELATIONS AT MAKERERE GENERALLY AS -"

	"Relative to Your Experience in other Universities"	"Relative to Your Ideal"
Very good	5	3
Fairly good	19	10
Mixed	8	10
Pretty bad	0	4
Terrible	1 (African member)	1
No answer	2	7
Fair or fairly good	24	13
Pretty bad or terrible	1	5

Generally, the data suggests that staff members are by no means of one mind about each other. There are differences of opinion and temperament among this as among any university staff which are extremely fundamental, and this point should be kept rigorously in mind in any discussion about something as complex as student-staff relations. Table 20 reinforces this point by illustrating the variety of motives which have brought staff members to Makerere in the first place.

TABLE 20

RESPONSE TO QUESTION: "WHAT WOULD YOU SAY WERE YOUR MOTIVES IN COMING TO MAKERERE AS AGAINST TEACHING IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY OR IN SOME OTHER WESTERN AREA?" (RESPONSE CATEGORIES DERIVED FROM QUESTIONNAIRE ANSWERS.)

Motives	No. of Mentions
Search for usefulness	8
General curiosity about Africa	8
Academic opportunity and advancement	6
Travel and desire for change	6
Leave South Africa but stay in Africa	6
Research interest in Africa specifically (not necessarily in people)	4

These initial differences in motive (even though many change after prolonged experience in Africa) cannot be dissociated from staff reactions to the situations in which they find themselves.

An important key to the comprehension of staff attitudes to such issues is an understanding of British individualism; a cultural value which is especially entrenched among academic personnel. Facets of this value include a strong respect for privacy plus a general - so to speak - 'sink or swim' attitude about interpersonal interaction, a general willingness to accept or reject a person as a total individual rather than as a member of a group or category. There are two important by-products of this relevant to student-staff relations. First, this kind of attitude discourages categorical thinking which often includes sociological and cultural analysis. Second, formalistic and moralistic approaches are similarly discouraged in favor of individualistic "spontaneity". We shall illustrate this with two very relevant quotations from survey forms

submitted by two staff members. The first is a comment in reply to a question dealing with attitudes toward how personal problems of students should be handled.

"Here I must be frank. I know very few students and hardly ever invite any to my house - though I enjoy it when I do, provided it is not a 'duty invitation'. The reasons for this are personal (I discourage all visitors except a very few close friends). I'm just like that. In English universities the recluse type is accepted. For years here I have felt guilty about this, but now no longer care so much - though I still think that personal relations, home-sharing etc. are really part of our job here.

"I answer (the question as I did) because I don't see why 'personal problems' should be so urgent - I don't think the students individually press their 'problems' unto you, though perhaps it is in the air. There is no reason why you shouldn't have perfectly ordinary friendships out of which intimacy of that kind will probably grow - but it should be natural. The air here is heavy with 'duty' and 'problems', and I don't think it need be the case. Perhaps this is one of the reasons I jibe at these 'staff-student relationships' - they are condemned beforehand as 'duties'....I am afraid I must leave you to sort out the contradictions in all this."

The second quotation from a staff member in a different department expresses a similar reaction even more directly.

"In Makerere there has been an officially-inspired policy to create a sort of Staff-Student bonhomie, which has mercifully failed. I do not believe that I should have relations with a person because I am Staff and he is Student, or because he is black and I white. Relations are based only on human qualities or affinities. I want to have friends, but I could not care less whether they are of a particular race, or whether they are Students or not. Does this bond exist, or does it not? That is to me the only relevant question. In my own case, there is a bond between myself and certain people, some white, some black, some students and some not.

"It is possible to list certain people on the Makerere staff who have established this 'hail fellow well met' bonhomie with a large number of students, but my own feeling is that they have few really constructive relationships. Most of our students who come from the Mission Schools are used to a situation where 'thou

shalt love thy neighbour' is a Commandment to be carried out mechanically to the best of a person's ability. Hence these students know no better relationship with an elder, and particularly with a European. Of course there are exceptions. One is likely to find, therefore, that a student will appreciate this 'tea and buns' relationship while he is at Makerere, but from conversations with past students, I suspect that they find little of permanent value in it. They do not often bother to come back for more tea and more buns when they can afford to buy them in a restaurant....

"I believe that my ideal of a Staff-Student relationship is not far removed from what I found as an undergraduate.... There, students could build up real and enduring friendship with those Dons with whom they had affinities. Some did, many did not. This is potentially true here, but very many of our students are not prepared to take the trouble to discover that it is true. I believe that their number is decreasing."

These comments are illustrative, as we have said, of a widespread attitude. They cannot be lightly dismissed as evasive because, as many who have known Englishmen can testify, few people are more capable of deep and abiding personal friendships and loyalties than the British. Further, who would deny that spontaneity is a "Good Thing"? But having said that, it might be suggested that this type of attitude, applied indiscriminately, can lead to the dichotomization of all social relations into personal friendship ("Good Thing"), or formal and impersonal ritual ("Bad Thing"). Africans tend not to understand such a dichotomy, partly because, perhaps, they do not fully appreciate the extreme individualism on which it is based. Those who stress "affinities" consistently in every situation may tend to appear as "indifferent" to those with whom they have little affinity, and in a culturally alien area, the latter obviously predominate. In such circumstances the argument of spontaneity

can function to facilitate evasion of real issues of institutional policy and/or personal style. It can certainly facilitate the postponement of the attainment of necessary objective knowledge about the people with whom one is dealing, and, in this writer's view, it has to some extent done so at Makerere. We have had occasion to meet individuals who have been residing for years in East Africa who barely knew more than they did on the day of their arrival. Some accumulated hostilities and stereotypes could, in our judgment, have been prevented by adequate intellectual preparation for the encounter with people of another culture. One of numerous illustrations of this point occurred in a meeting convened by the writer with the staff of the college to discuss the results of this survey. During the general exchange, one member with five years experience in East Africa (and much more in other parts of Africa) asked with exasperation what he was expected to do with a student who three separate times gave the excuse that his father had died when asking to be allowed to go home during semester. It turned out that the member had not thought to ask the student if he was using the word "father" in the classificatory sense which would have included his father's brothers, but had simply assumed he was being lied to. Naturally not all misunderstandings and other difficulties in communication can be approached so simply. There are far more subtle barriers to inter-cultural relations which involve standards of "good form", "propriety", and other complex dimensions of response

to cues often embedded unconsciously into a personality through life-long enculturation. Such matters can be so subtle that it can take many years for an individual to decide that "he doesn't like Africans because they are ungrateful", or "callous", or "passive", to cite the more common responses to unfulfilled interpersonal cues. Many such differences are quite "real" (i.e. embedded in diverse cultural values), and many are outgrowths of "new situations" in which Africans have found themselves and for which no stabilized norms and role prescriptions exist. In such a situation, the social scientist's professional stance of suspended moral judgment and orientation to explanation in terms of scientific theory becomes of great practical significance.

In concluding our discussion of the staff segment of this survey, it would be useful to list - as we did with reference to the students - the major pressures which impinge upon the staff and play their part in influencing behavior. In their preoccupation with their own problems, most students are unaware of the presence of many of these problems, although they are aware of some. As before, this is not meant to be taken as an exhaustive list, nor are we in a position to calculate relative importance or the diverse variables with which these problems are correlated in their distribution. Nevertheless our data (especially the interview material) attests to the importance of this list.

1. Color consciousness and reverse color consciousness: We refer here to the problem of the person who cannot rid himself of color reactions. (We use 'reactions' rather than 'prejudice' as the word because the person may be in many ways unprejudiced and yet unable to control his reactions to color. To some this may be a contradiction in terms, but the writer feels he has met people about whom the distinction should be made.) Reverse color consciousness is the problem of 'sentimentalists' for whom Africans can do no wrong because they are 'victims'. Such individuals frequently end up bitterly disappointed after some years of experience with Africans as human beings.

2. The problem of relative status: The writer has been told frequently that life in Africa affords many lecturers a level of prestige and rank in the hierarchy of social mobility higher than what they could achieve in the United Kingdom; a difference which is also expressed in material standard of living. Some staff allegedly remain in Africa primarily for this reason but a few of them are said to suffer from feelings of guilt and self-contempt as a result. One staff member expressed this in writing with the caustic comment that "in general, 90% of the staff would be school teachers in Britain". If true, (which the writer is not well able to judge) it would have to be only relatively true depending upon the academic discipline and the relevance that Africa has for it, since if this relevance is low then long service in Africa could be a 'dead-end' as far as future mobility at home was concerned. At any rate, if such factors do play a role, then obviously powerful anxieties must sooner or later evolve relative to such motives.

3. The "wife problem": European women can face peculiar problems in Africa if they are not prepared for them. These range from color consciousness based on sexual fantasies in relation to Africans, to problems of handling authority over domestic servants they might otherwise never

have had at home. Whatever problems wives may experience, they are bound to affect their husbands.

4. Academic and professional pressures not related to teaching: This is an issue which students, almost to a man, are unaware of. It is a major source of friction since time is involved, and hence the issue of privacy is involved. Students are unaware of this source of tension on staff for three reasons. First, not being scholars themselves they do not understand the research motive. Second, in African tradition, time could almost be said to have been a communal property right and this attitude is shared by most students still. Third, most secondary school teachers are not as strongly motivated by scholarly interests (with the exception of Sixth Form teachers) and hence the student has not had a chance to learn of this orientation on lower levels of the educational system.

5. Lack of experience in an alien culture: Some staff have had little effective experience in a multi-cultural or multi-racial society and suffer from acute awkwardness, shyness, or general lack of ability to communicate across socio-cultural boundaries. Students of course share this problem, but profit from the tolerance arising partly out of the fact that they are not the "visitors", and partly out of the Western emphasis on noblesse-oblige in such matters. Among themselves, however, as we have seen, with reference to the groups into which they are divided, students are under similar pressure. This problem could be considerably alleviated for staff by proper preparation for such an experience; on-going consultation with staff anthropologists; and careful record-keeping on the part of personal tutors in relation to the students for whom they have primary responsibility.

6. The problem of 'unfulfilled needs': This is an important source of frustration, often overlooked by students. Such needs can range from such simple matters as the need for more time with family and friends, privacy and relaxation, to

the more subtle needs for aesthetic and intellectual stimulation which students at Makerere are often unable to fulfill.

These factors, plus the pressing demands upon staff time from all sources relating to institutional maintenance of the College itself (committees etc.) and the psychological demands upon staff of student needs combine to produce in some a kaleidoscope of feelings comprised of unfulfilled ideals, resentments, confusion, and in a few - a vague sense of guilt. Some staff hold to the view that in a university there should be no special sense of responsibility to students beyond imparting knowledge to them. A few staff members have never compromised what they consider as their total responsibility to students, but the fulfillment of this responsibility has often been achieved at a severe price - usually a normal family life and any hope of contributing their own research to their chosen profession. It cannot be said that students are generally aware that these kinds of prices are being paid for them.

These points should not, however, be interpreted as ignoring the remarkably good relations which do exist between many individual students and members of staff, or the very real effort which most staff have made to come to terms with a difficult situation which many of them had not expected to find. On the whole a good case can be made for the assertion that general relations between students and staff at Makerere may in some ways be actually "better" than at many universities in the United Kingdom, if evaluation is defined in regard to

efforts made on the part of staff to expand and improve the quality of relationships they have with students. It should be remembered that many university personnel hold to the view that good student-staff relations are those which result in students passing examinations and no more. The failure rate at Makerere is not inordinately high, and if this criterion of evaluation is used, student-staff relations are very good. Whatever the criteria decided upon, it must be kept in mind that in terms of problems such as student-staff ratio, enrollment, financing and curriculum planning, a university in Africa will be decreasingly comparable to universities in the West but may also increasingly be facing the administrative and human relations problems of universities in other non-Western areas. If true, this will raise many acute issues not the least of which will be those arising from the human interaction of the teachers and the taught.

In the light of this prospect, we conclude the present chapter by turning from the social-psychological dynamics of interaction between institutional role occupants, which are so important in the acculturation process, back to a consideration of the basic institutional dilemmas per se facing the university in a multi-cultural environment undergoing rapid social change. Much of our attention has been focused upon the discontinuities between a university in the West and one in Africa (and by implication, other non-Western areas as well). But we initially began our discussion of the university with the suggestion that, fundamentally, all discontinuities in

the end could only be understood in terms of problems of transition faced by the university as a generic institution anywhere in the world. We shall now return to this perspective by considering these fundamental institutional problems in terms of their relevance to the University of East Africa.

There are two broad areas of ambiguity which must be resolved as the university prepares to enter the future. It is not our task to resolve them here, but to define them in their relevance for Africa. They are what we will call the problem of "ambiguities of institutional function" and that of "ambiguities of institutional role definitions" and, as we shall see, they are obviously functionally interrelated in that decisions in one category will immediately affect decisions in the other.

Ambiguities of Institutional Function

As we saw earlier, the modern university is, at best, in a stage of transitional adaptation to new social needs and, at worst, in a state of paralyzed crisis. At the very least the question of its functions in the environment is shrouded in ambiguity. We cited the background of this briefly, earlier in the chapter, and now we shall focus more specifically upon the particular dilemmas which are entailed, thus clarifying in a broader context the kinds of daily problems such as we have been discussing faced by Makerere and other such colleges. This is obviously a vast topic which we are not here prepared to explore in its full complexity. At the risk of over-simplification, we may separate three problems

of function which shall be discussed separately. They all follow from the fundamental recognition, which all but the naive would affirm, that the university, in one way or another, is an agent of values. The question, of course, is in what way is or should this be true. This can be asked in three ways.

A) With reference to society as a whole, should the university be an agent of directed or undirected change? By "directed" we have in mind a policy which is formulated in the light of an authoritatively defined set of values and societal goals in the interests of which planning machinery (including education) is constructed. By "undirected", we understand the types of changes brought about by an institution merely carrying out its various but not inter-correlated functions. This distinction never, of course, appears airtight in empirical reality, but it is fair to say that an institution tends toward one or another polar end of such a dichotomy. In a liberal democracy such as the United States, for example, centrally directed social change is not legitimized in the cultural value system. In an outright totalitarian society, everything is geared into such a plan, the plan itself being rooted in an ideological interpretation of history. However the distinction is not that simple. In a way it could be argued that those among the American Founding Fathers interested in education, especially Thomas Jefferson, had - in the context of the 18th Century Enlightenment conception of truth - a theory of education strongly influenced

by a political goal. This goal was the transformation of the consciousness and intelligence of the masses as a precondition for democratic self-determination. Furthermore, in contemporary liberal societies sectarian schools (especially but not only Roman Catholic) are recognized (i.e. legitimate) institutions for the directed management of sub-communities. As the complexity of modern society increases, and the recognition of the need for comprehensive social planning proceeds apace, the possibility of education as an agent of directed change will again become an issue for serious debate and examination. If this can be said of mature democratic societies, it follows that it is obviously all the more true of the so-called newly emerging nations. In such areas, where all is in flux, where the idea of democratic self-determination is - to say the least - problematical, and where education is a major and almost disruptive agent of change, the idea of allowing this change to proceed undirected will probably appear as bordering on the irresponsible to the leaders of these new nations. This point has come to be realized by some British educational administrators.³¹

A point relevant to this was made by R.G. Harris (1963:21). In his discussion of "standards in transition", he writes that

"...because the older religious-humanist values, and the standards they generate for their self-preservation, are still powerful in the European technological system, they are included in the cultural package-deal offered to East Africa. Indeed, they are pressed upon East Africa all the more solicitously for the very reason that they are in a decline within the system that bred them, and are offered all the more arbitrarily as ideal

values and standards just because in their mother system their force is psychologically restricted...."

This point, we would argue, lies at the basis of the crisis of disillusionment among African students concerning Western religio-humanistic values (a crisis endemic among those who have suffered from their non-applicability in practice).

Harris' point is most applicable to secondary education in East Africa up to the eve of independence because circumstances have conspired to allow the boarding secondary school to function as a kind of capsule in which some relationship can still be maintained between these values and behavioral norms. These circumstances include; a) the missionary control of most of these schools which means that a value consensus is already present in the very administrative structure and personnel selection procedures of these schools; b) the physical isolation of the school communities from the major centers of change and conflict; c) the acceptance on the part of the traditional societies from which secondary students are recruited of the cultural legitimacy of the student role; and d) the fact that a major tradition of the elite British public school was character formation which meant that a reasonable supply of appropriately motivated teaching personnel was available to staff the schools. As we have suggested in our earlier discussion of this, the latent paradoxes attendant upon this "package-deal" are in the process of coming gradually to the surface if one looks closely enough. But - it is in the university experience that the "package-deal" becomes most thoroughly unravelled and the

paradoxes stand forth in their more glaring inconsistencies. The university, Makerere for instance, is metaphysically pluralistic in its value base which ranges from religious orthodoxy to atheism. Its administration is secular. There is no dominating personality such as the secondary school Headmaster who imposes a particular style upon the life of the institution. The university is more intimately involved in the core processes of change and conflict. Student-staff relations are more individualistic and functionally specific. And finally, in many societies, considerable conflict between the student role and other roles is possible since higher education involves the postponement of normal adult role behavior in ways that secondary education does not. (We shall have occasion to return to this last point later on.) Viewed in this light, it can be argued that whatever traumas may be attendant upon the introduction of secular Western education and the values of Western secular individualism, these are rather more likely to affect students on the level of higher education than they are on levels below this. It is in the university that all protective screens which shield the student from the full implications of the new way of life are removed. This situation, however, occurs in a context in which no new consensus of values and norms has crystallized. The student finds himself cut off from the past by rapid socio-cultural change, but also now from what he thought to be the mainstream of Western civilization whose outline seemed coherent and internally consistent because it was introduced to the student through the authoritarian and clearly defined structure of

the mission secondary school. (The writer was constantly struck by the number of Makerere students who laughingly informed him of their "naive" belief during secondary school days that all Europeans were "Christians".) It is not being suggested that any student we have encountered was anxious to return to the ways of the schools, but only a psychologically insensitive person would argue by virtue of this fact that university students do not experience serious ambivalence in their feelings toward all representatives of a system which has brought about these almost classical conditions for anomie. (If we may be permitted this degree of speculation, it is not inconceivable that such ambivalence is one element present in the occasional outbursts of violent hostility against university regulations which occur in many universities in the non-Western world. In an anomic situation, regulations can appear as arbitrarily restrictive if they are not associated with a sense of security and coherence.) At any rate, it may be expected that this issue will increasingly become a matter for serious debate and analysis. It can be questioned whether the free and individualistic traditions of the Western university community can survive in such a generally anomic environment. At the very least, speaking of student-staff relations in regard to this larger issue, one could suggest that university personnel be encouraged to give more serious thought to their role in this matter lest such decisions be taken out of their hands altogether by agents of institutions far less concerned with the subtleties of individual student

development than they are.

B) With reference to the personality, should the university be an agent of directed or undirected change? Almost everything said with reference to the previous question is relevant here as well. It is, however, possible to separate these questions even to the point of answering this one affirmatively and the previous one negatively. This, in fact, is precisely the case with various university personnel this writer has encountered both in the Western world and in Africa. One's ultimate position on such matters presumably would reflect the sociological theory of the individual one implicitly or explicitly subscribes to. That is, how much does one believe (if one cares at all) the isolated individual capable of accomplishing in society without major institutional transformations. University teachers tend to subscribe, consciously or unconsciously, to a number of different and not always reconcilable assumptions in their relations with students which can be a source of confusion if the latter are not accustomed to individual variety as a cultural value of high priority. Perspectives here can range from leaving the student as an individual altogether alone, aside from imparting information relative to one's discipline, to the other extreme of stressing the production of societally functional individuals such as the "New Soviet Man". Table 16-B reflects the variety of attitudes apparently existing among Makerere staff regarding this kind of issue.

C) What should be the function of the curriculum?

This question has, perhaps, received the most amount of formal attention at Makerere and was a matter of urgent debate during the writer's stay at the college. It is indeed frequently the case that university personnel everywhere in democratic societies first begin to face issues relating to the previous two questions through detailed attention and debate about the curriculum. In the Western world such discussions are proceeding everywhere. At Makerere the word 'battle' would be more appropriate, for few issues have generated more friction and heat among the staff than that of the proper nature, function and priorities of the curriculum. The major symptom of the need for such examination is, to use a favorite term employed there, the lack of "background" among African students. Goldthorpe (1961), in discussing this, cites two examples but, as he says, most teachers have a fund of anecdotes similar to those which he relates (to which this writer can add a few).

"In August 1960, when the Congo crisis was at its height, a colleague found that the majority of a class of first-year honours economics students had never heard of Ralph Bunche, while none knew what a Nobel Prize was. On another occasion, at a freshmen's tutorial class one afternoon I found that the only one of six students who had ever heard of Darwin was the one non-African, a Goan. Relating this the same evening to a group of senior Arts and Education students, it emerged that none of them had ever heard of Darwin either, except one girl who knew it was a town in Australia. Literally nothing can be taken for granted."

In the light of the utter absence in East Africa of the informal sources of education taken for granted in the more modernized societies, the reasons for this state of affairs are not difficult to comprehend. But as Goldthorpe points

out, "in terms of positive action, however, less is now done (1961) than formerly." During the 1940's an attempt was begun at Makerere to alleviate the serious gap in general education relevant to public affairs. This took the form of a compulsory general social studies course to be taken by all students in their junior years. A later version of such a program was described in detail by those who managed it in an article (C. Ehrlich et.al., 1955). This article is interesting not only because it describes the program in detail, but because it reports on some of the reactions to the material on the part of the students. The authors state clearly the premises on which the program was organized. Pointing out that although students were political-minded when they arrived at the College, their thinking tended to be bitter and unconstructive, it was therefore decided that

"It is clearly an important part of the College's task, then, to guide these energies into constructive channels; and, to adapt a phrase of Sir Keith Hancock, the ideal is not that the undergraduates should become dispassionate but that they should learn to be just."

The program they describe was compulsory for first year students and consisted of three semesters; the first taught by an economist, the second by a sociologist, and the third a political scientist. Two hours a week were devoted, a one hour lecture and one discussion, to it. According to the authors, the course was

"....well liked by the majority of students and (was) ...of value not only in supplementing the new student's very meagre knowledge of everyday affairs and in removing some of the grosser misconceptions of fact under which he often labours, but also in helping him to see in clearer perspective the meaning and relevance of the subjects he will be studying at the College."

According to Goldthorpe the program was eventually abandoned, "...mainly under the pressure from the Faculty of Science on time-table grounds." In 1957 a committee was set up

"....to consider the whole problem of general education (but) failed to put forward any proposals of importance that commended themselves either to the Academic Board or the teaching staff as a whole as desirable or practical."

The committee recommended one term of general education to precede specialized degree work. But

"....the students' very limitations, however, made academic departments reluctant to surrender any of the time hitherto devoted to examination work; while a widely-shared attitude unfavourable to proposals for general education was expressed in the words of (one) professor (who said) 'We are under the impression that when we are teaching students subject X we are educating them.'"

In the face of this kind of resistance and division of thought, nothing was done to replace the general social studies course which ended with the 1955-56 year.

Concurrent with the debate on general education at Makerere, another one arose over the question of what constituted the Ideal Arts course. The writer arrived at Makerere at the tail end (or, better, during a truce) of this debate which, apparently, was carried on with a good deal of acrimony. In 1960 a milder version of the debate was published in the form of three articles in the Makerere Journal (Carlin, Langlonds and Carter, 1960). This symposium is an excellent source of insights into the difficulties involved in teaching certain subjects in a non-Western context, notable English, and also into how Western university teachers are grappling with the issues raised in this chapter. One problem which

emerges clearly from the debate is the question of the usefulness of concentration on one discipline as against a more generally integrated view of knowledge. The proponents of the Ideal Arts course are, of course, wrestling with a problem whose basic core was stated very succinctly decades ago by Ortega Y Gasset (1946:71,72) who argued that

"From all quarters the need presses upon us for a new integration of knowledge, which today lies in pieces scattered over the world. But the labor of this undertaking is enormous; it is not to be thought of while there exists no methodology of higher education even comparable to what we have for the preceding levels of education. At present we lack completely a pedagogy of the university....the need to create sound syntheses and systematisations of knowledge....will call out a kind of scientific genius which hitherto has existed only as an aberration: the genius for integration."

The situation is particularly acute in non-Western areas like Africa because, as M.M. Carlin points out in the symposium,

"There must be a million things African students don't know - if "know" is the word; things ranging from simple facts to complex habitual modes of response. Yet the whole structure of a western university in Africa rests on the assumption that they do know them. The teachers operate in a field of allusion which the students do not share. And this is the heaviest half of their burden."

The opposing, discipline-centered, view also has its proponents on every university staff, in this case in the person of B. Langlands who argues

"With a concentration on one discipline, the student gains all that that has to offer - the analysis, classification and synthesis of its matter, logical reasoning, comparative studies in time and place, description, appreciation and debunking. The means by which this discipline is studied are as I have said; reading, essay writing, discussing and attending lectures. Surely there is enough here."

The argument obviously turns on the question of ultimate and

basic priorities of function. Again Carlin and Langlands crystallize the diverse ways of approaching this most difficult of all issues. Seemingly mindful of the viewpoint reflected in the comment quoted earlier by an African student who, after affirming that the "...purpose of a university is the same everywhere" went on to state that "A university should not attempt to make a European out of me", Langlands argues that

"Probably the end result of our teaching of English, History and so on in the way that we are doing it, is that our students are assimilating a little of Western culture - all I would contend is that they should not have to if they do not wish to. Is it not possible to blend the best of Western judgments with the best of African social and moral codes and present thereby a culture distinct from that prevailing elsewhere? Having made our students aware of Western value judgments through exposing our modes of thought in an intensive study of an academic discipline, having acquired some awareness of Western moral behaviour from their Christian based schools, and having been brought up in a local social system, may they not make a choice of what personally suits them best?"

For Carlin this argument apparently seems a dead-end for he does not see

"....how we can avoid the conclusion that the very essence of our activity here - I don't mean as it should be but as it is already - is a process of westernizing.I have taken (care) to avoid the word Europeanize.The business of imparting knowledge is even less central to the university process here than it is in England. What we are practicing at Makerere, day in day out, in every conceivable aspect of life from graduation ceremonies to Scottish dancing, is the subversion in an intimate and detailed way, of the African mind; the breaking down of mental tissues; their reconstruction in the Western mode; the reordering of thoughts, feelings, habits, responses, of every aspect of the mind and personality. This is what we are doing, and cannot avoid doing - this is the core of our activity." (emphasis in original)

It is not possible here to enter more deeply into the details of this poignant debate, other than to show - as has been our purpose - the world-historical nature of this debate for every area even remotely influenced by Western modes of ambition and social organization. Although we have stressed the special problems of the university in East Africa, we have seen that at no point could such issues be entirely divorced from their counterparts in any area of the world that Western education has penetrated.

However a question can be raised about not what was said but what was not said in the debate. This question which, in our view, can be raised is not a minor one, but has to do with whether or not the Western university is in actuality presenting even the facts of the history and society it represents. To answer this fully would require a content analysis of all courses with special emphasis on those of the Arts Faculties. Such a task was outside the scope of the present study. However a partial answer is available in the 1960-61 Syllabus of the Faculty of Arts which, it should be stressed, is not an official publication but a guide, and is not the sole source of bibliographical advice regarding preparation for the examinations. However, as a 100 page bibliographical reference guide for all Arts subjects, it is not unimportant. Examining it, one discovers some rather startling omissions. Among them are Marx (except for the "Communist Manifesto"), Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Freud, Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, Franz Kafka, Bert Brecht, Martin Buber, Eric Fromm,

Hannah Arendt, Franz Neumann, Karl Polanyi and others. Aside from names, one finds missing any reference to the study of National Socialism in Germany and - perhaps most interesting of all - there is no separate Department of Philosophy. Granting all the qualifications concerning the syllabus mentioned above, it can be suggested that any syllabus which does not contain most of the names listed above is simply not related to the Western world of the twentieth century (and much of the nineteenth). When one adds to this the well-known British aversion to viewing contemporary history as "real" history (because of its recency and the resultant incompleteness of documentation), one can begin to wonder whether the contemporary African student will be condemned to repeat the history he never learned. In view of the nature of this history and its effect in undermining faith in almost every assumption which once gave order and coherence to Western civilization, the absence of a Department of Philosophy to interpret such issues to students about to enter the modern world raises questions.

Ambiguities of Institutional Role Definitions

In this second broad area of ambiguity, three sub-topics can be distinguished. The first is the structure and norms of the bureaucratic leadership roles in a university. Since this topic has received sophisticated attention in the article by Mooney (1963), as well as in other sources, we shall not explore this matter at length. It should be added, however, that the application of existing analyses to the

African scene generally - an endeavor nowhere, to this writer's knowledge, as yet carried out - would prove most interesting in view of the peculiar pressures which must exist for the university as the only major institution representing democratic free inquiry in a political environment which by no means takes this value totally for granted.

The second sub-topic is the notorious problem of staff role conflict, especially with reference to the researcher and teaching roles (with the latter divisible into two separate role definitions also, that of simple imparter of knowledge and that of quasi-therapeutic molder of character). This question has received so much attention, both academic and popular, that we shall not explore it at length here. Suffice it to say that, as we have seen, this kind of role conflict is very acute in a university located in the non-Western world. At Makerere, staff are under pressure from all sides to fulfill all three roles, a task which usually proves impossible. The personal tutor role, the institutionalized definition of the teacher as an influence on character and personal development, has been shown to be a major focus of tension and hostility for all parties concerned. For those who underestimate the seriousness of the dual role of all teachers (the cognitive and the personal or existential guide), or who would separate these into air-tight compartments, the writer strongly recommends a brilliant little study of this issue by Victor Kobayashi (1962) who compares the problems of the Western cognitive-oriented teacher to the

Zen Buddhist teacher oriented to the achievement of "satori" in his pupils.

The third sub-topic is that of role conflict among students, in which the student role comes into conflict with the demands of other non-academic roles impinging upon students. Here, too, we shall not go into extensive detail. Elsewhere the writer has published (1961) an intensive sociological analysis of this issue relative to the distinction between minority and majority (non-adult and adult) roles including the ways this transition can impinge upon the student role at Makerere. To facilitate analysis, one tribal culture, the Kikuyu, was used as a basis, since the very gradual nature of the minor-major transition in an age-grade society differs radically from the same transition in most Western societies. Further, the use of one tribal base enabled use of the method of intensive case study of individuals which is important if one's interest is in processes of conflict resolution. For present purposes, we shall elucidate the problem of student role conflict at Makerere by way of two generalizations.

1. The Makerere student is susceptible to role conflict arising from a situation in which he feels he is treated as a minor in the school system (the College) but feels himself to be an adult. There are elements of College life which place the student in a position somewhat analogous to that of a minor (such as some tendency to refer to students as "boys", disciplinary rules such as the midnight curfew and "gating", and the limitation of certain 'adult' activities

and prerogatives such as heavy drinking and fighting). It is interesting that the reverse may also occur. There are many ways in which the student at Makerere is treated much as a Western adult. He is subject to instruction only, and his personal relations are neglected in comparison to secondary school; his relations with staff are rather circumscribed and confined largely to the classroom except when he is accepted as a friend, or as a friendly acquaintance; the student is on his own financially etc. Further, the student may also be carrying some of the obligations of adulthood in his traditional social relations. These inconsistencies underlie considerable role confusion among a number of students (a situation which has parallels in many resident colleges in the United States).

2. The Makerere student is susceptible to role conflict arising out of a situation in which the parents and immediate family define the student role as an illegitimate extension of minority status replacing the performance of adult role obligations as they view these. Thus, while the student may feel himself an adult who just happens to be gaining an education to qualify himself for a higher position, he may be treated by his family as one who is trying to maintain his minority-like dependence upon others and "prolonging his student days" (again, a situation not unknown in Western societies).

The writer has observed that role conflicts of the kind which involve contradictions between "home and school" are

susceptible to certain types of resolution of which we have isolated four different kinds. Conflict can be resolved, first, if the son has worked awhile for wages between graduation from secondary school and enrollment in University, thus satisfying certain of his financial obligations to his family. Second, it can be resolved if the student is a younger sibling with an older brother who has equal if not greater access to financial resources (perhaps through an equal amount of education) and is using them to fulfill financial obligations, thus relieving the pressure on his younger brother. A third possibility is that the family is economically so well off that there is in fact little need for financial assistance. And fourth, the problem is alleviated if the family adheres to an ideology of "progress out of the old and into the new" for which it is willing to make sacrifices, much in the way that immigrant families in the United States used to devote their lives to the social mobility and assimilation of their children into the American middle class. These qualifications have phrased obligation in terms of financial assistance because this is usually how obligation expectations are expressed. Far more difficult are the types of situations in which role conflict reflects expectations expressed in non-financial terms. The latter types of expectations seem to divide into what this writer would call "activity continuity" and "religio-cultural continuity", just possibly both. A common example of the first would be a father's desire that his son take over his land and devote his life to agriculture

as in the "way of his fathers". The meaning of the second is obvious, and examples can range from expectations easily satisfied through a few rituals, to full immersion in the structural, ritual and religious life of the traditional society to the exclusion of involvement in modern life altogether. Popular stereotypes in the West often become fixated on situations such as these, but the writer has found this to be a radical exaggeration, similar to the exaggerated generalization concerning the clash of "old and new country" cultures among immigrants in the United States. The general level of conflict resolution is higher than many people believe although, of course, it is far from absolute. Anxiety relative to such role conflicts is a major problem for Makerere students of which most staff are often unaware except in the most general terms. And as is so often true, resolution, if it comes, does so only after the student has "proved himself" and his determination. For the Makerere student, this may well come only after his student days are over.

In our discussion of education, we have moved back and forth between the level of theory and policy on the one hand, and what we were able to ascertain of empirical reality on the other. Many topics were of necessity omitted, so that focus could be maintained throughout upon the dynamics of the actual contact situations in which agents of one culture encounter those of another and the complex and elusive processes of acculturation take place.

The time has come to explore at depth in the lives of individuals the meanings of these great transformations in the face of which the transition to political independence is but a minor adjustment.

Notes

1. Our use of the terms socialization and enculturation, and the distinction between them, follows Herskovits (1955:325,326)

"The process by means of which an individual is integrated into his society is called socialization. It involves the adaptation of the individual to the fellow members of his group, which, in turn, gives him status and assigns to him the role he plays in the life of the community."

"The aspects of the learning experience that mark off men from other creatures, and by means of which he achieves competence in his culture, may be called enculturation. This is in essence a process of conscious and unconscious conditioning, exercised within the limits sanctioned by a given body of custom. From this process not only is all adjustment to social living achieved, but also all those satisfactions, themselves a part of social experience, that derive from individual expression rather than association with others in the group."

2. Quoted in Redfield (1953:121). Also relevant here is Read's analysis (1956:98,99) of this same point:

"A number of anthropological writers...have defined education in (pre-literate) societies as the process of transmitting a people's culture from one generation to the next....The titles of two recent studies among the North American Indians illustrate this by their very phrasing: 'The Hopi Way' and 'The Navajo Door'. Another study in the Pacific, 'Becoming a Kuoma', suggests the same idea. In those and other parallel studies, the emphasis is on the process by which a child, born in a society possessing a certain culture, which is his by right of birth and inheritance, nevertheless has to go through a training which may be informal as well as formal, in the course of which he recognizes the Hopi Way, goes through the Navajo Door, learns to be a Kuoma although he was born one.

"We should admit at once that this linking of culture and education, that is regarding education as the transmission of culture, is on the whole foreign to our way of thinking about education in Western Europe....If we were to ask ourselves or if strangers were to inquire of us, how a child born and bred in one of the nations of the United Kingdom learns to recognize the English Way, to go through the Scottish Door, to become a Welshman, we should have no ready answer....It might be

argued here that our British concept of freedom and the role of the individual in a free society, prevents us from placing much emphasis on the English Way, or the Scottish, or the Welsh in our training of young people."

3. This statistic is cited by J.E. Goldthorpe (1961).
4. Statement based on personal interview with an educational administrator in Kenya.
5. For instance, the role of Governor Sir Donald Cameron in Tanganyika's educational development. Cf. Ingham (1962:363-367).
6. The Kenya government had established an Education Department in 1911 and subsidized approved mission schools. In 1913 the government opened a school at Machakos that offered technical subjects and teacher training. In 1918 a system of school inspection was introduced and not until 1926 was the first secondary school for Africans established. Generally speaking, far more money was spent on European and Asian education (in that order) than on African, and Kenya's official education program for Africans, when compared to those of Uganda and Tanganyika lagged considerably behind.
7. For instance the following comment in the Report (quoted in Herskovits, 1962:226):
"The present distribution of the African groups through the various stages of human society, whether that stage be cannibalistic, barbaric, primitive or civilized, is a natural condition that has been almost completely duplicated at some time with all civilized races. In the long process of evolution it is well known that the civilization period of the most advanced races has been but brief in comparison with their long period of barbarism."
8. For instance from the Report, (quoted in Herskovits, 1962:228)

"Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving, as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution."

9. Higher Education in East Africa, Colonial No.142, HMSO, London 1937.

10. For the relations between these schools and drop-outs from the main school system see Kamoga (1963).

11. "At first, schools in all three territories followed the English pattern of six years primary schooling and six secondary years, which were divided into three junior secondary and three senior secondary. After a series of government commissions, the view became established that the first objective should be to concentrate on four years' schooling - the minimum regarded as necessary to establish literacy - available to all African children. Schools in Tanganyika were accordingly re-organized in the early 'fifties into primary, middle and secondary, with four classes in each, and in Kenya in the middle and late 'fifties similarly into basic primary, senior primary, and secondary. In Uganda, the traditional system was followed till the end of the 'fifties, though not all primary schools were 'full primary' with all six classes. The proposal now (1960) is to adopt something more like the Tanganyika and Kenya pattern, but with eight years primary education for all as the objective, followed by four years secondary, or six if two years for Higher School Certificate are included....(Further) education is not free (in East Africa) any more than it is compulsory or universal. Fees are payable at every stage, while parents may also be at the expense of school meals and school uniforms, as well as losing their children's help on the land or in household tasks. In Uganda, for example, the lowest fee recently reported was 3 shillings a term for Primary One in the remote West Nile district. More usually, Primary day fees range from 8 or 10 shillings a term up to about 30, rising in the higher classes, so that the total cost in fees alone of putting a boy through a six-years Primary course has been estimated as anything between 140 and 250 shillings depending on locality....School meals, where they are provided, cost about another 10 shillings a term. Most primary schools have a simple uniform, and though this is seldom compulsory most parents do in fact provide the prescribedat a cost of perhaps 10 to 20 shillings. Thus the cost of putting a large family through primary school makes a heavy claim on the cash income of a peasant which may amount to no more than 30 to 40 Pounds a year (600 to 800 shillings). Aided junior secondary

schools charge day pupils between 100 and 200 shillings a term for tuition only, boarders 300 to 400 shillings for tuition and board. Private non-aided schools charge much more, usually for inferior tuition. All senior secondary schools but one are boarding schools (as of 1960) and the fees range from 400 to 600 shillings a term, or as much as 1000 shillings for the newly-instituted Higher School Certificate classes."

Cf. Goldthorpe, (1961:chap.2). For other relevant statistics cf. Helen Kitchen (1962).

12. For instance, Dietrich Westermann wrote in 1925 (quoted in Goldthorpe, 1961:chap.1),

"The time is past when the school could content itself with the development of a small elite, and with directing this development on European lines, without reference to the pupil and his environment. The favouring of an education which was adapted to the needs of the European has led to the fostering of higher and professional schools to the detriment of elementary schools. This should not continue. The urgent need is for village schools in abundance adapted to the needs of the villages and destined to serve them."

13. For instance, Sir Philip Mitchell (quoted in ibid.),

"I saw....that my duty lay in promoting to the utmost the development of university education, including of course advanced-teacher training, of technical education and of secondary schools, to supply both with teachable pupils in sufficient numbers and of teachable quality. If this meant that the education of the masses must remain for a while - a while that might be a generation, the muddle that it then was - I could not help that. I had not the power to stop it, to close three-quarters of the primary schools, nor the means in money and teachers - to make them any better."

14. For instance, Van der Post has a phrase describing (quoted in ibid.)

"This learned self-conscious gloom which higher education inflicts, almost without exception, on an instinctively happy people."

15. For one of the clearest examples of this argument cf. Thurnwald, (1935:237-238, 379-380, 389-390).

16. "Some of Green's first converts to Idealism, students as gifted as F.H. Bradley and R.L. Nettleship were denied First Class Honors by examiners who were genuinely shocked by these young men presumptuous enough to discard the language of Mill for that of Kant, Hegel and Green." Richter, (1956:445)
- More accurately, the general distinction should be drawn between Anglo-French and German thought as reflecting socio-political experience. For example, see George Sabine, (1953:648-649). Thus England's continued adherence to liberal utilitarian pragmatism was a reflection of the simple fact that it fitted England's experience - an experience relatively peaceful partly because of this same approach to politics. Even Green's Idealism was formulated in terms congenial to the left wing of the Liberal Party (although this was not true of Bossanquet). One result of all this, however, was that British pragmatism blinded the English to many social and ideological trends which were not to become clear until their material manifestations in the form of bombs and shells. To a large extent British faith in natural rights and political individualism with its parliamentary institutions is reflected in what may yet prove to be one of history's most futile experiments - the imposition of the Westminster Parliamentary model on the new states of Africa and Asia. Analyzing societies in terms of their relative adherence to ideology is, of course, a most difficult matter. British society has been more prone to ideology than many would prefer to admit. See for instance the important recent study of, among other things, the role of ideology in the official British reaction to the Irish potato famines of the 1840's, by Cecil Woodham-Smith (1962).
17. A Catholic missionary complained to Apter (1961:133, footnote 24) in an interview that "The Protestants do not understand sin, they are always trying to abolish

it. But we know that sin is the state of man. It is part of the human condition. That is why there is a church. No sin - no church." This is an important comment on the distinction between Catholic and Protestant understanding of the church.

18. The Catholic community, after all, is not necessarily a community of saved (i.e. converted) individuals and whatever the fortunes of the moment, the historic church survives and has so for nearly 2,000 years. This sense of continuity, we found, is a major psychological prop and source of inner security for Catholic teachers we encountered.
19. Vaizey (1959). The point should be made, as he does, that by the elite public school is meant "...only a proportion of the private schools that cater for about one/eleventh of English children." His article, despite its critical stance, is a good source of information and, over-all, provides a more balanced view of the institution than his critical tone might at first suggest. On the public school, see also Rupert Wilkinson (1963).
20. It is such unresolved ambiguities which confer upon so much of A.V. Murray's outstanding study of British education in Africa (1929) such contemporaneous significance. This book is an 'must' for anyone interested in educational theory and policy. Its significance surpasses any single locale or time period. Of special relevance are Murray's discussions of the problem of vernacular language in education (chap.8) which includes an incisive critique of the relationship between language and naive versions of an alleged "soul of the people", and his formulation of the meaning of "liberal" education in what are in this writer's view the most stimulating chapters of the book (chap.9

which is relevant to more than African education, and chap.10). Among others of Murray's major contributions are his exploding of common but fallaciously formulated dichotomies such as that between tribal loyalty and more cosmopolitan loyalties; "literary" vs. "vocational" or "technical" education; "secular" vs. "religious" education as formulated by Lord Lugard and others. Of special significance for acculturation theory is his discussion of the ambiguities (and hypocrisies) of "moral instruction" which is based upon stereotyped (and thus falsified) parables and stories which not only distort reality but which are not even perceived by pupils as they are intended to be. (Included here is a fascinating dissection of the major moral-instructional literature of his day.) Somewhat obsolete now are the evolutionary biases evident in parts of the book; his strictures against the anthropologists; and his view of African societies as without history (although this view still has a little relevance if one has in mind intellectual and technological history and the production of Hegelian-type "world-historical" figures and events).

As an example, when one reads in an official report written in 1953 a passage such as this (Ward, 1953:67, par.47),

"...any moral code worthy of the name must rest on the spiritual guidance that comes from deep and sincere religious belief. As Christians we naturally look to Christianity for our guidance, but we appreciate that the Muslim religion provides such guidance to many good men and women whose lives are examples to others. In the matter of religious belief we think that where Governments in East and Central Africa have hitherto taken up a position of neutrality in relation to religion this attitude should no longer continue. A public statement on a belief in this necessity for a spiritual basis to education in its widest sense would give encouragement and strength to those already at work and provide the inspiration for future development."

one wonders if anyone has read and pondered Murray's incisive critique of "education based on religion" in which he warns that

"The word 'religion' has become terribly cheapened in Africa by its association in this way with education." (p.237)

"The modern administrator in Africa means something quite different by this from the meaning given to it by our English forefathers in the nineteenth centuryin practice it often comes to the same thing. An educational system was considered to be 'based on religion' when professional religious people control itAs long as teaching included Scripture, and as long as this and the other subjects were taught by Churchmen and Nonconformists respectively, and as long as these teachers were controlled by the heads of their own denomination, education was 'based on religion'. The foundation of education in religion was accepted in this mechanical sense because both religion and education were accepted in a mechanical sense. Religion was conformity and education was instruction." (pp.234,235)

These points can be applied with even greater relevance to the "Beecher Report" (1949). This Report, too, assumes a "...breakdown in moral standards in African society in recent years and....the comparative inability of the school product to put matters right." The argument is advanced that there can be no comparison between education in British society and in Africa, "...between the emphasis placed on moral instruction in one and in the other" because behavior in British society derives from Christian foundations and "...accepted Christian principles over which there is no dispute." (par.244) This remarkable generalization is contrasted with the alleged situation in African communities of Kenya about which it is claimed "Little or nothing is done in most homes to inculcate moral standards; the child does not in consequence, acquire character in its early years which is built up on principles which alone have any relevance in the modern society of which the child is to become a part." Thus it follows for the Committee that "It is, therefore,

the task of the schools to implant these principles and to do so almost entirely without help from parents." Indeed, "This is a specialist task, like teaching chemistry or history, and it should be given to those who are qualified to do it. The secular teacher, whatever his other qualifications, has generally not been trained to take part in this work." (par.245)

These remarkable comments rest upon the following quite serious fallacies which, if accepted, will play a powerful role in furthering the "inability of the school product to put things right". The first fallacy is the assumption that Western societies differ any from African in the irrelevance of their traditions to the conditions of modern existence. One need hardly point to the voluminous amount of both secular and theological writings which have addressed themselves to precisely this issue of the discontinuity between past and present as regards the most fundamental traditional values, both Christian and other. Without expressing any judgment as to what should be the moral foundations of education, it may be seriously suggested that the wholesale application of the ideologized foundations of Western morality to education in Africa will succeed in denuding them of whatever relevance they might prove to have if allowed to operate in other ways. The seeming desperation of the Committee with respect to this issue is, perhaps, not unrelated to the second fallacy we would like to point out; the assumption that little or nothing can come from African homes relevant to character formation in the modern world. The Committee bases this upon no empirical foundation whatever; logically the assumption is dubious, and empirically, there is little evidence for it, including in our own data. Most serious is the failure of the Committee to stipulate what their criteria are aside from the general biases of the Committee members (which themselves

are not stated). It can at least be seriously questioned if there are not in traditional African communal values and reciprocal social structures, techniques and behavior patterns which will prove quite relevant to the conditions of modern existence in so-called underdeveloped countries, provided, of course, that they can be adapted to these conditions. But the need for adaptation is a long distance from the assertion of total irrelevance. The third fallacy, which follows logically from the first two, is one which we have already examined with respect to the Cambridge Report; the fallacious assumption that moral teachings can be taught systematically without outright indoctrination and all its correlates. How close to the foundations of indoctrination the Committee approached is illustrated by their assumptions, first, that no help must and can be expected from African parents and, second, that such teaching is a "specialist task like teaching chemistry or history"; a view which is closer to that of a thought police than to contemporary Western educational practice.

In the issues we have been discussing up to now, little seems to have changed from the days of the 1925 White Paper on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa which stated, with regard to religion and character training, that "Education should strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community and, at the same time, should strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discrimination between good and evil, between reality and superstition." In the light of recent Western history, it may be suggested, the content of these rhetorical statements are even more matters for controversy and confusion now than they were in 1925.

It may be wondered why we have spent such time on Reports written long ago and which are now obsolescent in any case. The first reason is that such retrospective analysis helps to throw light on the present African reactions against features of Western culture, especially Mission-controlled education. Second, the deeper problems of communication and the transformation of once traditional but now questioned moral assumptions into ideological formulations for purposes of social control is a fundamental phenomenon not restricted to Western societies (e.g. Mau Mau propaganda and even some features of present Negritude propaganda) and to any one time period.

21. In all seven schools were visited, four in Kenya and three in Buganda. The four Kenya institutions included one Protestant interdenominational, two Catholic, and one Government school. In Buganda we visited one Protestant, one Catholic, and one independent (demonstration) school. In each school we interviewed the Headmaster (with the exception of the last school mentioned) and at least one other teacher. Our emphasis was upon the Headmaster since, in the English boarding school tradition, the personality and philosophy of the Headmaster is the major influence upon the policy and general "style" of the life of the school - a situation even more pronounced, understandably, in Africa. In Kenya we also interviewed the Provincial Education Officer of the (then) Central Province, and the Manager of all Protestant schools in the Central Province, and the Educational Advisor for Kenya Protestants to the Christian Council of Kenya. Not all interviews were equally productive, but some were remarkably so. However they were all granted on the basis of absolute confidentiality, and some of the material was useful precisely because of its personal nature. We have therefore taken care to protect the integrity of our sources by

withholding exact documentation. Some of the individuals interviewed in 1960 and 1961 are no longer in the posts they held at that time, and the schools themselves have undergone changes. Thus the picture we shall draw of secondary education relative to Buganda and Kikuyu is one whose greatest relevance is to the eve of independence - the time period on which we have focused our attention. We hope that our discussion will make it obvious that the problems and issues cited do not lose their relevance for East Africa because of the onset of political independence. However our major purpose in this phase of the investigation was to enable a better understanding of the forces at work in the formation of the present generation of university students from Buganda and Kikuyu.

We have also, for reasons of complexity and space, refrained from any statistical exploration of the topic. Such a discussion would not be relevant for our immediate concern and information of this nature is available through other sources.

22. This is due both to the intensive emphasis upon education in contemporary Kikuyu society, and to the fact that in the Kikuyu age-grade system young men of roughly secondary school age would have been junior warriors - a status now "empty" of content since the imposition of peace between the tribes under British administration. In Buganda, because of the powerful influence of a surviving and adapted traditional social structure, relations between schools and community - as incidents recorded in our field notes suggest - are more complicated and dependent upon tact and diplomacy.
23. As of 1960, two Protestant denominations, Anglican and Presbyterian Church of East Africa, plus the Roman Catholics were in virtual control of African education in the then Central Province of Kenya. Anglican

Protestants in Kikuyu country were concentrated in Fort Hall, and Presbyterian Protestants in Kiambu and Nyeri districts. The Africa Inland Mission was also represented, to a lesser degree, in Kikuyuland. Among the Catholics, the (Irish) Holy Ghost mission was represented heavily in Kiambu, Thika and Nairobi. The (Italian) Consuellata order was active in Nyeri district. In Buganda the Protestant representation is almost exclusively Anglican and the Catholics were predominately represented by the (British) Mill Hill Fathers, although other orders are active elsewhere in Uganda.

24. This balance, reflected in statistics collected by the writer, was attempted in both the Kenya and Buganda schools and reflected a conscious non-tribal recruitment policy.
25. This description is interesting because the writer has observed a similar "tea party" pattern of encounter at Makerere and on other occasions. The latter included a wedding at Fort Hall which was actually divided (though not officially) in half, the first half being very "proper" in true "tea party" style, and the second half involving smaller informal groupings jovially interacting over beer. After an adjournment at sunset the more lively guests (almost all Africans) reconvened for an all-night drinking and dancing session in town. The wedding ceremony itself had also reflected this combination of European and African theme.
26. "We consider that the educational system will be failing to reach its objectives if it does not produce a better understanding between men and women of different races. This is of particular urgency in plural communities. We do not think that reliance should be placed upon formal teaching about race relations. Proper attitudes are acquired almost unconsciously from association with teachers who themselves show in their lives good will toward other people. They are learnt by pupils in the process of living, working and playing with pupils who

belong to other communities. Boarding schools can do much within their own limits, and valuable lessons are learnt in multi-racial scout camps etc. and through playing games against teams of other races. We suggest that the interracial principle already existing at Makerere and the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, and in secondary schools, should be extended wherever suitable opportunities occur." (Ward, 1953:173, recommendation 39)

27. Figures for three districts of Buganda for 1960 (in percentage) given in confidence to the writer (hence the disguise) illustrate this point.

District	Roman Catholics	Protestants	Muslim	Other
I: sub-division A	49.	27.5	7.3	16.2
sub-division B	47.3	31.5	7.9	13.3
II:	61.5	15.3	1.7	21.5
III:	56.5	11.9	6.9	24.7

One can imagine the competition which proceeds for access to the "others".

28. Foster, (1960:113-114). The generalizations he reviews include, for instance, those which see formal education as "an important causal factor in the marked urban drift that is occurring in some African territories"; the role of parents and their desire for labor assistance from their children in relation to the school drop-out problem; the white-collar ambitions of school leavers; and education as a critical causative factor in economic development.
29. See especially P.F. Vowles (1959) and Goldthorpe (1961). As of 1959-60 the College had just under 900 students representing close to 80 tribes throughout East Africa

and divided into the following courses of study

Course	Number
Medicine	121
Agriculture	49
Veterinary	32
Education	66
Science: London Preliminary*	212
Bachelor of Science	51
Arts: London Preliminary*	164
Bachelor of Arts	153
School of Art	28
Other	5
Total.....	881

*Preliminary year was a year for students who fell short of the College's entrance exam but for whom vacancies existed. This was eliminated in 1961.

The above figures are taken from Goldthorpe (1961).

In terms of territory, in 1959, there was the following distribution.

Territory	African	Arab	Asian	Other	Total Students
Uganda	285	0	16	3	304
Kenya	323	1	30	1	355
Tanganyika	183	1	14	2	200
Northern Rhodesia	2	0	0	0	2
Nyasaland	2	0	0	0	2
Totals.....	797	6	69	6	878

In 1959, the following students from Kenya were studying overseas for a degree in higher education:

	Africans	Asians	Arabs	Europeans
United Kingdom	94	668	18	238
India and Pakistan	70	415	--	---
Other Common- wealth countries	--	---	--	20
Other (mostly USA)	182	17	--	9

In 1960, the following African students from Uganda were studying overseas for a degree in higher education:

United Kingdom	329 (at least)
India	64
Pakistan	4
Communist bloc	24 ^a
United States	48 ^b
Canada	6

^aIncluding 22 in Moscow and 1 in Peking.

^bAs of May 1961 in 35 institutions in 20 states.

The figures for territory distribution at Makerere and students studying overseas are taken from Kitchen (1962).

30. Of course, one should keep in mind that any objective analysis of Kikuyu-European history quickly dispels a facile assumption of race as the major conflict variable. Even the bloodiest encounter, the Mau-Mau war, was at least as much a civil (and even quasi-class) war as it was a racial or even tribal revolution. Cf. M.P.K. Sorrenson (1963).

31. For instance, cf. Sir Eric Ashby, (1964).

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

In this and the next two chapters we deal specifically with the results of our study of the effects of the general acculturation process on the new intellectuals of Buganda and Kikuyu. In this present chapter we review the characteristics of the sample on which the study was carried out. Chapter VI concerns itself with what we have called the dynamics of self-process. Here the aspects of life involving the role and fate of the individual's "self" will be explored. These include life purposes and career plans; conceptions of love, marriage and the family; the influences of aesthetic experience (specifically literature, music and visual arts); and finally the realm of anxiety (perceived problems, self-doubts and ambiguities etc.). Chapter VII explores the dynamics of world-view, politics and society. The foundations of world-view are revealed through intensive attention to religious conceptions, both in terms of their relation to other attitudes and the changes which they undergo through time. The chapter also explores political ideas, conceptions of the past and present, conceptions of tradition and modernity, and convictions concerning the proper relationships of all these.

The bulk of the evidence for issues discussed in these chapters has been gathered for the sake of convenience in a Data Appendix. References to data in that section will be

labeled (see Table or Figure ___ in D.A.).

Our first concern in the present chapter has to do with the representativeness of the sample.

We have made an attempt in this study to select as representative a sample as possible within the confines of our broader purposes. Of necessity, compromises with strict statistical rigor have had to be made. Tables 1 and 2 provide some evidence that our decision to adopt a Hall of Residence at Makerere as a base of operations was statistically sound. It shows that the selected Hall was representative of the whole student body according to the tribes relevant to our study, and also according to course of study when these were divided into Arts vs. Science subjects for all tribes.¹ On the basis of this we have made the assumption, which we could not test, that the Hall was representative according to religious distribution and year in school as well. We were assured by those who knew the College that this was the case, and having not seen any evidence to the contrary, we feel this is a reasonable assumption. Table 3 lends credence to this since it shows that the selected Hall was strongly representative of the total student body according to Baganda and Kikuyu tribes subdivided into Arts vs. Science students.

These three tables, however, are based upon the sample Hall as it was upon our arrival on the scene. Certain adjustments had to be made which we must assume also to be representative of the total student body. The major one arose out of the entrance into the Hall of a few new students just before

the commencement of our study. It would have consumed considerable valuable time to gather the figures necessary for a retest of representativeness and since the Hall had proved to be so strongly representative in relation to our test, we felt it unnecessary to interrupt our program for further tests of this kind.

Further, one Muganda in the sample Hall left school during the study; probably a randomly distributed event. However one Muganda and two Kikuyu withdrew from the study early in its development which, of course, affected representativeness in unknown ways. Also, the reader should be reminded that any attempt to argue representativeness assumes that the dimensions selected for testing are correlated with other dimensions being subjected to research attention. The more dimensions tested for representativeness, the safer this assumption; the fewer tested, the weaker the matching procedure. In our case, intensive sampling rigor of this kind was not desirable in view of our time budget relative to other goals of our investigation. Finally, every study must be designed according to practical limitations in the light of its goals. Our methods sought for depth and this precluded large numbers. One price paid for this is the inapplicability of statistical tests of significant difference to most of our data. In the case of our questionnaire, research in a non-Western cultural framework demanded numerous open-ended questions. This often meant that the resulting number of response categories into which we coded the answers precluded statistical analysis

beyond percentage differences because the individual cells proved too small.

Thus the sample characteristics in this study reflect decisions we have had to make relative to resources at our disposal, both in terms of finances and time. Our bias has been in the direction of multiple methods aiming at capturing depth and complexity of human response rather than statistical elegance.

TABLE 1

BAGANDA AND KIKUYU STUDENTS BY TOTAL MALE STUDENT BODY AND SAMPLE HALL POPULATIONS

	Baganda	Kikuyu
Total Male Student Body	12.5% (N=105)	21.0% (N=177)
Total Male Student Population of Sample Hall	12.1% (N=22)	17.6% (N=32)

TABLE 2

ARTS AND SCIENCE STUDENTS BY TOTAL MALE STUDENT BODY AND SAMPLE HALL POPULATION

	Arts	Sciences
Total Male Student Body	43.0% (N=360)	57.0% (N=478)
Total Male Student Population of Sample Hall	44.2% (N=80)	55.8% (N=101)

TABLE 3

BAGANDA AND KIKUYU ARTS AND SCIENCE STUDENTS BY TOTAL MALE STUDENT BODY AND SAMPLE HALL POPULATION

	Baganda		Kikuyu	
	Arts	Science	Arts	Science
Total Baganda and Kikuyu Male Student Body	47.6% (N=50)	52.4% (N=55)	53.1% (N=94)	46.9% (N=83)
Total Baganda and Kikuyu Male Sample Hall Population	41.0% (N=9)	59.0% (N=13)	56.2% (N=18)	43.8% (N=14)

Table 1, D.A. and Figure 1A, D.A. present the actual sample and its characteristics after all adjustments had been made. We now turn here to important aspects of our data which we believe to be broadly representative of this generation of Baganda and Kikuyu university students.

Goldthorpe (1955), in a sample survey of Makerere graduates, has shown that students derive from the higher educational and status levels of the general population of East Africa. With reference to our own sample this generalization has been demonstrated to be relevant. Figure 1B, D.A. presents basic background information concerning economic activities, status; achievements and literacy for each respondent's parents and grandparents. If this data is analyzed for evidence relating to socio-economic position, the conclusion which Goldthorpe drew is inescapable, especially with respect to the

Baganda. At least eight (40%) of the Baganda respondents are sons of major or minor chiefs. As regards literacy (i.e. the ability to write which presupposes the ability to read), eight (40%) have parents who are both literate in either English (one) or Luganda (seven). Eleven (55%) have fathers who are literate either in English (five or 25%) or Luganda (six or 30%). In other words, six (30%) have one or more parents literate in English, and nineteen (95%) have one or more parents literate in Luganda.

But in view of the significance of land in Buganda, land ownership is perhaps the clearest immediate indication of the general status origins of our respondents. Fallers (1964:189-190) has recently estimated the rough shape of the Buganda social stratification hierarchy on the basis of a number of possible variables, one of them land ownership. On the basis of Land Tax returns, occupational structure and Graduated Tax payments, he divides the people of Buganda into

"....a broad undifferentiated (peasant) base making up some six-sevenths of the population; a middle group of approximately one-seventh consisting of the relatively few men engaged in the more specialized forms of production and exchange; and a tiny elite of the wealthy, educated and powerful."

In terms of land ownership alone, it was estimated that in 1956 only 2,463 people out of about just under 331,000 owned more than ten acres of land with more than five tenants on them. But in our sample five respondents (25%) come from families owning at least 300 acres each. (Four of these owned at least 640 acres or one square mile.) Another five (25%) have families owning at least 20 acres. On the basis of such

combined variables, one may assume that at least 25% of the Buganda sample derive from the top tiny elite of the educated, wealthy and powerful, and almost all of the rest from the highest seventh of the population as estimated by Fallers.

Estimation of the status origins of our Kikuyu sample is more difficult because the Kikuyu have been far less studied than the Baganda and thus comparative data do not exist. However the cumulative evidence suggests strongly a similar conclusion as in the case of the Baganda. For instance, six (or 18.8% of the Kikuyu sample) had fathers who were aramati (traditional heads of sub-clans); another six had fathers with other high statuses such as Headmen, members of Location Councils, important senior elders, members of local school committees etc. Thus a total of 37.6% of the Kikuyu sample had fathers who enjoyed high prestige positions in their society. As concerns literacy, nine (or 28.1%) have parents who are both literate in either English (one) or Kikuyu and/or Swahili (eight). Another eight (25%) have fathers alone who are literate in either English (three) or Kikuyu and/or Swahili (five). In terms of occupation, a rather large number of fathers were employed within the modern cash economy in jobs which - at least before the advent of the Emergency - netted many of them relatively satisfactory incomes. It appears, in fact, that only one father was outside the money economy in the sense of being a subsistence farmer. Roughly speaking, eight fathers were commercial entrepreneurs in creating their own businesses; at least three were cash crop farmers; eight

more were in Government service, some on high levels; three were teachers; eight were employed in service occupations such as cooks, salesmen, clerks etc.; two apparently derived income from the renting of land and one was a domestic servant.² Finally, with respect to land ownership, seven respondents (or 21.9%) come from families which own 15 or more acres of land which, in view of the serious land shortage in Kikuyu country, is not insignificant.³ It should also be noted that the generalization about high status origin is buttressed by the data relating to respondents' paternal and maternal grandfathers which indicate a rather illustrious heritage in many cases. The general picture which emerges from this data is one of a background of considerable entrepreneurial drive and upward social mobility. Perhaps it can be suggested that family success in the traditional system acts as a predisposing factor toward mobility drives in the offspring relative to the newly emerging social system. We do not pursue this here because, in the absence of stratification data pertaining to the old society, much speculation would be involved. Kikuyu, especially in comparison to Buganda, was a considerably egalitarian society, with few serious institutionalized barriers to mobility and prestige for those with relevant innate ability and energy. However it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, despite these caveats, Kikuyu respondents too have derived from backgrounds above average in wealth and prestige. The dynamic fluidity of these backgrounds is but a reflection of the more radical

upheavals characteristic of the social transformation of Kikuyu society as compared to that of Buganda.

Before moving on to the more complex question of acculturation relative to these backgrounds, it would be useful to the reader for us to comment upon why we have included the raw data concerning respondent backgrounds in the form of Figure 1B, D.A. There are three advantages to presenting the data in this manner rather than exclusively in the more abstracted manner such as in the form immediately heretofore. The first advantage is that the reader may observe the diverse patterns of economic behavior and their interrelationships within a single family over two generations. The second advantage is the same but this time with reference to status positions; and the third is that, in the case of the Kikuyu, the impact of the Emergency is indirectly visible when one realizes the careers and activities which were aborted by it. In other words Figure 1B, D.A. presents, in reasonably compact form, a dynamic picture of the variations of family history and the interlocking variables which constituted upward and downward social mobility in an era of fundamental change; change which, as we saw earlier, was tumultuous and radical in one society, slower and more benevolent in the other.

We turn now to the complex question of acculturation in relation to the birth and socialization environments of our individual respondents. The difficulties relative to the concept of acculturation generally were touched upon in Chapter 1. Yet, despite these, it is important to resist

avoiding the issue altogether because real differences in the socialization experiences of individuals do exist in relation to traditionalistic as against modernizing influences. Since it is very difficult (if not impossible) to construct comparative unidimensional typologies of acculturation, we have not attempted to do so in the present context. However it would be of value to indicate, for each of our respondent samples, what acculturation in relation to socialization really means, and to point to some of the major variations which have influenced presently existing attitudes and values. We shall discuss first the Baganda and then the more complicated case of the Kikuyu.

Regarding Buganda, we have shown that the cash economy and Christianity both had been firmly integrated into the traditional social fabric which had altered as a whole to accommodate itself to these new forces under the legitimating symbol of the monarchy. In this respect, then, the Baganda may be described as being "acculturated". However, the Baganda data clearly show that acculturation in this sense has not entailed the conscious and deliberate rejection of tribal nationalism based on a sense of cultural and ethnic superiority over other African societies. Indeed, the socialization process, as revealed in the autobiographical records of our Baganda respondents, with very few exceptions contained a strong emphasis on cultural nationalism and, in some cases, separatist pride. Thus, "being a Muganda" today simply has been extended to include some aspects of Western culture

which have been added to the store of traditional culture. Evidence presented by Fallers (1964:chap.4) implies the possibility that Baganda do not perceive many facets of modernization in quite the "either-or" terms which would be expected if, like the Kikuyu people, they were experiencing the growing obsolescence of the traditional social structure. Since this is not the case, the background-history records of our Baganda respondents present a more uniform pattern than is the case with the Kikuyu sample. The Baganda, so to speak, can both have their cake and eat it in relation to the modernization of their society. Since we found that Kikuyu students (somewhat contrary to our expectations) also come from families of some eminence and/or affluence in either traditional or modern terms, we may conclude that differences in socialization experiences reflect the radical diversities which characterized the acculturation patterns of Buganda and Kikuyu as societies.

We shall not present here any excerpts from Baganda autobiographies. These are, in comparison to the Kikuyu records, far more uniform and well summed up in the story of Buganda as a whole and the statistical summary of Figure 1B, D.A. presented in this chapter. All Baganda respondents except two described themselves as raised within the traditional framework of their society as the latter was understood by the Baganda elite at the time. This, as we have seen, was quite compatible with the motivation to become involved in the formal Western educational system. Only two individuals described themselves as not raised within the traditional

framework. One was the son of an eminent church official (himself the son of a clergyman) who was occupationally and probably ideologically involved more in the world Christian community as a reference group than in the specific structure of his own society especially since, at the time of the respondent's birth, the family was residing outside of Buganda. The other respondent was part of a family which, economically, was the poorest of our Baganda sample. The father having died when his son was eight years old, the mother had to contend with the task of raising eleven children. The situation all through the respondent's childhood and youth could best be described as 'touch and go'. The autobiographical record indicates active involvement on the part of the respondent in efforts to facilitate his own mobility into and survival in the educational system. Little time having been spent in one place, it is not surprising that traditional reference group influences appear not to have been strong in this individual's socialization.

It is interesting to note that in not a single case was there any attempt on the part of parents or guardians deliberately to isolate Baganda respondents from their traditional surroundings or customs, whereas fully 25% of the Kikuyu sample reported such attempts as a feature of their socialization experience. In the light of this important finding, we turn to the complex question of the dilemmas of acculturation in relation to socialization in contemporary Kikuyu society.

The first problem encountered in the reliance upon respondent recall is the distinction between actor and observer judgment. With respect to the Kikuyu respondents this is a serious matter because it appears that many if not most were simply not aware of the considerable variation existing in socialization practices and styles of life within Kikuyu country as a whole. This understandable reflection of uneven rates of change presents a serious problem in interpretation. We have therefore chosen to discount as much as possible a respondent's subjective evaluation of the traditionality or modernity of his background and have relied upon objective variables embedded in the individual's account of his family history. Here, too, there are problems because the combination of variables is often so subtle, and so influenced by the possibilities and limitations for acculturation set by the socio-geographic environment that one can hope for only the grossest typological distinctions. Thus, for instance, Nyeri District, farthest removed from the powerful modernizing influences of Nairobi, presents certain limitations to acculturation which would not be found in Kiambu District which is closest to Nairobi. It is at this point that what one means precisely by the concept of acculturation comes to be of major importance. If one chooses to stress the motives of individuals with respect to acculturation and thus looks for modernizing ideologies, one could be led to discount the importance of geographic location in the sense that psychological intent can be just as strong in Nyeri as in Kiambu District

despite differences in objective achievement of intent. However if one is stressing socio-cultural and economic factors to the exclusion of psychological motives, then geographic differences become of major importance. An acculturation typology which excludes motives achieves greater refinement of categories, whereas one which includes motives has all the difficulties of a more relativistic approach.

However the latter may also be more realistic. In this study we have chosen not to be drawn into this issue at great depth on the ground that insufficient evidence exists for a conclusive choice on one side of the issue or the other. As far as the present study is concerned, respondent recall does not provide an empirically satisfactory basis for conclusions concerning motivation of parents and relatives in any event.

This last point is of special relevance to another issue which arises with respect to acculturation classifications, namely socio-cultural and psychological syncretisms. This is one of the most important aspects of the study of change and there is abundant evidence of such processes in respondent accounts. Syncretism can only properly be defined as such by objective anthropological observers because they often occur below the level of consciousness as far as social actors are concerned and require a comparative basis of awareness to become visible.

Among the Kikuyu, three variables seem of greatest importance in almost any definition of acculturation. They are a) involvement in the money economy, b) Christianity, and c) a motivational factor which can be called "acculturative

intent". The latter seems held by persons who are at least partially aware that the old order, to a large extent, will pass away under the impact of modernization. The major catalyst for such an attitude is usually conversion to Christianity which gives moral and supernatural sanction to what might otherwise perhaps be considered intolerably mundane material motives. It is quite clear, however, in the accounts of socialization practices in Kikuyu respondent autobiographies that modernizing intent does not necessarily exclude emphasis upon traditional norms and values of propriety in social relations and reciprocal obligations. Indeed, a major motive on the part of parents in encouraging education among their offspring is the hope of a more materially effective execution of kinship obligations later in life. This is understood by our Kikuyu respondents and there is little evidence that they resent such obligations or consider them seriously excessive, although the range of obligations to non-immediate kin is considered so and, in many cases, these obligations are renounced.

The first general conclusion apparent in the autobiographical records is that Kikuyu students come from already acculturated backgrounds in terms of all three variables discussed above. In fact, while definitely not absolute, the "fit" between these variables is quite good. "Acculturative intent" can be calculated to some extent by counting the number of cases in which a respondent records that his parents (or guardians) attempted consciously and deliberately to separate him in childhood from contact with other, more

traditionally raised, Kikuyu children. (Such an attitude was almost unknown in traditional Kikuyu life with its egalitarian emphasis.) The number of respondents reporting this with regard to their own childhood history is eight, or fully 25% of the sample. The two major reasons cited for such an attitude on the part of parents were religious (in which case the out-group was often called "heathen" or "pagan"), and quasi-class feeling (in which differences in education, wealth and proper up-bringing were often cited). Figure 1B, D.A. reveals the important role of the modern cash economy and of Christianity in these backgrounds. On the basis of a very loose classification, taking all these factors into account, we would suggest that four students derive from relatively "traditional" backgrounds in terms of at least two out of the three variables. Twenty-six seem to come from relatively "acculturated" backgrounds. (The records of two students seem unclassifiable in the sense that the dominant impression is one of little directionality or orientation from the parents or guardians, but rather a sense of impotent drift from which the students in question have been rescued by a combination of their own determination and the almost accidental presence of a modernizing role model somewhere in the environment.) However it is interesting to note that even of the four records we have labeled as "traditional", only one lacked all three of the criteria of acculturation which we cited earlier in relation to the Kikuyu. The other three "traditionalist" records indicate, as a minimum with respect to

acculturative intent, encouragement on the part of parents of Western education for their children. Only in one case was such education specifically discouraged on the ground that it would undermine traditional ways. Yet even in this latter case the respondent states that he was allowed by his father to attend a Kikuyu Independent Schools Association school as the best compromise available with the increasingly widespread emphasis upon Western education among the Kikuyu people.

In the two Kikuyu cases which we did not classify because of a lack of orientation in the respondent's immediate socialization environment, it is interesting to note the factors responsible for the respondent's eventual involvement in the educational system. In one instance an elder brother of the respondent living a considerable distance away from the immediate family was responsible for encouraging the pursuit of education. The respondent, understandable, started school at the rather late age of eleven years in a rather poor K.I. S.A. school fifteen miles from his village. Later it was this same brother alone who insisted that the respondent transfer to a better school and financed the move. In the other unclassified case the major influence in an acculturative direction was exercised by a beneficent Christian-African landlord on whose land the respondent's family was residing as tenants (shoi).

In summary, we have noted that records of the socialization environments of our Kikuyu respondents show many

variations along numerous dimensions. Economically, some socialization fields reflect relative affluence; others reflect impoverishment; and still others reflect considerable economic fluctuation. Some records reflect a history of very recent acculturation in which the transition process from the old order to the new is clearly visible. Other records reflect an environment of multi-generational acculturation in which the respondent has experienced as a child hardly any contact with traditional customs in his socialization. A few records reflect relatively considerable traditional influences in socialization. Thus one of the more striking characteristics of Kikuyu socialization accounts among these students is the richness of variation in responses to socio-cultural change apparently to be found among the Kikuyu people generally. This variation has made it possible for us, as we have shown, to discuss acculturation among the Kikuyu in terms of three apparently distinct aspects. These three factors have been economic behavior, religious affiliation and social-psychological intent relative to acceptance of or resistance to modernization as reflected in parental attitudes to and modes of socialization of their children.

A word should be added concerning the question of conflict in relation to the acculturation process. Growing up, anywhere in the world, involves the experience of conflict in some sense. Our interest here is based upon the observation that many Kikuyu socialization records also reveal types of conflict which appear to this observer to be

intimately related to the acculturation process itself. Such conflicts are extremely difficult to classify, especially on the basis of second-hand data. Broadly speaking, conflicts apparently related to acculturation seem to fall into two not always clearly distinctive categories. We shall first discuss them abstractly and then illustrate by means of case-study analysis.

A) One type of conflict arises out of unanticipated consequences of the acculturation process. This interpretation of the link between conflict and acculturation is, of course, an observer judgment since to the actors such conflict usually means simply part of the life process itself (although it is by no means impossible for actors to achieve a level of insight which makes the link evident to them). Such conflicts usually arise in a given social group out of uneven rates of change in role definitions and other unanticipated implications of new and shifting loyalties, values and norms.

B) The other broad category of conflict may also involve unanticipated consequences of social change but here one finds an additional factor. The latter is more or less explicit ideological formulation on the part of actors regarding an orientation toward social change (usually categorizable as acceptance or rejection of modernization as a value in itself). Where this is present, conflict may take on ideological overtones relative to the clash between such orientations which can divide families and communities. When such conflict is present in the socialization experience of

a person, it can be reflected within the individual respondent in the form of ambivalence to Western institutions.

It is this writer's belief that the many syncretistic ideological formulations attempting to combine indigenous traditions and Western institutions which are so widespread in the non-Western world have some of their psychological roots in both of these types of conflict embedded in the socialization experience of the intelligentsias responsible for these ideologies.

Our Kikuyu records reveal a range all the way from no evident conflict relative to acculturation present in the socialization experience at all on the one hand, to both type "A" conflict (which can be labeled "unanticipated consequence conflict") and type "B" conflict (which can be labeled "ideological conflict") on the other hand. The following discussion of some of the more interesting and relevant case studies illustrates these rich and varied distinctions.

Accounts are reproduced here as they were written by the respondent or recorded by the interviewer except where omissions are indicated. The latter reflect either the presence of comments irrelevant to the present topic or names and references which might identify a respondent.

The following account is an example of a Kikuyu socialization environment which contains little evidence of conflict arising out of the acculturation process itself.

"I was born in 1936 at _____, a village about 20 miles from the nearest town of _____ and about 50 miles from Nairobi. The village of _____ is in Fort Hall District

just at the foothills of the Aberdare Mountains. My father, being a little literate (in the sense that he can read and write), was then a leading figure in the school, an Independent School (K.I.S.A.), which was just a few yards from my home. I was the second child, the elder one being a girl who is now married.

"My father was then a polygamist, a status he retains even today. The Independent Kikuyu Churches were not opposed to polygamy in the strictest sense. But by the time I was a young boy our family was not a big one but was bound to expand rapidly in the course of time. Today, it is a fairly large one. Although two of my sisters are already married, I still have about three young sisters and a brother who are now about to sit for his Cambridge School Certificate.

"It is difficult for me to assess the wealth of the family in those old days, but I remember that up to about 1948 my father was one of the fairly well-off men around the village. He had several heads of first-grade cattle which used to be the attraction of the administrative authorities. In general I should say that he could not be labeled a poor man. But after 1948 his fortunes began to decline rapidly, so much so that by 1950 he was having difficulty securing our school fees.

"My father had left his father's household at the end of 1935 and set up his own home at the present village. He has told me that one of the main reasons was that he wanted to be near a school where he could get the necessary primary education. And as I have already pointed out, this was one of the reasons why our home was just a couple of yards from the school. His father (still alive and about 80-86 years old) was one of the richest men in the area....Until the beginning of the

Emergency, he could still claim to be one of the most wealthy men in his area as far as goats, cattlo, sheep^h etc. were concerned. In addition he was a wealthy land-owner....I believe (my father) was respected on account of his father's huge status.

"My days as a boy were spent in the atmosphere of school. I went to school at the age of six years. Since the school was yards away, I was always to be seen playing with other young children after school and in general I was never really lonely. I used to visit my grandfather at his village but I really never got myself used to the sort of life I used to see around there where no schools or any modern facilities were available. All that the young boys did was to look after cattle and sheep herds. This was quite different with me at home where since the early days I was brought up in school and above all, by a Christian family. ThereforeI cannot claim to have been brought up within the social framework and customs of my society. In fact, even today these customs and traditions seem to me somewhat alien. I have read some of these in books only. I have never had a chance to see them or experience them. Probably I was unfortunate because sometimes I feel that I missed something of the old order.

"As already pointed out, I believe my father, being a Christian and literate and a leading man in the running of our school, was not himself much interested in the traditional ways of life. Everything in our home was to all intents and purposes modern. His only ambition was to see us get the education which he values so much even today....Most of the teachers (in my school) were local village people wholhad some education, at least about 6 or 8 years....After doing the Common Entrance Examination in 1948, I went to another Independent School just a few miles from home....I believe these

Independent Schools helped many children. The elders themselves provided the funds from their own pockets, for the erection of buildings, classrooms, salaries for teachers and all other expenses....

"At this time my father was hard put to it to provide my own school fees, about 120 shillings per term, as well as for my uncles and of course the younger fellows. Since he was never employed as a wage earner, and in view of the declining fortune, he had....to resort to the sale of land....In fact things have been going badly against him since then but he has always been able to help himself somehow."

The respondent goes on to relate the circumstances of his acceptance into a Catholic school and discuss his plans to complete his education, during which time he has persuaded himself "...to forget about all the other family problems until I leave the College when I can play my full part", secure in the knowledge that "...my father fully understands this". We have chosen to include this example because of several interesting features it contains of relevance to acculturation theory. First, one can see in operation the Independent Schools movement as a kind of institutional bridge from the old to the new order. Second, it is evident that what we have earlier labeled as 'acculturative intent' plays a psychologically supportive role in maintaining motivation for socialization practices in the face of adverse circumstances and declining fortunes. We have a number of autobiographies which strongly reflect the consequences of a lack of such motivation. Third, this excerpt illustrates the dramatic paradox of the desire to provide modernizing education for one's children, in the

context of traditional patterns of kinship obligations, acting as a drag on the capital accumulation (here in the form of land) necessary for economic development. Short of total escape from land and kin to the anonymous city, this dilemma will continue to interfere with economic development until society succeeds in providing education without penalizing those able and willing to pay for it to the point where capital accumulation is interfered with. Finally, we find in this account an interesting combination of strong acculturative intent going back as far as the youthful days of the respondent's father (note the story of his leaving the home of his wealthy father for the sake of education) on the one hand, and a failure during all those years to enter the money economy on the other hand. Our data suggest the existence of numerous such cases. This means, at the very least, that it would be naive to assume that failure to enter the modern cash economy is indicative of a lack of desire for modernization. Other forces, perhaps the desire to preserve the community life so evident in this account, may deter people from entering the money economy. Imaginative innovations in community development will be required to tap these often non-visible sources of motivation for change.

At any rate, the previous account contrasts startlingly with the following one which is actually the only example in our files of what appears to be a minimal level of acculturation influences present in the socialization environment.

"I was born in Nyeri District in a village called _____ in quite a small family. My father is the only child as I am told and apart from the members of my clan who we are distantly related to, the family is quite a small one. Taking my clan as a whole, it is quite large but they do not live in the same area. They are scattered over the district but they come together when it is necessary, for example when they are celebrating marriages and other ceremonies which need the presence of the whole clan. If I make a general statement concerning the wealth status of the clan as a whole, I would say that it is poor. The reason for the poverty I think is that the members of the clan were not quick to accept the Western way of life and therefore judged by modern standards, most of them come far down the list. Not only did they refuse to accept the Western ideas, but they refused to send their children to school, a fact they realized when it was too late. In fact none of the present young people of the clan has received sufficient education to enable him to stand on his own feet.

"My father is the leader of the clan probably by virtue of his age. He observes all the Kikuyu traditions and ceremonies and as such, I was brought up and taught to observe the traditions of my people until I was about 9 years of age when I went to school and departed from some of the traditions which conflicted with my faith. My parents did not want me to go to missionary schools for they thought that some of the teaching in the missionary school were contrary to Kikuyu traditions. They advised me to go to Kikuyu Independent schools.... where they thought I would receive moderate teaching and where the school fees were not high. I remember for the first year in school I paid a total of 45 cents. So I received my primary education in Kikuyu Independent

school until 1950 when I decided to enter missionary schools....

"I owe my present status to my unyielding determination to prepare myself for the future life. This has been the guiding factor and especially when I was a young boy. I have been determined to see to it that I overcome some of the difficulties which have confronted my family in the past...."

No respondent other than this one among the Kikuyu sample comes from a traditional background. When asked during the interview what the feelings of his parents were with respect to his attendance at Makerere, the respondent stated that his father was quite concerned about the fact that his son had not yet married since he feared death in the absence of a first grandson to perpetuate his spirit in this (ontological) realm which could only be assured if a grandson carrying his name was living. This was the only confirmation of the existence of such a belief which appeared in our records. All other Kikuyu respondents had either denied the existence of such a belief, or had stated that they really did not know enough about traditional culture to comment.

In this report we can observe, again, the role of the Kenya Independent schools in setting the feet of some on the path to the new society through formal education. Unfortunately this respondent did not reveal enough about his psychological history to enable us to understand the sources of his high level of aspiration. The formation of this aspiration seems to have occurred in stages since the respondent states that his motivation to attend college grew after his graduation from

secondary school while he was holding a job in a Kenya government agency. Considerable will power was obviously required for him to arrive at his goal and he gives exclusive credit to this factor for his success. What the social-psychological sources of this drive might have been we could not ascertain. In any event, the break from the past for this individual seems to have been sudden and fairly complete, without overt evidence of conflict and group cleavages on the part of his family and community, although these may have been hidden from us (and perhaps from himself).

Such evidence is very much present in the following case history which reflects what we have labeled as Type "B" or ideological conflict. Relevant aspects of this autobiography are too long for reproduction here. The respondent's description of his father reveals a portrait of a self-made man whose world was heavily influenced by Nairobi where he went after leaving school late in the 1920's. This trip, made frequently and involving a distance of more than one hundred miles, was made on foot. The father's economic history reflects considerable entrepreneurial drive and determination. Of interest here are the remarks scattered throughout the account concerning the dissociative aspects of acculturation in relation to this respondent's family.

"My father was born in the year 1911, so he tells me, and I have good reasons to believe him as I have seen both my grandfather and my father's grandfather. He went to school in one of the missions built by the first missionaries (Catholic) in our country. He almost went

for the priesthood, but finally just managed to leave school with a good education that benefited a young man of his time....While in school he was hanging between two forces that wanted him for monopoly. On the one hand were the missionaries who wanted him to remain in their school to be taught religion and elementary education, and on the other was my grandfather who constantly invaded the missions saying that he wanted his son home so that he could take part in social functions as befits a young and true Kikuyu."

The respondent describes his father as having been strongly embittered by circumstance against whites in general and missionaries in particular. But this does not seem to have resulted in anomic family life.

"Although my parents had abandoned much of what belonged to the tribal organization of their parents, they had retained one thing: enforcement of discipline as befits the nurturing of any Kikuyu child. Discipline is the same either among the older men, or among men of the new generation in our society. My parents therefore constantly stressed to me the importance of respect, good manners and obedience to elders and superiors. They saw to it that I was particularly respectful to visitors and guests in our home and when I went to school, they emphasized the importance of being obedient to teachers and friendly to other children."

The account has fascinating glimpses into the multifarious influences upon one individual arising out of the acculturative process. On the one hand....

"....my grandparents - both paternal and maternal - tried to see that I learnt some of the traditions which are essential in our society. My paternal grandfather used to summon my brothers and me each evening to his

cottage right after supper. There he related to us fictitious stories which as I grew up I came to realize were narrated in the real Kikuyu style and their main themes were best understood in a background with a traditional way of life. Such stories in fact touched upon the various Kikuyu ceremonies such as marriage, initiation, purification and "re-birth". They touched upon the lives of young boys and girls, grown-ups and old men and women. I often regret that I could not properly grasp what my grandfather was trying to tell us. My paternal grandmother also used to take me with her to tribal dances which were still in existence in early 1940's. My maternal grandparents like-wise tried their best to tell me how our clans lived when they (grandparents) were in their youth...."

On the other hand....

"Though my parents were not Christians, they did not allow me to take part in such ceremonies as purification or ancestral worship as practiced by my grandparents. Furthermore, all five of my paternal uncles were professed members of the Catholic Church and as I grew up around them, they in a way persuaded me and almost succeeded in convincing me that all tribal ceremonies were 'wicked things belonging to the devil' - the devil in this case being identified with the ancestral spirits who were frequently appeased in such ceremonies. Of course I do not now blame them very much because I understand this is what the early missionaries taught....for they considered our society as one living in the 'dark ages' and as such we could be indiscriminately enlightened."

Actually this autobiography has elements in it which are apparently relevant to an understanding of the more acculturated Mau Mau revolutionaries of which there were more than a few as the recent book by Kariuki (1963) suggests. Our respondent

was not active in The Mau Mau Emergency because of his youth, but the following comments taken from parts of his autobiography show how an intelligent and sensitive young man of his experiences could be led in such a direction.

"My close contact with white missionaries has also influenced me a great deal. Prior to 1949 I was not legally speaking a member of the Catholic Church although I had attended Catholic services many a time. In that year I was baptized in the Catholic Church and two years later I went to a Catholic boarding school for boys. Here I saw with my own eyes missionaries preaching to us daily how we should live and what we should do to our fellow neighbors. But one thing was very striking: there were many things to show that we were regarded as people who could not understand anything or who had no chance of knowing anything more in future than we were taught then."

"....the pupils had to be in for all religious teachings whether they liked it or not....What struck me there is that our white teachers literally bullied us. One of them in particular referred once or twice to our 'having recently come from the trees'. I had and I still have a feeling that these people thought that we would know nothing more than they taught us. As I have said, I pursue the policy of let bygones be bygones, and as such it is not my purpose to recount the many things that were at fault in that school. But I must say that what went on there has influenced my present views on religion."

After expressing his opposition to denominational education on the grounds that it is linked to imperialism and perpetuates the color bar, he goes on to say that

"I am shocked that the church is not doing what it professed to have come to do in our country. I personally believe that our traditional religion where we recognize the existence of one almighty God and appease our ancestral spirits is preferable to the present religious denominations, for unlike them, it does not divide people socially or otherwise."

"Somehow, influenced by the missionaries, I decided to be neutral (in the Emergency) for it did really pay to be quiet. But when things came to the worst in 1955, I saw myself punished and beaten as Mau Mau; some of the missionaries who were actually intimately connected with me sent me to be screened as a Mau Mau and it was an agonizing time for me when I had to stand alone and tell my screeners to take any measure against me if they found that I had had connections or a great deal to do in the movement, for I had had none. Probably they could not believe me as I belonged to a 'Mau Mau family' and probably because I had not helped the so-called security forces. Just at that same period I witnessed children die of hunger and men and women crippled after being severely beaten in our village. I must say that I am sure our rulers were aware of all this. I must also say that to me what the security forces did in our area was not different from what the terrorists were doing. It is no wonder therefore that at one time I regretted a lot that I had not joined the movement so that I could really be punished for what I had actually been guilty of...."

"I must say that I may be forced to be friendly to a European in Kenya, but I am afraid I can never trust one - be he a missionary, a professional, technician, businessman or ruler. I do not think the Europeans in our country regard us as human beings."

We suggest that the bitterness in this particular account is rooted in the conflicting loyalties reflected in the history of this respondent, each force struggling for his allegiance embodied in some emotionally important sector of this individual's family. In the context of such a history, the stereotypes held by so many Europeans about African society and culture in Kenya could only come as salt in wounds already inflicted by the circumstances of history. It is unfortunate that despite all the theorizing in the Corfield Report (1960) concerning the meaning and origins of Mau Mau, no accounts of this nature appear.⁴

The foregoing autobiography is remarkable for the extent to which it pictures a cohesive nuclear family unit in the face of tumultuous circumstances. Indeed this may be one reason for the son's defense of many aspects of the old social order and his resentment of European stereotypes concerning it.

The following case, which is an example of what we have labeled Type, "A" or unanticipated consequence conflict is quite different in that change was obviously accompanied by trauma and disintegration. Rather than reproduce the respondent's account of his life which is written in a somewhat anecdotal style with many side-comments and examples, we have constructed our own account of his autobiography which stresses what is relevant in it to our discussion of acculturation.

"The respondent was born into an African Inland Mission Family. His parents were among the first to be converted by the American A.I.M. at _____ in Kiambu.

Relations with the mission were close. The parents were among the first of a very small minority who agreed to cease female circumcision. This decision formed a definite barrier between the respondent's family and the other Kikuyu families in the area. The parents lived in the Mission area until the respondent was born in 1936, at which time the father bought a piece of land seven miles away. The new home was still within influence of the Mission and many people went to church on Sundays. Since the father knew English, he was - until 1940 - working in the small Mission press translating materials, and on Sundays he interpreted in the church service. Thus the family connection with the Mission was a strong one.

"Religion presented a barrier between the respondent and other children in the area. In his own words, "we were told....(by my parents)....never to mix with other children as they would teach us bad words and we would not be children of Christ." When this order was disobeyed, which it frequently was, beatings were the result. The religious atmosphere of the home was extremely strict. Smoking, drinking and dancing were banned, as was the witnessing of all Kikuyu traditional ceremonies. Emphasis was placed on sin, hell and damnation, especially on the part of the mother. The ban on Kikuyu playmates, plus the strictness of home, combined to produce in the respondent a profound distaste for religion. Church came to be the symbol of the barrier between himself and others. The respondent went to A.I.M. schools until secondary level. The strict religious atmosphere continued there, instilling further hostility in him although he states that he did pray frequently and with sincerity.

"The A.I.M. religion has been woven deep in the social context of this respondent's life. The African heads

of the Mission near his home were apparently cousins of his father. All four of the respondent's reported brothers are members of A.I.M. Of his nine reported sisters, five are married of whom two are married to members of A.I.M. The respondent himself is engaged to a girl whose whole family, including herself, are members of A.I.M. He stated that until he learned differently in government secondary school at the age of 18, he had thought that all Europeans were A.I.M. Christians.

"In 1940 the father was employed by a Forest Station as a clerk and a ranger at a station eight miles from their home (fifteen miles from the Mission at which they had formerly resided). The father had to move to the station to live and cycled the eight miles home every weekend. In 1947, due to quarrels between the then wealthy family and their poorer neighbors, many of whom were relatives, the entire family moved to join the father at the forest station. The area around the station was apparently much less affected by acculturation. The respondent's family was the only formally educated one in the area. Money was not in use in the area except to buy a few necessities for the home or to buy sugar for brewing beer. Weekends were spent drinking. The respondent was again forbidden to associate with the local children, and again he disobeyed. All in all, the family was now in an environment in which they were isolated from their neighbors economically, culturally and socially even more than had been true in their previous home nearer the Mission. So it remained until the Emergency.

"Although the respondent's father was a monogamist, his marriage had broken up. There had been a long series of quarrels and recriminations based, according to the respondent, upon the father's view of his wife as disobedient and willful for which he beat her a number of

times. The wife eventually moved to the Mission while the father remained on eighteen acres of land received through land consolidation. He was detained for Mau Mau activities from 1952 to 1956."

The patterns of conflict in this story all appear to be directly due to acculturation. For instance, some of the neighbors in the area were relatives, including two of the father's brothers. According to the respondent, the wives of these people became jealous of the family's new affluence which perhaps was not being shared enough according to the traditional custom. Actually, disruption has occurred along two dimensions: between the family and the environment and within the family itself. The environment into which the respondent was born was considerably divested of traditional social organization. Land tenure in Kiambu District was more individualistic than in other Districts, and the immediate area was under the direct influence of a particularly strict and non-compromising Christian church. The family became estranged even from this acculturated environment. It did so by accepting a level of religious faith and practice which presented a barrier to intercourse with neighbors as reflected in the decision on female circumcision and the ban on playing with other children in the area. The estrangement was further aggravated through economics. The father accepted a government job and income rose. Probably the family did not share the wealth according to traditional kinship obligations, and friction compounding friction, it became necessary for the family to withdraw from the environment altogether.

The cleavage within the family does not seem unrelated to acculturative processes either. Despite the father's conscious acceptance of many non-traditional customs and forms of behavior, the account suggests that he treated the respondent's mother in a traditional Kikuyu manner in the sense that he expected a high degree of obedience from her, and did not hesitate to exercise his prerogative of occasionally beating his wife in the event of disobedience. The mother, however, had some formal education and was apparently oriented toward the equal rights of women in a monogamous relationship. Perhaps it was this unanticipated difference in orientation to marital roles which aggravated the dissension. At any rate, the mother, having no recourse to traditional mechanisms of social control in such cases since her parents were dead and her relatives far away, left her husband and moved to the Mission to live.⁵ The coming of the Mau Mau Emergency which found the respondent's father and mother on opposing sides in their sympathies, apparently shattered the last bonds of union. (The respondent could not suggest any hypothesis as to why his father's sympathies lay with Mau Mau.) This, then, is a history of one's family's acceptance of many aspects of change, and the heavy price which was paid in the absence of the type of "bridge mechanisms" appearing in other accounts. We have explored this autobiography at some length partly because the respondent's personality appears to have been severely affected by this history. He had a reputation at the college for alcohol and violence. To this writer he

appeared disoriented in his view of the future and seemed to have to expend all his emotional energy just holding himself together and maintaining a satisfactory academic record. Our analysis suggests that such personal symptoms of trauma may have their roots in objective patterns of historical change.

Whether viewed from the perspective of the total societal history of Buganda or from the more diversified and localized patterns revealed in the Kikuyu accounts, it is obvious that the acculturative process in East Africa is characterized by subtleties and divergencies which cannot easily be caught in unidimensional models of acculturation.

May we expect from this that equally striking and subtle differentials will be found in current attitudes and value orientations among our sample of future Baganda and Kikuyu intellectual leaders? In the following two chapters we shall deal with this question.

Notes

1. For purposes of the present study we categorized students in terms of their course of study within the two classes of Arts and Science. To have avoided this not always desirable step would have involved us in complex computations not worth the effort because of the small number of cases available for each specific course of study. Our Arts-Science division comprises the following:

Arts

English
History
Economics
Sociology
Fine Arts
Education

Science

Mathematics
and Sciences
Agriculture
Medicine

2. The figures exceed the total Kikuyu sample (thirty-two) because there is some overlap in that some fathers had multiple occupations as can be seen in Figure 1B, D.A. In the case of three fathers it was not possible to determine their occupations.
3. The significance of land ownership is difficult to gauge, however, because land varies radically in its productivity in that part of Kenya, and information concerning land usage by area in relation to the economy is not available.
4. For the most intelligent commentary both on the Corfield Report and on the Mau Mau phenomenon generally which has come to this writer's attention, see Comment on Corfield (1960). This document, while authored by a group of students, reflects the influence and conceptualization of the Reverend F.B. Welbourn, one of the most astute commentators on East African religious phenomena (Welbourn, 1961).

5. A number of respondents made mention of the influence of their mothers who took over socialization functions when fathers became traumatized or otherwise disabled by circumstances. A number of Kikuyu respondents, if one is to judge by their accounts, would not have lasted as students to the university level were it not for their mothers and, in one case, for the mother and her co-wives.

CHAPTER VI
SELF PROCESS

In the present chapter we shall deal with four topics relevant to self-perception and identification: sex, love and marriage; life purposes and career plans; aesthetic experience; and anxiety.

A) Sex, love and marriage.

The general importance of this topic in relation to almost any aspect of the study of socio-cultural change is obvious. First, when all is said and done, the family is generally still the front-line institution in the transmission of cultural values and social norms from one generation to the next; it is the filter through which all else is seen. Willingness to innovate in this central institution, it may be suggested, is an important clue to more widespread innovative potential in the society since few structural transformations can be permanent if the family is not affected directly. A man's attitudes and values with respect to the family, it can be argued, because of their centrality in the psychic history of the personality, are perhaps the most important clues to those perspectives on society which he may hold upon which he is actually most prepared to act. Second, there is a respectable body of psychoanalytic theory which seeks for linkages between alterations in family experiences on the one hand and the diffusion of psychoanalytic preconditions

for the spread of one or another specific types of socio-cultural organization on the other. (Hagen, 1962) The tentativeness of theory in this field is no argument against the importance of the topic. Finally, the realm of family life and activity presents a major alternative to direct involvement in the affairs of society at large. This has been recognized in the frequent discussions of the phenomenon sometimes referred to as "privatism", a term pertaining to the withdrawal of affect from societal issues at large in favor of the immediate interpersonal dynamics and fate of the family of precreation. For all these reasons, anything which studies of this nature can contribute to the dynamics of change in family patterns and attitudes is of potential importance.

The data we were able to elicit through interviewing on sexual practices and attitudes is quite interesting. Only a brief glance at it would be needed to dispel whatever image there might still remain among those prone to it of the stereotypical "natural" or "uninhibited" African given to "free love" in the primeval forest of human desire. If anything, the data is quite striking in its indication of the influence of social norms and even anxiety on sexual attitudes. Sexual experience in the sense of intercourse apparently commenced fairly early in the lives of our respondents. Of the total sample of 52, eighteen stated that it occurred before the age of 15; thirteen between ages 16 and 18; eight said they were age 19 or over; seven denied that they had had any experience (six of these were Baganda, two of whom were priests) and for

six there was no indication in our protocols (five of these were Kikuyu). There seemed no important difference here by tribe. Again, of our total sample, six claimed they indulged frequently in sex relations (five of these were Kikuyu); thirty-five described themselves as indulging infrequently, and for eleven there was no indication.

Of our 52 respondents, four (all Baganda) expressed the attitude that sex was primarily for the purpose of procreation; twenty-seven were of the opinion that sexual pleasure was a value in and of itself independent of its procreative function; for twenty cases there is no record of any opinion of the matter; and one described himself as totally confused on the subject.

Of our total sample, eighteen (or 34.6%) stated that they felt pre-marital sex experience to be morally wrong; twenty-nine (or 55.8%) said it was not wrong; and for five (9.6%) there was no indication of an opinion. Of interest here is the variety of reasons presented by those who felt that it was morally wrong. Five presented religious doctrine as their reason; two felt that pre-marital intercourse created "loose women"; one expressed the desire for a "clean" woman (i.e. virginity) for a wife; one described such intercourse as selfish meaningless indulgence; one worried about negative effects on the partner; one feared that pre-marital sexual experience would make sexual fidelity after marriage difficult; and one apparently had accepted the belief of his parents that sexual relations apart from the procreative function would

result in progressive weakness with impotence at the end. Most of those who denied any moral reprobation to pre-marital sex qualified their response with the opinion that pre-marital pregnancy was to be avoided at all costs; no more than a couple of individuals overtly expressed the feeling that this was the girl's problem exclusively and that they would feel no personal responsibility in such an event. Pertaining to this issue, there was some evidence of a difference in attitude based on tribe. Of the Baganda, 55% felt that premarital sex was wrong, and 25% felt it was not wrong while 20% expressed no opinion, as against 21.9%, 75% and 3.1% respectively for the Kikuyu. Thus the Baganda seem, on this issue, somewhat more conservative than the Kikuyu.

There was also some variety on the issue of artificial birth control. Of the 52, eleven stated opposition to it (seven of these were Baganda, and none of the eleven were Roman Catholic). Three said they did not know as yet what their opinion was; one was in favor of it only before marriage, one only for after marriage; and thirty-six endorsed birth control without any spontaneous qualification. (Hardly any, however, turned out to have had any experience with it in practice.)

We attempted to approach the question of sexual anxiety indirectly by analyzing our interview protocols for spontaneous traces of it. We found two interesting operational indicators which seemed relevant; specific mention of sex as sin, and specific mention of disappointment with sex. Of the Kikuyu,

five (or 15.6%) protocols made mention of sex as sin (mostly with reference to pre-marital relations), while for the Baganda the figure was ten (or 50%). Two Kikuyu directly expressed ambivalence on this subject, while in the rest of the interview no mention of sex as sin appears although some of these individuals did mention that sex was viewed as sinful in their home communities. Of the fifteen protocols mentioning the sinfulness of sex, seven were those of Roman Catholics and the rest Protestant. Thus, here again we see some evidence of a tribal distinction in the responses. As concerns disappointment with sex, seven Kikuyu interviews (or 18.8%) had indications of this, as against six Baganda (or 30%). The reasons cited are instructive. Of the Kikuyu, three put it as specific disappointment with the sex experience itself; of these one laid the responsibility to his father's "Christian" influence which stressed sex as "black" but stated that his own attitude was in the process of changing, another said that he had an aversion to girls that had been encouraged by his grandfather who saw sexual activity as a block to education. The rest expressed various types of trouble such as guilt, fear of pregnancy etc. Of the six Baganda, four laid their difficulty to guilt and ambivalence about sex itself, one said he didn't like women, and one stated he accepted Christian views on sex (which he associated with negative feelings) but didn't know specifically why he did and would have to give the matter much more thought.¹

What, then, can be said about sexual attitudes and practice as a whole among our sample on the basis of these data?

First, the evidence is quite clear that the present generation of Baganda and Kikuyu intelligentsia are comprised of anything but libertines, either in ideology or practice. There are many signs of inhibition and conservativeness as far as sexual freedom is concerned, despite a widespread emphasis upon sensuality as a cultural value in African societies as compared with the Anglo-Saxon world.

Second, no clear-cut unitary profile of practice and attitude seems evident. Rather there are signs of variety which are difficult to attribute to any single factor, although this may be due to the grossness of our methods.

Third, there are many signs of genuine thoughtfulness concerning the role of sex in modern life. Attitudes are in flux; they are being examined constantly and the issue of sex is considered important. It was not uncommon to hear from respondents (and others in the field with whom the writer has conversed on this topic) that a clear "philosophy" of sex suitable for modern Africa has yet to emerge.

Fourth, there was some suggestion in the data that the Baganda were a bit more conservative regarding sex than the Kikuyu. If so, the reason perhaps lies in a generalization cited by more than one observer of the Baganda and affirmed to this writer by numerous Baganda with whom he discussed it - namely, that heterosexual relations in Buganda, both inside and outside marriage, were and are now quite unstable. More than a few Baganda respondents spontaneously pointed out to the writer, with evident discomfort, that traditional restraints on sexual

license had become seriously eroded. This happens to be true of Kikuyu society as well, but more Baganda students than Kikuyu seemed overtly bothered by it, suggesting that perhaps sexual uncertainty and anxiety is a more serious problem in Buganda. However comparative statements of this kind are risky in the absence of hard data, and the writer would not like to commit himself beyond the evidence.

Finally, the evidence clearly shows the same kind of split between theory and practice regarding sexuality familiar to the Anglo-Saxon world, with its attendant correlates of anxiety and guilt.

Thus we find that, with reference to the problems of sexuality, the distribution of attitudes does not actually appear significantly different from what we find among intelligent young people in the societies of the Western world. Such a finding, in the context of rapid social change, should surprise no one not subject to romantic stereotypes about Africans. In no known society is sexual activity not subject to institutional regulation and all over the world these regulations are in a state of transition. Further, the present generation of Baganda and Kikuyu intelligentsia has been subjected to Christian interpretations of social norms and human nature, an influence which, as we shall see in the following chapter, has left powerful traces within the personality. Most of all, perhaps, one would expect this to be true in the area of sex. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that there seems almost entirely absent from our data any evidence of a radical innovative influence such as

one associates with some early Socialist or Communist experiments or with the early days of popular Freudianism in the West. Thus we find in our data no sign of any attempt to construct a systematic ideological justification for a genuinely non-repressive sexual ethic apart from the loose and stereotyped formulations of African "spontaneity" as against European "formality" associated with, most formally, the literature of Negritude, but shared in a more informal sense by almost all Africans (and many Europeans) this writer has had occasion to meet in East Africa. We believe there to be two reasons for this degree of conservatism. One is the absence of the conceptual and intellectual building blocks for the construction of such a radical ideology due both to the nature of the acculturative field explored in the previous chapter, which obviously did not provide the basis for transmission of such tools, and also to the apparently restricted reading and other communication habits of the present generation of Baganda and Kikuyu students themselves.² (Evidence pertaining to the latter point follows later in this chapter.) The second reason we adduce for this sexual conservatism of attitude is a more fundamental conservatism with respect to the institution of marriage and the family itself existing among our Baganda and Kikuyu respondents. To this complex issue we now turn our attention.

The popularity of marriage as an institution (or at least the expressed desire for it) is affirmed by the fact that seventeen of twenty Baganda stated their intention to be married, only one reported his desire not to get married, while two did

not answer the question. Of the thirty-two Kikuyu, twenty-six wanted to marry, three were already married at the time of the study, and none expressed a desire to avoid marriage. Also interesting is that all seventeen of the Baganda who wish to marry want a Christian ceremony, while of the twenty-six Kikuyu, twenty-two want this type of ceremony while four did not care if it was Christian or civil. Of the three who were already married, one had had a traditional ceremony, the other two a Christian one. It would be a mistake to apply to this a religious interpretation; the status value of a Christian ceremony in many parts of Africa is well known. It is the extent to which this is still apparently true which is of interest here. A fully secularized attitude would presumably express itself in the desire for a civil ceremony, free of the possible encumbrances of church doctrine and control over marital matters. Such a ceremony may also, of course, be desired for the sake of parents and relatives as is so often true of young people in Western societies. Finally, and perhaps most important, it is possible that the Christian wedding ritual may represent a way of maintaining the principle of ritual itself, in contrast to the non-ritual civil ceremony. Thus, there may be a psychological difference between adherence to Christian ceremony and Christianity itself in the interest of maintaining the traditionally important emphasis on ritual in social life.³

Table Q-4 (all tables not reproduced in this chapter have reference to the Data Appendix) lends some credence to the latter interpretation. The distribution of responses for both tribal

groups reflects strongly an accommodative (or pragmatic) attitude toward the important traditional institution of bridewealth. Table Q-14, however, shows that this attitude does not include the custom of polygyny. The fact that the pragmatic answer (category "C") was outweighed by the more strongly ideological answer (category "A") suggests that the opposition to polygyny is not based merely upon economic and other pragmatic factors, but upon a view of marital relations with wives incompatible with polygyny. To see if this is, in fact, the case we must explore more deeply the characteristic views of the wife, her purposes, identity and the basis for her selection.

Table Q-6 reflects an interesting division between what seems to be loyalty to parental wishes on the one hand and a desire to hold on to the potential mate of one's choice on the other; a problem which apparently exists for both tribal groups. The difficulty in interpretation of this finding lies in the possibility that parental wishes were not absolute in their influence in the traditional pre-European culture either. However it is unlikely that one would have found as high a percentage of males potentially willing to defy parental wishes, and the comparatively large "undecided" category suggests that, for many, this is a real problem. This finding has significance in view of the widespread anxiety this writer found in existence among all types of African students at the college concerning the chances for marital happiness.

How far, then, are such individuals willing to go in search of the right wife? Tables Q-7 and Q-11 suggest they are willing

to go quite far. The Baganda seem just a bit more tribally endogamous than the Kikuyu. This distinction is more marked in the case of religious endogamy, although it would be risky to attempt an interpretation of this finding. The significance of the data in these two tables lies not in their predictive power as far as mate-selection behavior is concerned. It is likely that a survey of marriage patterns would reveal stronger endogamous (especially tribal) choices than the data suggest. Their meaning lies, in our view, in the degree to which they reflect concern about mate-selection. Many factors other than attitude enter upon final choice (as recognized by those who answered "no", largely on the basis of recognition of practical barriers in communication and mutual comprehensibility, as well as problems with relatives and so forth). The question arises, then, as to what the concern is about; what kinds of wives do respondents desire, and what roles do they see wives as playing in the total scheme of life?

The distribution of responses in Table Q-9 reflects, in our view, a strong emphasis upon the role of wife as companion and life partner, as against a person possessing high academic education for its own sake on the one hand, and a purely functionally efficient household manager on the other. On another question in the questionnaire, not a single member of the sample stated that he would marry a girl chosen for him by his parents if he were "not in love with her". However, that this answer does not reflect an emphasis upon what some commentators have called the cult of romantic love is suggested by the

response to category "F" in Table Q-9. Some of the respondents spontaneously added written comments with reference to this question. Not all comments were as strongly put as the one by a Muganda we quote below, but in spirit most contained to some degree a similar type of disillusion with the word "love" as applied to mate selection.

"I think this (referring to category "F" in the question) is the most irresponsible statement one can make. I know it is often made but I maintain it is the most irresponsible thing to say. Probably I am an extremist, but I think that choosing a life partner is the hardest task we have, hence all precautions, reasoning and responsibility must be put under very strict consideration. Well, as you know very well, 'love' is a word which is so much abused....hundreds of people utter it almost without thinking and almost give it but one meaning. You know only too well because the abuse is now universal. Therefore I would not dream for a second to take a girl as my wife without considering the necessary good qualities because I am in love with her. 'Love' today means mostly an emotional state and often it means plain lust. Isn't this the biggest mistake for one to commit if one takes a girl for a wife only because one 'loves' her?"

Table Q-5 reflects an apparent willingness to allow a wife latitude outside the home for satisfying careers or occupations provided, presumably, that such does not interfere with her functions within the household. Tables Q-10A, B and C reflect a strongly equalitarian ideal of role responsibility modified only a little by male authority in matters of inheritance, land and money. It is clear that ideally, for our respondents, married life involves role sharing rather than extensive functional

division of labor (one even finds the influence of this ideal in domestic household affairs). One also finds in these data evidence of an emphasis upon the prerogatives of the nuclear family as against the extended family and the clan. Table Q-28 reinforces this impression, since - for four categories of problems - the wife ideally is the first person turned to for consultation. (Parents or members of parents' family play the greatest role in consultation about land and property. Friends play as important a role as wives in consultation on matters of career.)

Tables Q-32A, B and C reflect the high hopes placed on family life as the major source of satisfaction and happiness in life; it appears as first choice even above career (although there is some difference here between Baganda and Kikuya respondents). For only one member of the entire sample does family life mean fourth choice as the source of greatest satisfaction.

The seriousness with which marriage is approached by our respondents is reflected in attitudes and expectations concerning divorce. Table Q-12 shows that only one-quarter of the total sample overtly admits the possibility of divorce in their lives. Interestingly, in the "no" response, the variable 'first vs. fourth or higher year in school' proved to be a statistically significant factor in the response pattern at the .05 level (i.e. related to the variables of 'tribe', 'religion', and 'arts vs. science majors'). Since year in college is highly correlated with age differences and hence, presumably, with maturity, such a finding is not surprising. Concerning grounds for divorce for husbands and wives, respondents recognized

infidelity as the first major ground for both husbands and wives. The second highest number of mentions for husbands was incompatibility; for wives it was cruelty. The third most serious ground for husbands turned out to be sloppiness and/or lack of proper respect; for the wives it was sexual incompetence or sterility.⁴ The role of infidelity as the chief ground for divorce for husbands and wives equally suggests at least the ideological decline of a double standard.⁵ The subject of divorce was explored further in the interview. Of the Baganda, eighteen of twenty broadly recognized divorce as a right of both husbands and wives; one did not and one did not know. But the "yes" responses reflected diverse attitudes toward divorce. Four stated specifically that adultery was the only ground they recognized; one recognized witchcraft as a ground; the two priests in the sample recognized divorce only without remarriage according to Catholic doctrine. Of the Kikuyu sample, twenty-five recognized divorce as a mutual right, two did not, three said they didn't know yet, and in two protocols there was no record of an opinion. Of the "yes" responses, six specifically stated that they saw it strictly as a last resort; one saw divorce as morally wrong despite his acceptance of it; one felt that only in grave situations should a divorced party be allowed to remarry; one stated that he had begun to have second thoughts even about adultery as a ground; and one felt that the husband should have the final say in the end. Of the three respondents who claimed not to have a clear opinion, one stated that he was ambivalent because he partly accepted the Catholic church's view

of divorce and partly did not, another said that if the church was involved in the marriage (in the sense of having legitimated it) then he wasn't sure what he felt and if the church was not involved then divorce should only be the husband's right.

We have mentioned all these diverse comments in order to illustrate our conclusion that marital stability and satisfaction is one of the most salient issues in the attitude patterns of this generation of Baganda and Kikuyu intelligentsia alike. It may be that their common concern is due to different reasons: for the Baganda the instability of heterosexual relations generally which many claim to have been endemic in Baganda for a long time; for the Kikuyu marital instability arising more specifically out of the rapid rate of socio-cultural change and the socio-psychic ravages of civil war. Whatever the reasons, the pattern is clear. The search for the stable family is of prime importance at the expense of both traditional patterns or possible innovations which would interfere with its interests.

This generalization, finally, is reflected in our interview data concerning themes in the socialization of children about which respondents were asked to project. Respondents were asked questions about the types of traditional institutions (or modifications of same) they would like to see carried over into the next generation. Some of the responses were relevant to the present topic. Fourteen of the Baganda and twenty-five of the Kikuyu (75% of the total sample) expressed support of the traditional role of the classificatory father (in which every brother of the father is referred to by the traditional term for father

and is to some extent emotionally so regarded). In almost every case the reason given had to do with economic and/or psychic insurance for the child. Many of these respondents pointed out, however, that they did not see this as necessarily continuing to share the emotional definition of fatherhood with their own brothers. Some expressed the hope that this institution would be temporary until the Western nuclear family style could be supplemented with financial insurance schemes. Others made qualifications concerning wealth and education as prerequisites for sharing the role of father with their brothers. Some accepted the tradition with no qualifications. Among the 25% who did not support this tradition there was some degree of impatience with any but the nuclear family system. Among the Baganda, sixteen expressed specific opposition to the traditional practice of loaning children to relatives for a period of years, while only two supported it. (This response may have been influenced by the fact that the local Catholic clergy is generally in opposition to this custom, but negative feelings concerning it were quite strong.) Only one person mentioned a desire for the continuation of the traditional behavior pattern of the wife (although some were concerned about what they felt to be the increasingly aggressive independence of many educated women); two expressed a desire for wider kinship relations and obligations in the life of the family. Concerning family planning, thirteen were in favor, although one of these (a Catholic priest) would accept as legitimate only abstinence. Five (25% of the Baganda sample, all of them Roman Catholic) were opposed to the

practice; one (also Catholic) was ambivalent; and for one there is no record of an opinion. In the case of the Kikuyu sample, only one supported continuation of the bridewealth institution; two were in favor of wider kinship relations; one was in favor of the continued superior authority of the husband; seven favored continuation of the practice of male circumcision, although six of these stipulated that it should be by medical means only minus the initiation ceremonies; and twenty-eight out of the thirty-two favored family planning, three being against it (two of whom were Catholics) while one was not sure. In both groups, however, there was some positive concern expressed for continued respect for elders, including relatives.

To return to the questionnaire concerning this topic, Table Q-19 gives a clear picture of what this generation of educated Baganda and Kikuyu seem concerned to hand down to their children. It is certainly a socially responsible profile of themes and also quite a conservative one. The emphasis is upon maintaining the bonds necessary for the continuation of society and felicitous human relationships; while it is definitely not a traditionalistic profile, it is conservative in the sense of a general absence of interest in societal and cultural innovation even in the religious sphere. Table Q-20 gives a partial clue to the sources of these attitudes; background changes for their children covering educational, material, and emotional quality of family life (categories "C" and "D") account for 62.5% of the distribution of responses. Also the list of miscellaneous responses under category "K" in the case of the Kikuyu present a

poignant reflection of anxious and disrupted childhood. Why the Baganda apparently feel similarly in view of their more stable backgrounds is hard to say. Perhaps their's is a case of the revolution of rising expectations in the realm of concern for the individual's emotional as well as material welfare. Whatever the reasons, Table Q-17 shows that the traditional African desire for large families, while modified, has apparently not been adversely affected by historical circumstance. Fully 25% of the total sample desired more than four children which surely manifests a certain optimism about the future. The difference between Baganda and Kikuyu in this case is an understandable reflection of the gap in economic affluence between the two societies. While there may be this optimism, Table Q-26 shows how high the stakes are; unhappiness in marriage and parenthood come second only to illness and death as spontaneous definitions of the worst thing that could happen in life.

Thus there can be little doubt of the high level of concern with the quality of family life and marital relations existing among our Baganda and Kikuyu respondents alike. To comprehend fully the significance of this concern in the context of broader life goals, it is necessary to turn to a consideration of the formation of career plans and their underlying values. For here we will truly approach the link between the self and the outer world of change and transformation.

B) Career and Self-Development Orientations.

A man's work is the means by which he establishes a link between his own development and personal history on the one hand,

and the great world outside on the other. Thus this topic requires considerable and careful attention from more than one perspective. It is, after all, because of what this generation of intelligentsia in the world as a whole will do or fail to do with their lives on the public scene that our interest in them exists.

First, perhaps, it is of interest to know how our respondents conceive of their working lives as against their non-working lives in geographic terms, since geographic specificity is sometimes a clue to other radii of interest and application. Of our Kikuyu sample of thirty-two, one stated his desire to work within his tribal area but with intentions to travel widely; twenty-eight want to work in the territory (Kenya) or perhaps East Africa) but not necessarily in their tribal area; one desired to spend his working life in some other part of Africa altogether (Ghana or Nigeria preferably); and two did not answer the question. None wanted to work outside Africa itself. Of the twenty Baganda, seven wanted to remain in their tribal area during their working lives; twelve in the territory (Uganda or East Africa) though not necessarily in the tribal area; one did not care. Thus the Baganda appear more geographically-specific which is understandable in view of Buganda's greater societal cohesion on the one hand, and the socio-economic origins of our Baganda respondents on the other. There are simply fewer penalties in terms of personal isolation and economic sacrifices involved for the Baganda working among their own people than would be true for Kikuyu, for whom the distinction between being

located in Nairobi (or other large cities of Kenya) as against the rural areas is a little akin to working in Paris or the French provinces. With reference to a retired life, the picture changes somewhat. Here we find that fourteen, or almost one-half of our Kikuyu respondents, want to live in their tribal area; fifteen, or almost the other half, chose the territory but not necessarily the tribal area; one wanted to remain in some other territory of Africa; and one replied that he would settle "anywhere but his tribal area". Of the Baganda, seventeen chose their tribal area, and the other three the territory but not necessarily the tribal area. Here again we see the greater geographical specificity of the Baganda, but also a definite desire on the part of both groups not (at this stage of their lives at least) to sever their deeper roots from the surroundings of their birth.

Next it would be instructive to examine the distribution of themes in what can be called the individual's goal-economy, by which we mean the priorities of activities according to which a person consciously and ideally arranges his time and energy allotments. Tables Q-32A, B and C explore this. We have already commented upon the apparent importance of family life as the major expected source of satisfaction. Career is a close second, and between them they account for over 80% of the first choices, and almost 95% of the second choices. The only other significant category is that of religious activities which elicited five Baganda first-choice responses and one Kikuyu. It is the distribution of third choices which begins to show us important differences between our two tribal samples. The imbalance in emphasis

with regard to religious activities continues as in the first choice selections. The division in the Kikuyu direction concerning participation in national and international activities is obviously very sharp, while the Baganda, to a smaller extent, favor participation in the affairs of their tribal community. (Actually it is significant, in our judgment, that this category received so few choices from the Baganda generally. It could mean they take it for granted, but evidence to be discussed later suggests that the reason lies more in their a-political orientation.) The bulk of those Kikuyu respondents who chose participation in tribal affairs did so as fourth choice. While these Tables do give us some understanding of the relative importance of various categories of activities (especially the importance of family life), it would be risky to interpret the distribution beyond what we have suggested since the psychological intervals between choices (especially third and fourth) are unknown.⁶ Nevertheless it may be assumed that first, second and third choices are most important with fourth choice the weakest and probably indicative of least potential energy expenditure, and third choice the most revealing if one assumes first and second choices exhausted by family and career categories.

This brings us to the difficult question of the meaning of the word "career". In other words, both what may we assume to be in the minds of our respondents when they use this word, and what are the implications of what they mean for their potential roles in the newly evolving society of which they are

such an important part.

Figure II, D.A. presents the details concerning life goals. The composite presentation was constructed by the writer on the basis of material derived from the questionnaire, the autobiography and the interview. Figure II was constructed because of the difficulty of classifying this type of material in any simple typological form, such as intended occupation. Such simplifications would conceal the dynamic quality of respondent thinking on life goals which we have tried to capture in this form.

Regarded from this perspective, it becomes clear that more important than job intent (which can easily change with opportunity or academic fortunes) is what we shall call life-goal orientations. These are quite difficult to classify on the basis of our data, but we have done so on the ground that interesting differences do emerge between our two tribal groups. We shall first present our typology with case numbers included so that the reader may judge for himself. Criteria for classification are fairly loose, resting both on what was said and what was not said, especially as concerns what we have labeled category C ("Life Purposes"). Thus, for instance, if a respondent expressed a service orientation, he was included under that category; if he did not, then he was not. Inevitably, some cases proved more difficult to classify than others. It should be kept in mind what the purpose of this typology is: the emphasis is not on logically strict and mutually exclusive (discrete) categories, but rather orientation emphases. Despite the difficulties, we feel that such an approach does tap less

superficial aspects of intent and orientation than a simple listing of occupational goals.

Service Orientation

Kikuyu cases #: 2,6,7,11,12,17,19,21,22,24,26,31,32.....13 cases
Baganda cases #: 2,3,7,8,9,11,13,14,16,18,19,20.....12 cases

Privatism Orientation

Kikuyu cases #: 13,16.....2 cases
Baganda cases #: 4,6,12,17.....4 cases

Bureaucratic Careerist Orientation

Kikuyu cases #: 1.....1 case
Baganda cases #: 1.....1 case

Pure-Intellectual Orientation

Kikuyu cases #: 4,10,29.....3 cases
Baganda cases #: none.....0 cases

Artistic Orientation

Kikuyu cases #: 27.....1 case
Baganda cases #: 5,15.....2 cases

Adventurist Orientation

Kikuyu cases #: 8.....1 case
Baganda cases #: none.....0 cases

Transitional

(i.e. non-classifiable because of severe inconsistency or lack of formulated orientation altogether)

Kikuyu cases #: 3,9,14,15,18,20,23,25,28,30.....10 cases
Baganda cases #: none.....0 cases

Adaptive ('interesting job') Orientation

Kikuyu cases #: 5.....1 case
Baganda cases #: 10.....1 case

Service orientation is perhaps the most obvious type of category. As stated above, it refers to individuals who express a desire to be of service to their fellow man or to their society and, phrased in this manner, one would expect this to be a common response. However, as one can see from a number of these cases,

this type of motivation is often close to the center of a person's self-image. Since we find this intent usually in combination with a generous dose of enlightened self-interest (as against the often unrealistic "pure altruist" type), there is little reason to feel that such expressions of desire to serve, especially among individuals of such great potential responsibility, are anything less than sincere. Of interest also is the rather wider range of types of career envisioned by Kikuyu as against Baganda respondents.

With the term privatism orientation we refer to the type of attitude which discounts the importance of career plans in favor of (usually) family life. Thus the range of expectations is restricted and focused upon a narrower institutional sphere (resulting, perhaps, in greater affective emphasis upon that sphere). This does not mean that career issues are of no importance, but rather that they seem objects of lesser ego-involvement and perhaps lesser affective expenditure. The Baganda, to a slight extent, seem to have more cases in this category than the Kikuyu which would not be surprising in view of Buganda's greater relative affluence and cohesiveness. (Buganda, socially and morally, could be said to "afford" a greater degree of privatism than Kikuyu, if one wanted to look at it this way.) However the number of cases appears too few for any serious attempt at generalization. (It may, of course, be that a few respondents who might have felt this way refrained from expressing it because of a desire to appear more socially responsible than they really were.)

By bureaucratic-careerist orientation we mean the type of attitude which does not look beyond the normal stages of a bureaucratic advancement ladder. It is obvious from our data that while many, if not most, of our sample will find themselves in government bureaucracies, very few limit the definition of the meaning of their career to that of a bureaucratic functionary.

Pure-intellectual orientation refers to the desire for a life devoted to the search for truth and knowledge for its own sake as expressed through activity in science, humanities or philosophy. There are only three such cases and they are all Kikuyu. This type of motive does not seem important among either group of our sample (though one could argue that three out of thirty-two Kikuyu is not, considering the rarity of this orientation anywhere, a small number). This writer suspects strongly that an important reason among a possible number of others is the absence of a Department of Philosophy at Makerere, since Philosophy is the major institutionalized method in Western education of inducing a professional interest in "ultimate" issues for their own sake. Another reason, of course, may well be that an orientation such as this may appear slightly luxurious in the context of widespread poverty and general underdevelopment. This, however, would be more applicable to the Kikuyu than to the Baganda among whom, as we have seen, there appear no examples of this orientation. The fact that we do find it among the Kikuyu suggests the probable relevance of the historico-sociological thesis, recently conceptualized and empirically explored

in considerable detail by Martindale (1962), that the greatest eras of intellectual development and innovation are associated with periods of profound socio-cultural dislocation and transformation. As we have seen, the degree of such upheaval is perhaps the major relative difference between the societies of Buganda and Kikuyu.

By artistic orientation we have in mind the type of life devoted to self-expression through the arts, with the emphasis upon expression rather than pursuit of more formal forms of knowledge or truth. We find this orientation present among both tribal samples, undoubtedly stimulated by the excellent Makerere School of Fine Arts and reflected in vigorous and original contributions to art emanating from East Africa.

As the term implies, adventurist orientation refers to the desire for a life of adventure, exploration and experience for their own sake. The apparently almost complete lack of such an urge among our sample this writer finds quite remarkable and would consider a major example of what was meant earlier when we described this sample as essentially conservative. The probable major reason for this non-adventurous state of mind is the number of financial and social kinship obligations which this generation feels incumbent upon it, before purely personal desires can be fulfilled. Another possibility is that such a motivation has not become sufficiently stylized through literature (especially in childhood which is usually when such fantasies are inculcated in Western societies). It is possible that only when a person has travelled abroad at least once does the possibility of such

a life begin to occur to him. Indeed, foreign service in the United Nations or an Embassy in the dimly imagined but fabled urban affluence of the Western world may serve as the focus for such adventurist dreams.

By the somewhat clumsy term of adaptive 'interesting job' orientation we signify the type of attitude which, while not a result of sophisticated and profound cogitation upon the meaning of life and work, does reflect a strong desire not to be bored by immersion in organized routine. We have applied this label when such seemed the paramount expressed concern relative to a respondent's future. The low number of such cases, of course, reflects the widespread range of opportunities for interesting and meaningful careers open to educated intelligentsias of the new nations.

The high number of Kikuyu found in the transitional category (defined in the classification) we interpret to be a reflection of the greater ferment of personality and experience resulting from the more discontinuous and tumultuous nature of the change process characteristic of Kikuyu as against Buganda.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this classification is not what was but was not included. We refer to the obvious a-political nature of these orientations. One looks in vain for signs of strong personal ambition to excel beyond one's fellows, indeed not only through political means, but any means. The desire for fame through power is entirely absent from our sample (despite objective opportunities which would make such ambition not entirely unrealistic), and almost (though not entirely)

absent in relation to other instrumentalities for fame as well. (See for example Baganda cases numbers 7 and 16.) Here is another basis for our earlier labeling of this sample as conservative. It could, perhaps, be argued that this generation of intelligentsia takes its future power and eminence for granted, and sees no reason to mention it overtly; but, in fact, as the number of educated persons increases, real opportunities, fame and power will diminish, especially in view of the fact that education is by no means the only path to notoriety. Further, a number of our respondents specifically disavowed such a motivation. One is led to the conclusion that our evidence reveals an attitudinal profile (reflected in projected occupational choice patterns) essentially that of a 'backbone of society'-type of socially responsible middle class with this stratum's characteristic disinterest in the struggle for power and ultimate responsibility for the direction of society itself. Nor do we seem to be in the presence of a generation of intelligentsia gripped by a prophetic vision of the future in the name of which it espouses experimentation and structural innovation. This issue is one which we shall explore in greater detail in the following chapter. But at least as far as images of personal destiny are concerned, this generalization seems warranted.

Somewhat related to this is another interesting point on which we have some relevant data. Social change means, among many other things, a transformation of the institutional bases of elite influence and power. This process takes time and its dynamics are not always visible to the participants at a given

moment. Holding the reins of influence and power often entails either the ability to recognize these dynamics and place oneself accordingly at advantageous points in the matrix of influence, or the good fortune of being placed there by circumstance without full personal awareness. In contemporary East Africa education, with its power to win entrance into the modernizing bureaucracies of government, industry and the university, is not the only path to influence. Economic entrepreneurship on the one hand and land ownership with its potential importance, on the other hand, in agriculture and/or control over landless tenants provide two other roads to power. The latter two instrumentalities, it need hardly be added, provided the major bases for class and status in the history of Europe. Accordingly, it would be of some value to explore the salient attitudes (and perhaps, indirectly, the awareness) on the part of our respondents concerning the other possible bases of influence open to them. It would have been a simple matter just to ask them about this. We felt it of greater value to attempt to tap the spontaneous level of response without revealing the deeper sociological significance of such questions since, to do so, would have introduced the distorting influence of the investigator's perspective to the point where the very purpose of our questions would become irrelevant. Thus we confined this probing to seemingly innocuous questions concerning desires for multiple occupations, attitudes toward land and so forth. Considerably varied responses were obtained which we have attempted to classify in, necessarily, a quite general manner. (Since the basis for the

classification is category "D" ("Homogeneity of Career Plans") in Figure II, D.A., the reader again is able to verify or alter our conclusions for himself.)

Of our Kikuyu sample, we find that eleven express an interest in land ownership and/or commercial enterprise apart from their major career. Of these, four appear to express recognizably entrepreneurial intentions (i.e. desire for involvement in and profit from the money economy for reasons other than pure security or retirement income); three seem to have in mind only security or retirement income; and only one expressed an overt emotional attachment to land for its own sake. For the rest there was insufficient basis for a judgment of intent. Next; six of the total Kikuyu sample expressed an interest in land ownership alone apart from their main career. Of these three indicated recognizably entrepreneurial motives; one had an emotional attachment to land, and for the rest there was insufficient indication. Third; of the total Kikuyu sample, four mentioned an interest in commercial enterprise alone apart from their main career. Fourth; seven of the total Kikuyu sample mentioned no interest in secondary enterprises despite, in the case of one of them, an emotional attachment to land. Reasons cited for this homogeneity of career intent were as follows: one felt that the Civil Service does not allow additional enterprises; three cited their desire for a predominantly urban existence; one did not like trade in any form, and for two there was no indication of a reason. Finally; one out of the total Kikuyu sample stated a general intention of initiating all kinds of secondary enterprises, and for three protocols

there was indication of any attitude on this issue recorded. Thus, in sum, the Kikuyu seem to have a quite active interest in a heterogeneous career pattern since twenty-two out of a total of thirty-two indicated an interest in secondary enterprises in commerce and/or land, with at least seven expressing recognizably entrepreneurial motives (plus at least four more if one accepts the assumption that those who desire involvement in a commercial enterprise alone do so for uniformly entrepreneurial reasons). Whether or not these figures reflect the actual distribution of such intentions with exactitude, they do serve to demonstrate that the Kikuyu are not unaware of the advantages and possibilities of secondary enterprise. It is also clear that there is no overt pattern of awareness (or interest) in the more long-range objective sociological possibilities of such activities in relation to social and political power or class formation. Overtly, Kikuyu intelligentsia do not, as a whole, talk about themselves in these terms, although they are all profoundly aware of the political and emotional importance of land to their own people and to the structure of Kikuyu society itself. (They also have detailed knowledge of land litigation problems in their own areas or in relation to their own families.)

When we turn to the Baganda sample, we find an even more active interest of this nature. Of the sample of twenty, five expressed an interest in land and/or commerce; three of these for seemingly entrepreneurial motives, and two for the purpose of security alone. Only one expressed an emotional attachment

to land. Next; six expressed an interest in land alone, three for entrepreneurial reasons (one of whom also had an emotional attachment to the land). Third; three expressed an interest in commerce only. Finally, three expressed no interest in secondary enterprise at all (one because he just wanted enough money to be comfortable and had no interest in business, another because he is rather urban oriented and the third because true skill at one's main career precludes anything else). Three protocols contained no record of a response on this issue. Thus fourteen out of twenty Baganda plan a heterogeneous career pattern. In the case of the Baganda we may assume a certain level of awareness regarding the possibilities of such diverse enterprises since many of their fathers maintained their power in Buganda through precisely such means. Again, however, there seems little overt indication of a personal power orientation among our respondents. Generally speaking, if this high rate of interest in secondary enterprise is maintained and developed to the full capacity of the potential affluence of this generation which our respondents represent, the objective advantages of which they will find themselves in possession may bring home to them the possibilities (and the temptations) of more active political involvement as individuals or as a stratum.

This brings us to the interesting question of what forces our respondents predict will be responsible for their advancement in life. Table Q-33 shows that faith in the influence of personal ability seems overtly high, but very strongly so among the Kikuyu as compared to the Baganda. This distinction in response

is realistic in that it reflects the more privileged background of the Baganda respondents as compared with their Kikuyu counterparts for whom ability and other personal qualities were, for many, the only tools available with which to overcome the odds that objective circumstance had placed in their path.

Finally, Table Q-35 suggests that Baganda and Kikuyu alike are fairly optimistic about their chances for success in their chosen careers relative to each other as individuals.

It would now be useful briefly to explore one area of influence universally important to the development of orientations such as we have just discussed.

C) Aesthetic Experience.

We have paid relatively little attention to this topic and shall stress only those aspects of our material which we feel to be of relevance to the other issues raised.

First, with respect to music, twelve (or 60%) of the Baganda spontaneously expressed a liking for Western classical music, as against twelve (or 38.7%) of the Kikuyu. This difference reflects both the longer exposure of Baganda to Western culture, and also the more elite social origins of the Baganda sample itself. Four of the latter described themselves as actively involved with music in the sense that two play piano and two sing. Two Kikuyu are musically active, one through the guitar and the other through the organ which he taught himself to play to a high point of proficiency. All members of the sample expressed enthusiasm for jazz and dancing, the quality of the latter being, to this observer, extremely high and quite subtle.

The art of painting was also popular, with over half of each of the two samples describing themselves as enthusiastic about it. Five of the Baganda and four of the Kikuyu actively indulge in it. Representatives of both tribal groups have contributed serious and high quality work to the collections of the Makerere School of Fine Arts which has done much to stimulate the development of visual art in East Africa.

The picture changes somewhat with respect to literature and this fact, in our opinion, is important relative to other dimensions of attitude and perspective. Respondents were asked about their reading habits and below we reproduce the numbers of spontaneous mentions in relation to specific categories of literature, in order of importance by totals.

Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
Miscellaneous unclassifiable (i.e. newspapers, magazines plays and novels).....21	10	11
"Classical".....12	6	6
"Mysteries".....11	2	9
Adventure and historical novels..... 9	4	5
Poetry:		
Favorable mention.....7	3	4
Unfavorable mention....12	7	5
"Romance"..... 5	1	4
Self-Help (i.e. "how-to" books)..... 5	1	4
Politics..... 3	0	3
Philosophy & Religion.. 3	1	2
Biographies..... 2	0	2
Travel..... 2	0	2
Science..... 1	0	1

About the same proportion of Baganda and Kikuyu respondents made specific mention of literature as of major importance in their lives in the sense of having influenced their self-image and world-view (five Baganda, or 25% of the sub-sample, and nine Kikuyu, or 29% of that sub-sample).

The following are the authors and/or books specifically mentioned by respondents as being of some special importance in their lives.

Baganda	
Books or Authors	Number of Mentions
Shakespeare	3
Goldsmith, <u>She Stoops to Conquer</u>	1
Dickens, <u>Great Expectations</u>	1
Paton, <u>Cry the Beloved Country</u>	1
Kikuyu	
Books or Authors	Number of Mentions
Shakespeare	4
Dickens, <u>Oliver Twist</u>	1
Dickens, (unnamed)	1
Mark Twain	1
Robert Browning	1
Bullock's <u>Hitler</u>	1*
Hutter, <u>The Outnumbered</u>	1*
Dickson, <u>The Hardy Boys</u>	1
Pasternak, <u>Doctor Zhivago</u>	1
<u>Cosmic Consciousness</u>	1
A biography of Livingston	1
Kenyatta, <u>Facing Mount Kenya</u>	1
Alberto Moravia	1
Peter Cheney	2**

*Cited by same person.

**The writer can attest that this author was much more widely read than here indicated.

In this writer's opinion, without indulging in evaluative impressionism, it can be said that if this sample is representative

of this generation of Baganda and Kikuyu student intelligentsia, the latter cannot be said to have been profoundly affected by the accumulated experience embodied in the Western literary heritage. At the risk of overinterpreting limited data, we would stress the importance of this apparent reading pattern from a number of points of view. First, the data imply that, with the partial exception of Shakespeare, the encounter with reading induced by formal educational assignments has been compartmentalized off from the main thread of influences impinging upon personal development. Of course, it can be argued that the influence of such reading may operate on a non-conscious level and this may, indeed, be true to some extent. Nevertheless, even granting this possibility, it still remains significant that the myriad ideas, concepts, and possibilities for life, philosophy, society and experience generally which stand articulated in the literary heritage of the great world civilizations seem outside the mainstream of conscious reflection among our respondents and those they may represent. Some possible reasons for this, we feel, can probably be traced to features of the dynamics of acculturative encounter discussed and analyzed earlier in the present study. We also feel that many aspects of what will be discussed in the following chapter pertaining to perspectives on politics, society and religion can be traced to this apparent gap between formal intellectualized encounter with world experience on the one hand and the internal realm of reflection and personal style of articulation on the other. At least it can be suggested that the present generation of

intelligentsia seems not deeply to possess the vicariously acquired tools for articulating in the mind the range of possibilities for innovation in personal style and social organization which is one of the functions of the ideological systematization of reflection.⁷ If, as can be argued, this is one of the necessary prerequisites for intelligent and realistic adaptation to social change, then the foregoing is of vital political significance considering the fact that we are discussing a future stratum whose destiny it will be to stand at the confluence of intellect and society.

Before turning directly to our chapter on politics, religion and society, we shall explore the question of how the tensions of social change and personal responsibility are experienced within the personality in the form of patterned anxieties.

D) Anxieties.

Various questions in both the questionnaire and the interview were designed specifically to elicit aspects of anxiety on the part of our respondents. Table Q-26, for instance, presents the categories of responses to the question about the worst things which could happen in life. Injury to the person in some way is by far the most important concern, although this was apparently somewhat more true for the Kikuyu than for the Baganda. This distinction is not difficult to comprehend in view of the Emergency, during which the present sample of Kikuyu respondents were in their 'teens'. The second most important fear had to do with unhappiness in marriage and parenthood on which we had

occasion to comment earlier in this chapter. It is interesting to note that, for the Baganda, fears, having specifically to do with religion, were quite important compared to the Kikuyu, from whom no such responses were forthcoming. This can be interpreted either as an indication of greater religiosity among the Baganda, or as a reflection of the higher possibility or potential for other types of disaster envisioned by the Kikuyu. Since the Baganda responded in terms of more categories than did the Kikuyu, one could argue in favor of the greater religiosity hypothesis. However this does not account for the possibility that the Baganda could better "afford" to respond to the religious problem because they were less affected by the general traumatic aspects of change than the Kikuyu and hence had more "emotional energy" left over to worry about religious questions. The higher Kikuyu response in category "D" (marriage and parenthood) and category "H" (personal isolation) might be taken as evidence for this view. However the Kikuyu response in the "no" answer or "can't say" category would seem to contradict this approach. Thus we cannot help concluding that evidence for both interpretations of the difference in response with respect to religious issues exists. This topic will be explored further in the section of the following chapter dealing with religious issues. At this juncture, we might point out that of the four Baganda responses in the religious category three were by Catholics, so that if there is a tribal difference here, it would seem to apply more to Catholics than to Protestants.

Table Q-27, in this writer's view, reveals something of

potential importance. The difference in the degree to which the Baganda report the experience of losing touch with friends and relatives because of changes in ideas as compared with the Kikuyu is significant to us not because we can show that this difference is statistically significant but because the direction of this difference was unexpected. A common-sense approach to this issue would lead one to expect that the survival into modernity of an indigenous elite structure in Buganda, from which our respondents have been shown to derive, would mean a greater sense of integratedness for the Baganda students in this structure than for the Kikuyu students who represent a wider and less literate and modernized range of Kikuyu society. Table Q-27 suggests that this type of reasoning is false. This writer would suggest an alternative interpretation more in line with our data. The dimension along which our Baganda respondents may be moving away from their friends and relatives outside the University could be the issue of cultural and political nationalism, and this dimension may here be of greater psychological significance than the difference in literacy and other forms of modernity that exists between the Kikuyu students and their friends and relatives outside the University. We have seen in Chapter 3 that political and cultural nationalism is of vital psychic significance to the Baganda and any departure from commitment in this area on the part of the educated intelligentsia could be expected to produce serious strains, even if these strains are successfully concealed from view by conformist and ritualized behavior. Whether the twenty-five percent of the Baganda who reported this

sense of apartness from their milieu will become prepared to act upon this politically is another question. To say anything about that, one would have to know what, if anything, they would be prepared to dedicate their loyalty to other than traditional institutions. This question is a major theme of the following chapter, to which we defer further discussion of this important issue. It is significant, however, that four out of the five "alienated" Baganda were students in their fourth year of college or higher.

It is interesting to compare Table Q-27 with Table Q-29 which has to do with a question on loneliness. Here the Kikuyu seem somewhat more lonely and desirous of close friends than the Baganda, suggesting that some aspects of alienation and the experience of loneliness are not necessarily entirely equated. Our data is too inconclusive to allow anything more than a warning concerning this for those who might tend prematurely to equate different possible meanings of alienation.

Table Q-30 suggests that the Baganda are generally more optimistic about their future than the Kikuyu in that none of the former indicated anything other than enthusiasm or hopefulness about this. Year in school and tribe, for the "enthusiastic" and "hopeful" categories proved related to each other at the .05 level of significance. The distribution of responses by year suggests that first year students (or younger ones, since this is what may be reflected here) are somewhat less optimistic about their future than fourth year-plus (or older) students. This is probably due to the fact that first year students are

not yet sure if they will survive college to the point of graduation, whereas this is no longer true of fourth year-plus men. The tribal difference is probably due to the fact that failure in college does not mean as serious a blow to the potential prestige and upward mobility chances of Baganda as would be true of the Kikuyu since the former derive from an already entrenched elite.

Table Q-31 indicates that the Kikuyu respondents experience a stronger sense of goal-less drift than do their Baganda counterparts. We would say, again, that this is due to the fact that Baganda do have an objectively better defined (and hence more secure) position in their society than do the Kikuyu sample, who are faced yet with the necessity of creating one for themselves within a context of socio-cultural flux and transformation. The Baganda can, at any time, resort to this already-secure position provided for them by their indigenous society, whereas the Kikuyu, whether they like it or not, must remain aware of the relationship between their own efforts and the nature of the lives they will later live. One would expect this difference to be reflected subjectively in the distribution of answers in both Tables Q-30 and Q-31.

In this context the slight difference between Baganda and Kikuyu with respect to perception of the world and of people as evil and dangerous reported in Table Q-34 is not surprising. The Kikuyu seem somewhat more prone to this view than the Baganda, and it is interesting that this difference is not greater in view of the tragic contemporary history of the Kikuyu people.

One reason might lie in the influence of education itself as is suggested by the sharper differences one finds in responses from first year as against fourth year-plus students. The difference for categories "C" and "D" (the disagreement categories) are related to tribal response at the .05 level of significance. We would suspect that it is education rather than simply age which is important here since it is reasonable to expect that Western education would bring people consciously to view events in terms of naturalistic causation rather than in terms of innate tendencies (moral). This would account for the fact that the more advanced students seem quite sharply to disagree with the proposition in comparison with the first year students.

Logical also is the distribution in Table Q-37 concerning perception of the family of orientation as a barrier to advancement. The fact that the Baganda tend somewhat less to see their families in this sense simply reflects the greater wealth and higher status position of these families than is true in the case of the Kikuyu sample. Indeed, it is interesting that so few Kikuyu respondents saw their families as barriers to advancement. In view of the fact that, relative to the Baganda, the Kikuyu do have greater financial problems and obligations in connection with their families, the distribution suggests that Kikuyu respondents did not define the question exclusively in economic terms and that the data may reflect the close ties between Kikuyu students and their families as much as it reflects economic problems in relation to them.

Likewise to be expected is the distribution in Table Q-39.

Considering the large and often tragic role of fate and circumstance in the lives of the Kikuyu, it is indeed surprising that not more Kikuyu respondents than did indicated an expectation that their destinies would be determined largely by external circumstances over which they could have little control. Perhaps the awareness of their own potential indispensability operated to circumvent the formation of such an attitude on a more widespread level.

Table Q-51 imparts, in our view, significant information. Here respondents were asked spontaneously to name three serious personal problems they expected to encounter after graduation from Makerere. The most important responses were categorized within relatively few categories which are not unexpected in their nature. In terms of content, the higher number of "miscellaneous" responses from the Kikuyu and their varied, often poignant, nature is of special interest. One is tempted to arrive at the conclusion not necessarily that the Kikuyu "have more problems" than the Baganda (which, of course, may be true), but that they are better able to articulate them in terms of finer levels of discrimination. However, perhaps the most important aspect of this Table Q-51 is of what it informs us with respect to what happens as students approach graduation. Category "A" reflects the inability of all respondents to anticipate as many as three serious problems subsequent to graduation. For this category, year in school was related to tribe at the .05 level of significance. For category "B" which dealt with problems of self-establishment, year in school and tribe proved to be related at almost any level of significance. In the first

case more first year than last year students were unable to anticipate as many as three problems, and in the second case many more responses citing self-establishment problems were forthcoming from fourth year-plus students than from first year ones. The implication is clear. Our suggestion in the previous chapter that secondary school provides a kind of institutionalized protection against the difficulties of reality seems supported by this data. Boys are truly boys in the isolated community of the secondary boarding school, and this spirit is to some extent carried over into the first year of college life. But as graduation approaches, the pressures of reality intrude against which the gemeinschaft aspects of college life become increasingly ineffectual. This finding has implications for any formal guidance policy the college may wish to institute as it does for the more informal personal tutor system in effect during our tenure there. The evidence suggests that general anxiety increases rather than decreases as the college years go by rather than the other way around as assumed by many Western teachers' thinking of the initial shock of college life with its new responsibilities and freedoms. For further elucidation of this point, we refer the reader to our discussion of student role conflicts in the previous chapter.

The issue of perception of personal problems proved of sufficient importance to warrant further exploration in the interview. Respondents were asked about their reactions to nine problem areas, which were defined in the interview, with reference to themselves. Following is the distribution of responses

for the total sample. Next to each problem category is listed, for each tribal group, the number and percentage of respondents who indicated that the problem area was of relevance to them in their minds.

Problem Area	Baganda	Kikuyu
1. Alcohol.....	1 (5%)*	5 (15.6%)*
2. Problems after graduation: fears concerning what they might be...	5 (25%)	12 (37.5%)
3. Personal values: difficulties re what is specifically desired for life goals; value contradictions; guilt feelings about "inappropriate" values etc.....	3 (15%)	7 (21.9%)
4. Women and marriage: e.g. fears over possible conflicts between career and home; personality conflicts in heterosexual interaction; sexual fears.....	11 (55%)	16 (50%)
5. Friendship and community: e.g. problems about "roots"; fitting into community life; finding one's own level etc.....	0 --	7 (21.9%)
6. Present family relationships: e.g. conflicts, obligations, communications problems.....	6 (30%)	20 (62.5%)
7. Personal psychological symptoms and problems: e.g. fears, confidence, mental illness fantasies, lack of consultation, etc.....	4 (20%)	12 (37.5%)
8. Financial and material problems at present.....	3 (15%)	20 (62.5%)
9. Over-intense personal animosities and hostility reactions.....	3 (15%)	7 (21.9%)

*Percentages are based on sample size of each group but do not total 100% because almost all respondents cited more than one problem area with which they were personally concerned.

There are several things of interest about this distribution.

First, we see again the extreme importance of private family life to the entire sample in that, on number 4, at least half of each sub-sample responded positively about their concern with this issue. The differences in response on various questions are predictable on the basis of the socio-economic differences of the societies these respondents represent. Thus, with reference to number 5, whatever forms of alienation may exist between our Baganda respondents and their environment, in the face of the cohesiveness of Buganda as a society, these apparently are not interpreted by respondents as a problem of "roots" or identity relative to a community. For the Kikuyu, however, one would expect some degree of anxiety concerning this, although the relatively low amount indicated here and in other questions discussed previously is a strong argument against any over-facile assumption of total alienation between a new intelligentsia and their traditional roots in the context of rapid socio-cultural change. The differential in number 6 probably reflects the shorter acculturative distance between Baganda respondents and their families in comparison with the Kikuyu, as well as the general point cited immediately above. In the case of number 7, considering the traumatic childhood experiences of the present Kikuyu student generation, it is somewhat surprising that the differential is not higher. And number 8, of course, reflects the difference in material circumstances between contemporary Buganda and Kikuyu.

Some rather interesting comments were made by a few respondents concerning some of these problem areas which it would

be of value to reproduce. With regard to number 2, for instance, one Muganda described his fear of "being a young man" after graduation with more freedom and a reasonable salary to which he will not be accustomed.

"I might just look at life in a different way altogether; I could turn to drinking, women and end up nowhere. I can't say this will not happen to me. How can I keep calm and remain myself with this new-come money. Will I become its servant or master? I have seen what I am talking about. Especially drinking. I know a (member of important profession) who was sacked and went to a (factory). Now he lives in the country and is no different from any vagabonds around here. If that can happen to others, it can happen to me. I am praying hard."

With respect to number 3, a Kikuyu student said:

"I want to be a lawyer. I'm too ambitious. My ambitions are too big for me. This is a possible source of unhappiness. I feel that advancement is often based upon hypocritical and even lying activities since human nature is perfectly capable of this. (This respondent had expressed his belief that human nature is basically evil.) I fear I cannot do this."

Regarding number 4, a Muganda respondent worried about what type of wife he might take up with. He stated that this was a serious problem for Baganda since a person "who has married twice is not as respectable" and "there is a kind of frustration because you will never be free from feeling of failure if you divorce". This respondent agreed with the "common view" of Baganda women as less stable and more materialistic than other African women. He believes that women who come from very rich homes are not apt to be stable. There is trouble if she is brought up to get

everything she expects and marries a man who cannot supply her. And more women come from wealthy homes in Buganda than from any other area. To this, he added the opinion that instability is a cultural characteristic of women in Buganda.

A somewhat positive response to number 7 was this one by a Kikuyu respondent:

"Yes, I have excessive fears and I feel the world is evil. Basically, in the end, I cannot trust people. My friends don't brood about the future as much as I do."

And a Muganda student commented about himself concerning the same problem,

"Yes, I have what you call free-floating anxiety. I dread mental illness more than anything else in life. I have seen a teacher who was mentally ill - he went mad. I was in primary school. These days I have lost confidence because of adjustment problems in school. Everything seems hopeless."

And one Kikuyu student found himself sufficiently worried about number 9 to say that:

"This is part of Kikuyu student culture - I feel it in myself. When I get annoyed I get a headache; if I give in to this impulse, I could do real damage. I don't know why this (violence) stereotype is true of the Kikuyu, but I think it is. I'm very concerned about this tendency. Loss of temper is perhaps a cultural trait of the Kikuyu deriving from the pride of fighting and honor, from the days of the Masai wars."

Considering the childhood experiences and the competitive struggles to which Kikuyu respondents were exposed throughout adolescence, such tendencies are not surprising. They exist, to a lesser degree, among the Baganda; but their response differs, in

that there seems to be an institutionalized emphasis upon withholding hostile emotions before members of out-groups and pride in politeness and interpersonal propriety. That this is not always an easy matter was stated by some Baganda respondents, especially in the face of what they felt to be considerable anti-Buganda sentiment in East Africa. One respondent, when asked how he controls his responses in potentially arousing situations, stated simply: "I avoid committing myself."

Finally, the last question in the questionnaire attempted directly to elicit responses concerning role-anxiety on the part of respondents concerning their future responsibilities. This writer constructed an imaginary "quotation" (which he attributed to an anonymous source to ensure honesty of response) and participants were requested to indicate their agreement or disagreement and to comment upon their feelings regarding the "quotation". The latter read as follows:

"Many African students, after they graduate from University, will shortly find themselves in positions of great power and influence. They will be too young and inexperienced for these positions; they will have no older generation to look up to for guidance; the traditions of their society are no longer adequate to guide their decisions; they themselves are confused and anxious about who they are and what they really want. Yet the decisions of many of them will influence the lives of millions of their fellow Africans. Considering all this, it must be said that few groups stand in greater potential danger of personal unhappiness, of profound corruption of character, and egotism than does the young African student elite of today."

The distribution of forced-choice responses was as follows: ⁸

	Baganda	Kikuyu
I largely agree with this statement.....	10 (50%)	13 (40.6%)
I largely disagree with this statement.....	4 (20%)	10 (31.2%)
I don't know if I agree or disagree because I have never thought about myself in these terms...	6 (30%)	8 (25%) (one replied: It depends." - 3%)

The degree of agreement within both groups concerning this statement is striking, but so also is the whole distribution with its large percentage in the "don't know" category. The latter may reflect emotional blocking or, as in our view is more likely (and hence its significance), it may reflect the possibility that a sizeable portion of our sample have indeed never really thought seriously about themselves as members of a power-wielding and societally responsible elite stratum. If so, this would provide supporting evidence for our earlier suggestion concerning the existence of a high degree of "privatism" motive among our respondents. For such a complex question, numerical responses are not sufficient, and we have, accordingly, selected some of the more interesting written comments from among those submitted by our respondents. A fifth year Kikuyu arts student, who agreed with the statement, wrote:

"There does not seem to be much that one can do about it. They will have to learn by experience. Perhaps advice from disinterested outsiders could help a little. Yet there is no doubt that some may prove to be quite capable of rising to the situation."

A first year Kikuyu arts student, who agreed with the statement, wrote:

"I think the handicap of experience can only be overcome by trial and error and application of right reason to problems. As to confusion about one's own personality, this is likely to occur only in those who have not trained themselves to regard themselves as independent entities, not living for gratification of society. Dangers of unhappiness certainly are there. But I should think that it will be a matter of individual cases, and it will not necessarily follow that ALL will be unhappy. At any rate, let's hope people will be able to stay happy."

A first year Kikuyu science student, who agreed with the statement, added:

"Many will find themselves in power especially in view of Africanization policy, but of course being inexperienced, especially since they will not have much time as juniors, will find themselves in embarrassing positions. Previously there have not been other Africans in such posts and therefore the young generation will have none to look to for example or advice. They may therefore, by trial and error, try very dangerous policies which will affect many people in whose charge the young people are. In such circumstances the making of a mistake might touch one's conscience and remain for decades and even for life making the culprit (the young man from college) the unhappiest being imaginable. Such is the life some are going to face, regrettable as it is."

And a first year Kikuyu arts student, who agreed with the statement, wrote:

"The young African student has one foot in the primitive society of Africa and the other in the Western ideals and civilization. The situation is not, however, as dangerous

or black as it might look, for the society is ready to learn and be led. The difficulty is to get him to know the problems and the danger lies in his own group of educated people who sometimes fail to co-operate."

Turning to those Kikuyu respondents who disagreed, the following comment by second year science student is fairly representative.

"I don't think that they will find themselves in positions of great power because already we have an efficient civil service and graduates leaving this place get junior posts and are promoted as they get more and more experience. I also think that our predecessors have set up good standards and we definitely won't lack guidance."

A particularly thoughtful elucidation of his disagreement was contributed by a second year arts student who wrote:

if "...they themselves are confused and anxious about who they are and what they really want'. This sentence straight away strikes me as wholly wrong. The way before an African student is clear - to go, serve his country and bring it, if possible, to standards equal or even higher than those of civilized countries in the world and improve the conditions of the African by trying to fight against the barriers that shut him in darkness and poverty. This is what they want. Difficulties of course are many. All this cannot be achieved overnight. But the target is there. They are not confused. They know what they want. (Concerning the sentence) 'The traditions of their society are not longer adequate to guide their decisions. They will; have no older generation to look up to for guidance'; accepting that we are aspiring to achieve the standards of civilized countries, the lack of traditions need not worry us. This would only worry us if we had not these countries to look to for copying what we want. In addition, these countries will give us help. We will try to develop along

the lines they have followed while taking into account the various conditions around us and adjust accordingly. If this is what African countries have in mind, as I think is the case, why worry whether we have traditions or not? If we were trying to have a different life unknown in history then traditions would of course be necessary. If we did not have them, then it would be difficult for African leaders. In so far as custom and culture are concerned, we shall adopt the ones we need. If all civilized peoples' customs are good, then I do not see why we should not take them all if ours are not good. If ours are good then we should retain them. The African leader can only have difficulties in trying to achieve these ends. The author of the statement forgets that Africans are being trained by Europeans. They will get experience in leadership. These will assume leadership after Europeans leave jobs to Africans and they will in turn train the oncoming young graduates. In addition we shall still retain Europeans to make the oncoming graduates 'experienced' in their jobs."

And a somewhat more caustic bit of food for thought was added by a third year arts student who pointed out that

"Surely (graduates) will find themselves in a position of great influence and of great power. But Africans are as capable as Europeans and if a European of 28 years of age can run a district of people whom he does not really understand, what about an African who has been brought up in the society and knows it?"

The Baganda also had comments of interest to contribute.

A fifth year Muganda arts student, perhaps a bit optimistic in his proposed solution, argued that he agreed with the statement because

"The way in which African students are taught or have been taught for many years has been to memorize and not to think.

It has been said that Africans can memorize but cannot think. This is true. These students would find it very difficult to think to be leaders needs thinking a lot. If the system of teaching is changed from memorizing to thinking and understanding, everything would be easy."

A third year Muganda arts student linked his agreement with the problem of education:

"I do agree with this because most times such people as we who leave this place with all expectations of good living, power and all the rest want to have these things mostly because we are selfish. Realization also of our privileged position sort of dazes us and we do not really examine things in clear and realistic light. In other words I really do feel that the education we receive here, the real purpose of a university and academic pursuit i.e. a disciplining of mind, is not fully realized or attained by many of us. That starts a chain reaction. What I feel the solution to be is for every student to realize on his own that education is deeper than we are liable to normally think. That ought to make us humbler and be able to listen to and learn from others who are in a good position to advise."

Finally, a fifth year Muganda arts student stressed the role of tradition as a mitigating factor in qualifying his agreement with the statement.

"The danger could be avoided by introducing these young students gradually into those positions. The old traditional rulers and men in positions of power should not be removed all at once. The old traditions will thus mingle with the new views. The old will gradually die out."

The following interesting response by a second year Muganda arts student is in vigorous and detailed disagreement

with the statement.

"This is a shallow unconnected inference, a mere distortion of logic - a pet tool calculated by Europeans to stay here longer!! **AND AT OUR EXPENSE.**

INEXPERIENCE: who is more inexperienced or instructive in my society; an expatriate of 90 or a native of 30, even if he be misunderstood. We get European government officers at the age of 18 to 20.

OLD GUIDANCE: 1) Africans believe in African civilization, African customs, African politics etc., things more often radically opposed to European culture, if not uncomfortably so!!

2) We are all painfully aware of the slow Africanisation reluctantly being carried out;

3) Moreover our elders do not expect to offer us guidance e.g. in administrating offiger, as a District Medical Officer etc. because they, like sensible people, see it absurd.

4) Finally if this apparently irresponsible author of such lies charged with imperialism, is intent on 'old' by which he fears to call 'present' - I suggest that there is always somebody to see the ball rolling a match. It is normal that opponents do not insist playing on the opposite sides 'because the sun is against them' and they thus plead experience. It is not up to anybody under high heaven who is to judge whether we are fit or not but Africans.

TRADITIONS: I can't see (what is wrong with);

1) sitting at table with wife and children,
2) giving my family priority even against a few elders' opinions,

3) Restoring a woman's true dignity by not being her 'Master' but husband,

4) Exercising freedom of expression as the fundamental right of every individual irrespective of traditions - proper training for sense of judgment.

5) Discouraging such traditions the motives

of which are morally wrong because they were constituted on pagan ideas,

6) Ought we continue to deny women the pleasure of eating chicken, eggs etc. (Note: these were traditionally forbidden to women in Buganda.)?

So you see there ought to be a revolutionized ideology but only as the African sees it, because he, being indigenous, knows where and how to end - yet that person (scarcely does he deserve the name author) thinks we get 'corrupted'. He can't face facts to say we get 'civilized' because it makes his stay here unstable!

Bad traditions will have to go - whether Makerere graduates come to power or not. Europeans passed a law to such traditions as witchcraft - that it is still practiced only goes to point out what a drastic change their 'decision' forces upon us.

Etc. Etc."

Finally, the following comment by a Muganda second year arts student fairly well represents those who accompanied an answer of "don't know" with any qualifications.

"My immediate reaction to this statement is that the writer anticipates inexperience, incompetence and greed for both wealth and power in a graduate who suddenly rises to the highest responsible position. Well, this may be so but it cannot be helped, for although the young man in question will be too young for that position, he is the only one who must lead his Society today. Therefore his unintended mistakes, through sheer inexperience, will have to be put up with by his Society until he gains the necessary experience and sense of responsibility."

This writer is impressed with certain characteristics of these and other comments he has received pertaining to this question.

1) While they are sometimes of dubious consistency and/or

precision of thought, they are uniformly thoughtful. Quite obviously the issues raised in the minds of respondents by the 'quotation' are not taken lightly.

2) Whether the comments reflected agreement or disagreement, they almost all reflected a considerable degree of rejection of traditions and a tendency to accept, often stereotyped, models of Western standards of judgment and civilization.

3) The previous generalization is almost totally unqualified by any evidence of anti-Western ideological formulations. There is no sign of any spontaneous expression of sympathy for anti-industrial, anti-scientific or anti-rational themes of the kind one associates with aspects of the Negritude movement.

4) The second generalization is also unqualified by any evidence of innovative tendencies. Indeed, many of the comments leave an impression with this writer that, if the idea was posited to these respondents that they might have to take on the responsibility of innovating new structural forms and institutional arrangements to solve some of the problems experienced in Western societies before they reappeared in virulent form on African soil, considerably more anxiety would have been expressed than was.

It will be our task in the following chapter to explore the substantive content of the conceptions existing in the minds of our respondents as to what kind of a world they envision for their society; their orientations, hopes and fears with respect to politics, religion and society. We have left for this point in the present chapter a commentary on the question discussed immediately above which, in this writer's view, is of a quality

of sensitivity and sophistication rarely encountered among undergraduate college students anywhere in the world. It was contributed by a Kikuyu second year arts student and seems a most appropriate way in which to bring this present chapter to a close.

"The apparent confusion in the African society today is not in fact confined to the emerging African nations, but perhaps is a part of a wider confusion, hesitancy and anxiety prevailing in the whole world. One of the reasons is the rapidity of changes. If, in Africa, no stability of society has been found due to old values, culture and traditions being overthrown after coming into contact with new values, it is also true even for Western societies and their cultures. The rapid economic changes in recent years; the development of science (and atomic nuclear weapons, satellites and rockets) have opened vast opportunities for man's development. There is fear and nobody knows what the final pattern of this revolution will be like. Under the impact of such changes, is it any wonder that even (Western) culture is changing? Is it any wonder that there is confusion, uncertainty and fear? Who knows where he is going?

"In fact, it is in Africa where, under the new sense of emancipation, under this new challenge, there is less fear and more hope. In fact, a number of people are thinking that perhaps it is Africa that will eventually give a lead to the world. Salvation may come from there. Long ago, Africa gave refuge to Christ, and it is the teaching of that same Christ, it is Christian ideals implicit in that teaching, that form the underlying or basic values that form the Western culture. Under the stress of suffering a path to wisdom and understanding there is perhaps ground for hope. Man may learn from this and far from becoming aggressive, seek cooperation and friendship.

"Confused? No. Africans are not confused but overwhelmed by the new possibilities before them."

Notes

1. A third possible indicator, homosexuality, never appeared. It is difficult to believe that it does not exist. Not being sure of the possible response if we raised the topic (since doing so might have interfered with subsequent rapport) we decided against doing so, especially since the topic of sexual behavior generally was of secondary interest to us.
2. The reader should recall here that we refer only to those who have not travelled abroad for study or exploration. This experience, of course, could be expected to produce new factors altogether.
3. Here it would be of interest to know the attitudes of those educated abroad. One may assume that civil ceremony would have received more choices had we included a sample of those educated abroad.
4. These are the writer's coding categories constructed on the basis of responses to an open-ended questionnaire. For explanation of this relative to other such questions, see Data Appendix.
5. That it has not declined altogether is suggested by the distance between answers giving first and second most serious divorce grounds for husbands as against wives. For husbands, infidelity received 43.6% of the mentions, as against 19.1% for the second highest ground. (However the interval between first and second choices, presumably reflective of opinions of relative seriousness, was almost identical for both husbands and wives.) Interview material, moreover, suggests that a number of male respondents, when pressed, would like husbands to have more latitude, although most do not claim to be able to justify their feeling ideologically.

6. We could, of course, have constructed a series of questions designed to deal with intensity. However we wished as far as possible to have our results compatible with the methods used by Gillespie and Allport (1955) in their comparative study.
7. For an excellent discussion of the important positive functions for society of ideological systematization as a form of controlled mental experimentation, see the essay by Henry David Aiken (1964).
8. The following distribution is presented without further breakdown because responses proved to be independent of any of the other variables in terms of which we analyzed the results (i.e. year in school, arts vs. science major, and religion).

CHAPTER VII
SOCIETY, POLITICS AND RELIGION

In the previous chapter we were largely concerned with the dynamics of the self in relation to our sample. In the present chapter we shall seek to bridge the gap between the self and the outside world by organizing the presentation of our data accordingly. Thus we shall begin here with consideration of the self in relation to attitudes concerning the survival or decline of traditional institutions on the one hand, and attitudes relative to Western institutions in East Africa on the other hand. Then we shall move "outwards", so to speak, exploring the attitudes of our respondents concerning problems of the world at large. In addition to attitudes, we shall be investigating the foundations of attitudes as well through specific attention to what could best be referred to as the frameworks of meaning (or better, perhaps, the interpretational horizons) within which attitudes are formed. We shall do this in two senses: first we shall explore the cognitive foundations of political meaning revealed in answers to interview questions which required each respondent to define specifically certain key words relevant to all serious contemporary problems of political philosophy and action. Second, we shall analyze the rich responses to questions dealing with specific attitudes and beliefs concerning the major non-traditional system of "ultimate" meaning diffused into East

Africa, namely Christianity. Our purpose here will be to explore the relationships between normative definitions of right and wrong on the one hand and the specific structures of beliefs pertaining to Christian doctrines on the other.

To begin with, certain data presented in the previous chapter have relevance to our focus here. For instance:

Tables Q-4-7-14-19-20-32 reveal, among other things, a relative (at least theoretical) lack of concern with traditional ways pertaining to bridewealth, polygamy, tribal endogamy, and other aspects of traditional institutions. We have explored this issue of the link between the traditional past and the problematic future on deeper levels than are revealed in these data, however. Table Q-38 A,B,C, reflecting what our respondents feel should be carried over from traditional culture into the new society of the future, is interesting from a number of points of view. Most noticeable, perhaps, is the large percentage of responses in the "can't think of any" bracket (category "A"). For first choice, this category was a close second in size, and in the second and third choice tables this category is the largest by far in the number of responses. The Kikuyu seem consistently less able than the Baganda to think of traditions to be carried forward to the future. However tribal differences seem not to be the only factors operating as far as this category is concerned. More Protestants than Catholics replied in terms of category "A" to the extent that religion proved related to tribe in the response pattern at the .01 level of significance. We must admit some difficulty interpreting this finding. One

possibility lies in the differences in religious socialization characteristic of Roman Catholic mission work as against the Protestant (especially evangelical) approach. It is well known that Protestant denominations possess a theology stressing justification by faith and inner conviction. This involves inner conversion and strength to a somewhat greater degree than is true of a Catholic convert who is asked to conform to the sacraments and to make himself a part of a Catholic community in the hope that faith and conviction will grow over the generations through reinforced habits of obedience and conformity to ritual. The ability of Roman Catholicism over the centuries to incorporate into itself many traditional customs and beliefs of the culture areas it brings under its influence is also well known. Thus, it may follow that becoming a Catholic has traditionally been a comparatively more "relaxed" procedure relative to traditional customs than becoming a Protestant. If so, this could account for a finding such as we have presented. In the absence of more detailed knowledge about religious sub-cultures, however, and their effects on individuals, any attempt at a definitive interpretation would be highly dubious. It was also found, however, that more Science students than Arts students answered in terms of category "A" to the extent that responses based on tribe as against course of study also proved related at the .01 level of significance. This might simply reflect the possibility that Arts students, being habitually more involved with social issues because of the nature of their studies than is true of Science students, might be more introspective and hence more articulate

(or perhaps just more articulate) about issues such as the question dealt with. These differences, it should also be kept in mind, emerged only when sub-tables A, B and C (first through third choices) were totaled together.

Apart from this point, the Table shows the importance in the minds of our respondents of the influence of traditional rules of social intercourse. Responses pertaining to this (e.g. categories "B" and "K") seem impressively to outweigh other aspects of traditional life. This point will be found to recur throughout our data in this chapter and the writer would place significance on it on the ground that we may here be in the presence of a defensive countervailing reaction to the Western emphasis (in both religion and economic ideology) upon individualism which, in the context of rapid social change, can easily be perceived as a threat both to the individual ego and to the social fabric. This same issue was explored in the interview with reference more specifically to family life and socialization practices relative to their own future families and children about which respondents were asked to comment.

For instance, Baganda respondents were asked if they intended to socialize their own children as Baganda (that is, with specific consciousness of and pride in being Baganda). Nine (or 45%) answered yes, seven (or 35%) said no, and the rest (four or 20%) gave equivocal and mixed responses which could not be categorized as either yes or no. The Kikuyu sample was asked the same question and four (or 12.5%) said yes, and the rest (twenty-eight or 87.5%) said an unequivocal no. We were interested in what Kikuyu respondents who said yes had in mind in

view of the disintegration of traditional society going on around them. Each of the four who answered affirmatively was asked in what way he meant the statement that he wanted to raise his children as Kikuyu. The four individuals responded in terms of the following content:

- 1) Respect for clan; kinship obligations in the event the respondent dies.
- 2) "Not history or heritage as such", just "some kind of feeling"; also continued role of the classificatory father in the event real father dies.
- 3) Respect for elders; traditional friendliness; self-respect as Kikuyu but not in the sense of tribal pride; classificatory father and mother roles and functions.
- 4) Respect for elders; manners to people and authority; stress on stories about the Kikuyu past; continued role of classificatory father.

It is interesting to note, as we shall see, that some of these themes were in the minds of respondents who answered this particular question in the negative as well, suggesting that an affirmative response may reflect something more than the mere sum of the content-parts that underlie it. Perhaps those who did answer affirmatively had in mind a somewhat content-less emphasis on (or need for) the sense of identity as such; a search for some kind of reference group to satisfy the need to belong to something which was projected into attitudes on socialization of their own children. This possibility occurred to us sufficiently early to enable the insertion of another question in

the interview designed to elucidate this issue. Thus we also asked respondents the same question at another time in somewhat different form, namely, of what reference groups would they prefer their children to feel themselves members. The following distribution of responses is in terms of number of mentions (since some individuals gave more than one reference group).

Reference Groups	Number of Mentions
Kikuyu.....	3
Kenya.....	16
Africa.....	6
Christian.....	4
No group, just be an effective individual.....	4
Western civilization.....	1
Their own family.....	1
Human race.....	2

We have here a distribution of responses covering almost all conceivable categories of identification. The same question was asked of Baganda respondents and, significantly, the range of responses was narrower, suggesting that Buganda indeed functioned effectively as a reference group.

Reference Groups	Number of Mentions
Buganda.....	10
Uganda.....	7
East Africa.....	1
Human race.....	1
No indication.....	4

It is interesting that the category "Christian" is missing from the Baganda replies. In view of what has been said, and will be said, about the religiosity of the Baganda, one must conclude that Christianity may well be part of the category "Buganda" in

the minds of these respondents; a not unreasonable conclusion in view of the intimate historical relationship between Christianity and Buganda society.

This same issue was explored still further in the interview by means of a question which asked respondents to state specifically what traditional institutions they wanted to see carried forward by their own children.

In the following paragraph relating to Baganda replies percentages total in excess of 100% because most respondents answered in terms of more than one response-category.

Of the Baganda, fourteen (or 70%) mentioned the role of the classificatory father as against the Western emphasis upon the sole importance of the biological father in the nuclear family. Some respondents qualified their support of this traditional institution with modifiers such as wealth, the presence of "modern" attitudes on the part of the father's brother etc. A few stated that they preferred this custom to pass away but feared that if it did in the near future, children might be left without adequate care in the event of their father's death. Sixteen Baganda (or 80%) expressed a negative attitude toward the traditional custom of loaning one's children out to relatives at a fairly early age and stated that they intended not to follow this practice with their own children (except for one who said he would do it if asked). Whatever basis in unhappy personal experiences this attitude might have, it was undoubtedly strengthened by the fact that Roman Catholic influence has been directed against this custom. Only two (or 10%) expressed

themselves in favor of this particular custom. Next, four Baganda (or 20%) cited traditional manners and courtesy; three (or 15%) cited items under the general category of traditional legends, games and folklore; two (or 10%) argued in favor of the survival of traditional literature; two (or 10%) were for the maintenance of wider kinship relationships generally; two (or 10%) cited the traditional respect for the Kabakaship; one (or 5%) defended "traditional wife behavior"; another (5%) emphasized traditional "cleanliness"; and two (10%) stated that they could not think of any specific traditions they were in favor of carrying forward.

Finally, in view of the traditional emphasis upon the superiority of the Baganda relative to surrounding societies, most Baganda respondents (sixteen out of twenty) were asked if they were in favor of the continuation of this theme within their own families. Of the sixteen, three answered "yes", nine "no", and four did not like the word "superiority" but preferred the term "pride" which, they felt, did not contain the destructive aspects of the other word. Two of the three Baganda who answered in the affirmative on the issue commented upon their position. One argued that Baganda were all raised with a certain self-respect based initially upon success in inter-tribal wars. ("Baganda used to enslave others while no one could do this to us.") Then the Baganda became wealthy and superiority came to be based upon education and cultural development. The Muganda, it was asserted by our informant, feels superior towards others even if the latter are of higher educational attainment. The

Muganda "behaves better" which leads to difficulty in his relations with members of other tribes. For instance the Acholi, it was alleged, will start fighting after a few drinks while Baganda can control themselves. Even illiterate Baganda, asserted this informant, can carry themselves better than members of other tribes since they are simply more dignified and responsible, virtues which are inculcated along with the sense of superiority. The other informant who spoke of this likened the Baganda to Englishmen who also, allegedly, feel themselves intrinsically better than others. He argued that this feeling was intensified for the Baganda by the political situation vis-a-vis the British Protectorate, and his conviction is that the feeling is justified although many of its manifestations are bad. When asked about the content of this superiority, our informant cited eating customs, dress, sense of style, form of government and general adaptability to change. He feels, however, that if the sense of superiority is continued beyond a certain point, it will become irrational and states that it is apparent to him that there is some relationship between European arrogance and the continuance of a similar arrogance on the part of Baganda. In this writer's view, these comments elucidate most of the grounds for this sense of cultural pride so common among the Baganda except for one other point: the sense of uniqueness derived from the institution of the Kabakship itself. This was definitively summed up for us one evening at a party during a conversation with a Muganda, not in our sample, who stated, not without apparent sympathy: "You Americans will never understand us because you lack one of the greatest

experiences a man can have; the knowledge that, whatever happens, he has his king."¹

Of the Kikuyu respondents, twenty-five (or 78.1%) also mentioned the traditional role of the classificatory father as functionally necessary although a few argued that he should be allowed to exercise his influence and obligations only if he were financially and educationally qualified. Seven (or 21.9%) supported the continuation of male circumcision, although only one of these had in mind the traditional ceremonial connected with it. The main reason given for this opinion was the symbolic importance of male circumcision as a rite of passage for society and hence its psychological importance for the individual. Three (or 9.4%) argued in favor of respect for elders; three others mentioned traditional friendliness and courtesy; two (6.7%) cited general kinship (clan) relations. The following received one mention each (3.1%): bridewealth, communal behavior and work relations, traditional authority of the husband, and some aspects of traditional land tenure (this last was apparently a reaction against land fragmentation). Six (or 18.8%) stated that they could think of no specific traditions they wished carried forward.

There seem to be no radical differences here between the kinds of traditional institutions respondents from both societies have in mind with respect to the immediate future or the intensity of feeling with which they regard these institutions. There is a high level of functional reasoning in the manner in which they approach this issue as a whole. Thus it is interesting

that Table Q-52 shows a considerable difference in the nature of self-identification relative to tribal vs. national categories between the two sub-samples of respondents. This datum supports our earlier suggestion that "Buganda", at least as a symbol, provides a more stable focus for the sense of identification and belonging than does its "Kikuyu" counterpart.

With this as background, it is interesting to turn to Table Q-41 which has to do with the question of what aspects of Western culture our respondents would like to see kept out of the new Africa. Most striking, of course, is the large number who could not think of two aspects in this respect. But equally interesting is that "physical customs" should prove to be of first importance together with the more plausible category of "impersonal interpersonal behaviors". This type of finding is another example of how the 'little things of life' can become implicated in the 'great issues' with which intellectuals like to deal.

The distribution of responses in Table Q-42 A and B are much as one would expect. It is interesting to note that in the context of this catalogue of problems expected by respondents to be the most serious for their societies after independence, the preservation of traditions and customs (category "F") did not appear as first choice for anyone, and as second choice for only one (a Muganda).² The threat of communist subversion also seems of quite minor importance.)

In the context of these expected problems, Table Q-36, which reflects a question about how a large sum of money would be spent at graduation if such were forthcoming, also holds

few surprises. The small degree of difference existing between the priorities expressed by the Baganda and the Kikuyu respondents reflects the differences in the economic affluence of their respective backgrounds.

Turning now to the larger world stage, Table Q-40 reveals the feelings of our respondents concerning the three world problems of greatest concern to them. It is obvious that the danger of nuclear war and related issues of international tension are of first importance in their minds. But it is a bit disconcerting to find the "don't know" category ("H") second in importance, indicating that a sizeable number of individuals could not think of as many as three world problems. There are no startling differences between Baganda and Kikuyu here except, perhaps, the "economic development" theme (category "I") which the Kikuyu chose far more often than the Baganda. Presumably this reflects the relatively more severe economic problems of Kenya as against Buganda, but the finding also suggests that respondents tend to see the problems of the world in terms of their own local experiences rather than on the basis of what they have studied about world politics and history. This conclusion is supported, too, by the response to the problem of population (appearing only as part of category "K") to which the Kikuyu again responded somewhat more heavily, again presumably reflecting their experiences in the Land Reserves. A somewhat unexpected finding was the response to colonialism (category "D") which apparently was not a salient issue, even for the Kikuyu, suggesting that the public emphasis upon this

question by Africans in the councils of world power may reflect functions other than the expression of genuine private anxieties concerning the matter. And it is also evident that on the world level, as on the local level, Communism is apparently not viewed as a major threat.

Tables Q-44, A and B are rather interesting in the contrasts they present both between each other and within each. For one thing, both Baganda and Kikuyu seem quite able to separate their expectations about solutions to world problems from their desires, but otherwise there seems little agreement, either within the groups or (although more so) between them. For instance the Kikuyu seem to desire strong nationalism almost exactly as little as the Baganda expect it, while the Baganda seem to desire it almost exactly as much as the Kikuyu expect it. On the other hand, two interesting areas of agreement are reflected in the desire, common to both groups, for world government through the United Nations and (to a lesser extent for the Kikuyu), regional federations. The Kikuyu seem quite pessimistic about the chances for world government. We are obviously not dealing here with a group which is of one mind about political solutions to world problems, and we also find it significant that both sub-samples seem to expect regional federation somewhat more than they desire it (see also J. Nye, 1963).

Likewise it is of interest, as Table Q-43 tells us, that our respondents - especially the Kikuyu - are not of one mind concerning what they mean by the term "democracy". The distinction upon which the question was based is derived from a

U.N.E.S.C.O. study concerning the distribution of opinion on this distinction on the part of the world's intelligentsias (R. McKeon, 1951).

Mindful of the importance of such differences in fundamental perspectives relative to definitions of key sociological and political terminology, we explored such perspectives among our respondents by means of the presentation of certain key terms which they were asked to define and, in some cases, to contrast with other related concepts. In this manner we attempted to inquire into the general level of sophistication on the part of our respondents with respect to key conceptions of Western political and social thought.³ Figure III, D.A. presents a portion of this data.

The first over-all impression one derives from examining these responses is that they do not suffer in comparison with what could be expected from average American and perhaps British university students and, in many cases, specific responses are of a level of sophistication parallel with the most articulate formulations of Western students of comparable age and education. The second general impression is one of variety in the sense of markedly different levels of sophistication with respect to different words. Some terms have obviously been objects of considerably deeper reflection than others.

More specifically we can contrast the younger students and the older ones. For the younger students, there seemed to be little difference between "Ideology" and "Ideals", with the Kikuyu students appearing a bit more articulate here. Generally

speaking, these responses suggest that there is little awareness of the fateful role in our time of the concept of ideology. Perhaps the vaguest responses are those relating to the distinction between "Totalitarianism" and "Dictatorship". With one exception (Kikuyu Arts student #A) there was almost a complete lack of understanding of the dynamics of totalitarian history and potential in the contemporary world; and "dictatorship" tended to be interpreted in the simplistic terms of one-man rule. In contrast, considerable thought has obviously been given to the concept of "Democracy". For some it was coterminous with one man - one vote, but others recognized that more was involved in the concept. The same can be said of the responses to the word "Freedom" which seem quite sophisticated. Some (though not all) comprehended that there is a relationship between freedom and order; we do not see reflected in those responses an irresponsibly anarchistic conception of the term by any means. It is also interesting that there seems little emphasis on freedom in terms of property rights and private economic enterprise in the sense that one might perhaps expect from American students raised in the context of a laissez-faire ideology. Instead we see here a concern with broader classes of rights involving self-expression and freedom of choice. Finally, concerning distinctions between "Socialism" and "Communism" there seems some degree of confusion present in the minds of our respondents. The Arts students appear a bit more articulate here than the Science students, especially in their emphasis upon a difference between the two concepts as having to do with

the degree of democratic versus totalitarian tendencies in societies commonly called socialist as against those associated with communism.

Turning now to the older students (fourth year-plus) we find some alterations in patterns of response. Concerning the distinction between "Ideology" and "Ideals", there seems to be a difference in the sophistication of approach between Kikuyu and Baganda Arts students in favor of the former, but in the case of Science students the difference is reduced and even, to some extent, reversed in favor of the Baganda (although of course the number of cases is far too small to permit real comparison). With respect to the distinctions between "Totalitarianism" and "Dictatorship" the Arts students seem more sophisticated than the Science students (with the marked exception of Muganda case #B) but the older Kikuyu Arts students seem most knowledgeable of all concerning the subtleties of totalitarianism. Compared to the younger students, the older Arts students perhaps reflect the social studies education to which they have been exposed. Concerning the concept of "Democracy", the level of sophistication has increased even above that of the younger students; there is evidence of real thoughtfulness and attempts to operationalize the concept meaningfully for the African scene are clearly present. The same can be said of the responses to the term "Freedom", and thus we may be in the presence here of one of the impressive achievements of British education. In the distinctions drawn between "Socialism" and "Communism", we again find an emphasis upon the more democratic potential of

Socialism. Particularly impressive is the handling of this distinction on the part of almost all the Kikuyu Arts students.

We inquired of our respondents the names of those newspapers and magazines which they read with fair regularity and which provided their most important sources of day-to-day information relative to current events. The following list of sources is arranged according to most frequent number of mentions, although the absolute numbers should not be taken too seriously since there was no information for a few respondents and all those for whom answers are recorded mentioned more than one source. Rather it is the proportions which are interesting and the range of sources both in number and level of importance.

Source	Total Number of Mentions
Uganda Argus (a local newspaper in English)...	24
East African Standard (major newspaper of East Africa in English; published in Kenya).	17
Kenya and/or Uganda Weekly News.....	7
London Times.....	7
Vernacular papers of various kinds.....	7
Drum (an African magazine in English).....	5
The Nation.....	4
Readers Digest.....	4
The Economist.....	3
East Africa, Rhodesia and Nyasaland (a news bulletin).....	2
New Statesman.....	2
London Daily Telegraph.....	2
Time Magazine.....	2
U.S.I.A. and B.B.C. news releases.....	2

Four different sectarian professional journals were mentioned by the two clergymen in our sample. In addition the following sources received one mention each: Newsweek; New York Times; London Daily Mirror; Zonik (a Central African news release); The National Geographic; London Illustrated News; the Manchester Guardian; and Punch.

Thus the importance of sources for our respondents seems to vary roughly in inverse proportion to the distance at which they originate. Makerere is in Uganda and thus the Uganda Argus is the most frequently mentioned source. Also, several students from Kenya have mentioned that only during vacations in Kenya do they get to read certain of the sources mentioned. This, presumably, is due both to the factor of availability and also to the pressure of academic and leisure activities which take up the time required to go to the library (or the town bookshops) to avail oneself of a variety of sources. Thus, if one adds to this the data in the previous chapter pertaining to reading habits generally, indirectly at least, it would seem that keeping informed is not a major preoccupation of our respondents relative to other priorities. In this they seem not to differ radically from average students in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Finally we turn to a consideration of the foundations of world-view and of meaning in the realm of moral evaluation. In our research on this we have chosen to concentrate upon the role of Christianity in the lives of our respondents. We have done so because Christianity is the only institutionalized and

relatively consistent framework within which Western-European conceptions of ultimate moral values and their correlated moral norms were introduced into East Africa. In this sense Christianity cannot be ignored. Even to speak of acculturation to Western culture in East Africa requires an understanding of how Christian claims to truth in moral knowledge and norms of interaction have been handled in terms of their significance both to social institutions generally and to individuals in particular.

Table Q-19, discussed in the previous chapter, suggests that loyalty to Christian religious conceptions is not an unimportant part of the psychic economy of our respondents, especially the Baganda for whom specific religious themes formed the second most important category of socialization themes. This conclusion is reinforced by the responses embodied in Table Q-45 wherein, again, we see the importance of a Christian religious orientation, especially to the Baganda. Tables Q-46 A, B and C explore the various aspects of Christianity in terms of their relative importance to respondents. In the case of Table Q-46 A (First Choice), responses broken down by Protestant and Catholic affiliations have been presented as well, not because (the religious variable has been found to be statistically related to the tribal (the cells were too small to permit meaningful analysis), but because the breakdown is - despite this - interesting in that it is so in line with the broad differences between Protestant and Catholic emphases. For instance the typical Protestant emphasis on the personal relationship to God is reflected in category "H" whose importance in the total can

hardly be comprehended without the breakdown into religious affiliations. Similarly the Roman Catholic emphasis upon formal theology and natural reason is apparently reflected in the responses to category "A".

Finally, as concerns differences between Protestant and Catholic affiliates, we find the responses to category "J" ("Religion has played almost no role in my life") quite striking. When all three Tables are totaled together, this category was chosen twelve times (three on first choice, four on second, and five on third). Analysis shows that three individuals account for nine out of the twelve responses. These are all Kikuyu, and two of them are affiliates of the very strict African Inland Mission group while one is a Presbyterian. Of the other three individuals, one is a Kikuyu Presbyterian, one a Kikuyu Anglican, and one a Muganda Anglican. (In the third-choice table, the Kikuyu Anglican dropped out of category "J", presumably into the "No Answer" category, and was replaced by another Kikuyu member of the African Inland Mission. Since there are only three members of this latter denomination in the whole Kikuyu sample, it is not unimportant that all three should have sooner or later claimed that their religion had played no role in their lives.) It is difficult to interpret these findings. Not a single Roman Catholic responded in category "J" and only a single Muganda. Are we to attribute this to the religious or to the tribal factor, or to both (i.e. the type of integration between them in one society as against the other)? This type of quantitative data cannot aid us here.

Tables Q-47, Q-48, Q-49 and Q-50 present data relevant to the problem of Church-State relations. Here, too, we find interesting combinations of attitudes whose meaning, in the absence of deeper qualitative analysis, remains obscure. We shall return to this issue later in the chapter.

Regarding the larger problems of interpretation and the meaning of our data, it is clear that questionnaire data in its quantitative sense is not only inadequate but possibly misleading. Hence Figure IV, D.A. was constructed to present the qualitative data we had managed to gather through the combined application of our research instruments. Thus for each of our respondents, identified here only by the same case numbers used in Figures I and II, D.A., all comments relevant to religious conceptions specifically and fundamental world-view generally have been gathered together under appropriate headings.

This data largely speaks for itself. However certain comments can be made concerning it as a whole.

First: It is obvious, in our view, that Christianity, in some form at least, has exerted a powerful influence upon the world-views of our respondents. Simply from the point of view of specific Christian doctrines our records reveal a high level of belief. The following data, abstracted from Figure IV, D.A., reflect the degree to which this generalization holds true. The relative conservatism of this ensuing profile of beliefs in relation to other secular university-educated intelligentsias is obvious, although, it should be noted, the Baganda again appear more conservative than the Kikuyu.

FIGURE IV, DATA APPENDIX (ABSTRACT)

EXPRESSED BELIEF ORIENTATIONS TO SPECIFIC CHRISTIAN THEMES

Baganda						
	Yes	No	No Indication	Expressed Doubts	"Doesn't Matter"	"Don't Know"
God.....	20	-	-	-	-	-
Divinity of Jesus.....	13	1	6	-	-	-
Immortality of Soul.....	16	-	1	2	1	-
Devil.....	4	1	15	-	-	-
Heaven and Hell.....	9	2	9	-	-	-
Kikuyu						
God.....	29	-	2	1	-	-
Divinity of Jesus.....	15	2	11	2	1	1
Immortality of Soul.....	10	5	4	7	5	1
Devil.....	4	4	21	2	1	-
Heaven and Hell.....	5	4	19	4	-	-

Below the surface of this expression of beliefs we must search for more subtle configurations of attitudes and values, which brings us to our second general comment on Figure IV.

Second: These protocols suggest that moral values and norms relating to the functioning of society seem relatively unrelated, in the minds of our respondents, to the categories of Christian theology and are likely to remain so. Even where Christian parents attempted to assert a relationship between

these two realms in their socialization practices, most respondents seem to have rejected this. More generally, the protocols are rather striking for their evidence of a widespread resistance to the concept of sin and related patterns of guilt. This generalization has important implications for social control. If moral norms are seen as reflecting secular values and rooted in secular sanctions, both positive and negative (and, in this sense, independent of Christian categories), then organizational (ecclesiastical) Christianity cannot wield the influence over the individual's conscience which it could were these normative dynamics rooted in the Christian theology of sin and redemption. It could be suggested that, also, the refusal to ground moral values and norms in a supernatural frame of reference and sanction system represents a continuation of the traditional African "naturalism" in moral matters (i.e. the tendency to see moral issues directly in terms of communal welfare rather than in terms of the will of a supernatural god).⁴ Although there are definite exceptions in our protocols, this trend is one which the writer believes to be prevalent in the data. If so, then it may be hypothesized that, despite the present intensity of the mutual involvement of religion and politics, the future of Christianity in East Africa (at least as far as its intelligentsia is concerned) will tend in an a-political direction unless Christianity can substitute for its present techniques of social control a positive social philosophy capable of winning the voluntary adherence of people searching for a new foundation for social order. This leads us into our third general comment.

Third: Whatever may be the case in the future, our protocols suggest that at present there seems to be little general relationship in the minds of respondents between theological doctrines and social organizational theory of any kind (e.g. the social gospel movement in American Protestantism, or Roman Catholic socio-political thought). Indeed respondents seem barely aware that such relationships exist. This lack of deeper thought about the broader implications for society and politics of their own religion is matched by a corresponding lack of knowledge (or interest) in other religions. Thus religion in itself does not appear to be a major focus for intellectual interest or speculation.

Fourth: These points lead into an interesting consideration with respect to the study of acculturation and intelligentsias as opposed to other sectors of a population. It can be argued that different operational definitions of acculturation must be used according to which sectors of a population one is referring. If a peasant, let us say, states that he is a Christian but then proceeds simply to give Christian names to all the old gods, one can entertain doubts about the level of acquisition of Christianity. Western-educated intelligentsias, however, are not likely to hold on to the old gods in any case. Can one then state that, operationally, by virtue of this fact, an intelligentsia has thus accepted Western intellectual culture? One must exercise prudence here because it can obviously be argued that most American college students, let us say, can hardly be said to be deeply affected by Western intellectual

culture either in terms of personal priorities of interest, taste or reference-group behavior. On the other hand it is also true that for areas such as East Africa the appropriate standard of comparison for a university student cannot be the typical but rather the upper-level product of American (or any other highly educated society's) higher education. If the latter standard of comparison is used, then the Chinese students of Wen-Han Kiang's study (1948), for instance, can be said to have been far more highly acculturated to Western intellectual culture than their Baganda or Kikuyu counterparts. The difficulty is that Kiang (and others who have conducted similar studies) failed to specify with what type of students they were dealing and to what extent they were typical or atypical. At any rate, the evidence in Figure IV reinforces, for involvement in intellectual Christianity, what our evidence in the previous chapter concerning reading habits and in Chapter 4 concerning student interests generally has implied: namely, that this intelligentsia is simply not very emotionally involved or even informed about the major issues and lines of diversity dividing the various sub-groups and loyalties of Western intellectual culture. While our respondents do not seem deeply affected by the ebbs and flows of Western ideologies, as in the manner of Kiang's Chinese students, neither do they appear to be torn by the type of conflict between ideologized traditionalism and some form of modernism characterizing the Japanese students in the studies by Battistini (1956) and Bonnet et.al. (1958). Thus, while they express nominal adherence to many Western forms and

institutions, their very inability to articulate serious criticisms of one sort or another against these institutions either in the secular or the religious realm suggests the kind of non-involvement which could be used as a definition of lack of deep involvement in the sector of Western life our respondents are supposed to represent.

Fifth: It is also necessary, however, to stress the important degree of individual variation reflected in Figure IV. This is true both with respect to the distribution of specific beliefs and to the emotional importance of these beliefs to various individuals. Thus some believe in heaven and hell, the devil and immortality, and some do not; for some such beliefs have great affective significance, for others they have only cognitive importance. These variations are sociologically significant insofar, for instance, that ecclesiastical authority will probably wield more influence over those deeply concerned with immortality and salvation than those without this concern.

Sixth: Generally speaking, there seems to be a somewhat greater emphasis upon authority and obedience among the Baganda than the Kikuyu, this difference probably being related to the close integration between the hierarchical churches (Catholic and Anglican) and the hierarchical society of Buganda.

Seventh: The subtleties relative to the foregoing points must be kept in mind when evaluating the significance of answers to questions relating to Church-State relations (questions 47-50 reproduced in Figure IV). Many respondents were found not to be fully aware of the ideological issues involved here, or at least of the relationships between the questions and these issues.

Hence we, as observer, had to construct operational definitions of a tendency toward or away from the doctrine of the separation of Church and State. For readily apparent reasons, we utilized as an ideal-type definition of the "pro" position relative to the doctrine of the separation of Church and State a response pattern of "Disagree" to questions 47, 48, 49, plus "Agree" to question 50 (DDDA). The ideal-type position opposite to this (i.e. favorable to the close relation of Church and State) we defined as a response pattern of "Agree" to questions 47, 48, 49 and "Disagree" to question 50 (AAAD). We did this on the basis of the implications of these response patterns, regardless of whether or not the individual respondent was consciously aware of the ideological issue of Church-State relations or not. Of course, most respondents did not reply in terms of one or the other of these ideal-type patterns. Out of fifty-two, sixteen did so according to the following distribution.

	Anti-Separation (Pattern AAAD)*		Pro-Separation (Pattern DDDA)*	
	Baganda	Kikuyu	Baganda	Kikuyu
Roman Catholic	2 (10%)	0	0	4 (12.5%)
Protestant	2 (10%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (10%)	5 (15.6%)
Totals	4 (20%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (10%)	9 (28.1%)

*To enable the reader to explore further on his own, here are the relevant case numbers. For Pattern AAAD-Baganda: Nos. 7, 8, 9, 15; Kikuyu: Nos. 19. For Pattern DDDA-Baganda: Nos. 5, 10; Kikuyu: Nos. 2, 11, 14, 18, 21, 25, 26, 28, 30.

It is clear that the distinction according to tribe, here, is more important than that by religion which is further evidence of the closer integration between Christianity and society in Buganda relative to Kikuyu. If one examines correlations of these positions as revealed in Figure IV, one finds that those answering according to the DDDA pattern are somewhat less orthodox in their Christian positions than those responding in the AAAD pattern. For instance those stressing the separation of Church and State tend to answer "no" more often to question 45 (concerning the personal need for a religious philosophy in life) than those holding the opposite position. Also, the former seem rather less concerned with the question of immortality than the latter and tend to believe less in the devil and in heaven and hell. There were some comments by way of qualification which proved helpful in the interpretation of what respondents more specifically had in mind regarding their answers on the questionnaire. These comments are also recorded in Figure IV.

This brings to an end the present chapter of this study on the reconstruction of perspective. Limitations on space have dictated the selection of priorities for discussion within the bodies of these chapters. These priorities reflect the writer's interests; but he hopes that the reader may find in the Data Appendix material relevant to his own.

In conclusion we now turn to the final chapter of this study in which we shall spell out briefly some of the implications we see in our work for the future of Western education in East Africa and in non-Western areas generally and, more fundamentally, for

inter-cultural communication between the intellectual elites
of the world

Notes

1. All Baganda respondents were, later in the interview, asked specifically about whether or not they wished the Kabakaship as an institution to survive. The results were fourteen in favor (although four of these stated that they personally did not really care) while four were opposed, and for two no answer was recorded. This, however, did not seem to interfere with support for the implementation of an East African Federation for which twelve expressed themselves in favor, five were opposed, one did not care, and for two no answer was recorded. Comments in explanation for opposition to Federation stressed the inability of the relevant tribes to understand each other and the lack of any specific need for Federation at the present time.

The Kikuyu were also asked about their attitude toward an East African Federation. Twenty-three were in favor (although one of these stressed economic as against political union), one was "indifferent", one was "not sure", for seven there was no indication of an answer in the records, and none expressed themselves as unequivocally opposed.

2. A particularly sensitive comment with reference to this question on the part of a second year Kikuyu science student is reproduced here. It is a good example of the thoughtfulness with which many students (at least in private) approached the prospect of independence:

"Misunderstanding of democracy I am afraid will still be prevalent (as a problem) and perhaps will become worse. Dictatorship may result. Tribal organizations may result and I fear Kenyatta might be a King over the Kikuyus more than otherwise. The land problem (is also very serious). I never have had to think more seriously about my Kenya than now and the views given are not as pessimistic as they may appear but they are a genuine general reflection of the impression I have got from my fellow Kenyans. Kikuyus have been very influential but they won't always remain so and so Kenyatta might be rejected by other people. But the truth is that so long as the Kikuyu masses want him it will be impossible for the educated few to refuse his

'Prime Ministership' which is conceived as Kingship more than anything else by the Kikuyus and so the future African government may have to suppress another Mau Mau... I am not a loyalist in any way but I have been very sad when I see how the masses suffer for Independence and by making these comments I do not mean to devalue the Kikuyu achievements....The land (also) will be as big a problem to Kenyatta as it is to the Kenya government now because people want it free. Kenya is best suited for land-communism more than anything else but I won't expand that now."

This comment, incidentally, should not be taken as in opposition to Kenyatta. Very few Kikuyu students, if any, are. Rather some fear (perhaps with Nkrumah in mind) what he might be forced to become under the press of circumstances.

3. It should be kept in mind that we refer here to sophistication only with respect to Western political and social phenomena. Obviously all our respondents could be expected to possess a very high level of sophistication regarding the dynamics of their own societies and many others as well. It could even be argued that we are testing here only sophistication of articulation rather than understanding.
4. The reason why so many Westerners fail to see this as "naturalism" is because the communal welfare concept included both the living and the dead. "Death", in most African societies, was not traditionally defined ontologically as "non-being" but rather as a different level of quite "natural" being. Thus the will of the ancestors and/or of gods once human could not, in the Western sense, be viewed as supernatural authority (cf. J. Jahn 1961 and E. Smith 1950).

CHAPTER VIII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter we sum up our findings and bring the study to a close with some concluding comments on their significance.

The data presented in previous chapters suggest certain conclusions which can be summed up in the form of generalizations.

1. First, it is evident that the following comment by Smythe and Smythe (1960:109) concerning the Nigerian elite they studied is applicable to our findings as well:

"...the popular notion that a Western education somehow separates an African irrevocably from his tribal identification was not borne out by the study."

That Western education brings about some form of separation cannot be denied. But our exploration in depth of attitudes and world view indicates clearly, in our opinion, that these students cannot be understood apart from their traditional experience and ties. The data reflect profound processes of syncretism between tradition and modernity, rather than alienation from them.

2. The previous generalization can, however, be qualified by the point that these East African respondents seem more affected by elements which are common to East African traditional societies (at least Buganda and Kikuyu) than those which differentiate them. Specifically it appears that Zalinger's conclusion (Kimble, 1962:381) regarding his Nigerian and Ghanaian student

respondents is equally true of those studied here:

"They display a high degree of effective involvement in the norms and customs of the traditional family, and express considerable approval for the cohesion, mutual aid, respect for elders, and other personal relationships which characterize the traditional family. At the same time they expect that Western socio-economic developments are bound to result in a breakup of the extended family systems, and a development in the direction of the more isolated conjugal-type family of the West."

His data, however, as well as ours reveal numerous indications of unwillingness to adhere to many of the specific familial and other obligations which characterized traditional society when these were seen to interfere with modernization and personal social mobility.

3. A third generalization bearing upon and elucidating the continuities between past and present has to do with the social origins of our respondents. Both Baganda and Kikuyu students derive from the higher status levels of their respective societies. In the case of Buganda this was easily perceivable in the highly disproportionate number of sons of chiefs in the student body. But somewhat unexpectedly, Kikuyu students also were seen to derive disproportionately from either (and both) families of high traditional status and/or families which had a history of active involvement in the modernizing sector of Kenya life. The meaning of this finding as regards the Baganda and the Kikuyu is, of course, different. For Baganda, the decision to place sons in the university is part of the broader pattern of adaptation on the part of a traditional oligarchy to modernization and social change. But it appears that Kikuyu students also have benefited from a broader pattern of decision regarding

adaptation to social change on the parts of their families.

Studies in other parts of Africa suggest that this finding is not relevant only to the present setting. Hanna (1964:421), in his study of Nigerian students at the University College of Ibadan, reports that

"Students were disproportionately drawn from higher-status backgrounds; approximately 3 per cent of Nigeria's male population is engaged in administrative, professional, and technical work, whereas 39 per cent of the students' fathers or guardians were so engaged."

Likewise it is interesting and relevant that Marvick (1965:473), in his study of Creole, Ibo and Yoruba students at Fourah Bay College, writes

"Our evidence.....suggests that these students make no wholesale rejection of their cultural origins - far from it, and for at least two reasons: first, many features of their parents' way of life are not seen as in conflict with the modern order they seek to bring about; second, their parents have often been sufficiently enlightened to help them with their educational efforts, and sufficiently influential in their communities to provide models of whom their children can feel proud, even after becoming Western-educated intellectuals. Parents who identify with the aspirations of their children, in short, appear to be important supportive factors in the lives of many of these young African students."

These findings, we will suggest later, bear heavily upon the issue of social stratification.

4. Our fourth generalization has to do with group cohesion. From the standpoint of technical sociological criteria for defining groups (i.e. consciousness of kind and common fate, sustained communication and interaction, and behavior regularized by mutually accepted social norms), respondents in this study cannot be said - at this stage at least - to be members of a single social group based on similar educational experience.

Differences reflecting membership in diverse tribal and ethnic categories, educational specialization and territoriality outweigh the influence of the status of "student" as a basis for group formation. Divisiveness is aggravated by cultural stereotypes which preclude to a considerable extent common perception of similarities in fundamental attitudes and problems which, as this study has suggested, tie African students together more than they themselves usually realize.

5. Shils (1962) has described the political outlook of many non-Western intellectuals in terms of intense politicization, populism, oppositionalism, socialism and incivility. He has also suggested that there seem to be three stages in the political development of intellectuals in underdeveloped countries (constitutional liberalism and religious-moral renewal; politicized nationalism; and finally a kind of politics of disillusionment and withdrawal). In the light of this model, what does the evidence in the present study suggest about this generation of East African (particularly Baganda and Kikuyu) students?

These students, first of all, appear to be very little affected by politicization, especially if this term is interpreted in terms of political activity. This is an unexpected finding and emphasizes the importance of inquiring closely into the specific concomitants of popular sociological generalizations. Other studies provide some assistance here. Kimble (1962:388) points out that of Zolinger's respondents

"...not more than half were found to be 'highly interested'

(in politics) and of the rest little more than half were even 'moderately interested'. The reasons for the rather surprising lukewarmness of so many (notably Nigerian) students were not always articulated, but in several cases they appear to have been related to the subjects they were studying. By no means all African students who come to (the United States) major in political science; many are far more interested in economics, and in finding their future in the field of business, industry or technology."

It is possible, too, that these students' presence in the United States and the fact that this was a pre-independence study may have influenced the results. The studies of Marvick and Hanna also throw some light on specific concomitants of interest or lack of interest (perhaps involvement is a better word) in political activity. Although these concomitants apparently vary considerably with specific situations, some of their data are relevant to possible explanations of the more than expected political apathy of the respondents in our study. Marvick (1965:493), for instance, says of his science students that they

"....seemingly care little about party struggles or legislative actions. Their substantive concern with public affairs is distinguished, moreover, by a comparative indifference to tribalism as a problem. Recall also how comparatively slight are their intentions to take active part in community politics, either immediately after college or in middle age. It seems likely that many of them will spend quiet lives, making useful contributions to the modernization of their country either as technicians or teachers, almost irrespective of what kind of political regime or civic life flourishes around them."

Hanna (1964), whose study focused specifically on political interests and involvement, found that the Nigerian students he studied were generally deeply involved in politics. However there were certain characteristics shared by those who were most active in partisan affairs. Two of these appear directly relevant to our study. One is "lower occupational status,

suggesting that power was pursued to compensate for status deprivation". We have seen that our respondents did not suffer from such deprivation, having almost all derived from higher status levels in East Africa. A second characteristic is "private sponsorship at University College, Ibadan, and intention to become teachers, indicating that government employment or sponsorship, and professional (excluding teaching) aspirations, minimized activity". In our study, the vast majority of respondents were on government bursaries at Makerere which made political activity risky for them (especially before independence) and, furthermore, most expected to enter posts (both government and private) which precluded extensive political involvement.

As far as populism is concerned, if one has in mind Shils' ideal-type conception of it (i.e. "The 'people' are a model and a standard; contact with them is a good. Esteem and disesteem are meted out on the basis of 'closeness to the people' or distance from them."), then the respondents in this study cannot be said to be much affected by this tendency. Evidences of a potential for it, however, are scattered throughout the data. The most obvious possible explanation for this relative absence of populist feeling is that our respondents were students within and not outside East Africa and thus were not so radically removed from their indigenous environments. Furthermore, as we have seen, the student role was, in most cases, well rationalized and thus there was little basis for the kind of guilt on which populism tends to feed.

There is little evidence of any oppositionalist syndrome, at least of the intensity Shils describes. Among some Baganda students could be found frustration in the face of separatist tendencies on the parts of some Baganda politicians, but this was balanced by loyalist sympathies or at least ambivalence regarding the Buganda monarchy. Many Kikuyu students voiced frustration with the tendency toward self-seeking which they claimed to see among many Kenya politicians. But at the time of the study it could not be said that "The degree of alienation from the constituted authority...was almost always deeper and more drastic than the opposition which exists in advanced pluralistic societies."

The absence of the varied European and African themes on Marxism is quite striking. This appears to be part of a larger pattern of non-dogmatism which, in turn, probably reflects a heavily pragmatic and generally "liberal" stance toward politics and society. This stance tends to eschew theory as well as dogma, but it is not unaccompanied by evidence of thoughtful reflection on the meanings of terms like freedom and democracy.

Related to this is the relative absence of what Shils has called incivility¹ as regards traditions of responsible citizenship. On the contrary, respondents seem actively aware of and concerned about this problem in relation to the politicians. One qualification to this, however, is the appearance of incivility in intra-university life where tribal and territorial partisanship of a rather passionate kind are not unknown. (Hanna found the same problem in the university at Ibadan and

quotes a student newspaper which editorially condemned this tendency on campus.)

One can sum up these points by fitting them into Shils' stages of political development among intellectuals. The respondents in this study are obviously not part of a student generation characterized by politicized nationalism. For them, the nationalist battle was all but over. Rather they seem to be hovering on the borders of Shils' third stage, that of disillusion. However, at the time of this study, it appeared to be an incipient and (as yet) unpoliticized disillusion. Where then, one may ask, are the energies of these students primarily directed? The answer to this is our sixth generalization.

6. The underlying pattern in the evidence presented in this study, we suggest, is one which can be labeled privatized professionalism.

By the term privatized we mean the channeling of affective energies into the struggle for the discovery and establishment of personal coordinates for loyalties, obligations and security to replace those traditional foci which are crumbling under the forces of change. As Hunter (1964:338) has pointed out:

"Three moving forces in particular are powerfully at work throughout Africa - the idea of the free and responsible individual personality; the idea of democratic authority; the idea of economic competitiveness. Matched with them are the institutions which have, in part, expressed them in the West - the nuclear family, universal education, the ballot box, the individual ownership of land and property, the industrial corporation. It must give us pause to think how shattering has been the impact of these ideas upon the three most vital elements of a culture -- on Religion, on the Family and on Authority."

It is in this direction, the struggle to maintain personal

identity with respect to these coordinates, that the energies and abilities of the students we have studied seem to be primarily channeled. It is with reference to these issues that our data show the most amount of variation and depth of reflection, and the least amount of stereotyping. We have had ample occasion in Chapter 6 to comment upon the profound importance of family issues to our respondents. In Chapter 7 and especially Figure IV in the Data Appendix we have evidence of the depth of the efforts to maintain some kind of religious perspective on life. Here one cannot help being impressed with the degree to which Christianity has in fact succeeded in penetrating to the center of the search for a world view, despite many public utterances to the contrary. But the style of its adaptation to the African scene is typically African; visible in the de-emphasis of sin and eternal punishment, of the puritanical superego and in the degree of the separation of ethics and theology. Indeed, in our data on sex and the family, as on religion and career plans generally, the desire to maintain the distinctively African approach to life is evident, an approach which Hunter (1964:345) speaks of as

"....one treasure which could easily be lost in the haste of progress - the spontaneous relish of life itself, of leisure, human contact, the will relaxed and the senses and spirit open to receive and give." 6

By the term professionalism we mean an evident desire to play one's part in life largely through the instituted occupational roles and their correlated obligations and opportunities provided by society. Applicable here is Bottomore's (1964:95) comment on educated Indians:

"...few of those who can be described as intellectuals in the modern, secular sense are in any consistent, radical or effective way critics of their society, or creators of new social doctrines which can inspire popular action, and for the most part the influence of the intellectuals is assimilated to that of the new middle classes as a whole, whose style of life brings about small and gradual changes in taste and manners."

The ideational (ideological would be too strong a word here) umbrella which imparts legitimacy to both the privatism and the professionalism is a kind of fundamental (though not at times unambivalent) optimism about modernity. There is a good deal of evidence that the Western world is still perceived as having answers to the social, economic, political and moral problems of change and transformation. This optimism is buoyed by a really basic lack of acquaintance with the massive problems and casualties of Western history not to speak of their philosophic and sociological bases. Thus, as Marvick expressed it in relation to his respondents at Fourah Bay, they possess "only a common-sense appreciation of the dynamics of human psychology and historical change".

Although we have focused upon respondents representing two quite different indigenous societies, it appears that the similarity of Kikuyu and Baganda responses outweighs the differences. The latter seem relevant to early life experiences reflective of the different kinds of change which the two societies have undergone, especially the survival among the Baganda of an organically more integrated socialization environment than was the case for the Kikuyu. However it is clear that Baganda and Kikuyu students view themselves and the world in considerably more similar ways than either group is aware of. This suggests

that a stronger basis for empathy and cooperation exists between Baganda and Kikuyu than either have realized.

In light of this, let us bring this study to a close by relating it to broader patterns and issues of theory, research and social policy concerning social change and education in Africa.

One may ask, first, about the relationship between Baganda and Kikuyu students on the one hand and other East African students on the other. Both groups can be linked in distinction to other East Africans in that both, although in quite different ways, have benefited from a history of successful adaptability to modernization. The Baganda students are part of a traditional oligarchy which has not only maintained but intensified its ruling position. Furthermore they are part of one of the wealthiest traditional societies in sub-Saharan Africa. Although they are part of a society which is, due to its traditionally non-bureaucratic and radically decentralized organization, structurally unadaptable to modernization, the Kikuyu students represent a people which is notorious for its relentless pursuit of Western education, political ambition and other motivations and desires functionally useful for adaptation to and social mobility within a modernized society. For these reasons, it seems a safe conclusion that both groups are destined for a high place in the emerging social class system of East Africa. For as Coleman and Rosberg (1964:690) have pointed out,

"Throughout Africa, certain tribal, linguistic or ethnic groups are in a more advantageous competitive position than others. This favored position may be the result; of one or more different factors: greater adaptive capacity

of the traditional culture; earlier and more intensive exposure to modernity (education, commercialization, urbanization, accumulated wealth, and so forth), and the resultant competitive advantage of the individual in the quest for status and influence in the new order; more natural resources or greater economic potential of the area; and preferred treatment during the colonial period."

This relatively advantageous history and prospect (plus, in the case of the Kikuyu, the lingering shock of the Mau Mau experience), may be one contributing factor to the marked lack of radical politicization among the Baganda and Kikuyu students. Another contributing factor may be the lack of overseas experience. It is interesting that Smythe and Smythe, in their work on Nigeria (1960:161), claim that

"There is a difference between those who are educated abroad...and those who are getting their education within Nigeria itself. The latter are developing into what might be characterized as conforming younger elite. Almost all of the young people attending the University College in Ibadan or the various other institutions are the recipients of government support. Since they do not wish to jeopardize their scholarships or future job prospects in civil service employment (to which practically all of them are committed), they are rarely found engaged in current controversies of basic importance. Some of the elite say that these students seem to have translated this caution into a pronounced class feeling, a sense of being 'better'."

We are not in a position to say if this distinction exists in East Africa as well, but if it does, one additional reason for it might well lie in the possibility that actual experience in the Western world may help erode the optimistic confidence in the benign nature of "progress" which we suggested earlier was present to some degree in the attitudes of respondents. (It is, of course, also possible that politicization can be increased by the opposite effect - perception of the vast difference in levels of "progress" between the Western and the non-Western

world.) At any rate, it does seem evident that this study has, from a broader sociological perspective, dealt with a sector of the future occupants of the higher levels of the emerging supra-tribal and even supra-national stratification system of East Africa. In this sense, then, the term "elect" in the title of the study appears as most applicable to a social class interpretation. Is it also applicable in the sense of a political elite? This is the topic of our second concluding comment.

The question of the degree to which the highly educated in Africa will also form the ruling political elite is a controversial one. On the face of it, the logic of the hypothesis seems clear and compelling. The relationship between political power and high position in the stratification system is a truism of sociological theory. Education is now obviously correlated, in Africa, with high occupational achievement and, through this, mobility into the upper levels of the stratification system. When one adds to this the elitism and statism of most of the sub-Saharan African nations (cf. Coleman and Rosberg 1964:662-663), the correlation between education and future political elite status seems almost inevitable.

However there are equally strong, if more subtle, arguments against such a prediction. First, this correlation is by no means universal throughout the non-Western world. In fact the trend seems in the opposite direction once the goals of the nationalist revolution are achieved (see, for instance, Wallerstein 1964:Part III). Lipset (1963:74) has generalized this

trend as follows (but note the helpful qualifications of his point by Coleman, 1965:27-28):

"As we have noted, intellectuals play an important role in most new nations in formulating the objectives and rationale of the struggle for independence. But after independence, leftist and populist ideologies, and an emphasis on practical pursuits as most useful in an 'underdeveloped' society, press the intellectuals to withdraw from effective group participation in politics.th And their concern with the 'good opinion' of the elite of the former metropolitan power may even lead them to depreciate the achievements of the nation which they helped bring into being. For new nations are not only po, populist and pragmatic; they are also provincial. The resulting tension between the intellectuals and the dominant forces in the new nation may constitute a handicap in formulating an effective national self-image. Thus, all new nations face the problem of incorporating their intellectuals into their politics."

Second, there is the long-range trend toward the breakup of the intellectuals as a coherent "caste or compact rank" whose sociological causes Mannheim (1956:91-171) has analyzed so well. It is possible to argue, in response to this, that modern statist-oriented societies (especially those based on socialist ideology) will tend to become heavily bureaucratized. And, as Mannheim himself points out

①The bureaucratic hierarchy creates its own criteria of distinction by a new system of certifications for civil service careers. On this new basis the educated have become identified as the possessors of diplomas and career monopolies."

These monopolies may or may not be used to attain and maintain ultimate political power. In the United States, for instance, where this trend toward elites of certification is today quite marked, there has been no attempt on the part of these elites to attain political power. Likewise, as Bottomore (1964:Chapter IV), in a very lucid analysis of this issue has demonstrated, there is

no reason automatically to assume that intellectuals, managers or bureaucrats must be viewed as contenders for the place of ruling elites. After reviewing comparative evidence relating to this, he concludes that

"In spite of the many difficulties presented by the concept of class, I think it is a great deal easier to demonstrate the existence of broad class interests in modern democratic societies (with the evidence provided by the formation of specific organizations, by political ideologies and by voting behaviour) than to show that elite groups such as those we have examined have any similar collective interests or even a collective 'elite-consciousness'."

(This, of course, does not preclude the fact that "competition and conflict among them may restrict the power of those who are the rulers of society at a given time.") In authoritarian societies (and some suggest this is a trend in all advanced industrial societies) it is, of course, possible for the technical and bureaucratic cadres of government agencies to exercise eventually what amounts to full governing power (cf. the discussion of the "no-party state" in Coleman and Rosberg, 1964: 674-676). This is a possibility which cannot be ruled out, but neither does the available evidence as yet suggest its inevitability.

A third argument against the inevitable correlation of education and political elite status is the possible decline of one prerequisite variable now present in most of Africa. As Coleman (1965:355) suggests,

"The elitist climate there, however, is probably transitory, not only because the trend toward educational eclecticism, multiple dependency, and indigenous innovation will dilute and transform it, but also because the expansion of indigenous secondary and higher education will deflate it insofar as it is produced by educational scarcity."

Fourth, and finally, there is the evidence we have collected in this present study showing the absence of requisite ambition and elite consciousness appropriate to the drive for supreme political power. It is, of course, possible that sectors of the East African student population other than the ones we studied may harbor such ambitions. If so, however, the absence of the sizeable and sociologically important Baganda and Kikuyu students from among their ranks suggests education alone is not a sufficient basis for the development of corporate elite consciousness. But this raises the inevitable question about the future? Will what is true today be true tomorrow? Or are there elements in the present situation discussed here which, were certain circumstances to be altered, would produce a reversal of the trends we have outlined? And if so, what are these circumstances? This issue forms the basis for our third concluding comment.

There are three elements present in the data which, under certain conditions, could form the basis for a major transformation of attitudes leading to politicization of some kind. These three elements are a certain degree of populist sentiment based on concern (guilt is perhaps too strong a word) about the elite-mass gap; attachment to certain kinds of traditional values and norms; and, third, a degree of optimistic confidence in a somewhat stereotyped version of modernity and progress. These three elements are interrelated. Populist sentiment is based upon two mutually reinforcing factors. One is the promise of equality as a core value of the liberal democratic ethos.

Second, traditional African societies, whatever their differences, had powerful egalitarian strains whether expressed structurally as in the decentralized Kikuyu system, or more subtly in the heavy emphasis on the responsibilities and obligations of power to be found in even highly centralized and hierarchical systems like Buganda. In the face of both these traditions, the possibilities of irresponsible power and severe differentials in life chances which are potentially present in the emerging class system and the elite-mass gap generate a tendency toward countervailing populist sentiment. Apparently faith in the benign potential of modernization plus the still favorable personal opportunities for highly educated people in East Africa presently have held this sentiment to a relative minimum.

However one can imagine at least four circumstances which, were they to come about, could activate the potential for politicization. These are, first, disillusionment about modernization brought about by close-range experience (as through travel) with the massive problems of industrial societies. The second possibility is political and economic failure at home brought about by instability, inefficiency or the contradictions of the revolution of rising expectations. Third, there is the potential for the increase of populist sentiment arising out of a widening of the elite-mass gap seen in terms of access to living standards in African societies on the part of different sub-groups (classes, ethnic communities, political favorites etc.). Finally there is the possibility for a transformation of personal circumstances such as through intellectual unemployment brought

by the production of unwanted skills, the spread of educational opportunity, or perhaps eventually even the semi-automation of white collar occupations.

Very relevant here is Wallerstein's discussion (1965) of elites in French-speaking West Africa. A situation of over-production in the educational system on the level of primary schools and universities (but not secondary schools) seems to have come about in that part of Africa. On the primary level, the famous problem of unemployed school-leavers has apparently become so explosive that a slowdown of educational expansion has been quietly initiated in some parts of French-speaking West Africa. The risks for the social structure are clear. As Wallerstein (1965:20-21) points out, these include

"....unrest among those persons who, having entered the edges of the money economy themselves, are anxious to enable their children really to profit by it via the route of education."

But if government does not initiate a slowdown in such cases, it

"....will find those who are educated at the primary level turning against each other in competition for the limited jobs available."

The 1959 "anti-stranger" riots in the Ivory Coast and the "status-group politics" underlying the army coup in Togo in 1963 are examples of what is possible in such situations. The dangers of unemployment among university graduates, with its concomitant proletarianization of the intelligentsia, are vividly illustrated in the history of central and eastern Europe subsequent to World War I and the breakdown of the Austro-Hungarian empire (see bibliography in Mannheim, 1949:99, note 1). These dangers are both immediate and long-range. The immediate dangers include

fragmentation of the social structure into "ins" and "outs" and the rise of radical ideologies. Wallerstein (1965:22-23) has effectively described this problem for French-speaking Africa:

"The 'outs' will be the weaker groups: elites coming from 'minority' or backward groups, 'stranger' farmers in cash-crop areas, traditional merchants squeezed out in the process of economic nationalization, skilled workers and lower administrative staff as opposed to higher cadres in the towns. It will be these groups who will get the smaller portion of the economic pie and among whose children the larger number of unemployed school-leavers will be found. If these groups are able to coalesce, and particularly if leadership can be provided by intellectuals who are unemployed (especially where the lack of employment is due to the presence of non-indigenous personnel), then a radicalized but pro-development ideology should have much appeal and much effect."

The longer-run dangers have to do with the probable nature of these ideologies and the social and political practices associated with them. Mannheim (1949:102) effectively summed up this aspect of the problem.

"If a society in which the various classes have very unequal standards of life, very unequal opportunities for leisure, and vastly dissimilar opportunities for psychological and cultural development, offers the chances for cultural leadership to larger and larger sections of the population, the inevitable consequence is that the average outlook of those groups which have been doomed to a more unfortunate position in life, tends more and more to become the prevalent outlook of the whole society. Whereas in an aristocratic society in which a very small minority was culturally active, the low average level of culture of the less fortunate classes was confined to their own sphere of life; now as a result of large-scale ascent, the limited intelligence and outlook of the average person gains general esteem and importance and even suddenly becomes a model to which people seek to conform. A gradual influx from the lower classes can be assimilated by the upper classes, as is still very largely the case in England today; when, however, the influx assumes mass proportions, the older intellectual classes lose their assimilative power and are themselves submerged." (Note: Mannheim is using the word "culture" here in the European sense of the qualitative development of cultivated sensibilities and spiritual values rather than in the more general anthropological sense.)

This fateful generalization is not, at this point, fully applicable to the (especially East) African social scene. What Mannheim is referring to with terms like lower classes is the disadvantaged proletariat and the "petty bourgeoisie". This kind of terminology (and its social-psychological correlates) cannot be applied to contemporary Africa without serious distortions. However, if modernization duplicates the European history of class formation in Africa, and the spread of formal education is not correlated with socio-economic opportunity, then Mannheim's generalization will become increasingly relevant. (Cf. Lerner, 1951, for the role of "disaffected plebeian" intellectuals in the history of Fascism.)

In the face of these very real possibilities, it becomes meaningful to search for a more precise definition of what should be meant by "an educated elite" in an age of increasing administration, interdependence and authority. This question is the basis for our fourth concluding comment. Regarding this next comment, it should be stressed that what is said reflects our conviction of the characteristics that ought to be displayed by an elite whose status rests on higher education. Thus we are not defining what empirically exists but what, in our view, ought to exist. Thus the comment is at the same time an argument relating to policy in the field of education.

We suggest that the meaning of elite as applied to highly educated persons should be characterized by three related elements. One is a level of a skill appropriate to the existing and emerging functional division of labor relative to the

management of society itself. The second element is a level of consciousness capable of comprehending in philosophical, historical and sociological terms the transformations relating the individual's own society to the patterns of world change. The third factor is mastery of the knowledge necessary to relate and contribute one's skills to the rational control of change through social planning. The latter point would require an educational curriculum stressing the interdependence of the various departments of knowledge and their significances for problems of public administration. It will be recalled that this is the type of education and consciousness which Durkheim envisioned as the solution to the problem of social solidarity in an age of specialization. While he himself was forced eventually to qualify (if not abandon) the hypothesis of the spontaneous emergence of "organic solidarity" in modern society, it certainly appears reasonable that this type of integrated awareness should be deliberately fostered at least in a society's intellectual elite.

Relative to this model of an elite possessing abilities in vocational skills, historical consciousness and knowledge for comprehensive sociological innovation, what can be said about the intelligentsia which we have tried to bring to life in this present study? There is little question as to the vocational competence of these students. This has been one of the major strengths of British education wherever it has been transplanted. The second factor, historico-sociological consciousness, however, is more problematical. In our view, the data we have presented

indicates rather clearly a fairly undeveloped consciousness of this sort except in terms of a vague and slightly ideologized emphasis on communalism and progress characteristic of all the various formulations of African Socialism (cf. Friedland and Rosberg, 1964). This consciousness, in many parts of Africa (though less so among our respondents) is still, in the literal sense, reactionary. The values of African life are asserted against those of the Western world even while the technology of the latter is coveted. This, of course, is a familiar phenomenon, having appeared in India, Japan, China, Russia and - to a degree often not appreciated by the intellectuals of these countries - in Western societies themselves. What Hunter (1964:342) says of Africa could easily be applied to many in the West as well:

"Europe has immense spiritual resources to fight back against her own diseases once they are recognized - the whole tradition of humane and religious culture from Plato to the present day and a tradition not merely learnt but in many ways built into the formation of personality. But Africa, even though converted to Christianity or Islam, lacks the real depth of this support."

Even where the Western world is stereotyped favorably and used as a reference model, as is still by and large true among East African students, this stereotype is superficial and uninformed. Indeed as long as consciousness is dominated by a dialectic between a stereotyped model of modernization imposed from without, and an equally stereotyped model of the virtues of an Edenic communal past struggling for survival within, there can be no realization of the fact that with the revolution of rising expectations, the entire world is now becoming "Western".

This brings us to the third criterion of an educated elite which we have suggested, the desire and the skill to engage in sociological innovation. This is a crucial point for as Hunter has accurately put it,

"....it is easier to talk of humanism than to settle down to the hard thinking needed to design, in the concrete, real institutions (factory systems, social security, organs of government) which will give the practical opening for a new style of human relationships. If Africa accepts not only the motives but the institutional forms of the affluent society, she will inevitably accept also the values and style of life, however loudly the intellectuals may complain."

It will not do, in the face of this, simply to praise and rely upon the adaptability of the communal values and social forms of the past. In a powerful criticism of the tendency for African Socialist theoreticians to do just that, Igor Köpytoff (1964: 60-61) has warned that

"Successful social engineering in Africa, as anywhere else, will demand at least as much careful study as is given to the promotion of fisheries and new crops, and the complexities of African cultures and the richness of their variations deserve more than a simple pigeonhole of Western derivation.

"The institutional overview we have presented, and the importance of studying the cultural variable in its minutest details as far as specific societies are concerned, lead to certain broad conclusions. The most obvious one is that it is the restructuring of existing institutional arrangements, both cooperative and noncooperative, that will meet with the greatest resistance. Regardless of whether a fundamental African communal orientation exists, any attempts to take away existing economic and other functions from, let us say, the lineage, or the individual, or the village, will present difficulties. A communal conception of African culture will predict these difficulties no more successfully than an individualistic conception of American culture will predict the reaction to a transfer of existing municipal functions to larger or smaller units." (Italics his)

Of all the three characteristics of an educated elite cited, the

students we have studied, in our view, fail the most seriously to measure up to this last criterion of knowledge and inclination for conscious social planning and reorganization. The intellectual foundations, the personal inclinations, and the awareness of the necessity of such innovations as having to come from them all seem to be missing from this student population as a whole (with notable individual exceptions). The historical price for an absence of the criteria we have mentioned has been the formation of ideologies and a politics of disillusionment. Only the sociological perspective with its integrated rational approach to planned change can forestall the tragedies of ideological politics and their correlated revolutions of resentment. This, in the most fundamental sense, is the great task of education (especially on the higher level) in post-independence Africa. Recommendations in this direction arising out of our observations and research form the basis for our fifth and final concluding comment.

We have seen that at the time of independence there existed a severe isolation between secondary schools on the one hand and social life and change on the other. In some areas this isolation was more pronounced than in others, but generally speaking, there seems to be a certain inherent tension between the model of the Christian secondary boarding school community and involvement in life on the outside. This separation can be defended on the ground that some such experience is necessary as a break between the past and the future, and also as a basis for study without the anxieties of role obligations. However we

have also seen that a degree of insularity can be achieved which not only fails to prepare the student for what he will later experience, but also can inculcate values and perspectives which will prove to be inapplicable and unrelated to the norms he will later be forced to obey on the outside. The increasing secularization of education can be expected to alter this situation as far as Christian values and norms are concerned. However the depth of the changes taking place in Africa and the necessity to establish some kind of basis for national unity and consciousness of kind to replace older divisive patterns will in all likelihood produce attempts to build value and norm indoctrination into school curriculums and social life. How a balance can be established between fruitful isolation and detachment as against necessary involvement is not an easy question to answer and must be subject to experimental attempts suited to local situations. We suggest that this topic is a fruitful area for future sociological research in developing areas.

One aspect of the foregoing point is the sharpness of the break we have observed between secondary school and college life. This break is confusing to the student and reflective of confusion in educational goals and their institutionalization. This issue, too, deserves more analytic and empirical attention than it has received to date and cannot, of course, be separated from broader conceptions of what is expected from secondary and higher education as well as of the relationship between them (cf. the discussion of the very relevant theories of the Japanese educational reformer, Mori Arinori, by Herbert Passin, 1965: Chapter 9).

With respect to policy in higher education, if the goal of the latter is conceived in terms of the model of elite-formation we have constructed earlier, then certain conclusions automatically follow. The goal of higher education must include the formation of a corporate intellectual leadership for the whole of a given region spanning barriers of tribe and border. It must also provide mechanisms for the prevention of an existential gulf between the intelligentsia and the people they represent and for whom they must speak. In other words, a university must act so as both to relate the student to the world outside and to the world within his own area. Here three specific recommendations seem in order on the basis of our findings.

First, more attention than has up to now been the case must be paid to the informal aspects of communication within the university community between staff and students and between different sectors of the student population. No single formula can be put forward here to accomplish this; there is ample room for imaginative experimentation. It may well be that any such attempts must begin with a relevant orientation program for expatriate (and even African) staff. This is a controversial point, but if the university does not see the problem of communication as one of its functions, we may expect to see ever-increasing political encroachments upon its prerogatives in the manner that Sir Eric Ashby (1964) has discussed with reference to Ghana.

Second, with reference to the forestalling of the rift between educated intelligentsias and the masses of people,

American experiments with respect to this would seem peculiarly appropriate to the African setting. We have in mind paid work-study programs, domestic peace corps ventures and the like. There is reason to hope that such programs, intelligently carried out, could forestall the irrational populism so often born of guilt through isolation. They might also prevent the difference between manual and intellectual functions becoming symbolically implicated in a social stratification system (cf. the relevant attempts on the part of the Russians to deal with this problem as discussed by Jeremy Azrael, 1965:Chapter 8).

Third, there is the problem of the curriculum itself. It seems clear that if the present artificial disintegration of knowledge into competitive academic departmental empires of specialization endemic in Western universities is transferred to the African setting, there is little hope for the development of the type of integrated consciousness and world view which most educational thinkers have always agreed is necessary for a rational outlook on history and nature. There is thus every reason to urge upon universities in Africa as well as elsewhere curriculum experimentation toward the integrated pursuit and communication of knowledge of a kind associated, for instance, with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States.

We end this chapter and this study with a sense of a beginning. A new world is being born and what it will look like no man can say. What those who possess trained intelligence do or fail to do will be of incalculable importance in determining

the nature of that world. These are all cliches. But as with most cliches, they contain more than a germ of truth. In that particle of truth lies the hope for those who have suffered the terrors of the past that there may yet be a better future.

Notes

1. What Shils means by "incivility" is the "conviction that only those who share one's principles and positions are wholly legitimate members of the polity and that those who do not share them are separated by a steep barrier". Thus incivility refers to those who feel that "they are the state and the nation, and that those who do not go along with them are not just political rivals but total enemies."

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THE NEW ELECT: A STUDY OF
AN EMERGING EAST AFRICAN

INTELLIGENTSIA

(PART II)

by

MANFRED STANLEY

A dissertation in the Department of Sociology submitted to
the faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Science in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at New York University.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DATA APPENDIX:	
INTRODUCTION	1
BASIC SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND GEOLOGICAL DATA ON THE SAMPLE, TO CHAPTER V	4
SEX, LOVE AND MARRIAGE CAREER AND SELF DEVELOPMENT ANXIETY, TO CHAPTER VI	25
SOCIETY, POLITICS AND RELIGION, TO CHAPTER VII	61
METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX	199

DATA APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTERS V, VI & VII

INTRODUCTION TO DATA APPENDIX

This Data Appendix reflects three fundamental purposes. The first is to facilitate the writing of the analytic chapters whose internal continuity and flow would be marred by the constant interjection of large masses of data. The second purpose is to make accessible the evidence on which analytic conclusions are based in compact form in order to enable the reader to ascertain for himself the viability of our interpretations and/or to enable him to arrive at other possible formulations based upon his own experiences and research. Finally, we wished to make available raw data whose richness of content precluded adequate analytic attention due to limitations upon time and space within the context of the present study.

The data gathered within this Appendix are relevant only to Chapters V, VI and VII. The materials have been organized with ease and speed of reference in view. It is arranged according both to chapter headings and sub-sections of chapters. Tables reflecting data derived from the questionnaire are numbered according to the question number in the questionnaire itself. Thus, Table Q-4, for instance, refers to the results of question number four in the questionnaire. When "Q" does not appear before the number, the table is not derived from a question in the questionnaire. The research instruments themselves are reproduced in the Methodological Appendix which follows this one.

Under each chapter and sub-section heading, the tables in this Appendix are arranged according to the order that references to them first appear in the chapters themselves. In cases where a table is referred to more than once, the reader will find a note directing him to that part of the Appendix in which the table is located. Further, space economy dictated the impossibility of providing in the tables the forced-choice answer-labels where these were in the questionnaire itself (as contrasted with our own coding categories based on open-ended questions). The answers in the tables have therefore been designated by letters which appear in the questionnaire as well for easy reference. Many tables and all figures are organized according to this writer's coding categories. Where this is the case, the categories will be found defined and labeled in connection with the particular table or figure itself.

In many instances, data were analyzed statistically to determine whether or not distributions reflected certain variables which are of interest to us. These variables are:

- Tribal affiliation
- First as against fourth (or more) year in college
- Arts versus Science course of study
- Protestant versus Roman Catholic religious affiliation

It was uneconomical in terms of space to present any distributions other than tribal affiliation (which is of major interest in the context of this study) unless there was some statistical basis for it. The only statistical technique applicable to the methods used and the results obtained was Chi-Square analysis, and the latter was applied only when the number of cases in the relevant cells warranted it. In a few cases significant differences

between variables were found and they are reported in the relevant tables and the appropriate part of the relevant chapters.

Table I, in the section for Chapter V, presents a general picture of the actual sample. Figure I-A goes into greater detail regarding the sample. Each respondent is identified by case number, these numbers distributed according to tribe, religion, year in school and specific course of degree study. These numbers remain constant in all figures (except Figure III) presenting data relevant to individual respondents. Thus the reader may match figures and derive composite portraits of individual members of the sample without compromising the anonymity of the participants.

CHAPTER FIVE

BASIC SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND
GEOLOGICAL DATA ON THE
SAMPLE

TABLE I

THE ACTUAL SAMPLE

	Baganda				Kikuyu			
	Protestants		Catholics		Protestants		Catholics	
	Arts	Science	Arts	Science	Arts	Science	Arts	Science
Total	4	7	4	5	10	10	8	4
First Year Students	0	2	1	0	0	5	4	1
Fourth Year Students	2	3	2	4	3	2	2	1

1 5 1

1 5 1

FIGURE I-A

	Science					Arts					
	Prelims	Med	B.S.Gen	B.S.Hons	Prelims	B.A.Gen	B.A.Hons	B.Sc.	Econ	Educ	Fine Arts
<u>Kikuyu</u>	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	3	4	1,2,3,4
Anglican	6	11A		4			1H 5H	28			
R. Catholic	26	14 23	22		8 13 24	29	12 21	9	25		
Presbyterian	10	17 19 31	32 3		7 27	20					
African Inland Mission				4	15			18			
Salvation Army	2										
General Protestant						16G		30			
<u>Baganda</u>											5
Anglican	15	10 18 13	6	1	8	19G			4		
R. Catholic	44	117 12	3	17						7 16	9 20

FIGURE I-A-Continued

KEY

Prelims: Preliminary years to substitute for sixth form secondary level

Med: Medicine

B.S.Gen: Bachelor of Science, general degree

B.S.Hons: Bachelor of Science, honors degree (also for B.Arts)

B.Sc.Econ: Bachelor of Science, honors in economics

Educ: Education

D.V.: Diploma in Veterinary Science

A: Agriculture

H: History

G: Geography

M: Mathematics

In the following pages, under Figure I-B, we have gathered together, from all of our instruments, data relevant to the socio-economic family histories of each of our sample participants. The significance of this information is analyzed in the body of Chapter V. While we have tried to supply as much information for each individual as possible, relative to each of our category headings, gaps were inevitable and these are indicated in the appropriate spaces.

When judgments are presented, e.g. as with the use of the phrase "no special position" under the category of Father's and Mother's Statuses, they reflect the statements of our respondents, not the evaluation of this writer. Thus the phrase just mentioned means that the respondent informed us that, to the best of his knowledge, the person of whom he was speaking was of average social significance in his society, rather than socially important. The only exception to this rule of the exclusion of observer judgment occurred in connection with the obviously justifiable cases in which a respondent's relative was of such unique importance that to identify his status would have revealed the identity of the respondent himself. In such instances the nature of the status position was concealed by the writer and a general statement of status significance substituted.

Despite gaps and occasional ambiguities, the writer feels that Figure I-B embodies a not undynamic picture of socio-economic and cultural change over two generations. However, to avoid complications, we have provided data with reference only to biological fathers and mothers and their fathers and mothers.

This may, in some cases, have distorted the picture regarding lines of social inheritance in these societies in which biological and;social descent were not as correlated as we tend to think of them in Western societies.

FIGURE I-B

Case Number	Family Land Information (Note: One square mile is 640 acres)	Family Economic Activity Information	Data Re Respondent's Father's and Mother's Fathers	Father's and Mother's Formal Education	Status Data Re Respondent's Father and Mother
<p><u>Baganda</u> 1.</p>	<p>Family owns one and a half square miles (but land is very exhausted) in North East Buganda. Cotton is grown. In 1930's father owned cattle until Tse Tse control made father kill the cattle for control purposes.</p>	<p>Father was school headmaster until 1944.</p>	<p>FF-had 19 wives, 75 children. MF-moderately well off; had own land; made barkcloth; Anglican religion.</p>	<p>Father-finished equivalent of primary and secondary. Writes English. Mother-primary 2; writes Luganda.</p>	<p>Muluka chief; very influential in area because of education and strong personality. Anglican religion. One wife.</p>
<p>2.</p>	<p>Family owns forty-nine acres and is well off growing cotton.</p>	<p>(no indication)</p>	<p>FF-cattle but no land; had 5 wives. MF-cattle, but after 1900 no land; settled on Kabaka's land.</p>	<p>Father-none Mother-none</p>	<p>Father was section head (siga) of clan; not a Christian; had 4 wives.</p>
<p>3.</p>	<p>Family owns 3 sq. miles, employs 15 laborers. 5 acres in coffee, 10 acres other crops. Also has 100 head of cattle plus tenants</p>	<p>Father has his own carpentry business.</p>	<p>FF-had 3 sq. miles of land; was influential and a Roman Catholic. MF-described as "average" man; no land of his own.</p>	<p>Father-few years primary; writes Luganda. Mother-none; reads Luganda.</p>	<p>Father Roman Catholic; influential because of appointment as chief over his own extensive land.</p>

FIGURE I-B-Continued

<p>4.</p>	<p>Family owns under 20 acres but enough to support 14 people.</p>	<p>Father owns bicycle repair shop in a little town. He had 2 trucks. But he profited principally from inheritance. His own businesses were ruined as a result of losing a legal case and, with it, much money.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>--Head of large army which fought against Busoga. Remained as a chief in Busoga. Roman Catholic religion. Was a favorite of his Kabaka. <u>MF</u>--Was of royal blood, and an influential personage in Busoga.</p>	<p><u>Father</u>--none except from missionaries; writes Luganda. <u>Mother</u>--none</p>	<p>Roman Catholic father; described as "not a rabid Luganda"; one wife.</p>
<p>5.</p>	<p>Family owns land and has tenants on it. Coffee is grown as cash crop.</p>	<p>Father buys land and coffee from others and sells it. Was once a primary school teacher. Mother has 4 acres of her own, has amassed wealth through selling beer.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>--no indication <u>MF</u>--was fisherman and had a little "coffee garden".</p>	<p><u>Father</u>--primary 6 plus teacher training; writes Luganda and Swahili. <u>Mother</u>--none</p>	<p>Local chief over his tenants; president of Gomboloa Games union; Anglican religion; four wives.</p>
<p>6.</p>	<p>Family owns one square mile.</p>	<p>Father has high civil service position in Uganda Government; was a secretary to Gombola chief; was assistant and assistant Ssaza chief.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>--Gombola chief with many square miles of land; Anglican religion. <u>MF</u>--Owned 1 square mile and was well off. No other special position.</p>	<p><u>Father</u>--primary 6; writes Luganda <u>Mother</u>--none</p>	<p>See economic activities section.</p>

FIGURE I-B-Continued

7.	Family owns 55 acres and grows coffee	Father has been farmer all his life.	FF-no indication MF-no indication	Father-primary 4 writes Luganda. Mother-none	Father raised in the court of a Gombolola chief; is a Romam Catholic; onewife
8.	Family has retired on 2sq. miles; income from tenants and coffee.	No indication	FF-no indication MF-owned land and was well off; Anglican religion	Father-2 years primary. Writes Luganda. Mother-primary 6; writes Luganda.	Father was Ssaza chief 3 times; also one-time member of the Lukitiko.
9.	Family owns a little land and does a bit of coffee farming.	Father is a civil servant in the Postal Branch and was primary schoolteacher.	FF-Was important member of Bataka Party; also an interpreter for a District Commission. Was Anglican, now member of Bamalaki Sect. MF-Was clerk to a European foreman; Roman Catholic.	Father-primary 6 and junior secondary; writes English. Mother-writes Luganda.	No special position for father but described as "of old and honorable ancestry"; Anglican religion.
10.	Parents of respondent divorced; father has 15 acres, mother lives with her relatives.	Father is a medical orderly.	FF-no indication MF-no information except that he was well off and of Anglican religion.	Father-junior secondary 3 equivalent; writes Luganda. Mother-none	No indication except that father is Roman Catholic and has 4 wives, all nurses.

FIGURE I-B-Continued

11.	Family owns 20 acres Grows coffee, cotton.	Father was al- ways a farmer.	<u>FF</u> -no indication <u>MF</u> -no indication	<u>Father</u> -none, but can write Luganda. <u>Mother</u> -none	No indication ex- father Roman Cath- olic, has 1 wife.
12.	Family owns 5 to 6 acres, grows limit- ed amount of cash crops.	Father runs gen- eral store at his home; was once primary school teacher.	<u>FF</u> -was paid Roman Catholic catechism teacher. <u>MF</u> -no indication	<u>Father</u> -primary 6 and few years sem- inary and teacher training. Writes English. <u>Mother</u> -primary 6; writes Luganda.	Father active in Roman Catholic church affairs; has one wife.
13.	Lived with eldest brother, a Makerere graduate and owner of 20 acre farm and employed as veteri- narian assistant in Government.	Father/mother both dead. Father had been Ssaza chief, of Anglican re- ligion.	<u>FF</u> -no indication <u>MF</u> -no indication	<u>Father</u> and <u>Mother</u> -both no indication	See economic acti- vities category.
14.	Family owns only enough land for subsistence farming.	Father a primary school teacher; was salesman 2 years for an Ind- ian company; also once grew cotton.	<u>FF</u> -had been fav- ored page in the Kabaka's court, performed impor- tant services for him. Was given wife by Kabaka as special friend- ship gift. <u>MF</u> -no indication	<u>Father</u> -completed junior secondary, writes English. <u>Mother</u> -completed junior secondary, teacher training; writes Luganda.	Father has served on various educa- tional committees for Ssaza, and for the Native Angli- can Church.

*Respondent's great-great grandparents had important positions in their clan; a brother of father's father had one of most important positions in Buganda at that time (nature of position withheld for reasons of anonymity).

FIGURE I-B-Continued

15.	Family owns 30 acres of land but respondent describes family as poor. Father died in 1946.	Father had been a police detective for Uganda, also a medical assistant.	FF-no indication MF-no indication except he was well off, owned cattle, etc.	Father-graduate of senior secondary school (<u>Budo</u>). Mother-a few years primary; writes Luganda.	Father had no special status position in traditional society; was Anglican; had 2 wives.
16.	Family owns 23 acres, grows cotton and coffee. (Father is dead now.)	Father was trader before buying land; former earned him money for latter.	FF-was fisherman and owned no land MF-subistence farmer	Father-none except through catechism class; wrote Luganda. Mother-catechism class.	Father secretary of clan section (<u>Siga</u>), for 5 years an assistant <u>Muluka</u> chief. Roman Catholic; two wives.
17.	Family owns 1 square mile.	Father was clerk in Buganda government, was assistant to important judicial official of Buganda court. He then returned to live on father's land and take over affairs of same.	FF-was important landowner of one square mile with income from tenants. Was <u>Mutaka</u> of important clan and a <u>Mutongole</u> . MF-no indication	Father-primary 4; writes Luganda. Mother-none except catechism class; writes Luganda.	Father hereditary <u>Mutongole</u> ; also sub-head of an important clan. Roman Catholic religion and has number of wives.
18.	Family engaged in small-scale farming on only "a few acres". Father retired on land now.	Father was proprietor of tailor shop and, according to respondent, very skilled at his work. Was also a professional big game hunter.	FF-no indication MF-owned many sq. miles of land and had been an important chief.	Father-some years primary; wrote Luganda. Mother-same	According to respondent, father is respectable figure in village based on wealth and force of personality. Anglican religion; two wives.

FIGURE I-B-Continued

19.	Family owns 300 acres (one-half square mile).	Father a tutor at Anglican theological seminary.	FF-was Anglican priest; owned over 1 square mile of land; a <u>Muluka</u> chief. MF-no indication	Father-junior secondary 2; seminary and teacher training; writes English. Mother-primary 6 and mid-wife course; writes Luganda.	Father received special honors from United Kingdom.
20.	Family owns 12 acres.	Father was clerk at his Gombolola headquarters. Presently a <u>Mutongole</u> .	FF-no indication MF-was head of sub-clan; owned 2 square miles with tenants and cattle.	Father-primary, a little seminary; a little secondary; writes Luganda. Mother-some primary; writes Luganda.	Father a <u>Muton-gole</u> of some influence in his area; Roman Catholic.
<u>Kikuyu</u>	Respondent resided with brothers on land sufficient only for subsistence farming.	Father was cook in Nairobi, also catechism teacher.	FF-had been farmer and eminent warrior MF-appointed Headman by British; man of great wealth and influence in his area.	Father-none but attended classes, learned to write Kikuyu and Swahili. Mother-none but learned from husband what he knew.	Father <u>Muramati</u> and important senior elder; was offered chiefship by British but refused, took church lay-leadership instead. Anglican religion.

FIGURE I-B-Continued

<p>2.</p>	<p>Family owns 2 acres, 1 cow; described as "not well off"</p>	<p>Father was shop-keeper.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-was well off with cattle, land and 3 wives. <u>MF</u>-had 40 acres, was quite well off; was eminent senior elder, had 4 wives.</p>	<p><u>Father</u>-a few years primary; writes Kikuyu, Swahili. <u>Mother</u>-writes Kikuyu.</p>	<p>Father had no special position in traditional society; Salvation Army religion. One wife.</p>
<p>3.</p>	<p>Family owns 30 acres, raise coffee as cash crop.</p>	<p>Father was teacher; as one of first formally educated in his area, educated many others.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-no special position (but father's grandfather was eminent and wealthy). <u>MF</u>-a <u>Muramati</u>, eminent and wealthy.</p>	<p><u>Father</u>-K.A.P.E. plus teacher training. Writes English. <u>Mother</u>-Primary 6; writes Kikuyu and Swahili.</p>	<p>Father was man of considerable influence in his area. He lost his wealth 1950 because of combination of Emergency, and drain of education fees. Presbyterian religion; 1 wife.</p>
<p>4.</p>	<p>Family does subsistence farming on not well developed land.</p>	<p>Father 1924-1950 was overseer for Forest Department and earned 45 shillings per month in 1950.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-no indication except that he was a farmer. <u>MF</u>-well-off with much land and cattle 1951 was a leader of a location council of elders.</p>	<p><u>Father</u>-none <u>Mother</u>-none</p>	<p>Father believer in traditional Kikuyu religion. Was senior elder in Rift Valley with 3 wives.</p>

FIGURE I-B-Continued

<p>5.</p>	<p>Family were <u>phoi</u> engaged in subsistence farming</p>	<p>Father also a mason and building contractor.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-farmer and cattle breeder. <u>MF</u>-no indication except that he had 20 wives.</p>	<p>Father-primary and intermediate to standard 8; writes Kikuyu and Swahili. <u>Mother</u>-same</p>	<p>Father serves on various committees such as local school committees, land committee during Emergency. Anglican religion; 1 wife. Respondent believes some of father's local influence, at least, came after Emergency.</p>
<p>6.</p>	<p>Family owns 6 acres; respondent states he owns 6 more.</p>	<p>Father had big business comprised of number of small shops selling various goods.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-had many cattle, much land, thus was well-off; "possibly" was a <u>Muramati</u>. <u>MF</u>-farmer with much cattle and wealth; was a Revivalist and church elder - killed by Mau Mau.</p>	<p>Father-up to standard 5; Writes Kikuyu. <u>Mother</u>-Standard 5; writes Kikuyu.</p>	<p>Father an Anglican Revivalist; while living in Nairobi got into difficulty with Mau Mau movement. Has 1 wife.</p>
<p>7.</p>	<p>Family owns 5 acres but are "very poor"; mother cultivates land as father killed by Mau Mau.</p>	<p>Father was a squatter in the Rift Valley.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-no indication <u>MF</u>-no indication</p>	<p>Father-none <u>Mother</u>-none</p>	<p>Father was traditional Kikuyu in every way, thus not a Christian. Had 3 wives at time of his death</p>

FIGURE I-B-Continued

8.	Family owns 4 acres, does subsistence farming.	Father had small business partnership in his village; was squatter before. Business bad at present.	FF-had 3 acres, well off; was also jail warder for government. 3 wives. MF-not too well off; 2 wives.	Father-standard 8; writes Kikuyu and Swahili. Mother-none, but writes Kikuyu, learned from friends.	Father baptiz ed a Roman Catholic but allegedly no interest in religion. 3 wives, otherwise no special position in society.
9.	Family owns 5 acres land but no cattle; engages in subsistence farming.	No indication.	FF-no indication MF-was government appointed chief; wealthy, eminent.	Father-none Mother-none	Father described as neither Christian nor really traditional in orientation. No special position; 3 wives.
10.	No indication.	Father clerk, Nairobi. Mother doesn't speak of him because he allegedly beat her. Mother typist at Ministry of Works at Nairobi.	FF-no indication MF-among first educated (Western) in his area. Primary school teacher, could write English. Presbyterian church elder, land in the Reserve.	Father-no indication. Mother-K.A.P. E. Writes English.	Father Anglican, Mother Presbyterian. Respondent has little information, lived with his grandmother in Reserve.
11.	Family owns 20 acres, cattle, grows variety of crops.	Father once cook on European farm in the Rift Valley.	FF-was well off, much land, cattle; an important senior elder. MF-was prosperous, otherwise no indication.	Father-none but learned to write Kikuyu and Swahili. Mother-same; writes Kikuyu	Father member Location Council; during Emergency Location Supervisor. A.I.M. religion. 2 wives, church unaware. 1 wife sec'y for Community Development.

FIGURE I-B-Continued

12.	Family owns 25 quite fragmented acres; 8 of them devoted to Pyrethrum crop.	Father was cook in Nairobi and in Nakuru.	FF-had much land but no cattle; was senior elder and, in his youth, a distinguished warrior. MF-had 5 acres, 1 wife. No special position.	Father-none Mother-none	Father a Headman from 1947 to 1952. Was recently baptized Roman Catholic. Rhetorical and oratorical ability made him a man of influence.
13.	Family recently purchased a 20 acre farm.	Father went to Nairobi in 1920's worked as house boy in Indian homes. Became a petty trader. Went home and set up a thriving commerce in hides and skins which he sent to Nairobi. By 1940's earning 20 to 25 pounds monthly. By time business closed due to Emergency, was earning 30 to 50 pounds per month.	FF-was well off; member of council of elders of clan MF-Member of council of clan elders.	Father-standard 6; writes Kikuyu and Swahili. Mother-none	Father a village councilman until 1959. Was Roman Catholic but left church end of school. Family described as neither Christian nor traditional except in manners and "social graces". However no antipathy to traditional either. Has 2 wives.
14.	No indication	Father was always a farmer.	FF-was a muramati, a senior elder and, earlier, a warrior leader. MF-was a muramati, a mungo-mugo and, earlier, a warrior leader.	Father-none Mother-none	Father a muramati; not a Christian; has one wife.

FIGURE I-B-Continued

<p>15.</p>	<p>Family described as having "not much land".</p>	<p>Father was and is lumber-man (cutter) in Forest nursery. Job described as a good income source. Mother a trader from 1954 to 1958.</p>	<p>FF-also employed in Forest nursery, otherwise no indication. MF-senior elder; otherwise no indication.</p>	<p>Father-none but writes Kikuyu and Swahili. Mother-none but writes Kikuyu.</p>	<p>Father no special position. Turned against Christianity and Europeans as result of Emergency. Two wives.</p>
<p>16.</p>	<p>Family owns about 2 acres, mother farms coffee. She also cares for children for Red Cross for 50 shillings per month.</p>	<p>Father was cook in Rift Valley and home only 2 months per year for 24 years.</p>	<p>FF-no indication MF-was well off by traditional standards with land and cattle.</p>	<p>Father-standard 6; writes Kikuyu and Swahili. Mother-standard 7 plus Red Cross hygiene course.</p>	<p>Parents Presbyterian. Mother an influential woman and member of Location Council.</p>
<p>17.</p>	<p>Family owns 5 acre farm.</p>	<p>Economic activities restricted to farming.</p>	<p>FF-was farmer who owned 10 acres of land. No other data. MF-a farmer who was "well off".</p>	<p>Father-none Mother-none</p>	<p>Father was muramati at his death; was not Christian. Had 5 wives. Mother recently became a Presbyterian.</p>
<p>18.</p>	<p>Family owns 18 acres land but described by respondent as "not well off".</p>	<p>Father, prior 1939, a translator. 1948 became Forest Dept. clerk, then ranger. Mother now resides at a Mission, employed as housemaid in European home.</p>	<p>FF-no indication except not wealthy and quite traditional. MF-was quite well off and a <u>mundo-mugo</u>.</p>	<p>Father-standard 8; writes English. Mother-few years primary; writes Kikuyu and Swahili.</p>	<p>Father was most educated in his home area as a young man. A.I.M. religion.</p>

FIGURE I-B-Continued

19.	<p>Family owns 4½ acres, no cattle. Described as "not well off since Emergency".</p>	<p>Father first worked on European farm; developed tobacco business in Nairobi, finally sold water, bark.</p>	<p>FF-had little land, no special position. MF-was farmer with much land and cattle and 2 wives.</p>	<p>Father-none Mother-none</p>	<p>Father not Christian and of no special position. Mother became strong Presbyterian after giving birth.</p>
20.	<p>Family owns "some" land which mother cultivates. Father is "retired".</p>	<p>Father was farm laborer, also worked in saw-mill.</p>	<p>FF-no indication MF-no indication</p>	<p>Father-none Mother-none</p>	<p>Father occupied no special position because cut himself off from tribal Reserve. However has "remained" traditionally religious.</p>
21.	<p>Family owns 4½ acres farmed by the mother.</p>	<p>Father waiter in Nairobi for long time.</p>	<p>FF-was farmer but not on large scale. No special position. MF-well off; otherwise no special position.</p>	<p>Father-none Mother-none</p>	<p>Father described as neither Christian nor strong traditionalist.</p>
22.	<p>Family owns "some land" but does little cash cropping.</p>	<p>Main family income from tenant rents, about 135 shillings per month. Father also has business (shops, grains, beer) in Fort Hall. Family economic standard is "well off".</p>	<p>FF-was well off with 3 wives. MF-was wealthy man, a Mukamba by tribe.</p>	<p>Father-primary 3; writes Kikuyu Mother-none</p>	<p>Father occupied no special position; Roman Catholic religion.</p>

FIGURE I-B-Continued

23.	Family owns "subsistence land" only; no cattle.	Up to 1951 father was domestic servant in Nairobi.	FF-had much land and was man of influence. MF-a wealthy man with land, cattle.	Father-none Mother-none	Father occupies no special position; adherent of K.I.S.A. movement.
24.	Family owns 10 acres of land.	In 1930's father was overseer in Agriculture Dept. Family had cattle, other forms of wealth until the Emergency.	FF-no indication MF-was warrior who died fighting the Masai.	Father-none Mother-none	Father was influential man and member of the Location Council. Although not Christian, he opposed polygamy.
25.	Family retired on 2 to 4 acres of land.	Father farmed his father's land with much cattle and wealth. Until the Emergency was one of richest men in his area.	FF-was very well off; owned more than 100 acres of land. MF-was well off; owned more than 50 acres of land.	Father- primary 6; writes Kikuyu and Swahili. Mother-none	Father a man of influence in his area; adherent of Greek Orthodox Church; had 2 wives.
26.	Family owns 10 acre farm (had more before Emergency). Some pyrethrum grown.	Father a policeman during the Emergency.	FF-was wealthy, with 5 or 6 wives MF-was a muramati with many cattle and wives.	Father- primary 5; writes Kikuyu and Swahili. Mother-none	Father is a muramati and an elder in the Presbyterian church.

FIGURE I-B-Continued.

27.	<p>Family now landless although father retired. According to respondent family "just manages" to get along. Mother now resides in house on her father's land (since 1947).</p>	<p>Father used to raise cattle but latter died in 1947. Father also once an interpreter in Nairobi from which he earned money to buy goats. Was then reputed to have been a rich man in his town. Since 1947, a hand-to-mouth existence and the father became a <u>muhoi</u> on his wife's father's land. Originally, as a teen-ager, the father had come from Fort Hall to Kiambu to "make his fortune".</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-no indication. <u>MF</u>-described by respondent as "real aristocrat". Had 20 to 30 acres land, many cattle. Was <u>muramati</u>, senior elder, and Headman of his <u>rugongo</u>.</p>	<p><u>Father</u>-none but knows Swahili. <u>Mother</u>-none</p>	<p>Father has no special position. Had 4 wives followed no specific religion, according to respondent.</p>
28.	<p>Mother lives with eldest son in Embu, on 6 acres land left by respondent's father, now dead</p>	<p>No indication</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-very influential man, 11 wives and much wealth. British appointed him a chief.</p>	<p><u>Father</u>-no indication <u>Mother</u>-none</p>	<p>No indication re father. Mother now Anglican.</p>
29.	<p>Family owns 6 acres in Fort Hall which the mother cultivates.</p>	<p>Father a grocer in rented store, Nairobi. Was teacher in Mission school; and clerk on a European farm 9 years. At home, Fort Hall, had corn mill but ruined by dishonest partner.</p>	<p><u>FF</u>-no special position and not much land. <u>MF</u>-same</p>	<p><u>Father</u>-a few years primary and wrote a little Kikuyu, Swahili and English. <u>Mother</u>-none</p>	<p>Father had never owned land through inheritance. Came to Fort Hall from Kiambu in 1920's, through European aid became influential via positions various committees. Is Roman Catholic; 2 wives, one at home, one Nairobi.</p>

FIGURE I-B-Continued

30.	Family owns 16 acres of land in the Reserve.	Father was government appointed chief of great influence. During Emergency was removed to a Squatter area for own protection, appointed chief there. Was also primary school Headmaster. Earlier served in army, World War II, in Ethiopia, Malaya, Burma. Mother employed by Dept. of Community Development in local domestic education.	FF-was blind subsistence farmer. MF-was prosperous and both a muramati and a mundomugo.	Father-one of first standard 8 graduates plus teacher training. Writes Kikuyu and Swahili and English. Mother-same	Father used to be a devout Christian who gave up formal adherence in order to maintain his school headmastership. Was a muramati appointed for facility with English. Respondent states father still spiritually Christian. Mother also Protestant.
31.	Family owns 3 acres land, cultivated by the mother.	Father is timekeeper on railway. Was a clerk in a company in Nairobi. Described as well off.	FF-described as well off. Opposed polygamy. Allegedly would have been appointed chief by British but relatives became envious, threatened magical interference. Father's brother was bewitched, 2 sons died as a result. MF-was wealthy in land, cattle and had 2 wives.	Father-only man in his area to finish primary education; writes English. Mother-standard 7; writes Kikuyu and Swahili.	Father is a firm and respected Presbyterian. Mother turned to Revival after the Emergency.
32.	Family owns 63 acres land, 40 cattle. High family economic standard of living.	No indication	FF-was very well off by virtue of inheritance. MF-no indication	Father-none Mother-none	Father a muramati; a Presbyterian church elder; a member of the Location Council; a leader of a sub-location. Has 4 wives from days before church.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA SECTIONS ON TOPICS:

SEX, LOVE AND MARRIAGE

CAREER AND SELF DEVELOPMENT

ANXIETY

A) SEX, LOVE AND MARRIAGE

TABLE Q-4

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
A....	11.5% (6)	10% (2)	12.5% (4)
B....	69.2% (36)	65% (13)	71.9% (23)
C....	5.8% (3)	10% (2)	3.1% (1)
D....	11.5% (6)	10% (2)	12.5% (4)
E....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0

TABLE Q-14

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
A....	59.6% (31)	60% (12)	59.4% (19)
B....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
C....	36.5% (19)	35% (7)	37.5% (12)
D....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0

TABLE Q-6

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
Yes.....	59.6% (31)	65% (13)	56.3% (18)
No.....	13.5% (7)	10% (2)	15.6% (5)
Undecided...	21.2% (11)	25% (5)	18.8% (6)
No answer...	5.8% (3)	0 0	9.3% (3)

TABLE Q-7

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
Yes.....	82.7% (43)	70% (14)	90.6% (29)
No.....	15.4% (8)	25% (5)	9.4% (3)
Undecided...	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0

TABLE Q-11

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
Yes.....	75% (39)	50% (10)	90.6% (29)
No.....	23.1% (12)	50% (10)	6.3% (2)
Undecided...	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)

TABLE Q-9: FIRST CHOICE

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
A....	30.8% (16)	45% (9)	21.9% (7)
B....	25.0% (13)	10% (2)	34.4% (11)
C....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
D....	25.0% (13)	25% (5)	25.0% (8)
E....	9.6% (5)	5% (1)	12.5% (4)
F....	7.5% (4)	10% (2)	6.3% (2)
SECOND CHOICE			
A....	7.5% (4)	0 0	12.5% (4)
B....	28.8% (15)	45% (9)	18.8% (6)
C....	9.6% (5)	15% (3)	6.3% (2)
D....	32.7% (17)	25% (5)	37.5% (12)
E....	17.3% (9)	15% (3)	18.8% (6)
F....	3.9% (2)	0 0	6.3% (2)

TABLE Q-5

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	28.8% (15)	20% (4)	34.4% (10)
B.....	67.3% (35)	75% (15)	62.5% (20)
C.....	1.9% (1)	9% (2)	0.1% (0)
Depends	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)

TABLE Q-10

A) MARITAL PROBLEMS

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	11.5% (6)	15% (3)	9.4% (3)
B.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
C.....	75.0% (39)	50% (10)	90.6% (29)
D.....	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0
E.....	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0
F.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
No answer...	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0
B) DOMESTIC AFFAIRS			
A.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
B.....	57.7% (30)	55% (11)	59.4% (19)
C.....	40.4% (21)	40% (8)	40.6% (13)
D.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
E.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
F.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
No answer...	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
C) MONEY			
A.....	46.2% (24)	40% (8)	50% (16)
B.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
C.....	48.1% (25)	45% (9)	50% (16)
D.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
E.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
F.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
No answer...	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0

TABLE Q-10
TOTALS FOR SIX CATEGORIES

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	36.5% (114)	35.0% (42)	37.5% (72)
B.....	11.5% (36)	14.2% (17)	9.9% (19)
C.....	48.1% (150)	42.5% (51)	51.6% (99)
D.....	1.3% (4)	1.7% (2)	1.0% (2)
E.....	.6% (2)	1.7% (2)	0 0
F.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
No answer...	1.9% (6)	5.0% (6)	0 0

TABLE Q-28
TOTALS FOR FOUR CATEGORIES

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	19.7% (41)	10.0% (8)	25.9% (33)
B.....	52.9% (110)	58.6% (47)	49.2% (63)
C.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
D.....	3.4% (7)	6.2% (5)	1.6% (2)
E.....	18.3% (38)	18.8% (15)	18.0% (23)
F.....	2.9% (6)	1.3% (1)	3.9% (5)
No answer...	2.9% (6)	5.0% (4)	1.6% (2)

TABLE Q-32

A) FIRST CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	25.0% (13)	35% (7)	18.8% (6)
B.....	57.7% (30)	40% (8)	68.8% (22)
C.....	3.9% (2)	0 0	0 0
D.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
E.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
F.....	11.5% (6)	25% (5)	3.1% (1)
G.....	0 0	0 0	0 0

B) SECOND CHOICE

A.....	59.6% (31)	45% (9)	68.8% (22)
B.....	34.6% (18)	45% (9)	28.1% (9)
C.....	5.8% (3)	10% (2)	3.1% (1)
D.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
E.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
F.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
G.....	0 0	0 0	0 0

C) FOURTH CHOICE

A.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
B.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
C.....	11.5% (6)	20% (4)	6.3% (2)
D.....	21.2% (11)	15% (3)	25.0% (8)
E.....	7.5% (4)	20% (4)	0 0
F.....	32.7% (17)	15% (3)	43.8% (14)
G.....	7.5% (4)	5% (1)	9.4% (3)
No answer...	17.3% (9)	20% (4)	15.6% (5)

TABLE Q-12

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
Yes.....	25.0% (13)	35% (7)	18.8% (6)
No.....	61.%% (32)	55% (11)*	65.6% (21)*
No answer...	13.5% (7)	10% (2)	15.6% (5)

	First Year	Fourth Year
Yes.....	0 0	36.8% (7)
No.....	84.6% (11)*	47.4% (9)*
No Answer...	15.3% (2)	15.8% (3)

*Tribe and year are related for category "No".

χ^2 @ 1 df = -5.17, significant at the .05 level.

TABLE Q-19
CODING CATEGORIES

- A) Moral, ethical
(general moral, ethical responsibility; self-discipline; devotion to truth, patience etc.)
- B) Specific religious emphasis
(same as above except for specific religious references)
- C) Adjustment advice
(lessons on how to get along, how to be happy, etc., of the order that 'wealth is not important', or 'be happy with what you have' etc.)
- D) Self-development
(striving, work, making something of self; the value of education, of work; contrasts with "C" above)
- E) Independence
(stand on one's own feet, be independent, self-reliant, have the courage of convictions etc.)
- F) General manners and conduct
(conventional traits like good manners, politeness etc.)
- G) Social relations
(Special emphasis on getting along with others in social interaction including happy home life; tolerance, kindness)
- H) Respect for elders
(for individuals e.g. parents, elders)
- I) Respect for traditional institutions and customs
(either whole society or specific items)
- J) Identification with territory (not tribe), country or continent

TABLE Q-19-Continued

- K) Social usefulness
(be of use to others - as contrasted with simple niceness - usefulness to country through service, citizenship etc.)
- L) No answer or "haven't thought of it"

	Total*	Baganda*	Kikuyu*
A).....	24.0% (25)	27.5% (11)	21.9% (14)
B).....	13.5% (14)	20.0% (8)	9.4% (6)
C).....	1.0% (1)	0 0	1.6% (1)
D).....	17.3% (18)	12.5% (5)	20.3% (13)
E).....	6.7% (7)	5.0% (2)	7.8% (5)
F).....	10.6% (11)	12.5% (5)	9.4% (6)
G).....	5.8% (6)	7.5% (3)	4.7% (3)
H).....	1.0% (1)	0 0	1.6% (1)
I).....	2.9% (3)	5.0% (2)	1.6% (1)
J).....	1.0% (1)	2.5% (1)	0 0
K).....	5.8% (6)	2.5% (1)	7.7% (5)
L).....	10.6% (11)	5.0% (2)	14.0% (9)

*Responses in terms of number of mentions by two.

TABLE Q-20
CODING CATEGORIES

- A) Physical
(beauty, good health, to be taller, good physique etc.)
- B) Intellectual-conative
(higher I.Q., specific abilities like maths; talents like music; strong will or determination and other striving attributes)
- C) Background changes: family life emotional
(more understanding parents, more religious parents, mother care, freedom before parents etc.)
- D) Background changes: education and material
(more and earlier education, better material home environment; wealth; ease; earlier introduction to Western life styles)
- E) Identity assurance: social relational
(acceptance by a woman and by one's children; rich friendships; loyal associates etc.)
- F) Identity assurance: material and functional
(good job, secure future, settled identity and function in society)
- G) Service orientation
(to be able to do something for others, to be a useful person, to have a career of service)

TABLE Q-20-Continued

- H) Religion
(faith, fuller religious training, religious environment etc.)
- I) National progress
(own country's - or tribe's - progress both internal and external relative to the world)
- J) World progress
(world free of tensions, freedom from fear of war, international fraternity etc.)
- K) Miscellaneous
- L) No answer, "don't know", or "haven't thought"

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
B.....	4.8% (5)	7.5% (3)	3.2% (2)
C.....	21.2% (22)	20.0% (8)	21.9% (14)
D.....	41.3% (43)	37.5% (15)	43.8% (28)
E.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
F.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
G.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
H.....	1.0% (1)	2.5% (1)	0 0
I.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
J.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
K*.....	9.6% (10)	7.5% (3)	11.0% (7)
L.....	22.1% (23)	25.0% (10)	20.3% (13)

*Miscellaneous: sex education - 1; some Western ways of life - 1; mix freely with broader non-kin society - 1; good nature in society - 1; freedom to mix with one's age group - 1; freedom from fear from outside world - 1; Freedom of choice - 1; freedom from race tension - 1; self discipline - 1; Basic understanding of common life problems - 1.

TABLE Q-17

	Total	Baganda	Kikuyu
none.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
1.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
2.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
3.....	17.3% (9)	5% (1)	25.0% (8)
4.....	36.5% (19)	30% (6)	40.6% (13)
more than 4.	25.0% (13)	40% (8)	15.6% (5)
don't care..	19.2% (10)	25% (5)	15.6% (5)

TABLE Q-26
CODING CATEGORIES

- A) Religious
(being barred from God; loss of faith; failure to do religious duties etc.)
- B) Physical or mental illness or death
(chronic disease, blindness, insanity, invalidity, accident)
- C) Illness or death of a close kin
(parents, siblings, wife)
- D) Unhappiness in marriage and parenthood
(lack of understanding, love and communication in the home; desertion by wife; unruly children; failure as husband or father)
- E) Career blockage
(failure in exams; failure to achieve specifically mentioned career goal)
- F) Career incompetence
(relative to personal standards, not simply status achievement)
- G) Childlessness
- H) Personal isolation
(loneliness, no friends, physical isolation, isolation through unpopularity, personal failure in social relations etc.)
- I) Economic difficulties
(unemployment and poverty due to environmental factors)
- J) Personal disgrace
(commit or be accused of crime; excesses in sex or drinking etc.)
- K) Narrowing of life
(life loses its zest; boredom; dull, routine existence; loss of drive and idealism; return to tribal restrictions)
- L) War--
- M) Native country
(failure of country, or its destruction or subversion; national instability or disgrace)
- N) No answer or "can't say"

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	7.5% (4)	20% (4)	0 0
B.....	30.8% (16)	20% (4)	37.5% (12)
C.....	9.6% (5)	10% (2)	9.4% (3)
D.....	17.3% (9)	20% (4)	15.6% (5)
E.....	11.5% (6)	10% (2)	12.4% (4)
F.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
G.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
H.....	5.8% (3)	0 0	9.4% (3)
I.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0

TABLE Q-26-Continued

	Totals		Baganda		Kikuyu	
J.....	0	0	0	0	0	0
K.....	1.9%	(1)	0	0	3.1%	(1)
L.....	0	0	0	0	0	0
M.....	0	0	0	0	0	0
N.....	11.5%	(6)	10%	(2)	12.5%	(4)

B) CAREER AND SELF-DEVELOPMENT ORIENTATIONS

TABLE Q-32 A, B, C
(see above section)

FIGURE II

In the following pages can be found data drawn from all available sources on the career goals and self-development orientations of all respondents. Under the first category referring to specific career desires, the two questionnaire items asked for the occupation the respondent felt himself most likely to enter (number 2) and the one which, if he had perfect freedom of choice and full opportunity, he would most like to enter (number 3).

TABLE Q-33

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	76.9% (40)	65% (13)	84.4% (27)
B.....	19.2% (10)	35% (7)	9.4% (3)
Both.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
No answer...	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)

TABLE Q-35

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	32.7% (17)	25% (5)	37.5% (12)
B.....	61.5% (32)	65% (13)	59.4% (19)
C.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
No answer...	3.9% (2)	5% (1)	3.1% (1)

D) ANXIETIES

TABLE Q-26
SEE SECTION "SEX, LOVE AND MARRIAGE"

TABLE Q-27

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	7.5% (4) 13.3%	15% (3) 25%	3.1% (1) 6.2%
B.....	5.8% (3)	10% (2)	3.1% (1)
C.....	40.4% (21) 87%	15% (3) 70%	56.3% (18) 93.8%
D.....	44.2% (23)	55% (11)	37.5% (12)
Misc.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)*	0 0

*Claims never to have been acquainted with anyone outside his family.

TABLE Q-29

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
Yes.....	28.8% (15)	20% (4)	34.4% (11)
No.....	71.2% (37)	80% (16)	65.6% (21)

TABLE Q-30

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	13.5% (7)	15% (3)	12.5% (4)
B.....	71.2% (37)	85% (17)	62.5% (20)
C.....	3.9% (2)	0 0	6.3% (2)
D.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
E.....	7.5% (4)	0 0	12.5% (4)
No answer...	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)

	First Year	Fourth Year
A.....	15.3% (2)	5.3% (1)
B.....	53.8% (7)	84.2% (16)
C.....	7.7% (1)	5.3% (1)
D.....	7.7% (1)	0 0
E.....	15.3% (2)	0 0
No answer...	0 0	5.3% (1)

*Tribe and year are related for combined categories "A-B".

$\chi^2 @ 1 df = 4.00$, significant at .05 level.

TABLE Q-31

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
B.....	25.0% (13)	10% (2)	34.4% (11)
C.....	30.8% (16)	30% (6)	31.2% (10)
D.....	40.4% (21)	55% (11)	31.2% (10)
No answer...	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0

TABLE Q-34

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	13.5% (7)	5% (1)	18.8% (6)
B.....	26.9% (14)	25% (5)	20.1% (9)
C.....	19.2% (10)	20% (4)	18.8% (6)
D.....	40.4% (21)	50% (10)	34.4% (11)

TABLE Q-34-Continued

	First Year	Fourth Year
A.....	15.3% (2)	5.3% (1)
B.....	38.5% (5)	5.3% (1)
C.....	23.1% (3)	26.3% (5)
D.....	23.1% (3)	63.2% (12)
	53.8%	45.2%
	46.2%*	54.9%*

*Tribe and year are related for combined categories "C-D".

χ^2 @ 1 df = 5.34, significant at the .05 level.

TABLE Q-37

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	9.6% (5)	15% (3)	6.3% (2)
B.....	57.7% (30)	60% (12)	56.3% (18)
C.....	3.9% (2)	5% (1)	3.1% (1)
D.....	15.4% (8)	5% (1)	21.9% (7)
E.....	9.6% (5)	10% (2)	9.4% (3)
No answer...	3.9% (2)	5% (1)	3.1% (1)
	71.2%	80%	65.7%
	25.5%	15%	31.3%

TABLE Q-39

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	82.7% (43)	90% (18)	78.1% (25)
B.....	11.5% (6)	5% (1)	15.6% (5)
Both.....	5.8% (3)	5% (1)	6.3% (2)

- 38 -

TABLE Q-51
CODING CATEGORIES

- A) "No really serious problems" or "not sure"
- B) Self-establishment
(fitting into society and profession; building a home and personal standard of living; adjustment to new situations; establishing an identity)
- C) Establishing a good marriage
(specific mention of finding a good wife, establishing a "Christian" marriage etc.)
- D) Support of relatives
(education of siblings, support of parents in old age etc.)
- E) Miscellaneous private troubles
- F) No answer

	Totals*	Baganda*	Kikuyu*
A.....	16.7% (26)	18.3% (11)	15.6% (15)
B.....	31.4% (49)	36.7% (22)	28.1% (27)
C.....	14.1% (22)	16.7% (10)	12.5% (12)
D.....	10.9% (17)	13.3% (8)	9.4% (9)
E ^a	7.7% (12)	3.3% (2)	10.4% (10)
F.....	19.2% (30)	11.7% (7)	24.0% (23)

*Responses by number of mentions by three.

^aMiscellaneous: to adjust to a society of masses - 1; reuniting his parents - 1; reuniting family - 1; religion - 1; indecision - 1; "just live" - 2; confidence - 1; to live according to his ideals - 2; self discipline, especially re girls - 1; how to deal with people who expect "too much from me" - 1.

	First Year	Fourth Year
A.....	28.2% (11) ^a	8.7% (5) ^a
B.....	12.8% (5) ^b	43.9% (25) ^b
C.....	15.3% (6)	14.0% (8)
D.....	15.3% (6)	14.0% (8)
E.....	10.3% (4)	5.3% (3)
F.....	17.9% (7)	14.0% (8)

^aTribe and year are related for category "A";
 $\chi^2 @ 1 \text{ df} = 3.94$, significant at .05 level.

^bTribe and year are related for category "B";
 $\chi^2 @ 1 \text{ df} = 19.12$, significant at any level.

FIGURE II

BAGANDA

Case Number	Specific Career Desires <u>Note: Q2 and Q3 refer to questionnaire items</u>	Specified Influences on Career Decisions	Career Conceptions in Context of Broader Life Purpose	Heterogeneity of Career Conceptions
1.	<p>Q-2: Nutrition chemist. Q-3: Scientific research officer of highest rank. Does not want administration but rather research.</p>	<p>Respondent originally felt that only medicine and teaching existed. Never knew of anything else. Near his area only Europeans were District Commissioners. Only types of jobs he recalls were doctor, teacher, clergymen. A doctor was much respected; since father was teacher, people used to say "you be a doctor". Realizes now this was wrong motive for medicine. He failed to qualify for medicine, has not regretted it.</p>	<p>Interest in research. Emphasis upon security, safety, civil service career. Does not particularly want to travel.</p>	<p>Respondent desires a small farm as preparation for retired life.</p>
2.	<p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: teaching Respondent interested in teaching far more than administration. Has varied in what he wants to teach (junior secondary or primary forms). Wants to teach maths; might want to teach college one day.</p>	<p>Respondent failed maths in preliminary year; otherwise would have gone into Honors Maths. Otherwise no indication re influences.</p>	<p>Desires life of teaching on various levels; feels he is a better teacher than most others.</p>	<p>Respondent would like a business, separate, in which he takes no active part - just wishes to enjoy ownership and profit.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>3. Q-2: Physician Q-3: No answer Respondent wants medicine; desires to be a pathologist in government service. Emphasis on therapy rather than administration or teaching.</p>	<p>Respondent states that medicine was his choice because that had highest prestige in science faculty. Second reason was respect he gained for physicians who spared him threatened crippled life as result of bicycle accident suffered at age 5</p>	<p>Main ambition is to serve his people as physician in government service. Sees function as raising general health standard by teaching etiology, epidemiology and preventive aspects of disease. Expressed disinterest in politics.</p>	<p>Would like a side business. Feels farming and medicine do not mix. Failure in specialization would not be major threat, but failure in medicine would be; alternative career goals would not compensate for that.</p>
<p>4. Q-2: medical prof. Q-3: no answer Wants to be "medical man"; not practicing physician - would interfere with family life, which comes first. Unclear eventual goal, maybe dentistry. Has no real research interest, would settle for medical-biological work.</p>	<p>Always wanted to help people. Did not prove outstanding in maths. This left medicine as major alternative. (No other indication re influences.)</p>	<p>Has no over-arching purpose behind career goal. As long as career fits into private life and marriage, will be happy with it, if related to his general interests. Generally prefers quiet life.</p>	<p>Would like farm on side as kind of economic safety valve. Feels his wife should have home on the land. Career success not crucial; main thing is home life must be happy. Feels this privatism the most proper approach to life for a Christian.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>5.</p>	<p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: no answer Wants to teach art. Also interested in creating certain kind of art reflecting special cultural life of East Africa. Also interested in teaching of physical education. Intends to have own art studio.</p>	<p>The School of Fine Arts originally respondent's third choice but when he was offered the place he took it. Was excellent at sports in secondary school, also displayed talent in all the arts.</p>	<p>Respondent found art changed outlook on life. Originally art was hobby. Realizes teaching necessary for artists and sees it as problem because all one's time spent with children, disturbing concentration. Wants to retire early to spend all time in productive art. Has no government service ambition. Would like to leave his influence on African art; would like to combine with other artists to create distinctive East African art. Wants to begin by exhibiting, then teaching, then encouraging an "appropriate" art. Has self-image of pioneer in African art. Also would like to travel, meet other artists in other nations.</p>	<p>After retirement, respondent might want another business since he feels he cannot really make a permanent living in art.</p>
<p>6.</p>	<p>Q-2: medicine Q-3: medicine Not yet sure of specialization he desires. Would eventually like to enter private practice.</p>	<p>At age 9, respondent's sister fell ill. A Muganda physician treated her, made strong impression upon respondent. From then on he too wanted to be physician, always felt he would succeed.</p>	<p>Has general desire for a comfortable life, happy family and successful career.</p>	<p>No indication</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>7.</p>	<p>Q-2: education Q-3: no answer Respondent a clergyman; intends to teach; Would enjoy going in to scholarship. Has strong wish to stay on level of pastoral work rather than move higher into church administration.</p>	<p>Respondent decided to go into clergy end of 4th year primary school, age 7. Parental education, seminary training and discipline greatest influences on him. Also has older brother, a clergyman, who influenced him in this direction.</p>	<p>Respondent does not desire high status achievement level in church hierarchy as difficulties at such levels and complexity of issues one faces precludes personal happiness. One is always worried about something and bowed with administrative burdens. Basically loves teaching, parish work and scholarship.</p>	<p>Respondent may possess land with tenants on it but he will have no time for fields and farms, although he will keep money accruing from tenant rent.</p>
<p>8. 9</p>	<p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: medicine Believes will go into teaching or business. Not inclined toward scholarship or administration, at the moment is not too clear about future.</p>	<p>Originally respondent desired to enter medicine but failed to qualify in science.</p>	<p>Generally, would like to work with people. Did not do well at science allegedly because he disliked dreariness of practicals. Fundamental underlying life purpose is described as religious; to serve God. (Has recently become member of mulokole - the Revival movement.) Would like to deal with people but not interested in heavy responsibility of political administration. Might accept educational administrative post. Also possible he might be happy "managing my own firm".</p>	<p>Respondent would like to own land for farming or else a business on the side.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>9.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: teaching Respondent hopes to become art teacher, painter and writer. Also interested in community development work.</p>	<p>Originally desired to enter priesthood, actually spent 3 years in seminary secondary school. Was advised not to by Rector and does not regret it because of desire for family life.</p>	<p>Has general philosophy of life and citizenship within which his specific plans are fitted. Within this context, plans to teach until age 45. Then wants to retire to write books about customs of his own people which he expects to be superceded by Western civilization soon. Is uninterested in fame as he does not see himself as really outstanding artistic talent. Rather desires peace and quiet to write and paint.</p>	<p>Respondent would like to farm about 6 acres of land.</p>
<p>10.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: medicine Desires career in medicine, scientific research in biology and/or teaching.</p>	<p>Respondent had always wanted to be a physician. He has known some in early life and was inspired by them.</p>	<p>Basically, desire is career in science; need not be medicine. Is quite negative to commercial career as, if one works for money, all careers are alike. Feels he must have a career of interest to him or else could not function. Teaching in the school system is acceptable only in absence of opportunities for research. But whatever he does, desires to be left to himself.</p>	<p>No particular interest expressed in business; preference is for just enough money to assure comfort.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>11.</p> <p>Q-2: veterinary officer; Q-3: officer in Ministry of Natural Resources Sees himself achieving goals in progressive stages in Civil Service.</p>	<p>Originally planned agriculture or veterinary science because recognized wealth of Uganda lies in these two areas, hence his fortunes as well. Saw these fields as opportunities to combine important public service with own success.</p>	<p>Hopes to begin working on local level, helping people alter their animal husbandry traditions; later hopes for promotion in ranks of Ministry of Natural Resources.</p>	<p>Has no particular emotional tie to land and is willing to live anywhere. Sees possibility of a separate business e.g. raising fowl.</p>
<p>12.</p> <p>Q-2: medicine Q-3: medicine Intends medical practice in city hospital through government service.</p>	<p>Decided on medicine in secondary school on basis of interest and promise of high economic income.</p>	<p>Basic goal after achieving higher qualification is living urban life with practice in government hospital and large country home. Such career affords both high income and contact with med. specialists</p>	<p>Desires no subsidiary occupation such as farming. Has no tie to the land, is rather urban-oriented.</p>
<p>13.</p> <p>Q-2: science teacher Q-3: meteorology Would like either of these careers, depending on postgraduate opportunities.</p>	<p>In secondary school began to notice interest in, and capacity for, science; lacked same for arts.</p>	<p>Is generally much more interested in applied science career than administration. Desires quiet comfortable life, interesting career, service to the church.</p>	<p>Desires multiple careers such as business or farming, in addition to the main work, for the sake of family economic security.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>14.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: University teaching Educational administration is major goal.</p>	<p>Father, who is teacher, has been major influence. Relationship between father and son unusually close and son's major desire is to follow in father's footsteps.</p>	<p>Realizes will never be great mathematician, his original dream. Because he loves subject, wants graduate work, also qualifying him for educational administration in which expects to make really creative contribution. Feels will develop ideas in time, desires to leave own imprint on future educational policy.</p>	<p>Has real love for land. Hopes to get land by purchase. Intends farming for pleasure and cash-cropping, own some cattle and chickens. However this will not come until much later in life.</p>
<p>15.</p> <p>Q-2: architect Q-3: architect Cannot yet decide between architecture (main desire now) and electrical engineering. Much depends upon examinations. Basically he would like being a famed architect.</p>	<p>Had talent for art in secondary school. Teacher influenced strongly toward choosing School-of-Fine Arts as first choice at Makerere. Was a mistake and respondent succeeded in changing to science.</p>	<p>Always had feeling for creating things, even as child. Used to do different things e.g. pottery and sculpting. As child, would pull toys apart, put them together. Dislikes teaching; never appealed to him. Would like being famous architect; that career would allow combining of two main desires: art and mathematics. Also, likes idea of little competition yet in such field in Uganda.</p>	<p>Has emotional ties to land and would prefer a business on the side as well if possible. Would like to be successful and, if possible, famous.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>16.</p>	<p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: teaching Is a clergyman, desires teaching and pastoral work.</p>	<p>Raised in completely Christian religious environment; plus father and elder brother as main influences. Father not only firm on education generally, chose him for education career (teaching). Elder brother had entered secondary and influenced the respondent, who respected and had affection for brother, to do the same.</p>	<p>Desires life combining secondary school, teaching, pastoral functions. Not interested in high level career in church hierarchy as higher one goes the more trouble one encounters - and the heavier the responsibilities.</p>	<p>No indication</p>
<p>17.</p>	<p>Q-2: staff surveyor Q-3: no answer Desires civil service career as a staff surveyor.</p>	<p>Strongly influenced by father, who insisted upon best of education, even against respondent's own wishes at the time.</p>	<p>Desires happy life comprised of secure career as surveyor, happy home. Desires to go high as possible in civil service but no particular urge to be creative.</p>	<p>Does not desire farming too much but might have business on side. Career happiness has priority over money. Expects to be happy as there is high demand for his skill with little competition as yet in Uganda.</p>
<p>18.</p>	<p>Q-2: engineering or teaching Q-3: engineering Wants to be electrical engineer. As much depends on exams to come, not too clear about future as yet.</p>	<p>Mother and elder brother (a lawyer) were main influences. In secondary school became interested in engineering through physics classes.</p>	<p>Desires career as field engineer. Not much interest in research; prefers being useful, replacing the expatriates. Assumes after engineering school he will be employed by the Uganda Electricity Board.</p>	<p>Does not envision sideline occupations now because if one is really good at one's work, there is time for little else.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>19.</p> <p>Q-2: Teaching Q-3: teaching Intends career in secondary school teaching geography, history, research and administration in that order.</p>	<p>Strongly influenced by outstanding record of father who was in education and church work. Strong family life and community reputation were important.</p>	<p>Desires full career teaching. Uninterested in fame or popularity, wants to serve his people by example and work. Intends to travel for further study. Fundamental desire is teaching, less research, least of all administration. Wishes also to enjoy new life of modernization to its fullest.</p>	<p>Will have land but has no particular emotional tie to land, is just as happy living in the city.</p>
<p>20.</p> <p>Q-2: no answer Q-3: no answer Believes he will go into government work of some kind or else teach. Not sure yet about future, but still wants to continue in science even though presently enrolled in Fine Arts.</p>	<p>Parents (especially mother) were powerful influence, together with school. Parents taught him at home for a while.</p>	<p>Originally wanted science (medicine or agriculture) but was put into Fine Arts. Will be an artist, feels there is great need for artists in Uganda. Not sure yet about future but also intends to pursue science after graduation. Feels he can serve country better in science than in art, even though - he claims - there is more money in art. Intends to continue art career as well.</p>	<p>No indication.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

KIKUYU

<p>1.</p> <p>Q-2: civil service Q-3: head of Foreign Office</p>	<p>Was always interested in history, ever since began his studies in it.</p>	<p>Claims no powerful emphasis on personal ambition drives him. Prefers government work; emphasizes normal stages of promotion through ranks.</p>	<p>Has no other career goals since Civil Service does not allow other occupations.</p>
<p>2.</p> <p>Q-2: medicine Q-3: clinical medicine in rural areas</p>	<p>Became interested in medicine through biology studies; also most early adult friends in medical work.</p>	<p>Desires to help his people through medicine, show them benefits of Western civilization to prevent return to tribalism. Medicine, he feels, is best way to do that. His aim is to set up clinic in rural areas.</p>	<p>No indication</p>
<p>3.</p> <p>Q-2: science Q-3: medicine Would like to be physicist in Medical Dept. Beyond science interest, not sure what he wants; likes idea of research in physics, maths or chemistry, hopes for job in either business or government.</p>	<p>Began in field of English studies but failed K.A.P. E. (UNJUSTLY, he feels.) Thus was "forced" into science as he was good at it and maths.</p>	<p>States he does not think much about future work. Claims to have some sense of service to country but not sure yet of form it will take.</p>	<p>Wants to expand his activities in many areas, both social and economic; feels a bit restricted now.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>4.</p> <p>Q-2: lab technician Q-3: scientific research Wants to be in basic chemical research. Wants to study further for that.</p>	<p>Does not really know what influenced him; found himself interested in chemistry in high school.</p>	<p>No desire to teach; interested in science as such. Main motive is "curiosity". Would like to join East African High Commission but not as administrator.</p>	<p>Desires private land and intends to farm it (either himself or his family).</p>
<p>5.</p> <p>Q-2: industry Q-3: law Describes self as not hard worker. Also has "no gift of gab" thus on verge of giving up law. Now just wants "interesting job".</p>	<p>No indication</p>	<p>Describes himself as wanting to earn good living in interesting job he can hold after college.</p>	<p>Wants farming or private business on side; also thinking of building or renting shop and dabbling in stocks and bonds etc.</p>
<p>6.</p> <p>Q-2: agriculture Q-3: agriculture Wants to go into local land education work.</p>	<p>Cannot trace influences on him. Hated subject in high school until last year. Lived for long time with mother on subsistence farm she cultivated; lived near forest and, as child, became interested, generally, in nature. Thus it makes sense that biology turned out to be his best subject in school.</p>	<p>Wants to change agricultural standards in local areas. Hopes to open agricultural school for masses not educated. Agriculture represents, to him, way of life, dignity etc. Wants school set up by government rather than private source as latter is based on profit motive rather than service.</p>	<p>Would like business and land on the side, although claims to have no land attachment (i.e. personal emotional) as such.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>7.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: no answer Wants to be secondary school teacher and head of his own school; that is of greater importance to him than idea of high post in education administration.</p>	<p>Has always been interested in main subjects; history and English. Major influence on him has been Headmaster of Alliance High School. Earlier, father, although quite traditional, influenced by buying him books. Other influence was Headmaster from own High School (Kangaru).</p>	<p>Wants to head school producing "pupils" equipped not only with high academic distinction but also with desire to serve our country honestly and devotedly. Wants it to be of highest all-around standards.</p>	<p>Would like small farm to retire on and also desires stock in a business for sake of financial security.</p>
<p>8.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: Journalism Would like to be a journalist, likely will teach as "that's easiest to get into"</p>	<p>In 1957 was on editorial board of his school paper, came to like journalism. Has since read books on subject. Finds it adventurous in sense of meeting people presenting news clearly, with responsibility etc. Worked for 2 weeks with <u>Drum</u> magazine.</p>	<p>Likes all aspects of journalism (writing, fame, travel) but likes writing best. Looks forward to travel and wants to live working life in Ghana, Nigeria etc. Sometimes fears ambitions will not be realized.</p>	<p>Claims no special emotional attachment to land. Rather likes the city. If financially secure, sees no reason to have land or any other business on the side.</p>
<p>9.</p> <p>Q-2: civil service Q-3: ambassador If these ambitions not possible, prefers commercial life, to earn enough to buy land, live quietly in a rural area.</p>	<p>No indication</p>	<p>Wants to help his people inconspicuously; not as big-name politician, rather to set example of poor boy who has struggled to be of worth to society. Also feels a kind of debt to government for education, feels would be noble vocation to work for it. Expressed desire to go down in history as East African Ghandi in field of social welfare.</p>	<p>Feels no traditional emotional attachment, so he claims, to land. Wants land in case he does decide to live quiet life. Would also like business on side for enjoyment not profit. Is aware of some conflict (ambivalence) between plans and desire for a quiet life.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>10.</p>	<p>Q-2: medicine Q-3: medical research Wants to enter medicine, research area rather than practice Has special interest in entymology.</p>	<p>Wanted to be doctor as long as can remember. Had eye trouble as child and taken to a Mission hospital. Looked wonderful to him. In school was better in the Arts; claims to have read the entire school fiction library. But always wanted medicine, was encouraged by Headmaster and teachers.</p>	<p>Desires life of research and, secondarily, practice.</p>	<p>No desire for land or business on the side, at least until much later in life.</p>
<p>11.</p>	<p>Q-2: agriculture Q-3: high post in Dept. of Agriculture. Wants to encourage growth of economically rational agriculture in East Africa.</p>	<p>States he had interest in subject since childhood because father was farmer.</p>	<p>Wants to enter educational aspect of agriculture on local level and, later, rise high in agricultural administration.</p>	<p>If government allows, would like to own farm as, after working years, feels he will want to retire to tribal life.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>12. Q-2: public administration Q-3: a judge Would eventually like to be judge but feels cannot go to law school now. Intends to join administration or commercial firm.</p>	<p>No indication</p>	<p>Plans to take care of family first, then found a new one. Eventual goal to help people live free from fear of tyrannical government; hopes to influence educational and administrative reforms one day. (States that if tyranny comes about after independence, he would be prepared to revolt.)</p>	<p>Does desire land and a business on the side; land to be used for business purposes.</p>
<p>13. Q-2: administration Q-3: law Would like to be lawyer; intends to study for next 10 years. Believes he will be in civil service in countryside as a District Officer or Commissioner. Would emphasize community development, is prepared to make career of civil service.</p>	<p>States major influence on him was writing of Dale Carnegie, considers that influence as probably responsible for his passing school certificate exams.</p>	<p>States freedom of private life to be own master -- of great importance to him. Feels that life of the law can give him this. Is not interested in law for its own sake, nor is fame important to him.</p>	<p>Desires no land, or business, on side and has no particular attachment to land, but recognizes its importance to others.</p>



FIGURE II-Continued

<p>14.</p> <p>Q-2: medicine Q-3: no answer Wants to enter medicine but will not be able to make it, at Makerere. Will graduate in science; intends working for administration a while, then try for medicine overseas. If unsuccessful will combine administrative career with own business.</p>	<p>Credits success almost entirely to own determination and interest in science. Had been clerk in East African Telecommunications and resigned to enter Makerere.</p>	<p>Little indication about this except for expression of general sense of service.</p>	<p>Has some plans for business on the side but no details in mind at this point.</p>
<p>15.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: air force Expects to go into teaching, eventually educational administration.</p>	<p>States he found arts very easy in high school and chose it, though is not as good in English. Liked history, although he chose geography and divinity as being most interesting of all. Has taught in schools since 1958; a Sunday School teacher for 4 years.</p>	<p>Has just now begun to think seriously about future, finds himself prone to several conflicting ideas which he expects will likely change as time goes on.</p>	<p>No indication</p>
<p>16.</p> <p>Q-2: no answer Q-3: business Cannot now decide: private industry or government service. Would like to earn money to start business: shop, bar, dance hall etc.</p>	<p>Feels has had quite miserable life: isolation, Christian mother, beatings, father away. Wants return to quiet life because had no worries-just feeding, sleeping-life was simple. 5 weeks in England with scouts changed some ideas re personal relations.</p>	<p>Entirely privatistic orientation. Dislikes public life; happy in private existence. Sees world evil, dangerous; only the independent can be happy; cannot trust people; independence only value worth striving for.</p>	<p>Thinking of setting up poultry farm and doing truck farming of food crops needed in town. All depends on what will happen to him.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>17.</p> <p>Q-2: education Q-3: community development Wants very badly to enter community development work, teaching or administration in Community Development Dept. Eventually would like to be Minister of Community Development.</p>	<p>Made decision long ago as result of hatred of class snobbery. Describes himself coming from poor but proud tradition; family in which mother was main force. History of family conflict: uncle allegedly jealous of mother's success. Wanted to study arts in high school, had not to fail that did well and was forced into science at Makerere.</p>	<p>Main expressed goal: ". . . master surroundings, conditions" rather than vice-versa. Sees in community development for self possibility of organizing public via social life and education in the countryside. Hates class snobbery, wants to raise general standards of all. Finds himself interested in politics as well.</p>	<p>Expresses no interest in land or business as he personally prefers living in the city.</p>
<p>18.</p> <p>Q-2: undecided Q-3: no answer Feels very confused about future. Right now he feels might join Railways, specialize in economic transport. Otherwise some area of government work, in economics not administration.</p>	<p>No indication</p>	<p>Uninterested in fame. Feels is needed in country and has role to play. Prefers dealing with figures not people. Not sure yet where he fits in but feels obligated to sense of service. Wants satisfaction of job well done, is fed up with education and does not want anymore.</p>	<p>Not interested in setting up a business although he might consider a farm.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>19.</p> <p>Q-2: agriculture Q-3: no answer Wants to do community development tracing in connection with Agriculture Dept. He might end up in general teaching or even medicine.</p>	<p>Comes from poor family. In his area people depended on land, no big towns being near. Had much encouragement from parents, people at home. Also grateful to God for success, making him feel he should study subjects with which he can help ordinary people.</p>	<p>Not really interested in politics. Wants to work in rural areas rather than city.</p>	<p>Thinking of a business or else owning land. Has no real emotional attachment to the land as such, just wants to own it for insurance value. However does like rural life.</p>
<p>20.</p> <p>Unable to make any decision yet. Might like to work in Labor Office; otherwise in industry.</p>	<p>No indication</p>	<p>Wants career he will like, which will make him feel he has contributed to society and himself. Finds the balance between the two important. Also wants to be able to see accomplishments in some concrete form though not necessarily money.</p>	<p>Expressed interest in business on the side but does not want to do any farming.</p>
<p>21.</p> <p>Q-2: administration Q-3: same Wants career in Civil Service in community affairs. Wants to go high as he can but from the bottom up.</p>	<p>Likes to work with people. Not conscious of any particular influence having affected him. Sees his education as fortunate accident. (But in autobiography describes witnessing disintegration of communal frame of society around him.)</p>	<p>Wants to work for good of his people who, he says, mistrust government. Wants to show government exists for people's welfare, not to oppress but to help and safeguard life.</p>	<p>Would like land and business on side in that order of preference.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>22.</p>	<p>Q-2: medicine Q-3: medicine Does not want to teach, prefers practice and maybe administration.</p>	<p>States decided early on medicine. Started with interest in science, sought practical application. He knew people in medicine including close family friend and was also encouraged by his teachers.</p>	<p>Stated in questionnaire that failure in profession was worst thing could think of to happen to him. Wants to work in rural reserves at least a year or two, then "we'll see". Wants higher medical specialization later on.</p>	<p>Desires land and/or business on the side.</p>
<p>23.</p>	<p>Q-2: business Q-3: high post in commercial firm States not really too sure what he wants. Has studied maths, physics, geography, but no idea what to do with them.</p>	<p>No indication</p>	<p>Likes to work with people more than with things and would like administrative work, either in business or government. At this point no idea what main values are or will be.</p>	<p>Would like to own land and a business in that order of preference.</p>
<p>24.</p>	<p>Q-2: administration Q-3: same Wishes start in community development work, become District Commissioner, wind up eventually head of a private school.</p>	<p>States he comes from traditionally well-off background, which was shattered by Emergency. The terrible shock had profound influence upon him and vision of his own future.</p>	<p>Is concerned with service on local level; desires to take part in political, economic and social development of country, use social sciences in that. Accordingly, wishes to extend himself into education, hence wants to become Headmaster as well. Does not particularly care for commercial life.</p>	<p>Wants to own land but not to live on as he feels no particular emotional tie to land.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>25.</p> <p>Q-2: business or teaching Q-3: central government administration. Likes idea of administrative career but does not prefer politics; he would run for elective office.</p>	<p>Describes self as having had political ambitions once, but lost them even before arriving at Makerere. (But at various times speaks of possibility of being called upon to lead.)</p>	<p>First, sees self as discharging obligations to his family. Claims no strong drive for scholarship. Also dislikes excessive supervision of organization man's life. Is prepared to sacrifice money for happiness.</p>	<p>Is actually determined to set up multiple occupations, including a business. Feels cannot rely on income from employment, says self-employed people earn more. No desire for farm, but if profitable will grow tea on 3 acres or so.</p>
<p>26.</p> <p>Q-2: medicine Q-3: same Would like tropical medicine, also surgery and is prepared to go to Italy or Germany for a medical school if not admitted at Makerere.</p>	<p>Knew Italian doctor who was strong early inspiration. Also became interested through high school science courses.</p>	<p>Has strong service orientation; desires to help people in his area respecting health matters. Would especially prefer working in rural areas as medical care better in towns and cities than rural areas.</p>	<p>No indication</p>
<p>27.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching or public administration Q-3: writing Prefers most of all to be writer; particularly along lines of journalism.</p>	<p>Wanted that type of goal since novel-reading began, 1953. Before that read Swahili fables. Describes self as having had anomic background, with strong female reinforcement. All that made him introspective, grew accustomed to setting down ideas in diary, thus became interested in the written word.</p>	<p>Wants most of all to write, never thought seriously of other profession. Plans to do English Honours in school. Doesn't know yet ultimate purpose of career, is confused by that, feels it getting worse. Is concerned about human beings as such-their souls. Needs to look into that more, feels can do it via writing.</p>	<p>Describes self as having never become reconciled to idea of commercial life; hence has never felt the desire for a farm or business.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>28.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: medicine Intends pursuing Ph.D. in Economics, becoming university lecturer. Would turn down government post for that.</p>	<p>Had hospital job once, bringing him into contact with world and with medicine which he would still half-way like to study. Also grew to like economics, saw there were few B.Sc.'s in Economics around.</p>	<p>Finds it hard to say what ultimate purposes are. Claims it is not necessarily matter of interest in academic life with him. Feels still has thinking to do about life goals.</p>	<p>Describes self as having emotional tie to land, desiring some of his own. However not interested in a business.</p>
<p>29.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: journalism Wants to be writer, journalism or academic. Feels it is possible he might become historian, special interest in constitutional and legal history.</p>	<p>States all kinds of factors influenced him: complex early life, disillusionment at home and personal intro-spectiveness.</p>	<p>Wants to ignore public in order to pursue truth. Desires freedom to write. Likes use of logic, reason, without reference to personal opinions, hence interested in historical analysis. Claims to venerate truth, wants to advance it. "Truth is being in itself" and he wants to "belong to truth". Fame not too important, subject to human caprice. Feels if he can realize goals will also incidentally be helping people. Success in career very important, fears hum-drum life of merely waiting around for death, which he sees as the lot of most.</p>	<p>No interest in land. Business a possibility if it does not interfere with main career line which, he feels, it tends to do.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>30.</p> <p>Q-2: university teaching or business Q-3: entertainment world No formulated plans for future yet. Cites 3 possibilities: a) Ph.D. in economics or law; b) moving up in commercial firm; c) joining United Nations as economist.</p>	<p>Has had complex life which, he states, instilled ever-growing ambitions about which he is not too happy. Feels personal disillusionment, even cynicism, over what he has witnessed has been an influence, although not sure what these may do to him.</p>	<p>Describes self as, basically, wanting happiness. Early in autobiography mentions personal ambition but feels it declining somewhat within his personality. Later on states, with reference to future, he desires calm life, not kill himself with vain ambition and struggle. Also aware of desire for high social status. Some concern expressed re keeping hold of one's real self in this complex world; happiness defined as ability to come out of all this with one's real self intact.</p>	<p>Desires business on side or some land for insurance purposes. No personal emotional attachment to the land.</p>
<p>31.</p> <p>Q-2: teaching Q-3: no answer Would like to be teacher, possibly on college level. Prior, desires further work in chemistry or maths.</p>	<p>Describes encouragement of father. Ascribes influence to his whole general life history and to his religion but his discussion of this was not too clear.</p>	<p>Likes idea of research while teaching. Possesses general sense of service, also desires good personal development. He is also quite religious.</p>	<p>Desires land or business on the side. Expresses some emotional need for land but not much; enough, however, to be aware of it.</p>

FIGURE II-Continued

<p>32. Q-2: medicine Q-3: no answer Looks forward to a medical career, primarily in terms of therapeutic practice with hospital patients.</p>	<p>Father's positive attitude exerted strong influence. In 1943 contracted malaria and that experience had much to do with his subsequent decision to enter medicine.</p>	<p>Desires to end up as private practitioner, a "good helping doctor".</p>
		<p>Has never thought about a business on the side and his own land is too small. Is conscious of some degree of emotional attachment to land and to the countryside. His own profession will keep him in city, he says. He concludes that it will be better that way.</p>

CHAPTER SEVEN

DATA SECTION ON SOCIETY, POLITICS
AND RELIGION

For Tables Q-4, 7, 14, 19, 20 and 32 see Data Appendix to Chapter VI, section on "Sex, love and marriage".

TABLES Q-38, A, B, C AND D
CODING CATEGORIES

- A) "Can't think"
 - B) Traditional social rules
(courtesy; hospitality; greetings; spontaneity and sympathy etc.)
 - C) Traditional marriage role relationships and home life
(usually stresses traditional though modified subordination of wife; final authority vested in husband; traditional division of labor etc.)
 - D) Extended family relations
(obligations, sense of belonging etc.)
 - E) Clan prerogatives
(authority of clan elders; clan functions)
 - F) Traditional government
(for Baganda means monarchy, dignity of ceremonials for Kabaka etc.)
 - G) Traditional marriage ceremonials and laws of mating and procedure
 - H) Sex morals
 - I) Restrictions of young girls and daughters
 - J) Arts
(music, games, dance, dress)
 - K) Respect for elders and parents, and their counsel
 - L) Communal work, living and obligations
(including, for some, aspects of traditional land tenure)
 - M) Language
 - Misc.) Miscellaneous
- A) FIRST CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	17.3% (9)	10% (2)	21.9% (7)
B.....	9.6% (5)	15% (3)	6.3% (2)
C.....	5.8% (3)	10% (2)	3.1% (1)
D.. ..	9.6% (5)	15% (3)	6.3% (2)
E.....	7.5% (4)	15% (3)	3.1% (1)
F.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
G.....	3.9% (2)	5% (1)	3.1% (1)
H.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
I.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
J.....	9.6% (5)	10% (2)	9.4% (3)
K.....	19.2% (10)	5% (1)	28.1% (9)
L.....	5.8% (3)	0 0	9.4% (3)
M.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
Misc.....	5.8% (3)	0 0	9.4% (3)

B) SECOND CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	25.0% (13)	15% (3)	31.2% (10)
B.....	15.4% (8)	15% (3)	15.6% (5)
C.....	9.6% (5)	10% (2)	9.4% (3)
D.....	5.8% (3)	10% (2)	3.1% (1)
E.....	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0
F.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
G.....	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0
H.....	3.9% (2)	5% (1)	3.1% (1)
I.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
J.....	5.8% (3)	10% (2)	3.1% (1)
K.....	9.6% (5)	10% (2)	9.4% (3)
L.....	5.8% (3)	0 0	9.4% (3)
M.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
Misc.....	7.5% (4)	0 0	12.5% (4)

C) THIRD CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	44.2% (23)	35% (7)	50.0% (16)
B.....	11.5% (6)	15% (3)	9.4% (3)
C.....	7.5% (4)	10% (2)	6.3% (2)
D.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
E.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
F.....	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0
G.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
H.....	3.9% (2)	0 0	6.3% (2)
I.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
J.....	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0
K.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
L.....	7.5% (4)	5% (1)	9.4% (3)
M.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
Misc.....	11.5% (6)	5% (1)	15.6% (5)

D) TOTALS OF THREE CHOICES
(FOR CATEGORY "A" ONLY)

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	28.8% (45)	20% (12)	34.4% (33)
	Catholics	Protestants	
A ^a	11.1% (7)	40.9% (38)	
	Arts	Sciences	
A ^b	20.5% (16)	37.2% (29)	

^aTribe and religion related for category "A";
 $\chi^2 @ 1df = 11.34$ significant at .01 level.

^bTribe and course of study related for "A";
 $\chi^2 @ 1df = 6.72$ significant at .01 level.

TABLE Q-52

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
Tribe.....	19.2% (10)	45% (9)	3.1% (1)
Nation.....	75.0% (39)	55% (11)	87.5% (28)
Both.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
No answer...	3.9% (2)	0 0	6.3% (2)

TABLE Q-41

CODING CATEGORIES

- A) "Can't think of any"
- B) Kinship customs
 (strong distinctions between nuclear and extended family and between close and distant relatives generally; untraditional ceremonial customs such as honeymoons etc.)
- C) Physical and sexual customs
 (public kissing and embracing; homosexuality; prostitution; use of cosmetics and creams on the body; hair styles etc.)
- D) Impersonal interpersonal behavior
 (indifference; hospitality breaches; social atomization; over-formality; unnecessary rush and hurry etc.)

TABLE Q-41-Continued

- E) Over-equality of the sexes
(inside of marriage and out; sexual looseness; loss of femininity etc.)
- F) Some forms of government
(e.g. communism; imperialist policy etc.)
- G) Discrimination
- H) Miscellaneous

	Totals ^a	Baganda ^a	Kikuyu ^a
A.....	30.8% (32)	25.0% (10)	34.4% (22)
B.....	10.6% (11)	17.5% (7)	6.3% (4)
C.....	18.3% (19)	22.5% (9)	15.6% (10)
D.....	18.3% (19)	20.0% (8)	17.2% (11)
E.....	5.8% (6)	7.5% (3)	4.7% (3)
F.....	2.9% (3)	2.5% (1)	3.2% (2)
G.....	6.7% (7)	2.5% (1)	9.4% (6)
H.....	6.7% (7)	2.5% (1)	9.4% (6)

^aNumber of mentions by two.

TABLE Q-42, A AND B
CODING CATEGORIES

- A) Elite standards
(corruption; moral standards; exploitativeness and excessive self-aggrandizement at expense of ignorant masses on part of new elites etc.)
- B) Internal national unity
(tribalism; interest-group clashes e.g. landlords and tenants, minority communities etc.; in Buganda, the 'Lost Counties' issue, Buganda secessionism and royalism)
- C) Socio-economic development
(Africanization of skilled professional and administrative posts; labor force problems; capital accumulation; education etc.)
- D) Stable political administration
- E) Communism
- F) Preservation of traditions and customs
- G) "Can't think of any"

TABLE Q-42, A AND B-Continued

A) FIRST CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	7.5% (4)	15% (3)	3.1% (1)
B.....	32.7% (17)	40% (8)	28.1% (9)
C.....	40.4% (21)	35% (7)	43.8% (14)
D.....	13.5% (7)	5% (1)	18.8% (6)
E.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
F.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
G.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
Misc.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)

B) SECOND CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	17.3% (9)	15% (3)	18.8% (6)
B.....	19.2% (10)	15% (3)	21.9% (7)
C.....	40.4% (21)	45% (9)	37.5% (12)
D.....	7.5% (4)	5% (1)	9.4% (3)
E.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
F.....	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0
G.....	9.6% (5)	15% (3)	6.3% (2)
Misc.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)

TABLE Q-36
CODING CATEGORIES

- A) Save, invest or use for highly practical purposes
(e.g. education; insurance; business; pay off debts; invest for release from work etc.)
- B) Luxuries
(e.g. travel, material objects)
- C) Benefit of present family
(for parents, siblings, relatives etc.)
- D) Benefit of future family
(e.g. material like house and land; educational investment; cash crop development etc.)
- E) Philanthropic
- F) Miscellaneous
- G) No answer

TABLE Q-36-Continued

	Totals ^a	Baganda ^a	Kikuyu ^a
A.....	37.8% (31)	40.6% (13)	36% (18)
B.....	9.8% (8)	6.3% (2)	12% (6)
C.....	17.1% (14)	12.5% (4)	20% (10)
D.....	24.4% (20)	31.2% (10)	20% (10)
E.....	7.3% (6)	6.3% (2)	8% (4)
F.....	1.2% (1)	0 0	2% (1)
G.....	2.4% (2)	3.1% (1)	2% (1)

^aFigures in terms of numbers of mentions per item.

TABLE Q-40
CODING CATEGORIES

- A) Cold War
(coexistence, specific issues like Berlin etc.)
- B) General big power tension
(comments with specific reference to tension between big powers; political misunderstanding, respect of rights, scramble for power etc.)
- C) General nationalism and aggrandizement
(pride among nations, extremism of national assertion etc.)
- D) Colonialism
(financial, territorial, exploitation rather than assistance etc.)
- E) Race
- F) Nuclear war danger
(proliferation of nuclear arms; science for destruction; disarmament etc.)
- G) Democracy
(how to institute and spread it; recognition of human rights etc.)
- H) Communism
- I) Economic development
(development of wealth, employment etc.)
- J) Ignorance
(under-developed world vs. the West in education for the modern world etc.)
- K) Miscellaneous
- L) No real problems that serious
- M) Don't know

TABLE Q-40-Continued

	Totals ^a	Baganda ^a	Kikuyu ^a
A.....	9.0% (14)	8.3% (5)	9.4% (9)
B.....	9.0% (14)	13.3% (8)	6.3% (6)
C.....	6.4% (10)	6.7% (4)	6.3% (6)
D.....	7.7% (12)	11.7% (7)	5.2% (5)
E.....	5.1% (8)	5.0% (3)	5.2% (5)
F.....	21.2% (33)	18.3% (11)	22.9% (22)
G.....	2.6% (4)	3.3% (2)	2.1% (2)
H.....	4.5% (7)	6.7% (4)	3.1% (3)
I.....	8.3% (13)	1.7% (1)	12.5% (12)
J.....	2.6% (4)	1.7% (1)	3.1% (3)
K.....	7.7% (12)	3.3% (2)	10.4% (10) ^b
L.....	1.3% (2)	3.3% (2)	0 0
M.....	14.8% (23)	16.7% (10)	13.5% (13)

^aIn terms of number of mentions by item.

^bSeven cited population explosion.

TABLES Q-44, A AND B

A) EXPECT

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	25.0% (13)	10% (2)	34.4% (11)
B.....	48.1% (25)	55% (11)	43.8% (14)
C.....	11.5% (6)	10% (2)	12.5% (4)
D.....	11.5% (6)	20% (4)	6.3% (2)
No answer...	3.9% (2)	5% (1)	3.1% (1)

B) DESIRE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	19.2% (10)	30% (6)	12.5% (4)
B.....	28.8% (15)	30% (6)	28.1% (9)
C.....	7.5% (4)	10% (2)	6.3% (2)
D.....	42.3% (22)	30% (6)	50.0% (16)
No answer...	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)

TABLE Q-19

See Data Appendix for Chapter VI, section on "Sex, love and marriage".

TABLE Q-45

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
Yes.....	42.3% (22)	55% (11)	34.4% (11)
No.....	34.6% (18)	25% (5)	40.6% (13)
Don't know yet.....	23.1% (12)	20% (4)	25.0% (8)

TABLE Q-43

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	69.2% (36)	85% (17)	59.4% (19)
B.....	25.0% (13)	15% (3)	31.2% (10)
Both.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
No answer...	3.9% (2)	0 0	6.3% (2)

TABLE Q-46, A, B AND C

A) FIRST CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A.....	15.4% (8)	20% (4)	12.5% (4)
B.....	11.5% (6)	20% (4)	6.3% (2)
C.....	7.5% (4)	5% (1)	9.4% (3)
D.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
E.....	15.4% (8)	10% (2)	18.8% (6)
F.....	13.5% (7)	5% (1)	18.8% (6)
G.....	0 0	0 0	0 0
H.....	28.8% (15)	40% (8)	21.9% (7)
I.....	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
J.....	5.8% (3)	0 0	9.4% (3)
No answer...	0 0	0 0	0 0

	Protestants	R. Catholics
A.....	0 0	38.1% (8)
B.....	12.9% (4)	9.5% (2)
C.....	6.5% (2)	9.5% (2)
D.....	0 0	0 0
E.....	19.4% (6)	9.5% (2)
F.....	9.7% (3)	19.0% (4)
G.....	0 0	0 0
H.....	38.7% (12)	14.3% (3)

TABLE Q-46-Continued

	Protestants	R. Catholics
I ^a	3.2% (1)	0 0
J	9.7% (3)	0 0

^a Good for youth as foundations for morals.

B) SECOND CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A	3.9% (2)	5% (1)	3.1% (1)
B	15.4% (8)	20% (4)	12.5% (4)
C	9.6% (5)	15% (3)	6.3% (2)
D	0 0	0 0	0 0
E	23.1% (12)	25% (5)	21.9% (7)
F	25.0% (13)	25% (5)	25.0% (8)
G	3.9% (2)	5% (1)	3.1% (1)
H	5.8% (3)	5% (1)	6.3% (2)
I	0 0	0 0	0 0
J	7.5% (4)	0 0	12.5% (4)
No answer...	5.8% (3)	0 0	9.4% (3)

C) THIRD CHOICE

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
A	11.5% (6)	15% (3)	9.4% (3)
B	15.4% (8)	25% (5)	9.4% (3)
C	1.9% (1)	0 0	3.1% (1)
D	0 0	0 0	0 0
E	5.8% (3)	5% (1)	6.3% (2)
F	15.4% (8)	25% (5)	9.4% (3)
G	5.8% (3)	5% (1)	6.3% (2)
H	17.3% (9)	20% (4)	15.6% (5)
I	1.9% (1) ^a	0 0	3.1% (1)
J	9.6% (5)	5% (1)	12.5% (4)
No answer...	15.4% (8)	0 0	25.0% (8)

^a Serves to teach conformity itself.

TABLE Q-47

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
Agree ^a	26.9% (14)	30% (6)	25% (8)
Disagree....	69.2% (36)	60% (12)	75% (24)
It depends..	3.9% (2)	10% (2)	0 0

^a Emphasis for those who agreed was on softening the word "automatic"; stress was placed on advice in moral aspects of life.

TABLE Q-48

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
Agree ^a	28.8% (15)	45% (9)	18.8% (6)
Disagree....	69.2% (36)	50% (10)	81.3% (26)
It depends..	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0

^a For those who agreed, emphasis was on advice with respect to types of people, not advice about specific individuals. The former was seen as part of general responsibility of social leadership. Emphasis was placed on freedom of people to refuse advice if they wished.

TABLE Q-49

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
Agree.....	75% (39)	90% (18)	65.6% (21)
Disagree....	25% (13)	10% (2)	34.4% (11)

TABLE Q-50

	Totals	Baganda	Kikuyu
Agree.....	71.2% (37)	45% (9)	87.5% (28)
Disagree....	26.9% (14)	50% (10)	12.5% (4)
It depends..	1.9% (1)	5% (1)	0 0

FIGURE III

In the following, Figure III, we present data relevant only to a selection of the total amount we have collected on this topic. We felt it logical to select for inclusion here the comments of first year and fourth year-plus Kikuyu and Baganda students from both Arts and Science courses. In the case of the Baganda, however, there being only two first year Science and one first year Arts students, we included second year students as well. Thus the distribution of students included here is as follows:

Kikuyu

Arts: 4 students, first year; 5 students, fourth year-plus
Science: 6 students, first year; 3 students, fourth year-plus

Baganda

Arts: 3 students, first and second year; 4 students, fourth year plus
Science: 5 students, first and second year; 7 students, fourth year-plus

The organization of Figure III is according to concepts so that the reader can observe both the distribution of definitions by concept and can also trace the attitudes of the same individuals regarding different concepts since the order of presentation (individuals signified by letter) is the same for each of the concepts.

FIGURE III

Kikuyu First Year Arts	
Ideology	Ideals
<p>A) A view about general structure of things. Examples: the General Will and Communism. (Dangerous?) It depends. No one can live without some basic set of beliefs. Some ideologies are dangerous but there is nothing dangerous in ideology per se.</p>	<p>A) A particular objective to which v people aspire.</p>
<p>B) This concept is confined to - or connected with - religion or religious society. (Could not name any examples.)</p>	<p>B) Specific things good for a State which could be adopted.</p>
<p>C) A system of thought prevalent in a society; the end of a long development of evolution, the means toward an ideal. Examples: Communism, Democracy, Anarchy. (Dangerous?) Yes, because ideologies cannot withstand the test of time. If one swallows it whole one is in trouble.</p>	<p>C) An aim or goal of the ideology.</p>
<p>D) A system of ideas laid out to be followed. Examples: Western ideologies such as Democracy, Communism and Capitalism.</p>	<p>D) The best ideas to follow, the best goals.</p>

Kikuyu Fourth Year-plus Arts	
Ideology	Ideals
<p>A) A set idea covering a way of life. Examples: Moral Re-armament and Communism. Such ideologies believe they can save the world. (Dangerous?) Yes, because one ignores everything except the ideology one holds - it becomes almost a religion.</p>	<p>A) First objectives.</p>

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu Fourth Year-plus Arts	
Ideology	Ideals
B) Ideology almost merges unto a religious level - it is something that comes from deep within and can affect masses of people or a nation. Examples: Communism, Christianity. (Dangerous?) Yes, because ideology can be pursued without reason; it can be a mass hysteria of a sort.	B) Principles which an individual tries to live up to. These may be wrong too, but they are necessary to a balanced, consolidated view of life.
C) Diverse aims of different people with different beliefs. A way of thinking about whole groups of people. Examples: Communism and Capitalism. Not dangerous.	C) What one tries to achieve; a perfect aim.
D) No comment on this concept.	D) Something that would be the perfect goal. (Respondent sees slight but unimportant difference between ideals and ideology.)
E) A definite philosophy which can be indoctrinated. Examples: Moral Re-armament and Communism. (Dangerous?) Yes, because it usually involves violence, force and propaganda.	E) Ends commonly accepted as good, but not indoctrinated or forced. Can be left to people to see and reason out for themselves.

Kikuyu First Year Science	
Ideology	Ideals
A) No comment; can't define.	A) No comment; can't define.
B) No comment; can't define.	B) What is generally expected.
C) Same as ideals.	C) The right thing; a good goal.

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu First Year Science	
Ideology	Ideals
D) A system devised by somebody to be followed by other people minutely. Examples: Nazism. (Dangerous?) Yes because there is a tendency to make people like robots; to act according to plan; can be inhuman.	D) Involves various ideas. A government can borrow ideals but not a whole ideology. Ideals need not be followed minutely.
E) Sophisticated ideas which have no real outcome. Has no real meaning to me. (Respondent could not think of examples.)	E) General goals for achievement.
F) Ideas and principles underlying what one does. Examples: honesty, purity.	F) Certain beliefs. (Does not see much difference between these two concepts.)

Kikuyu Fourth Year-plus Science	
Ideology	Ideals
A) Same as ideals.	A) Best things one can expect from field in terms of which one is thinking.
B) A method of doing things; accepted principle or theory; a pre-formed system which must be followed, like it or not. Can be dangerous if taught to people who don't think but accept things as gospel. Examples: Communism.	B) Fixed ideas; not too realistic.
C) No comment; can't define.	C) No comment; can't define.

FIGURE III-Continued

Baganda First and Second Year Arts	
Ideology	Ideals
A) Must be acquired by training and knowledge. (Respondent could not think of examples.)	A) Ideals can just come to one's mind, but cannot be proven valid or invalid.
B) Some sort of policy. (Respondent's idea based on book he read on Moral Re-armament.)	B) Same as ideology. (Respondent unclear about meaning of both concepts.)
C) It is a collection of ideals; a kind of theory with many things incorporated, to be used on a large scale. Like religion, it can affect many people. Examples: Communism and Moral Re-armament. There are as many ideologies as governments. It can be dangerous because an ideology can be used to collectively cover everything up.	C) An ideal is more practical and can be used by individuals.

Baganda Fourth Year-plus Arts	
Ideology	Ideals
A) Theoretical goals.	A) Practical goals.
B) A conviction reflecting a guide or philosophy of life which one can follow. Can be dangerous if one does not allow for other opinions. Examples: Communism and Socialism.	B) Aims and goals.
C) No comment; has never thought of this.	C) Virtues.
D) A philosophy of what is good. There is nothing dangerous about it. Examples are complete disarmament and equality of man.	D) Generally same thing as ideology; conceptions of what is good.

FIGURE III-Continued

Baganda First and Second Year Science	
Ideology	Ideals
A) No comment; can't define.	A) No comment; can't define.
B) A kind of philosophy or doctrine. Can be dangerous if ideology is wrong. Example: Moral Re-armament.	B) What we generally aim at.
C) One uses an ideology to achieve an ideal. It is an idea which sinks into the mind from within as contrasted to a threat. (Respondent could think of no examples.) It can be dangerous, depending on what it is. Ideology can border on religious feeling.	C) Abstract goals.

Baganda Fourth Year-plus Science	
Ideology	Ideals
A) What one aims at.	A) Same as ideology.
B) An ideology philosophizes about things best in life in the form of utopias.	B) Ambitions which are realizable.
C) No comment.	C) No Comment.
D) Ideas floating around in someone's mind, without necessarily being in agreement with general opinion. Examples: secessionist aims of Buganda and related traditionalism. (Respondent could not name examples on a world level.)	D) Ideas which are generally acceptable.
E) Conceptions of perfection.	E) Same as ideology.
F) Ways of thinking or looking at things. Especially opinions concerning what is best. (Respondent could not think of examples.)	F) Things one likes or thinks good.
G) A teaching or belief about government or the State etc., which someone is putting forward. It may not be good for everyone. By implication an ideology covers more people than ideals. Can be dangerous if it poisons minds in the sense that it leaves no room for people to form their own ideas.	G) Something one would work toward e.g. to be a good Christian. Ideals are more personal than ideologies.

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu First Year Arts	
Totalitarianism	Dictatorship
A) Aims at control of the spirit, not just objective actions. A form of the general will interpreted by the few. (We asked the respondent where he had learned this interpretation; he replied: "Through the study of Communism plus the implications of the word itself.")	A) Less grievous than totalitarianism; only concerned with objective actions and obedience.
B) Same as dictatorship.	B) Rule by one man.
C) No comment; can't define.	C) Rule by one man.
D) No comment; can't define.	D) A number of rulers pulling the strings without consultation.

Kikuyu Fourth Year-plus Arts	
Totalitarianism	Dictatorship
A) A situation in which a group of people, holding an idea in common, dominate the State to the exclusion of any other influences. Such a system works toward complete power.	A) Rule of one man - not necessarily a bad one - which may have been occasioned by a number of factors. A dictator may save the State from anarchy. Essentially there are two types of dictators: totalitarian and exceptional leaders.
B) Same as dictatorship except harder to overthrow.	B) Imposition of the will of one person on the masses against their will.
C) A ruler exercising absolute power for benefit of the people. It is intended to be a benevolent dictatorship, often supported by the people. A simple dictator can be killed in a revolution. But the more dangerous form (totalitarianism) is harder to remove because it has a wider base of support.	C) Exercise of power for the ruler's own benefit.
D) Not much different from dictator.	D) Rule of one man.
E) Not much different from dictator.	E) Rule of one man.

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu First Year Science	
Totalitarianism	Dictatorship
A) No comment; can't define.	A) A ruler to be obeyed without question, as in Communism.
B) No comment; can't define.	B) One-man government.
C) No comment; can't define.	C) Rule of one man.
D) No comment; can't define.	D) One-man rule.
E) No comment; can't define.	E) One-man rule.
F) Same as dictatorship.	F) One-man rule.

Kikuyu Fourth Year-plus Science	
Totalitarianism	Dictatorship
A) No comment; can't define.	A) Rule of one man.
B) No comment; can't define.	B) Rule of one man.
C) No comment; can't define.	C) A government in which people are told what to do whether they want it or not.

Baganda First and Second Year Arts	
Totalitarianism	Dictatorship
A) Rule of a few people with absolute power and no opposition.	A) This concept has more to do with one individual with absolute power.
B) No comment; can't define.	B) Government in hands of one man with no opposition.
C) Some degree of freedom for expression of ideas.	C) No opposition at all; one must obey.

FIGURE III-Continued

Baganda First and Second Year Science	
Totalitarianism	Dictatorship
A) No comment; can't define.	A) Rule of one man.
B) No comment; can't define.	B) Rule of one man.
C) Gentler than dictatorship.	C) More horrifying than totalitarianism; rule by force.
D) No comment; can't define.	D) One-man rule.
E) No comment; can't define.	E) One-man rule.

Baganda Fourth Year-plus Science	
Totalitarianism	Dictatorship
A) No comment; can't define.	A) State ruled by non-elective process.
B) Tendency to control everything; power-holders wish to shape all life.	B) Tendency just to give commands. If obedience results, dictator does not care what else one does.
C) Same as dictatorship.	C) Rule of one man.
D) No comment; can't define.	D) Rule of one man.
E) No comment; can't define.	E) Rule of one man.
F) Feels there is a difference, but does not know what.	F) No opposition.
G) No comment; can't define.	G) Rule by one man.

Kikuyu
First Year Arts

DEMOCRACY

- A) Freedom of the individual as much as consistent with common good. The ideal is to consider the feelings of every member of society. It is unrealistic, but it is an ideal to strive for. This striving is the central element in democracy.
- B) One man - one vote.
- C) People's participation in government. Ability to put a man in power or depose him. One man-one vote.
- D) One man-one vote.

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu
Fourth Year-plus Arts

DEMOCRACY

- A) A State in which every individual has got freedom of expression and the right to participate in government, either through himself or through representatives. Law is made by representatives who partly anticipate what people want.
- B) Will of the majority. It is not fair to split "by" and "for" people as was done in your Questionnaire. Ghana is a democracy. Detention laws etc. in Ghana are necessary. Some people misuse democracy in early stages, the danger being that this misuse is hard to reverse. The key is democratic elections. If these are abolished, there is no hope.
- C) The inclusion into society of liberalism and tolerance; of the freedom of expression and association. Not necessarily one man-one vote.
- D) A form of government that allows individuality and individual lives, and allows the individual to play a part in running the government. I would call Ghana a democracy. There have to be limits. The detention laws may be wrong, may be going too far. With no free press, though, there is no democracy. A free press I would consider the dividing line.

Kikuyu
First Year Science

DEMOCRACY

- A) Majority decision on major issues through representation; thus, one man-one vote.
- B) Recognition of opinion of every citizen through elected representatives.
- C) Justice (equality before the law) and freedom of expression. It includes one man-one vote, but it is not this alone.
- D) Equal rights for everybody. Expression of this in politics is equal right to property and opportunity. It is not necessarily one man-one vote. I don't believe that voting is necessarily the right way to choose since the majority may vote on prejudice. An alternative is a group of people, maybe intellectuals, who can choose the right persons to rule.
- E) Free expression of opinion without fear. Not necessarily one man-one vote.
- F) Right to elect the government according to one man-one vote.

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu

Fourth Year-plus Science

DEMOCRACY

- A) General freedom to do what one feels is right as long as one does not destroy anyone else. Not necessarily one man-one vote.
- B) Individual rights as long as they are not inconvenient to society (i.e. which would bring harm to society as a whole; that which interferes with proper running of society).
- C) One man-one vote.

Baganda

First and Second Year Arts

DEMOCRACY

- A) Freedom of expression, free press, vote etc.
- B) People have a voice and can express opposition.
- C) Freedom of expressing each individual's view to government and having these taken into consideration.

Baganda

Fourth Year-plus Arts

DEMOCRACY

- A) If laws are not made by people through elected representatives then there is no democracy.
- B) When the right to opposition is taken away democracy ends. Ghana seems not to be a democracy.
- C) Ghana-type democracy is fit for some African States though it is not really a democracy, or rather it is a very modified one. It is unfit for Uganda, because it is so badly divided and should be made into a national unit.
- D) Government in which citizens are free to express individual opinions, including criticism of government.

Baganda

First and Second Year Science

DEMOCRACY

- A) Absence of dictatorship; freedom to express ideas and freedom to act. Dividing line between democratic society and something else is existence of an opposition. Hence Ghana is not a democracy.
- B) Right of the individual to choose his government.
- C) If people vote according to tribe, race or religion, democracy loses its meaning. The vote is the best single expression of public opinion.

FIGURE III-Continued

Baganda
First and Second Year Science

DEMOCRACY

- D) Freedom is basic minimum. Freedom of speech and election of representatives. One man-one vote.
- E) Freedom for someone to choose to do what he thinks is right as long as it does not collide too much with a neighbor's rights to speech, expression and choice.

Baganda
Fourth Year-plus Science

DEMOCRACY

- A) Where the people have some say through elected representatives.
- B) Main aspect is majority rule.
- C) Representation by elected rulers; one man-one vote.
- D) Cannot think of a criterion; has never thought about this question.
- E) Differences among people without any groups being regarded as inferior to others is a democracy. It is not equality; representatives must truly represent all groups in their constituency. Democracy involves both the election of representatives and their actions for all the people.
- F) When people have liberty to choose what they like. Freedom of expression of opinion on government policies.
- G) Form of government in which the individual role of people is given more emphasis than in any other form of government. Bare minimum is universal suffrage.

Kikuyu
First Year Arts

FREEDOM

- A) Freedom is to be left free to do the right thing which is determined by law of right and of reason. I am aware of controversy over meaning of natural law. The objective must be to bring revelation and natural reason together.
- B) The ability of the community to influence government through representatives is the central meaning of freedom.
- C) Limited freedom is the only possibility in many spheres. Freedom to act as one thinks involves no rules of harmony without government.
- D) Embraces many shades of meaning. The right to do what one pleases without inconveniencing society - that is, without interfering with the right of others to do the same.

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu

Fourth Year-plus Arts

FREEDOM

- A) Freedom involves the recognition of laws. Freedom allows a person to do as he wishes within laws. I fear freedom of action a little bit because it can lead to anarchy. It is also true that law can wipe out freedom, robbing one of choice of career, restricting one's purely personal life and property.
- B) At first it is, of course, uhuru (independence). Freedom itself is longer-lasting. It involves being able to express one's feelings without fear; to act or say as one will except for killing etc. Freedom has bounds based, basically, upon reasonable limits.
- C) Regard for other people's interests; sense of others' rights in relation to your own.
- D) When one can choose for oneself without having to limit another's freedom. One must restrict oneself to live within this limit.
- E) Law and order within which people are free.

Kikuyu

First Year Science

FREEDOM

- A) To be able to do anything without restriction. But Freedom is thus a variable thing.
- B) The right to express one's opinions.
- C) The right to express one's own ideas; people being allowed their rights to education and life (basic security expressed in the Welfare State).
- D) Having human rights and a say in criticizing government.
- E) State of ruling oneself; no external restraints at all. Could slip into chaos if one is allowed to do the wrong things. Freedom can thus be dangerously close to anarchy.
- F) Freedom can lead to anarchy unless the State has good government. Freedom exists when each human being has the right to determine his own destiny.

Kikuyu

Fourth Year-plus Science

FREEDOM

- A) When one is free to do as one likes.
- B) Here it means release from Imperialism. Nobody has a right to rule another person in a political sense without that person's consent.
- C) Freedom to express one's own opinion, to own property, religious freedom etc.

FIGURE III-Continued

**Baganda
First and Second Year Arts**

FREEDOM

- A) Freedom is the security of the individual against unfairness and injustice.
- B) A presence of law and order put into practice. Law and order means that the government tries to help people and people help government to help them help themselves. Freedom reigns when harmonious relations exist between government and people. They must listen to each other. Too many people think that when independence comes, there will be no more taxes and so forth.
- C) Freedom to have an opinion and to claim what one should have.

**Baganda
Fourth Year-plus Arts**

FREEDOM

- A) Can't really give a definition, but generally it means to do what one feels is right.
- B) Where people are not bound by strict regulations and are free to express themselves and to do what is right.
- C) Freedom of speech and choice (respondent has not thought about it much).
- D) To act as one likes within the law.

**Baganda
First and Second Year Science**

FREEDOM

- A) Freedom of expression for ideas; doing what one wants; the four freedoms.
- B) Freedom of speech, movement etc.
- C) Freedom to choose; freedom means one must regard others. No freedom can exist at the expense of one's neighbors. Mutual agreement is the positive meaning.
- D) Right to express one's feelings freely.
- E) To enjoy what is yours by right.

**Baganda
Fourth Year-plus Science**

FREEDOM

- A) Within limits, being able to go about one's business without interference by the State in private affairs.
- B) Chance to express opinions. The emphasis is on chance, even if there is no chance to carry out one's opinions.

FIGURE III-Continued

Baganda
Fourth Year-plus Science

FREEDOM

- C) People together deciding what they want to do as a people.
- D) Human freedom is also not being forced to do what one does not want to do, in the context of unforced discipline. Freedom passes into the opposite of freedom because of inherent sense of duty which forces one to do something one does not want. It becomes difficult to realize which is which, duty or freedom.
- E) Right to exercise human rights (free thought, will etc.), within reasonable limits (i.e. those that don't conflict with rights of others).
- F) When all people have same rights to life (e.g. survival, self-expression, benefit from the country's institutions). Limit is when the rights of others are interfered with.
- G) To be able to criticize within limits anything, and to behave as one likes within the law. If there is freedom, these laws are decided upon by society and people then voluntarily live within the law.

Kikuyu
First Year Arts

Socialism	Communism
A) A political approach open to reason; a conception of general welfare in which the individual has a place. The danger is that it can turn into Communism because that is its logical conclusion.	A) Involves application of totalitarianism to prevent contradictions in doctrine. Hence people must be forced to think the "right" way - to bind him to contradictions.
B) Everything is owned by the State; no private property.	B) No comment; can't define.
C) Not sure; doesn't see much difference between this and Communism.	C) Equal distribution of incomes. From each according to his need, to each...etc. Russia today is not really Marxist because it craves world power and conquest. It has been diverted from original ideology.
D) No comment; can't define.	D) Property collectively owned by the State.

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu
Fourth Year-plus Arts

Socialism	Communism
A) Tendency to create Welfare States. Resources exploited to the maximum and nationalized in a democratic way.	A) Aims at the same goals as Socialism. The path to achievement involves revolution which is very difficult. Although it aims at Socialism, Communism is committed to an ideology - a paradise sort of life. Communism does not necessarily aim at democratic methods.
B) One aspect of government. Socialism does leave one a certain amount of personal initiative. Emphasis is on material development.	B) Communism is an ideology of a sort. It kills all initiative. The individual virtually comes to an end. There is a complete identification with the State - a kind of religion in itself.
C) Emphasis is on material equality of distribution.	C) The State has the right to organize every aspect of life of the citizen. Difference with Socialism is only a matter of degree.
D) Socialism allows room for individual initiative, private enterprise. But government provides for welfare of people in essential services. It requires the rationalization of industry and it is, of course, possible to socialize everything where all is controlled from a center.	D) As we know it in history it is a very extreme Socialism. Everything is controlled from the center - economic and other activities. There is a belief that only in this way can a country be run.
E) The State is entrusted to carry out many functions; but public consent is present.	E) Based on force and absence of free choice among the people.

FIGURE III-Continued

Kikuyu First Year Science	
Socialism	Communism
A) Friendliness; sociability.	A) What exists in Russia; idea of everyone being equal; I can't really define it. (Claimed never to have heard of Cold War and stated Karl Marx began World War II.)
B) No comment; can't define.	B) No comment; can't define.
C) People doing things according to what their neighbors think; consideration of other people's opinions. (Sees no relationship to Communism at all.)	C) All people having the same; no private property. Lack of freedom to express own ideas; must do what superiors tell one to do; no freedom at all.
D) Having to take part in the community so far as life is concerned; having to do one's part.	D) Not different from Socialism. Cold War is nothing but a struggle for power.
E) No comment; can't define.	E) No comment; can't define. Does not understand issues in Cold War at all.

Kikuyu Fourth Year-plus Science	
Socialism	Communism
A) Same as Communism.	A) People live together under equal standards. Cold War is nothing but fear and a struggle for power.
B) Almost the same as Communism except there is more room for private property.	B) Society in which everybody has right to everything; all is owned by the State; no private property.
C) No comment; can't define.	C) No comment; can't define, and does not understand all the fuss re the Cold War.

FIGURE III-Continued

Baganda First and Second Year Arts	
Socialism	Communism
<p>A) In democratic States one can have a bit of Socialism.</p> <p>B) I don't really know, but it exists when people believe in sharing things as members of a society enjoying common privileges but still having private property.</p> <p>C) Involves more freedom than does Communism.</p>	<p>A) The State owns everything and in some countries is totalitarian.</p> <p>B) Everything belongs to the State. The theory is that everyone has a legitimate claim to everything in the country; all is in common. I do not believe this to be true in Russia literally at this time.</p> <p>C) A kind of Socialism. Enforced sharing, but means of application causes suffering and destroys social life. In Communism there are no freedoms of speech, liberty etc. for the individual.</p>

Baganda Fourth Year-plus Arts	
Socialism	Communism
<p>A) No comment; can't define.</p> <p>B) Government which aims at making the resources of a country serve society as a whole; with special references to economic resources.</p> <p>C) No comment; can't define.</p> <p>D)^a</p>	<p>A) No comment; can't define.</p> <p>B) A State which aims at suppressing the rights of individuals and which attempts to make everything common to everybody. Land belongs to all with no private property; man are to serve society and; society can take whatever it requires.</p> <p>C) No comment; can't define.</p> <p>D)^a</p>

^aBoth are forms of government; otherwise does not really understand the dynamics very well.

Baganda First and Second Year Science	
Socialism	Communism
<p>A) No comment; can't define.</p> <p>B) Same as Communism.</p>	<p>A) No comment; can't define.</p> <p>B) Sharing everything.</p>

FIGURE III-Continued

Baganda First and Second Year Science	
Socialism	Communism
C) To have some activities one does together with others.	C) As a creed, it is not good. It involves the belief that you belong to the State; you have no fundamental human rights.
D) No comment; can't define.	D) No comment; can't define and does not understand Cold War.
E) Other extreme of Communism toward the democratic side. Socialism is the borderline between Communism and democracy. So Socialism is Communist tendencies with democratic practices.	E) It is everybody being made equal to each other, in order to raise the workers from below. But Communist countries tend to return to Capitalist ways. The Cold War involves democracy vs. Communism. The latter is a system in which the government runs everything from the economy to private life and where it has to be informed of everything people think.

Baganda Fourth Year-plus Science	
Socialism	Communism
A) No comment; can't define.	A) A State whose government controls all people and orders them to obey. Not much private property exists, and there is much secrecy on part of government. Every product belongs to the State. (Respondent states he read this somewhere and is not sure if it is true. Understands Cold War "vaguely" as a rivalry of power groups and resources etc.)
B) Friendlier, more relaxed. Society organized to keep things communal but based on friendship.	B) Far more rigidly disciplined and organized society.
C) Rests on economic basis, on an economic policy, i.e. things belong to the State.	C) Moves more than Socialism into the realm of politics; a one-party State.

FIGURE III-Continued

Baganda Fourth Year-plus Science	
Socialism	Communism
D) There is freedom of expression. In Socialism one has a free sense of obligation. If successful, all duties are voluntarily performed.	D) Have not paid much attention to it. True Communism, I have heard, forces you to do things you otherwise do not want under compulsion.
E) Living in a socialized community short of absolute sharing.	E) A community in which everyone has the same share in a state of absolute equality. (Respondent claims never to have heard of term "Cold War".)
F) Not very sure of meaning. Partial nationalization of most things with a certain degree of liberty.	F) Everything is owned by the State; no private property.
G) No comment; can't define.	G) No comment; can't define.

FIGURE IV

In the following pages are gathered all data bearing on the formation of religious perspectives and world-view. These are arranged according to socialization relevant to religious views ("Background"); present beliefs regarding the existence of God, the divinity of Jesus, and personal immortality; present views on the nature of morality; and attitudes toward the proper relationship between church and state. The latter was ascertained by four forced choice questions in the questionnaire which read as follows:

47. "Leaders of the Church should be automatically consulted by those in political power on the moral aspects of major social, economic and political decisions."
48. "Religious ministers should be expected to guide their church members in political, as well as personal, problems such as advising them how to vote, in the best interests of morality."
49. "The Church has a duty to express opinions on public affairs."
50. "Religious leaders do not have a greater right than any other citizen to have their opinions listened to by those in power."

Each respondent was asked either to agree ("A") or disagree ("D") with each statement.

The other two questions referred to directly in Figure IV tap more intimately personal orientations toward Christianity. Question 45 asked: "Do you feel you require some form of Christian religious orientation or belief in order to achieve a fully mature philosophy of life?"; to which the forced choice answers were "yes", "no", and "I don't know yet". Question 46 listed a series of aspects of Christian religions and asked respondents to number them in order of importance

in their lives up to now. Responses to this question are tabulated for the first three choices in Table Q-46 A, B and C and for first choice only in Figure IV.

Finally, under the miscellaneous heading, "Comments", can be additional points not easily classifiable under the other categories.

Since Figure IV is based upon data derived from all research techniques utilized in this study, some of the material in it is based upon questions put to respondents directly, and other parts have been voluntarily contributed in autobiographies, interviews and qualifying comments on questionnaires. For this reason not all category cells could be filled equally. Thus if a question mark (?) appears, it means that there was nowhere in the total data on a particular respondent any indication of attitudes regarding that category.

ABBREVIATION KEY

For the purpose of conserving space, the writer has drawn up an Abbreviation Key for the following words and terms which, of necessity, recur frequently in Figure IV.

Angl.	.....	Anglican
A.I.M.	.....	African Inland Mission
bet.	.....	between
Cath.	.....	Catholic
Cath'm	.....	Catholicism
Chr.	.....	Christian
Chr'y	.....	Christianity
int.	.....	intermediate
Presb.	.....	Presbyterian
Presb'm	.....	Presbyterianism
prim.	.....	primary
Prot.	.....	Protestant
Prot'm	.....	Protestantism
rec.	.....	record
rel.	.....	religion
rel'y	.....	religiosity
R.C.	.....	Roman Catholic
sec.	.....	secondary
subj.	.....	subject

FIGURE IV
DATA HAVING BEARING ON FORMATION OF RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES AND WORLD-VIEW

KIKUYU

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
1.	<p>Father very good (Angl.); no smoking or drinking. Mother not as strong as father. She didn't really see the inconsistencies bet. some of her traditional beliefs (e.g. magic, <u>thahu</u> etc.) and Chr. doctrines. Mission schools all subject's life (Angl.).</p>	Yes	No record	Yes, but some doubts.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	45	Questionnaire 46	47-50	Comments
<p>Doesn't need Chr'y to tell him right from wrong; basis the same in all religions. Religious practices can help to act as deterrent - but not for him.</p>	<p>Doenn't know.</p>	<p>Prayer</p>	<p>A, D, A, A Church leaders should be consulted only on <u>moral</u> aspects.</p>	<p>Has studied Islam also. Best friend a Moslem. Subject has been influenced by C.S. Lewis: Mere Christianity and the Koran. Agrees with many R.C. doctrines except diet, Papal infallibility. Prays frequently: for family welfare, conversion of man to Chr'y and own development.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
2.	<p>Born into Salvation Army family. Father preached hell-fire to children. However wrong was not defined as sin. Only for sin did you go to Hell; sin was direct offense against God. Smoking, drinking and dancing were not sins but wasteful. Thus these bans not based on religion. Items defined as absolute wrongs but not as sin were abusing older brothers and lying; murder and stealing were sins. No family bible readings but prayers before bed. Attended strict primary schools (R.C., Angl. and Salvation Army); sec. schools (Salvation Army and Friends)</p>	Yes, but devil no.	Yes	No

FIGURE IV--Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>As a child was fairly religious and took preaching seriously. By sec. school had dropped belief in Hell. Found Salvation Army more spiritually honest because Friends required baptism money. There was public confession in Salvation Army services. Friends had silent prayers. Most of latter he met believed in hell. In sec. school he came to see this belief as a fear instrument which subordinates the sense of right. This he found inconsistent with his idea of God. He now believes in Moral Re-armorment as a path to world unity.</p>	45	No	
	46	Prayer	
	47-50	D, D, D, A. Is for complete separation of church and State.	Goes to church regularly; does not take communion; does pray but does not read much about religion. Subject does not consider himself very interested in religion.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
3.	<p>Born into strict Presb. family. Family read the bible often and prayed every day. Father was first in area to take up Chr. rel. which, in his area, meant abandoning traditions. (Mother has recently become a <u>mulokole</u>.) Emphasis in religious socialization was on prescriptive norms. No rel. debates allowed. Right and wrong not subject to individual discussion. Schools: Presbyterian and government.</p>	Yes	No	Doesn't know.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Someone who is irreligious can differentiate right from wrong because moral norms have a social as well as religious base. Religions function to ensure a person's adherence to good through beliefs. Feels that wrong is largely a matter of bad consequences, sin is not a real or important concept.</p>	45	<p>Doesn't know.</p>	
	46	<p>Prayer and doctrines of right and wrong</p>	
	47-50	<p>A, D, A, A Rel. Leaders should be consulted on moral aspects.</p>	<p>Subject considers himself as undenominational Christian and in a state of transition. He suggests that problem is one of not knowing what to substitute if he gives up Christianity. Does not pray much since it has not proved helpful. Prays in crises. Takes communion often. Otherwise not too active in religion.</p>

FIGURE IV--Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
4.	<p>Born into traditional family. Subject was baptized by A.I.M.. Permissive traditional socialization at home. Only proscriptive norms invoked but not a wide range; main one was not abusing circumcised people because "you have not experienced their pain". Parents believed in <u>thahu</u> but never invoked it on children. They accepted as inevitable the coming conflict between standards learned at home and at school. Schools: K.I.S.A. Angl. and A.I.M. primary school, at which religious training was very strict.</p>	Yes	Not sure and it doesn't really matter.	No

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46		47-50
<p>Subject never took religious indoctrination seriously. Has read bible. Cannot really comprehend idea of faith. Does not require religion to tell him what is right or wrong; wrong is what will damage individual in society. It is partly relative to community criteria. No absolute judgments possible.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Rel. has played scarcely any role in his life.</p>	<p>Religion is important in the sense that there is God. But the details of the Christian religion per se are unimportant. Subject does not engage in religious practice; also does not pray.</p>
		<p>D,A,A,A Religious leaders, as do politicians, have right to tender advice.</p>	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
5.	Had Anglican upbringing. Mother was very religious; father and father's brother less so. Local church and school deeply related. Went to Anglican schools	Yes	?	?

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46		47-50
Has come to realize that religion is not really linked to education. Chr'y helps in providing the foundations for ethics and a philosophy of society in the sense that it helps people raised in this tradition to understand each other. But religion does not aid to an understanding of society. Has given up belief in need for a church during last three years. It's not necessary for right conduct. Morality is common sense. No one need be told that killing is bad. Perhaps it is necessary to raise children as Christians while they cannot yet think for themselves.	No	Missions as path to modern education.	D.D.,A.,A

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
6.	<p>Raised in Anglican family. Did not live near a mission and, before the Emergency, family was the only Christian one in the immediate area. (Mother was mulokole since 1947, father converted to it after Emergency. Family isolated subject from traditional environment on religious grounds. However subject does not recall being threatened with sin, hell and damnation, rather with physical violence. Wrong was conceptualized by parents as "mistakes", not "sins". Absolute wrongs were defined as stealing, murder and lying. (The latter was not as serious as stealing; truth was not defined as an absolute value.) Dancing, smoking, drinking were prohibited. Schools: Anglican; less religiously strict than homo.</p>	<p>A Creator, yes. No devil.</p>	<p>Doubtful</p>	<p>Doubtful. Heaven and hell - no.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Right and wrong have to be thought out the advantage of religion lies in sparing that process by telling and emphasizing the distinctions between right and wrong.</p>	<p>45 Yes</p>	<p>46 Prayer</p>	<p>47-50 A, D, A, A Church leaders should be consulted as important leaders, not necessarily as moral experts.</p>
			<p>Subject does not consider himself very religious today. Yet he prays frequently. He has not read much about religions.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
7.	<p>Subject born and raised in traditionally religious family. <u>Thahu</u> was used as an agency of enforcement in socialization. <u>Mundo-Mugo</u> consulted. However subject recalls that he was told to obey what schoolmasters told him. Parents allegedly realized that Kikuyu beliefs were doomed. They supported subject's education and modernization. However they insisted, in the realm of social behavior, upon the relevance of Kikuyu traditions. Subject attended Presbyterian schools which were very strict, with emphasis dwelling upon sin, heaven, hell, damnation and the work of the devil.</p>	Yes, a personal God.	Yes	Doubtful. Never believed in hell. Confused about meaning of heaven.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject considers religion important as a socialization factor. However one can, as an adult, know right from wrong without religion. Nevertheless religion can make people better in some respects. Subject reacted negatively to school indoctrination and to alleged personal coldness of his teachers. Considers emphasis on sin, hell and damnation as techniques of fear which mature people should outgrow. Considers wrong not as sin, but as wrong because of its consequences.</p>	<p>Doesn't know.</p>	<p>Missions as path to modern education.</p>	<p>A, D, D, A Church leaders should be consulted as responsible persons not as church leaders. However, in his opinion, too many of them are not responsible and even ignorant.</p>	<p>Subject does not see much difference between Catholicism and Protestantism; they both want to make people better. Subject has read about Islam in books written by Christians. As a child had idea that every white man a Christian. Now realizes that many do not believe in God. Prays now and then; finds it comforting.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
8.	<p>Subject not born into a Christian family or community. There was no religious training at home. There was little emphasis upon absolute moral wrongs. Community social standards used as moral criteria. Major prohibitions were stealing and lying (there was an emphasis upon truth for its own sake). Disobedience to elders was also serious, though not as much so as stealing. Parents did not care if subject became Christian or not. Father had some understanding of Western ways, especially with respect to medicine. Family resided near wife of father's eldest brother who was a <u>Mundo-Mugo</u>. It was realized her technique did not work.</p> <p>School: Presbyterian primary school.</p>	Yes, but doubtful on devil.	Yes, is accepted.	Yes, though doubtful on literal heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject was converted to Roman Catholicism in 1955 by a cousin, a friend of his. Originally converted for experimentation purpose, but was convinced in long run. Catholicism gave refuge from worldly miseries. Tends to identify Protestantism with public confession and emotionalism of the Revivalists whom he has constantly encountered and rejects. Attends church regularly but rejects necessity of confession. Takes communion only once a year. Does <u>not</u> accept birth control or divorce dogma.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Theology and proofs of existence of God.</p>	<p>D,D,A,A Is for separation of church and State.</p>	<p>Promise of life after death helps. Subject would be a Christian without it, but it is a source of hope if one fails in this world.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
9.	<p>Subject not born into Christian family; however community was Christian. Family believed in thahu and other beliefs, but made no attempt to impose them on subject; perhaps to do so would have gone against dominant trend of the community. However subject was raised with sense of moral propriety whose major criterion was public opinion. But there was no sense of absolute wrong imparted. Wrong was judged in terms of circumstances.</p> <p>Subject attended K.I.S.A. and Roman Catholic schools. They did not have missionary zeal, relying rather on social prestige of Christianity. He encountered idea of sin in school.</p>	Yes, also devil.	Yes	Yes, also heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46		47-50
<p>Was converted by conviction and baptized a Roman Catholic in secondary school. Believes it is the true religion. He does disagree with some of its tenets, such as birth control. Recognizes some conflict between his own convictions and dogmas, but not sufficient to sever affiliation. Sees the major distinctions (theologically) between Catholic and Protestant as the former being more faithful to Christian religious teachings, while Protestantism encourages greater freedom of thought and action. Feels that without religion people would have no moral standards if they could not invent them alone.</p>	No	<p>Missions as path to modern education.</p>	<p>Attends church irregularly. Does not pray frequently, because there is little he desires which requires divine help. Rarely takes communion. Does not consider himself especially religious. Has read Bertrand Russell, Tom Paine and Ingersoll.</p>
			<p>D, D, A, D (Last D based on religious power of leaders, not their inherent status right.)</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
10.	<p>Subject born into fairly strict Presbyterian family. Church laws were kept, including ban on alcohol. Much emphasis on sin, hell and damnation. A relative, a <u>mulokole</u>, tried to convert subject but failed. There were family bible sessions and prayers.</p> <p>Schools: Presbyterian primary schools, which were quite strict.</p>	Yes	<p>Not sure. He was at least a highly evolved individual.</p>	<p>Yes, but not literal heaven and hell.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46	
<p>Not much comment. Finds to depend less today upon religion than earlier. Does not pray much but finds it helpful.</p>	No	Doctrines which can help distinguish right from wrong	<p>Has read about Islam and Theosophy. Sees few real differences between Catholics and Protestants except that former have more religious festivities and too much respect for the Pope.</p>
		47-50		A,A,A,A

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
11.	<p>Subject was born into a fairly traditional environment, however his father was a local preacher of the A.I.M.. Much emphasis on religion at home, although father considered Balokole foolish on the ground that their position was totally negativistic. Subject describes father as traditional in the sense that he always sought practical social reasons for definitions of wrong - did not accept something as wrong merely because religion said so. Reasons should be explained in preaching. At home smoking, drinking, curcung etc. were prohibited. Schools: K.I.S.A. primary and Anglican intermediate school.</p>	<p>Yes, but never thought much about nature of God.</p>	<p>No record.</p>	<p>No</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46		47-50
<p>Subject tends to feel like his father on moral issues. Thinks he was born with sense of right and wrong, that if religion does influence people it can really do so only after age of reason has been reached. But he recognizes that some people may first obey their church blindly and reason it out later.</p>	No	<p>Doctrines to tell one right from wrong from the start.</p>	<p>Prays because of belief in God - usually prays of thanks. Feels he could do without prayers but he owes it to God. No religious readings aside from bible. Does not take communion often. Never thinks of religious issue per se seriously.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
12.	<p>Father of subject was Catholic while in school but left church when he left school for reasons unknown to subject. Father very hostile to missionaries and whites generally. But (until Emergency) father's brothers were Roman Catholics and stressed to subject that traditional customs were of the devil. Mother (until Emergency) was an Anglican. Both parents believed in God but not Christ, the latter being associated with colonialism. Subject occasionally attended church with mother. Father believed that heaven and hell were on earth. Moral precepts were independent of eternal reward or punishment. Traditional social manners were inculcated in subject, e.g. disrespect of elders was absolutely wrong.</p> <p>Schools: Roman Catholic primary schools which were not strict (e.g. church attendance was not compulsory). Secondary school was much stricter.</p>	Yes	Yes	Yes, including a place of happiness and punishment.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject states he was very religious in secondary school but began to change in college, his more recent attitude based on the allegedly patronizing attitude of missionaries. However he has also come to see the necessity for a spiritual life, and that religious principles as such should be separated from acts of missionaries. Feels generally that all Christians are his reference group, but does not feel he could be a Protestant; finds all he needs in Roman Catholicism as a fuller religion. However religion is not essential for knowledge of right and wrong.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Prayer a source of consolation.</p>	<p>47-50 D, D, A, A Consultation should be extended on matters of church only.</p>	<p>Subject does not go to confession often; however attends church now quite frequently.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
13.	<p>Subject brought up as a proud Kikuyu, but Christianity was not viewed by father as antithetical to tradition. Subject describes his father as an ideological Christian and a social Kikuyu. Father was not a practicing Christian (no church, Mass, etc.). This was possible because there was no Mission nearby to exert social influence. Mother was much more traditional, but did not have much say. Father stressed sin, hell and damnation, and forced Catholic baptism on subject in 1949 (age of 10). Wrong was interpreted in terms of sin, including disobedience. Subject was isolated from age mates on ground that latter had not attended school.</p> <p>Schools: Very strict primary and intermediate Roman Catholic schools, which were allegedly notorious for their strictness. Father pushed him into education.</p>	<p>Yes, but no devil.</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46	
<p>Subject has recently (1956) begun to question seriously many of the doctrines he has learned. He now does not view himself as a devout Roman Catholic; does not see fornication as a sin; has come to abandon belief in hell; has not taken communion or participated in confession since 1956 and no longer goes to church.</p>	<p>Doesn't know.</p>	<p>Theology and proofs of God.</p>	<p>Subject has not done much reading on religion.</p>
		<p>47-50 D, D, A, A Is in strongly of self- ration of church and state.</p>	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
14.	<p>Subject grew up in a family and area so traditional that the clan as a reference group was super-ordinate to tribal consciousness. Mother's father was an eminent <u>Mundo-Mugo</u>. Subject states that he himself decided to attend school. Schools: K.I.S.A. and Presbyterian primary and secondary (intermediate) schools.</p>	Yes	Yes	Yes

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46	
<p>Took up question of religion after end of secondary school. Introduced to Catholicism via reading as he read much about Catholic and Protestant religions. Joined Catholic Church in 1958; attraction based on general impression. Felt other religions were not as sincere - end products of K.I.S.A. schools were too often Mau Mau. Catholicism was original Christian religion. He likes its allegedly unmodified constancy. The pragmatic modifications of other religions repelled him. But the church does not have the right to enforce their social doctrines; free will is contradictory to authority of church. There should be complete separation of church and state. Birth control is not a matter for the church. Only sees chaplain on religious matters - feels this should be normal. Sees people in their social specialized function only.</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>47-50 D,D,D,A For complete separation of church and state.</p>	
		<p>Promise of life after death. Feels without this there is no point to religion at all.</p>	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
15.	No information because no interview.	---	-----	-----

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
-----	Doesn't know.	Religion of no importance to him.	D,A,A,A	-----

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
16.	<p>Subject raised in strict Presbyterian family. Mother was stricter than father; she preached her religion in the church. Parents had been educated in the Church of Scotland Mission which dominated the immediate area in which they lived. Subject was socially isolated from non-Christians. However there was not much emphasis on family prayers or bible readings. Moral socialization was not in terms of sin but good character. There was some talk of heaven and hell, but this was not emphasized. Schools: Strict Presbyterian primary and intermediate schools.</p>	No record	No record	No record

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46	
Seen main significance of religion in its socialization function. A young boy raised as a Christian will probably develop into a better adult even if he then foregoes religion.	No	Early in- fluence on for- mation of morals.	Doesn't pray much since one can never know if it is efficacious or not. Also has not read much about religion.

FIGURE IV--Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
17.	<p>Was not born into a Christian or particularly traditional family. Mother consulted <u>Mundo-Mugo</u> when subject was born; he remembers being taken himself when he was young. Witch craft beliefs were present but in a modified form. Belief in ancestor spirits and religious significance of naming was present in early life (subject claims that Leakey's interpretation is correct but disagrees that it applies to land questions). Moral socialization was fairly traditional - to the point of being based on fear of magic. Father died when subject was age 2, and mother did not oppose circumcision in hospital. She also encouraged education.</p> <p>Schools: Attended Presbyterian schools until high school.</p>	<p>Yes; on and off in devil too.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes; and heaven and hell too.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Subject has had very complex religious history. At time of writing autobiography, he claimed to be moving away from Christianity. By time of interview changed his mind. He had thought of religion as superstition and morality as only important aspect. But when examining his morals, found them severely wanting. Recognized that at root of Christianity was hope of heaven. Saw role of faith in Divine Healing. Saw himself under influence of satan at times. Felt special guilt in matters of sex behavior. Now very ambivalent; realizes sinfulness of sex desire but only intellectually. At time of interview, subject regarded himself as a <u>Mulokole</u>. Feels one need not be a Christian to know right from wrong, but that religion hammers it in.</p>	<p>45</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Just before the end of the project, the subject came back to amend his interview. He disclaimed being a <u>Mulokole</u> and said he had just converted. He had read much and realized there was more wrong with him than with the church. He no longer cares about such issues as was Mary a virgin or not. Proofs of God are very difficult. He considers himself a Presbyterian because Anglicans are far too formal. Catholicism is much more alien because of the Pope; intercession as against direct contact and a difference in the Commandments. Subject is aware of naturalistic interpretations of religion but cannot feel ready to deal with them yet. All is in a state of flux.</p>
	<p>46</p>	<p>Personal ethics and philosophy of society.</p>	
	<p>47-50</p>	<p>D, D, A, A</p>	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
18.	<p>Subject born into A.I.M. family - extremely strict and non-traditional. Smoking, drinking and dancing were prohibited. This was correlated with a positive rejection of Kikuyu traditional way of life. The African heads of the local A.I.M. wore relatives of the subject. All four of the father's brothers were members of A.I.M. as well. In moral training emphasis was upon sin, hell and damnation (especially from mother - father tended to administer beatings). Schools: A.I.M. primary and intermediate schools - very strict.</p>	<p>Yes, but does not know what kind.</p>	<p>No record</p>	<p>No record</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46	
<p>Reacted violently to indoctrination in schools. Used to believe that all whites were adherents of A.I.M. Christianity. Found out otherwise only in secondary school. Subject does not feel he needs religion to tell him right from wrong, but religion makes the world a better place through fear of punishment in hell. Has observed this in people around him and sees no harm in it.</p>	No	<p>Mission as a path to modern education.</p>	<p>Never reads about religion. Rarely thinks about God now. Does not pray now, but used to as a child - to little avail. Attitude now: if you believe it helps, otherwise not.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
19.	<p>Subject born into highly transitional environment - people were gradually turning to new ways. Parents initially neither Christian nor really traditional. When subject was still quite young, parents turned Christian (Presbyterian) - the mother particularly so. Home was not strict in religious sense: no emphasis on sin, hell and damnation. Was not taught in a Christian way - rather in terms of consequences. Stealing was the most serious wrong; lying not as serious; killing was never mentioned. There was no stress on values unless some concrete interest was transgressed - hence no emphasis on abstract value of truth. Subject states there was actually no indigenuous priority of seriousness of wrongs in his experience.</p> <p>Schools: Presbyterian primary, intermediate and secondary schools, all not too strict.</p>	Yes, also devil.	Yes	Yes, including eternal punishment, but not literal fire.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Subject was a religious child; became baptised through his own effort at the age of 11. His religiousness has not changed or abated - however is not a <u>Mulokole</u>. Considers life after death extremely important - if there is no life after death, there is no God and, hence, no sense in obeying God.</p>	45	46	<p>Prayer and the help of God in personal problems.</p>
	47-50	<p>A, A, A, D Church and state should go hand in hand - whichever church the state feels the right one for that particular society.</p>	
			<p>Subject does not read much about religion apart from the bible. Attends school regularly; ditto communion and prayer.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
20.	<p>Subject born into family indifferent to religion, neither traditional nor Christian, in isolated environment (European farm area). Parents, interested in education, accepted Christianity as inevitable by-product.</p> <p>Schools: Presbyterian and Roman Catholic primary and intermediate schools. The first was Presbyterian, so subject became Presbyterian for that and no other reason.</p>	<p>Yes, but it's not important.</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
<p>Subject feels a non-religious person can know right from wrong from existence of a code of morality. In the absence of any formulated code, there is always social pressure and example of others. Religion acts to help man think of these things in specific terms - e.g. how to relate one's morality to the discipline of the church itself. Subject believes that man is not born with moral knowledge, but with the ability to recognize moral distinction. Right and wrong are not metaphysical but begin with the fact that an individual is not alone in the world. Right and wrong are sociological concepts. Belief in God means heaven enters into the issue. One cannot define God as good or bad - if He is He just is. Belief makes no difference for subject - moral issues are autonomous. Recognizes role - in his behavior - of "irrational" satisfaction derived from simple conformity e.g. attending church.</p>	45	46	47-50	
	Doesn't know.	Doctrines to distinguish right from wrong (in sense of initial presentation.)	A, D, D, A Religious leaders need not be automatically consulted, but it is useful to do so.	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
21.	<p>Subject raised by indifferently religious father and a quite strict, devout Roman Catholic mother. The home environment was influenced by a Roman Catholic Mission. The mother (as did the primary and intermediate Catholic schools) stressed sin, hell and damnation. Subject was discouraged from holding any beliefs pertaining to witch craft and from attending any traditional ceremonies which were viewed as evil and sinful. At home there were family prayers but relatively little emphasis upon the bible.</p>	Yes	No record	Doubtful; based on many slender assumptions.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Subject has undergone some changes in his approach to religion and morality. At first took Christianity very seriously. At about age of 10 began to feel that the church was not the important thing - his views were becoming contradictory to those of church. Claimed he never really understood idea of divinity of Jesus. Never doubted existence of God - has come to realize that everyone has their religion - even the "heathen". Subject himself rejects Papal infallibility. Considers himself a Catholic but would not mind excommunication too much. Children will be free to decide their own religion. The individual would know right from wrong without religion. Religion stresses what is already natural in the person - through the force of the sense of sin. Subject considers himself Christian because the morals he knows are derived from Christianity - and he realized those before he recognized his inherent natural beliefs and ethics. Now feels that there is no inherent bad or good but that these have to do with consequences.</p>	<p>45 No</p>	<p>46 Doctrines which can tell one right from wrong</p>	<p>In secondary school, subj. recognized that not all whites were Christians. Subj. stated that he felt a strong need occasionally to believe the bible literally true. Has read history of rol., largely by Prot. writers. Sees Cath'm as stressing formality in service, while Prot'm stresses what is inside oneself.</p>
	<p>47-50</p>	<p>D,D,D,A For complete separation of church and state As a result of reading political science he realized alleged-ly brought only misery to states.</p>	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
22.	<p>Subject born into mixed religions family. Most members were indifferent; some (like uncles' wives) believed in <u>Thahu</u> and powers of the <u>Mundo-Mugo</u>. Generally the women in subject's family were more traditional than the men. Respect for elders and traditional obedience inculcated almost unconsciously. Subject attended Roman Catholic schools where he encountered very different approaches to socialization; he thought latter very negativistic in emphasis on morality with strong emphasis on sin, quite different from home experiences. Later parents were baptized as a result of missionary work and became active in welfare work. Parents at present are serious Catholics; more serious, subject states, than he himself.</p>	Yes	No record	Yes, but it's not important to subject.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments	
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject feels that an irreligious man has an intrinsic sense of right and wrong. Christianity tries to explain it in terms of its own beliefs. Also religion has a kind of group educative function. Subject does not believe in absolute right and wrong. The latter are meaningful in terms of consequences. Does not believe much in sense of sin. Subject is not aware of Catholic writings in the field of social organization.</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>Doctrines to distinguish right from wrong.</p>	<p>D, A, A, D Subject allows this degree of influence to high religious leaders with reluctance. Feels it unnecessary in underdeveloped countries in early stages of modernization.</p>	<p>Subject does not pray much these days; does not attend church every week and takes communion seldom. At present, little reading about religion.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
23.	<p>Subject was born into K.I.S.A. influenced family; baptized at age of 8 days. He was raised with some sense of being a Kikuyu, not through indoctrination but as a result of the influence of the environment. However there were no experiences with specific Kikuyu religious beliefs or practice that subject can recall. At age of 11, subject first attended Roman Catholic school. Was re-baptized from K.I.S.A. as Catholic at age of 12 as a result of simple desire to conform to surroundings, also mother's brother was a teacher at the school.</p>	Yes	Yes	Probably, but this is not important.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject states that all Kikuyu believe in God. He does not feel that an irreligious person does not know right from wrong. Rather religion helps one to grasp distinction by widening concepts of right and wrong. Right and wrong are values which depend on society and hence arise out of everyday life. Believes in natural law but feels it adjusts to changes in environment. But some things (e.g. murder) are wrong everywhere. Subject personally believes in sin. Is aware of Catholic social encyclicals.</p>	<p>Don't know.</p>	<p>Ethics and philosophy of society.</p>	<p>D.B.A.A.</p>	<p>Subject does not take personal problems to priests. Finds that prayer is not particularly helpful. Attends church and confession regularly. Has read about Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism by both partisan authors and Catholic authors. Has never doubted his own religion.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
24.	<p>Subject born and raised in wholly traditional family; all traditional beliefs and ceremonies involved. However, parents also virtually forced subject into school, although they recognized (a teacher having told them) that modern education would loosen their son from traditional beliefs. But, as in so many other cases, money income was a powerful lure and parents desired son to be modernized. A sister of the mother was a <u>Mulokole</u> and married to an elder in the African court system, run by the local African Districe Council, so Christian influence was present in the family. Absolute wrongs were defined at home as illicit sexual intercourse; consorting with sorcerers (one of the subject's brothers was killed through witch craft poison); and fighting. Schools: Anglican and Roman Catholic, which had much emphasis on sin, hell and damnation; experienced conscious attempts in the schools to wean him away from traditional beliefs.</p>	Yes, also devil.	Yes, but has doubts about trinity.	Doubts it; also doubts heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject experienced both Catholic and Protestant schools. Found that in Protestant schools religion was not as much emphasized as in the Catholic. In the latter all teachers were priests, brothers or nuns. In Protestant schools not all teachers were firm Christians. Subject stated he wanted to become a Catholic before going to a Catholic school. He had read of their history in Standard VII and was attracted to them because of their greater piety. Subject, who had been a Protestant since age 10, became Catholic at age 16. He does not know Catholic social literature. He believes in Confession but does not accept equally all Catholic doctrine (e.g. trinity and divorce; also sees himself slackening as regards Confession). He does accept ban on contraceptives, but argues against ideas of absolute wrong. To him, everything is relative to circumstances.</p>	No	Doctrines to tell right from wrong.	<p>tb, D, A, A For complete separation of church and state.</p>	<p>Subject sees himself decreasing in religiousness due to personal failings. He states he is just beginning to read up on religion, as yet mostly "propaganda" pamphlets. Subject states that Catholics gained great influence during Emergency since they went all out on social and medical Evangelism.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
25.	<p>Subject was born into Greek Orthodox family, but there were no ties at all to real Greek Orthodoxy. On the local level in that area, a layman just read the bible and was baptised. People went to church frequently because it was the fashion, even for non-Christians. Church was a local social event. However, subject was not raised as a Kikuyu; there was emphasis on keeping the Christian commandments. There was no emphasis on prohibiting smoking or drinking. Schools: I.I.S.A. primary and intermediate schools, but a Roman Catholic secondary school.</p>	<p>Yes, a personal one.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Doubts it; has no need for this belief.</p>

FIGURE IV--Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Subject came into contact with Catholicism in secondary school. Was converted at age 18 because he felt he had to have a religion and was convinced it was the true religion. However he believes that one can know right from wrong without religion. But there must be some social basis; social sanction is one. Something is wrong because of consequences. He denies abstract right or wrong. No social codes, no sins. Religion provides the codes. Subject feels doing right is a matter of fact. Religion is not absolutely necessary for society because there is an alternative. Religion should be restricted to religion. Subject states: "I go back to social codes. Religion is for the individual, but not for social policy." Religion mixed with politics leads to dangerous splits and confusions. Subject would feel free to read prohibited books; feels no one has the right to forbid that. He thinks it might be all right for people who cannot reason. To the subject, religion provides a guide for a code one need not believe in other aspects.</p>	45	Yes	
	46	Mission as path to modern education.	
	47-50	D, D, D, A For complete separation of church and state	Subject enjoys discussion religion, has read a fair amount re religion, including Apologetics of church fathers, gospels, catechisms. Also read lectures by Aquinas, Ingersoll and Paine. Otherwise has not read much aside from Catholic literature.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
26.	<p>Subject born into a fairly strict Presbyterian family. (This became less true as time went by.) Early in life, subject received no traditional teaching. Quite the opposite, father was strongly against witnessing traditional ceremonies. Smoking and drinking were also prohibited. The definition was not in terms of sin but indecency. However, father was also against Balokole because he felt they were "nonsensical" e.g. in their public confession. There was family prayer and bible reading. The threat of hell and punishment was present.</p> <p>Schools: Presbyterian primary and intermediate schools, although older brothers went to Catholic schools.</p>	Yes	Yes	Yes, but it is not important to him.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46	
<p>Subject's older brothers attended Catholic schools and influenced him in Roman Catholic direction. Father was not against conversion. Subject stated that he was attracted to Catholic Church because he searched for something definite and found a sense of security and authority. He felt the need for being given definite religious directions; not so much should be left up to the individual. He feels that an irreligious man would know the difference between right and wrong but he might not care. However, he is against giving church more political authority and influence, because it would tend to create a gap between religions, leading to disunity. Consciousness of church membership leads to disunity. Subject does not consider himself very religious since he equates deep religiousness with fanaticism.</p>	No	<p>47-50 D,D,D,A For complete separation of church and state.</p>	<p>Subject has done some reading by Christian authors about Islam, Hinduism and Communism. Has had occasional doubts about his own belief such as Papal infallibility, leadership, excommunication. Never doubted God.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
27.	<p>Subject was not born into a Christian family, nor was it a particularly traditional one. The pillars of moral training were respect and good behavior, plus high regard for hard work. Mother and her co-wives were major influences in stabilizing subject's socialization. Also important as a benevolent and helpful influence was a clergyman (Presbyterian), the owner of the land on which the family houses were built. There was little emphasis on reward and punishment; training was concentrated on general attitudes and good behavior patterns. Some Old Testament stories were read in translation.</p> <p>Schools: Presbyterian and K.I.S.A. primary and intermediate. His Christian religious foundations were laid first in school. However there was not much control by teachers in Mission school, mainly local people. There was little contact with European Mission station. Subject was not baptized until the age of 17.</p>	<p>Yes, but with recent doubts.</p>	<p>Yes, but with recent doubts.</p>	<p>Yes, but it's not too important.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Nature of Morality</p> <p>Subject experienced growing religious confusion. He no longer has the kind of personal relation to God he once felt. He now experiences doubt about God and the divinity of Jesus. He does not question the existence of God fundamentally because it's too serious and he feels the need for something higher than himself to believe in. These doubts started in secondary school where subject, affected by the Revival, first "accepted a Savior". He has need for an idea - a purpose in life - now has doubts about this purpose. Religion not essential to the sense of right and wrong since religion might be wrong about this, too. Idea of God has become a very vague concept; his need is to find a concept that he can accept as truth. Feels that his religious need is for a personal contact away from status definitions (race, tribe etc.).</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Prayers and help of God in personal problems. Used to pray much but this has declined as confusion increases.</p>	<p>47-50 D, A, A, A People must always have liberty to reject religious advice.</p>	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
28.	<p>Subject born into Christian family. Father no longer alive. Mother and subject's 2 older brothers Anglican. One brother was primarily responsible for subject's educational career since mother was allegedly trapped between two worlds. Moral socialisation was relaxed. He was not barred from association with other children. Neither mother nor brothers were strict religiousists; there was little talk of sin, hell and damnation. Absolute wrong defined as pre-marital sexual intercourse, stealing, lying (the latter was stressed by his brother). Schools: Government only. He did not find them strict in the religious sense.</p>	Yes	No	Doubtful. No heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
Religion helped subject in emphasizing distinctions between right and wrong. This is still true, but to a lesser extent than before.	No	Promise of life after death. (No longer the major factor it was earlier.)	D, D, D, A For complete separation of church and state.	Subject attends church regularly; takes communion only occasionally and does little reading about religion. He prays seldom, finding it little help.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
29.	<p>Subject born into Roman Catholic family with little attachment to traditional Kikuyu life. In a religious sense the family, in principle, was fairly strict; in practice, however, there was little interference from the mother. Father administered beatings in a quite "secular" fashion. There were discussions between mother and children about sin, Hell and saints. Sense of sin was seldom seriously invoked at home except in minor cases such as stealing an orange. There were family bible readings, prayers, rosary and Litany.</p> <p>Schools: Roman Catholic, which he found quite strict in every way.</p>	Yes	Yes	Yes, including "a place for torment".

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject has had a complex religious history. Has experienced a certain decline in child-like piety, partly arising out of preoccupation with other matters; especially during Emergency which occurred when he was 13 years of age. He now accepts the idea that religion facilitates right and wrong. Human reasoning has limits which faith and revelation must buttress. Right and wrong are absolute and cannot be varied; what is actual is determined by man. Sex was subject's prime example. Life after death is important because without a place of torment it is meaningless to speak of virtue and vice. Never doubts this. Is aware that many whites are not Christians.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Theology and proofs of the existence of God.</p>	<p>A, D, A, D Sees a strong role for church but does not believe in moralizing all laws.</p>	<p>Subject does not attend church often. Has read good deal about Catholic religion, also knows about some Prot. religions; knows nothing about Islam or Hinduism. Dislikes Chr. "socialism" for its sacrificial collectivism instead of individuality. Recognizes strong human weakness in himself.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
30.	<p>Subject born into Christian family (not certain if Presbyterian or Anglican). His was the only Christian family within 5 miles. He was told not to play with other children because they were primitive, used nasty language mostly etc. (However, being so much in the minority meant that traditional influence made itself felt in the area through classmates etc. Paternal grandparents were also quite traditional. When subject had mumps as a child, he was taken to <u>Mundo-Mugo</u>.) Heaven and hell were discussed constantly. Almost everything was connected with God and "the great fire". Subject was taught to obey at all times but chose carefully whom to obey. He was taught that lying was generally but not always wrong. Truth, as a value in itself, was not taught. There were family prayers and bible readings.</p> <p>Schools: Government schools exclusively, which he found less strict than his home.</p>	Yes	<p>Yes. But is indifferent about the devil.</p>	<p>Yes, but doubtful about heaven and hell.</p>

FIGURE IV--Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments	
<p>Subject does not see himself as having been a very religious child or as really knowing what religion was. Feels that without Christianity one could not know right from wrong. It would all be a matter of trial and error and common sense rather than a matter of set principles. But subject does not accept many of the Christian principles e.g. loving your neighbor as yourself ("very impractical"). He has also rejected honesty as a principle because it would make life impossible. Subject's main problem is maintaining some kind of "self" intact during the period of modernization. Included in this is the hope of living some kind of Christian life, although this seems doubtful at present.</p>	45	Doesn't know at present.	46	Promise of life after death.	Subject has read a few books on religion such as Ingersoll and Tom Paine.
			47-50	D,D,D,A For complete separation of church and state.	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
31.	<p>Subject's father died when he was 3 years old. Mother was Presbyterian. (After Mau Mau she became a Mulokolo.) Subject was raised within Christian framework. He was not discouraged from playing with other children but was told early that he was higher than his people because they were pagans. There were no traces of traditional beliefs of any kind in his family. Smoking, drinking and dancing were prohibited. There was moderate emphasis on sin, hell and damnation. Subject does not recall being threatened with hell-fire; the emphasis was on not displeasing God. Murder, stealing and lying were defined as absolute wrongs, although truth was not stressed as an absolute value. Disrespect for elders was also discouraged.</p> <p>Schools: Presbyterian primary and intermediate, finding them in some ways stricter than home.</p>	<p>Yes, also devil.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes; heaven and hell also "but every Christian doubts".</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Subject converted to the Revival at 13. He liked music and, after services, balokolo used to gather in a circle to sing and preach. He felt there must be some powerful influence behind them and found himself drawn in. After joining he felt himself under a divine power. The experience disintegrated slowly, he doesn't know the reason, and a sense of pover was left. Nevertheless subject considers himself a good Christian. The contrast in behavior between balokolo and Mau Mau also left a deep impression on him.</p>	45	Yes	
	46	Prayer and the help of God in personal problems.	
	47-50	A, D, A, D, Advice of religious leaders need not be accepted.	Subject is now a regular church-goer; often takes communion. He has read some works by Christian authors, none by non-Christians or about other religions. Subject himself does not preach now.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
324	<p>Subject born into Presbyterian family. Father was major figure in the Kikuyu social structure but functioned to some extent as agent of Christianity. Subject states father arranged matters so that he was effectively isolated from other children by one-half a mile. Education was heavily stressed, but the word "pagan" was not known to him. Wrong was interpreted as sin, but there was little real emphasis on hell and damnation. Disagreement with parents was more viewed as sin than anything else. There were family prayers and bible sessions. Absolute wrongs included drinking, stealing and lying. (Latter was stressed by mother who later became a <u>mulokole</u>.) Because of his mother, there was an emphasis on truth in its own right.</p> <p>Schools: Presbyterian primary and secondary, where indoctrination was about the same he experienced at home.</p>	Yes	Yes, but no devil.	Doubtful; no heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV--Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject does not see himself as particularly religious. Takes nothing with the seriousness he used to as a child. Now he is not a regular church-goer, nor does he take communion frequently. He seldom prays and, aside from the bible, has not read any religious literature.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Mission as a path to modern education.</p>	<p>D, D, A, A For separation of church and state.</p>	<p>-----</p>

BAGANDA

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
1.	<p>Born into Anglican family. Father was less traditional than mother, which caused tension in the home. Subject was raised as Muganda (without superiority) and as Anglican. Father was a teacher. There were constant prayers, reading of bible etc. Family did not smoke or drink. Schools: Anglican, where he encountered same customs as at home.</p>	Yes	No record	Yes, very important.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Does not attend church or take communion regularly. Feels he is religious. His religiousness demands belief in promise of life after death, but he does not need religion to tell right from wrong. Is not convinced that there is a universal right and wrong; he doubts it. It is not a law of God - God leaves man free to act in ways satisfying to him. We cannot completely disregard Holy Spirit, but is not sure whether this Spirit is sense of right and wrong or just consciousness of God's existence. God is there to help when needed. He has not reached definite conclusion on all this, but feels a man who is not religious can lead a perfectly good life.</p>	<p>Doesn't know yet.</p>	<p>Prayer and help of God in personal problems.</p>	<p>D, A, A, A</p>	<p>Does not read much about religion and nothing about other religions. Strengthened in his belief by C. S. Lewis: True Christianity. Prays frequently about everyday problems.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
2.	<p>Born into mainly traditional family and raised with some sense of superiority. Therefore has no real Western religious upbringing. Raised with beliefs of ancient gods (baluboale) and in the dead spirits of ancestors. Describes his education in right and wrong as "superstition" (e.g. not allowed to sit in father's chair because he would die). Manners and courtesy were only areas which fell under absolute general imperatives. Other than those were prohibitions based on magical beliefs (e.g. adultery committed by a husband who has an unwedded child can be cleared through ceremonial purification, but not the wife). First contact with Christianity came in Anglican schools. At an early age, subject had not many ideas on Christianity. These he had he kept to himself because he could not discuss them with his parents. Communication was not too free; but parents did not oppose education.</p>	Yes	No record.	Yes, heaven exists and, partly, also hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
<p>Religion is necessary for a sense of right and wrong. For instance: Church position that all human beings are equal before God. Apartheid policy is wrong in religious sense. But subject does not agree with all matters considered wrong by the church (e.g. drinking). He can see ban on polygamy but not on drinking. Subject tends to see right and wrong from local-social viewpoint, thus relatively. But there are certain values based on man's existence everywhere. Feels senses of right and wrong are within man. Feels that there is a relationship between God and man in right and wrong which is absolute. Right and wrong between men is relative to customs.</p>	45	Yes	46	
	47-50	A, D, A, D Advice of religious leaders need not be automatically accepted.		Prays a good deal for success in life in terms of a lot of money, academic success, freedom from worries. Life after death is absolute necessity to a Chr. since Chr.'s want to go to heaven. Does not go to church often, about twice a month. Attends Sunday services in village; likes village services better; they are in <u>Luganda</u> .

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
3.	<p>Born into Roman Catholic Family which was not very traditional and did not stress the theme of superiority. However, home upbringing was not very strict and the bible was not read frequently. In the discussions about right and wrong religion was hardly involved and there was no emphasis on sin. Teachings at home differed somewhat from what he had learned in the Roman Catholic schools he attended. At the latter, he experienced strict religious discipline. At home he was raised with "superstition" (e.g. touching a female cousin means death). As a boy, he had believed these superstitions.</p>	Yes	No record	Fairly sure, but doubts at times.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46		47-50
<p>Had never thought about nature of right and wrong. Does consult with priests about personal problems. Theoretically would consult priests on right and wrong, but not concerning sex problems. Does not consider himself very religious. Although God is concerned with individuals, subject does not feel that religion plays big part in his life. He doesn't think about religion much. Does not see much difference between Protestantism and Catholicism except in origin.</p>	No	Promise of life after death.	A, A, A Depends if it means conflict.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
4.	<p>Born into Roman Catholic family on the paternal side, third generation Catholic. Area of birth was under the strong influence of Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions. Parents were practicing Catholics although there was no preaching on sin etc. at home. This began only in school. If rules were broken, beatings ensued. Morality not referred to in terms of sin and damnation. There were occasional family prayers but no family bible readings. As a child attended church regularly. Parents, however, despite their affiliation, relied upon many traditional moral ideas, especially the alleged emphasis upon shame rather than guilt. Before he realized what priesthood training was, subject attended a pre-seminary boarding school near his home because it was the only school he had heard of. Claims not to have felt the strict discipline though beatings were involved. The school wanted him to stay but he left because of desire to become mechanical engineer.</p>	<p>Yes, also devil.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes, including heaven and hell.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject, until now, accepted religion blindly; is now beginning to try to reason it out. Previously subject had only "adored" religion. Obeys bans, such as on dancing, as a spiritual discipline in resisting lures of custom. Believes himself more religious than parents. Religious interest is more greater than ever before. Feels that people who have been faithful to religion are not as prone to worry or disappointment. However has recently begun to turn to the more positive "loving" side of religion. Recognizes that love for love's sake is the goal, rather than promise of life after death. The knowledge of moral right and wrong is in everyone, but for guidance in specific situations one must be guided by religion. It is difficult to judge if one must have Catholic ideals to be saved. Tends to stress emphasis on conviction of conscience.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Doctrines to distinguish right from wrong.</p>	<p>D, D, A, A For separation of church and state.</p>	<p>Has not read much about religions other than Catholic, by Catholic writers. In Protestantism it is possible to disagree with authorities, so it is difficult to generalize differences with precision.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Cobo	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
5.	<p>Born into Anglican family. Has not had a strict upbringing in religious sense (but not much record). Attended Anglican schools. States that after <u>Kabaka's</u> exile, many families returned to traditional religious conceptions. His parents did not, but an aunt in Kampala (with whom he had lived for 3 years) did.</p>	Yes.	?	Not sure. Not really very important.

FIGURE IV--Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Does not see himself as very religious. (Defines "very religious" in terms of constant religious practice, such as going to church.) Feels right and wrong depend upon what kind of society one lives in. But there are some universal rights and wrongs (e.g. killing, lying and stealing). Religion functions as a reminder of what is right, for without it one could lapse. Has never really tried to analyze the cause for this effect of religion.</p>	Yes	Missions as a path to Western education.	D, D, D, A	Has not read much about religion. Defines himself as a bit "lasy" regarding church.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
6.	Born into Anglican family with fairly traditional cultural emphasis. Religious upbringing not very strict, e.g. no sin, hell or damnation. Has never been threatened with these terms. Church attendance was fairly regular, also family prayers. Schools: Anglican school run by laymen; in the religious sense not very strict. No sin, hell etc.	Yes, but no devil.	No	Never understood this idea. No heaven or hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Was not a very religious child and does not consider himself religious now. Does not pray often and attends church irregularly. Regards ethical guidance as main function of religion, its main contribution providing a foundation for moral consensus.</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>Ethics and philosophy of society.</p>	<p>47-50 D, D, A, A For separation of church and state.</p>	<p>Has not read much about other religions. In Christianity has read some history and psychology.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
7.	<p>Born into Roman Catholic - also fairly traditional - family. Raised with combined emphasis on religion and tribal superiority. Reasons for entering priesthood were originally not religious. Subject wanted to go to seminary because some people he respected had been there and an elder brother was there in attendance. In religious sense, school was strict.</p>	Yes	Yes	Yes

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
<p>Accepts promise of life after death as central. Why shall we have obligations if there were no promise of reward or punishment after death." But people can be good for the sheer satisfaction; non-religious people can know right from wrong. But there are some truths derivable only from revelation (e.g. existence of angels, virgin birth etc.). Religion consists of things to believe (trinity etc.), things to do and aids (sacraments). But ignorance does not mean damnation. If a person cannot accept doctrines but acts right in good faith, he can be saved. He himself must accept dogmas, otherwise he ceases to be Catholic. But he distinguishes between subjective and material sin - if one believes subjectively in what one does, one is not necessarily damned. Feels that morality is a cause-effect relationship. If one steals, one goes to prison.</p>	45	Yes	<p>46 Promise of life after death.</p>	
	47-50	A.A.A.D	<p>These answers apply largely only if country is Catholic. Clergymen shall have right to advise what kind of persons to vote for but not specific persons.</p>	-----

al, family. (Traditional taboos, sense of superiority etc.) There was some emphasis on religion at home but not very strict. Ban on drinking because many of his brothers drank too much. Father very nervous; cleavages of hostility ran through family structure, mainly between sons of one wife with sons of another. Some of his half-brothers were Balokole, pulling him in that direction. No relation was established at home between religion and right and wrong. Emphasis was on bad consequences, not on sin. Not much bible reading, but daily common prayers, day and night. Subject had a sexual experience in school, felt rather guilty about it, also about the fact of not visiting some of his brothers. The crucial incident came with a sudden appendicitis operation. Extreme fear and loneliness in the hospital brought about a personal spiritual crisis. He was "tempted" by some girls but resisted. A Mulokole brother came and asked subject where he would have gone had he not survived. He replied: "To hell." All those points brought about a conversion, a "giving in" to God. Was "saved" and experienced profound relief. Realized that Christianity was a very personal religion. Nobody could stand between a person and God. Subject became a Mulokole.

Yes, also
heaven and hell.

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FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Subject's theology is based on his personal experiences, the latter provide the "proof". He sometimes feels depressed and mistrusts God, but never doubts life after death. Before conversion he did not realize that every religious injunction is a social law. Now he can immediately judge his actions as right or wrong. An irreligious person can know right from wrong but is a slave to friends and conformity. When he was saved he was saved from the world. Now he is an individual. Subject recognizes differences between Christian religions but downgrades them. He goes to church once a week. Does not take communion too frequently. Does not believe in confession because it is not necessary.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Prayer and help of God in personal problems.</p>	<p>47-50 A, A, A, D With qualification in the political area.</p>	<p>Has read bible fairly thoroughly. Has read a little of the Lambeth Conferences because they recognize relevance in political and social life.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
9.	<p>Was born into mixed religious family (Father Anglican, mother Roman Catholic), was raised as Roman Catholic. Religious upbringing was quite strict. Attended Roman Catholic schools, spent some time in a junior seminary with intention of becoming a priest. Gave it up because of desire for family life and the realization that he could be religious anyhow.</p>	Yes	Yes	Yes

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Considers himself very religious. Desire to become a priest is a feeling that ebbs and flows. Wants to serve God and come as close to Him as possible. Theologically is attracted to argument from design. Theology does not teach anything - it presents a design and tells you the designer. As an artist, he is attracted to designers. Life after death is important. Knowledge of right and wrong exists in everyone, but religion develops and sharpens it. Some rights and wrongs are universal, but moral sense is stronger in some than in others. He believes that religious upbringing in strict sense is not important. Some, brought up strictly, go to seminary, leave and go wild; others stay. Some, a few years away from ordination, suddenly change. Subject, in wanting to be a priest sometime, is not trying to run away from life stage and "my part" in it. There are people who are more wicked inside religious order than outside. Religious life not necessarily the easier one.</p>	<p>45 Yes</p>	<p>46 Theology and proof of existence of God.</p> <p>47-50 A.A.A.D Advise, not in order.</p>	<p>Has read many books on religion, including one by Calvin. However, reading has been confined to own religion.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
10.	<p>Born into mixed religious family (mother Anglican, father Roman Catholic) which was, in some ways, traditional. Subject was raised as a Catholic until he went to Anglican schools. Religious training at home was quite strict with emphasis on sin, heaven and hell, and bans on drinking, smoking and dancing. (Parents not Balokole) There were bible readings and family prayers. School was quite strict; compulsory church, emphases on sin, heaven and hell. Converted to Anglican faith in school because he did not want to be out of step.</p>	<p>Yes, but as Creator not necessarily as one who answers prayers.</p>	<p>No record</p>	<p>Yes, but no hell.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Feels one does not have to be religious to know right from wrong; it differs from person to person. One cannot know if God considers it right or not. Does not consider himself very religious. All religions seem similar to him. There are some absolute rights and wrongs, e.g. ban on stealing, murder etc. But there are problems which arise for which there are no ways of knowing right from wrong. Christianity sets laws but they are often not relevant to new problems not met before. In such cases clergymen can tell you nothing.</p>	45	46	<p>Missions as a path to Western education.</p>
	47-50	D,D,D,A	<p>Has done a bit of Anglican reading; has also read the Koran and about the Bahai. Generally sees religion as stabilizing society. It is not very important to him, personally.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
11.	<p>Born into Catholic family which was otherwise quite traditional (e.g. they accepted taboo of not touching female cousins on pain of death). He remained with parents until age of 8, then went to godfather, a catechist who didn't believe in taboos. Emphasis on traditional customs was not continued. At home there was not much emphasis on sin, hell and damnation. There was also a serious split in the family based on religion. Father's Protestant brothers threatened that if subject was not raised as a Protestant they would not support their education. There were family bible readings. Moral training stressed that something defined as wrong was not wanted by the Creator. Distinction between heaven and hell was mentioned but not stressed.</p> <p>Schools: Subject attended Roman Catholic schools which, on the primary level, was not too strict, except for emphasis on discouraging co-ed and religious mixing. The main strict emphasis was in the sexual sphere.</p>	Yes	Yes	Yes, including heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Nature of Morality.</p> <p>Once wanted to become a priest. He liked their lives but was more attracted to the ceremonies than the public service. Was more religious when younger than now. Describes present attitude as slackness rather than doubt. Subject sees religion as moral augmenting mechanism. Attends church Sundays; doesn't pray much today. The only difference he recognizes between Catholicism and Protestantism is the role of the Pope.</p>	No	Prayer and the help of God in personal problems.	D, D, A, A For complete separation of church and state.	

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
12.	Born into Roman Catholic family which was otherwise quite traditional, except that they opposed sending children to relatives. Subject received a religious upbringing and attended Roman Catholic schools.	Yes	Yes	No record.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments	
	45	46		
<p>Nature of Morality</p> <p>Considers himself a Catholic; it is the original religion. Has not read much about Catholicism or thought much about sin; takes theology for granted. Never confessed his own ideas but did discuss them at times with priests. If married to non-Catholic girl, he would feel obligated to raise children as Catholics. Not really aware of social philosophical aspects of religion. Feels right and wrong can be known without religion. It is possible to have one's own ideas which might conflict with church, therefore one must check with church. Right and wrong are relative to society but there are some universal values which might include murder, adultery and stealing prohibitions. Religion provides foundation of principles for life guidance; which does not mean one cannot live without religion. Life after death theme not too important, but comforting.</p>	<p>45</p> <p>Yes</p>	<p>46</p> <p>Theology and proofs of existence of God.</p>	<p>47-50</p> <p>D,A,A,D Clergy can guide with reference to types of personalities desirable in politics, but not specific people.</p>	<p>Does not attend church every Sunday, not regular confessions either. Sometimes attends communion. Doesn't pray much. It helps but it's a matter of time.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
13.	Subject born into Anglican family. All children were baptized young. Upbringing was Christian though, aside from the bible, not much emphasis on Christian conception. Attended Anglican schools.	Yes	Yes	Yes, including heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Subject states that she has never had experiences with non-religious (Christian) persons. Likes to talk to others about religion but finds it to be an unpopular topic. Religion, among other things, is a source of moral knowledge. For instance: if you are not a Christian in marriage you would not feel polygamy to be a sin. Seen life after death as the major contribution of religion. Prays frequently at night; finds that it helps, gives hope and there is always something to wait for. Prays about studies, family, country, church etc. Would marry Catholic girl, personally, but children would have to be raised as Anglican.</p>	45	<p>Yes</p>	
	46	<p>Prayer and help of God in personal problems.</p>	
	47-50	<p>A, D, A, A Church should be consulted but its advice need not be accepted. Church has no right to dictate how to vote.</p>	

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FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
14.	<p>Subject born into Anglican family, and a quite religious upbringing. Father taught catechism class and was Headmaster of an Anglican primary school. Emphasis was on the bible and on Christian standards of behavior (e.g. drinking was discouraged). Dancing and music were freely permitted. In all the Anglican schools, church attendance was compulsory.</p>	Yes	Yes, though doesn't fully understand resurrection.	Yes

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
<p>In not too concerned with practice, but is deeply religious. Has been partly influenced by Bunyan's <u>Pilgrim's Progress</u> and the conception of the idea of <u>Christian life</u> in it. Feels it is possible to be a good man without a religious orientation, but something is lacking - the relation between God and man, which at one time or another is needed. Without God he cannot see a complete pattern to life. Subject is not aware of social-philosophical material in religion relating to institutional arrangements. Claims not to understand all this. Would like to have a Christian home. Life after death is very important. A non-religious man can have a sense of right and wrong, but he won't have the Holy Spirit as a guide and he won't experience forgiveness if something goes wrong. But it is inborn to see right and wrong - man is created in image of man. Man should behave as God - Jesus as a model. Does not fully comprehend idea of resurrection but does not deny it. Feels that he has still to read about other faiths and views, including secular Humanism; was never allowed other views this extreme; first encountered it at Makorere. Expects his faith to be strengthened, but does not know for sure.</p>	45	46	47-50	<p>Doesn't know yet.</p> <p>Prayer and help of God in personal problems.</p> <p>D.A.A. Church influence should always be in direct, never preaching for or against a particular party or individual.</p> <p>-----</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
15.	<p>Subject born into Anglican family. Parents were fairly strict in religious sense but there was moderate emphasis on sin, hell and damnation. Only certain items were sin (e.g. stealing, murder, adultery and lying). Father's brother (who re-placed role of dead father) was not particularly religious. Subject attended Anglican primary schools, which were much like home except for compulsory Sunday service.</p>	Yes, also devil.	Yes	Yes, including heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire			Comments
	45	46	47-50	
<p>Right and wrong are knowable by every-one. Religion confirms and emphasizes this knowledge. Self-image is not that of a very religious person, but criterion seems to be the standard of a Mulokole. Subject does not read much about religion except the bible. Attends church every Sunday, takes communion often; prays frequently and finds it always helps.</p>	<p>Doesn't know yet.</p>	<p>Prayer and help of God in personal problems.</p>	<p>A, A, A, D Feels that church and state should work together to a reasonable extent.</p>	<p>-----</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
16.	<p>Born into a Roman Catholic but otherwise quite traditional family residing in a Roman Catholic area. Subject states he did not have a particularly strict religious upbringing. Father was strict as a trainer, but not on a religious basis. Father insisted on education and divided the children functionally: one to be a physician, one a priest, one a teacher, one to take over his land etc. The greatest singly influence on him was an older brother (now a priest and in Rome for a doctorate). As a child, separation from the brother was traumatic; there was unusual rapport between them. It was brother who most strongly influenced subject in favor of priesthood.</p>	Yes	Yes	Yes

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
19.	Subject born into Roman Catholic, very traditional, family. (Subject provided very little information on religious socialization.) Attended Roman Catholic schools.	Yes	Yes	Yes, including heaven and hell.

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Religion is not necessary for the knowledge of right and wrong. "One just knows" what is right and wrong. Religion acts as a "reinforcement" of the "natural conscience". Realizes that not all religions believe in life after death, but is important to him. Does not try to reason out dogmas, simply accepts them on faith; does not try to question. Feels marriage is example of an issue in which church has right to interfere, set standards. However church should not be allowed to influence the law; and government should respect religious law, e.g. should not force people to eat meat on Friday in case of food shortage. In turn, church should stay out of politics in sense of vote influencing. Subject would not read book forbidden by Index. Has read books on religion only by Catholics. States he is Catholic because so born, no other reason. Feels Catholic religion can give a model of the good society. Elements which have impressed subject include: emphasis on life as life is; emphasis on compromise; Encyclical on Africa; St. Paul's Epistles with their realistic attitude to sex (o.g. "if you need a woman, get one"). Intends to raise his children as Catholics, will not stress free choice as regards them.</p>	45	46	Subject prays every day; asks for intelligence, good luck, good wife, luck for the family and for the souls in purgatory.
	No	Prayer and help of God in personal problems.	
		47-50	BSD, A, D

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
18.	<p>Subject born into Anglican, only moderately traditional, family. (States he was not trained in tribal traditions.) There was emphasis on traditional taboos (e.g. was not allowed to touch female cousins). Mother was fairly strict in a religious sense, but there was no particular emphasis on sin, hell and damnation. Dancing was not banned. Subject was told by mother that certain things were "un-Christian". These were family prayers but no bible readings. Subject attended Anglican schools, which were not too strict in a religious sense.</p>	Yes	No record.	Yes

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46		47-50
<p>n</p> <p>Subject does not consider himself a very religious person. His criterion of this includes bans on dancing, drinking etc. in which he indulges. But he recognizes other criteria as well and in terms of them he is religious. Life after death is quite important, but he feels he would be a Christian even if he did not believe in that. He does not think too much about such questions. One can act like a Christian without being one. Feels that right and wrong are social principles for keeping society in order. You don't need a Christian to tell you that stealing is bad. He prays at bed time - it helps much. Can forget about brushing teeth but cannot sleep without prayer.</p>	<p>Doesn't know yet</p>	<p>Promise of life after death..</p>	<p>D,D,A,D</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
19.	<p>Subject born into eminent Anglican family. Father and father's father were Anglican clergymen. Religious socialization was only moderately strict; drinking was banned but dancing permitted. Not much emphasis on sin, hell and damnation. Wrong was defined in terms of sin, but not much emphasized. Father was not in favor of Balokble. Certain acts were considered as absolutely wrong, e.g. lying. Subject attended Anglican school, which he found strict in religious sense, more so than his home experience. There was much emphasis on sin, hell and damnation. Dancing was prohibited. He was expelled from one school for a single drinking transgression; two others were expelled for ballroom dancing. (Recently the school has liberalized its regulations.)</p>	<p>Yes, also devil.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes, also heaven and hell.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
	45	46		47-50
<p>At present subject does not feel himself very religious, especially in comparison with his father. Interprets religiousness largely in terms of religious activity, such as weekly church attendance, which he does not do. In school he did not take religion very seriously. Most students did not, only those in the Christian Fellowship, which he was expected to join. He stated that sons of clergymen, especially, tended to react against it - and were most chaotic. At present subject prays frequently. He read a fair amount of history about his religion but not very much about other religions. Feels one can know right from wrong without religion. The latter gives it reinforcing weight.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Prayer and the help of God in personal problems.</p>	<p>D, A, A, D, Does not see a church-state conflict implied in his response.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Case	Background	God	Jesus	Immortality
20.	<p>Subject born into Roman Catholic, but quite traditional, family. Religious socialization was formally Catholic. Catholic religious duties were performed and Catholicism was stressed as the true religion. There was little strictness in the sense of bans on smoking, drinking and dancing. No deliberate religious training at home; he was sent by parents to catechist for that. There was stress on proper form. Members of his family believed in traditional religion, including items like: witchcraft, the ancient gods and ancestor spirits. Subject believes that his parents still accepted some of these. There were family prayers and bible readings at home. Subject attended Roman Catholic schools, which he found quite strict, with much emphasis on sin, heaven, hell and damnation.</p>	<p>Yes, also devil.</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes, also heaven and hell.</p>

FIGURE IV-Continued

Nature of Morality	Questionnaire		Comments
<p>Subject does not consider himself very religious, but he derives much satisfaction from it. Life after death is very important to him; otherwise it's useless to believe in religion. Could not imagine being a Christian without promise of life after death. With reference to prayer, feels that he prays through his actions. Prayer is raising one's mind to God. However, right and wrong is created in everybody's conscience. Religion cultivates this moral sense as education cultivates intelligence. Subject states he never feels any doubts and does not question dogmas. Performs all Catholic duties regularly. Reads Catholic magazines; has read some social encyclicals. Has not read much about other religions except by Catholic writers.</p>	45	46	
	Yes	Theology and proofs of existence of God.	<p>47-50</p> <p>D, A, A, D</p> <p>In question 47 the word "automatic" is too strong.</p> <p>-----</p>

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M E T H O D O L O G I C A L

A P P E N D I X

Section A: Methodological Problems

Section B: Methodological Techniques

- autobiography
- questionnaire
- interview
- staff questionnaire
- student questionnaire

A. Methodological Problems

There are essentially six general problems which can broadly be called methodological in relation to the present study. They include the problems of rapport; operational data collection procedures; secondary information; language; ambivalence and secrecy. Each will be discussed separately.

The Problem of Rapport:

The types of rapport problems which are encountered in a research context such as that in which this study was carried out are almost self-evident. The establishment of an intimate, harmonious relationship between researcher and respondent in any situation is difficult. When the barriers include race, culture and general suspicion based upon a partially unfavorable view of social research, they may seem close to insurmountable. How, for instance, can a Kikuyu student explain his deepest feelings about the Mau Mau episode (in which his father or brother may have lost his life, his home been burnt, his cattle lost) to a white researcher, when in this respondent's mind the white man stands at least indirectly responsible for the tragedy? How does a Muganda student, whose people are in bloodless revolt against a Protectorate authority in the name of their revered monarchy, explain to a foreign sociologist from a republic his inner fears that the Kabakaship (kingship) may perhaps be outmoded and even a barrier against modernization and progress for his people?

Shortly after arrival, the writer sent a notice to each member of the prospective sample introducing the project and asking their participation in an initial meeting in the student lounge. Prior to this meeting, two students, one Muganda and one Kikuyu, had been enlisted on the advice of certain helpful

college staff as informal research assistants and general informants. (They had been selected on the basis of personal stability and general sociological sophistication and they proved invaluable throughout the course of this study.) During the initial meeting, the proposed project was outlined in detail, but no commitment was asked of the students. Rather, they were told that all of them would be invited, four at a time (two Baganda, two Kikuyu) for dinner and a long evening of discussion. At that time, they were told, after all questions had been aired and answered, formal decisions relative to participation in the study would be requested. During the course of the meeting, considerable elaboration of the nature and purpose of social research and of the role of private and public financing in independent research was necessary.

Meanwhile, as these dinner dates proceeded, the writer took part in various student activities, held informal consultations with helpful students and staff, and pursued necessary reading.

Various role tensions became clearly noticeable as time went by. Figure I presents a list of roles which are involved in such a situation and which must, more or less "instinctively", be balanced, lest interaction between researcher and respondent become fixated at a counter-productive level. Generally speaking, the writer entered the situation conscious of his roles as an American, sociologist, white man, and, in general, stranger. It was our initial belief that we were similarly perceived by the respondents. Gradually, our perception of the subtleties and concrete difficulties of role definition and perception increased and it became clear that a subtle dialectical relationship between spontaneity and dramaturgical awareness had to be maintained on our part at all times. In East Africa one comes to realize that, as an American, one tends to arouse a certain amount of hostility

Figure I

<u>RESEARCHER ROLES</u>	<u>RESPONDENT ROLES</u>
a. Representative of American Culture	a. Representative of Tribe
b. Representative of American Government	b. Representative of Africa
c. Representative of Colonial Government ("Spy")	c. Representative of Race (Black)
d. Representative of Profession 1 - teaching 2 - research	d. Representative of Stratum 1 - within a tribe (clan, age-grade, royal family etc.) 2 - outside of tribe ("new educated elite" "new middle class" etc.)
e. Representative of Race (White)	e. Representative of Colonial Culture
f. Representative of Religion ("Missionary")	f. Representative of Religion
g. Confidant and advisor	g. No role (unique individual; perhaps friend)
h. No role (unique individual; perhaps friend).	h. Subject of research

based, perhaps, on some envy of American material standards of living (probably a universal phenomenon). Balancing this was a stereotype prevalent among East African students who have had experience with American mission teachers of American spontaneity and frankness as opposed to alleged British reserve and aloofness. This expectation on the part of these African students of "American" spontaneity and their willingness to respond in kind proved a helpful aid to communication. However, we were also perceived as representing the American government (since this was the source of research funds), and this role definition aroused considerable initial suspicion. These misgivings were relieved only as a result of numerous lectures on our part on the nature of the American government's relationship to private research. Africans have little precedent in their experience for the idea of politically disinterested government support for basic research. Stress was laid by the writer upon a definition of this research as providing insight into the successes and failures of Western education in Africa which would prove useful for the future educational institutions of the new African nations and also for any Western agencies which wished to extend aid to African education. Respondent perceptions of the researcher as social scientist were ambiguous and ambivalent, some people understanding what this role meant, some rather suspicious. The utilitarian aspects of the study provided a mutually acceptable rationale.

Meanwhile, our perceptions of respondents began with an initial view of them as "educated Africans" with the status sensitivity and even aggressiveness this role often connotes. Thus we were not unprepared for aggression. Deeper than mere abstract awareness on our part of the students as members of tribal categories, religious and irreligious persons, and as individuals, did not come about without conscious effort to penetrate stereotypical barriers

of perception based on superficial cues such as past experience, popular phrases such as "the educated elite", and even clothing (suits, ties and so forth which can often present mutual barriers of a quite subtle sort).

The Problem of Operational Data Collection and Interpretation:

Research methods in an unfamiliar culture can, in a sense, be hampered by the existence of a storehouse of concepts and hypotheses derived from research in Western societies. The reason for this is that social science theory has not advanced far enough in the context of non-Western societies, especially in the study of social change, to serve as a foundation for the generating of hypotheses postulating the interaction of specific variables. This is partly because we do not know how specific variables "hang together", and partly because of the large gaps in simple information about specific and local conditions in non-Western areas. For example, in Western societies, social scientists may correlate specific variables such as religious affiliation or socio-economic status with forms of behavior such as political action, verbalization of attitudes and so forth. On the other hand, in societies undergoing transition from traditional to "modern" forms, such variables may not safely be assumed to "mean" the same things to actors as they do in Western societies. Thus, as Apter's study of Buganda politics demonstrates, religious affiliation and political and other conflicts may not reflect what they do in the West but rather totally different interests such as clan groups, royalists and chiefs, all deriving from conflicts and meanings inherent in the traditional society and world-view.

In the present study, the main task was to produce as profound a general description of members of a new social category (intelligentsia) as possible. In such a deceptively simple task, it is easy to make the mistake of ignoring the meaning of data and hence of misinterpreting it altogether, thus producing

a useless study. It was therefore necessary to built into our study-design the means of gathering sufficient data about the context of the individuals we investigated, to enable us to state the meaning of data dathered about these individuals. The scope of our techniques was limited by reasonable conjectures guided by existing theory as to what kinds of material might prove important in data analysis. Four general categories of material were accepted as relevant for an understanding of our respondents. These included tribal and geographical area history; the history, structure, attitudes and environmental setting of the individual respondent's family; the secondary school and the university as institutional settings for acculturation in East Africa; and the respondents' attitudes and world-views in the areas of kinship customs and relations, religion, political and social philosophy, education and self-identity. To obtain data on these areas, both formal and informal methods were used. Each will be discussed separately.

Formal methods: (The actual research instruments discussed herein may be found at the end of this Appendix.) Makerere College, at the time of this study, organized its male students into four dormitories. Since dormitory assignments were random and arbitrary, each dormitory (or Halls of Residence as they were called) could be viewed as containing a reasonably random sample of the male population of the college in terms of tribal composition, age, course of study, religious affiliation and year in school. The procedure utilized and their assumptions are described in Chapter V of this study.

All respondents were asked to participate in three formal data-gathering techniques. First, they were asked to write an autobiography with specific questions as guides. Second, a questionnaire was administered. It was

constructed by the writer on the basis of some of the autobiographical protocols, but an initial guide was the questionnaire developed by Gillespie and Allport (1955) for their cross-national survey of student attitudes. Finally, each respondent underwent an individual interview lasting with some, a minimum of four hours and a maximum with some others, of eight to ten hours (the latter being administered in two or even three sessions). For each respondent, a period of approximately four to six months elapsed between the administering of the autobiography and the completion of the final interview. The heart of the formal research procedure was the interview which was designed to cover all areas of interest in the respondents' lives. The autobiography and questionnaire had two primary purposes. First, they produced clues about important events in respondents' lives both as individuals and as representatives of tribal and other groups, and gave some indication of the framework of meaning within which these events were perceived. Second, it was hoped that these instruments would function as goads to introspection so that the final interview would not come as a surprise or even, perhaps, as a trauma.

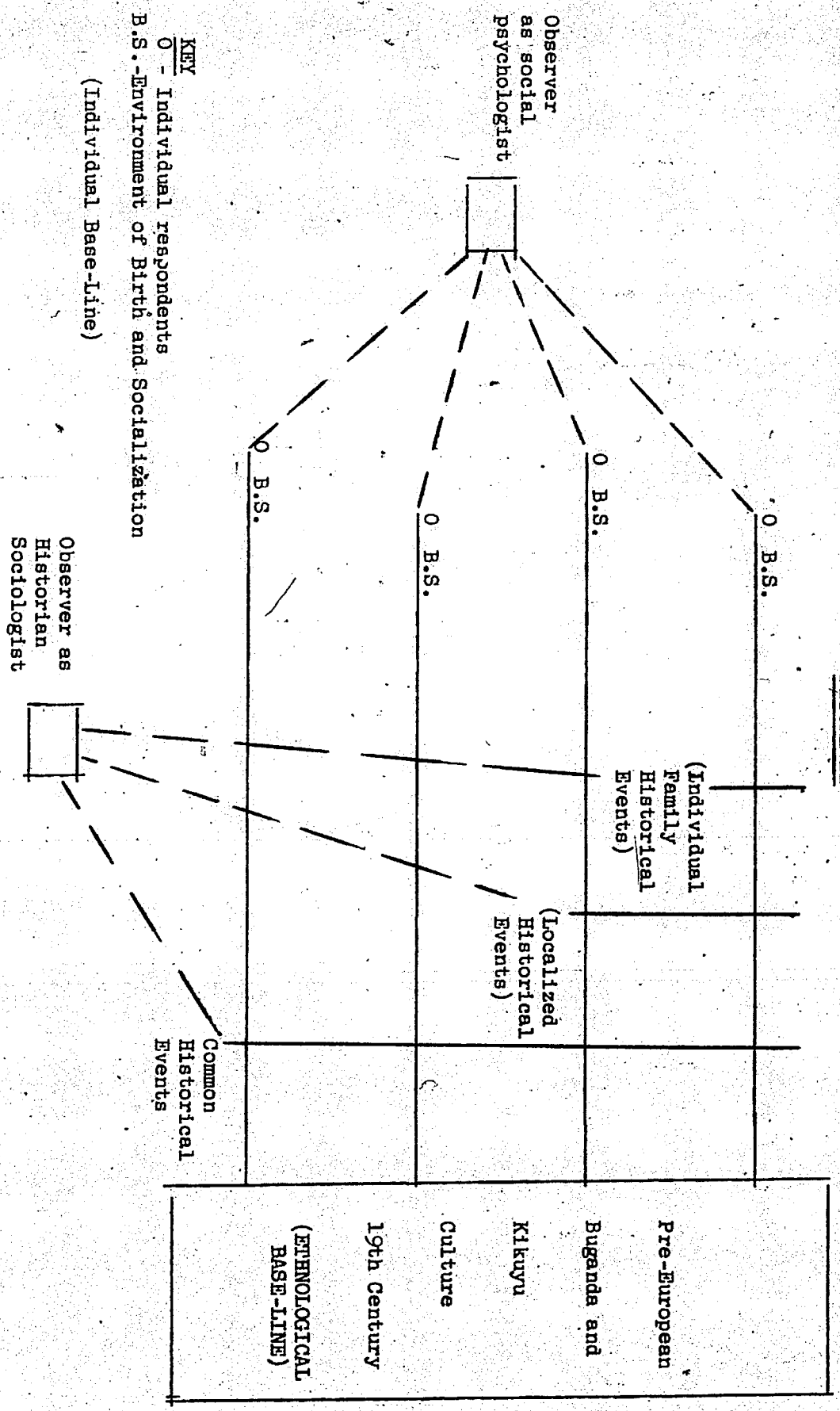
Informal methods: Almost all activities engaged in, apart from the formal standardized research techniques, may be called informal methods, in that all information is helpful. Therefore, we may take for granted, without comment, the helpfulness of normal social intercourse on the part of the researcher with students, teachers and various kinds of staff and personnel within and outside the university. However, other activities were undertaken as well, which were designed to elicit specific kinds of information. First, all available student writings such as essays, journals and letters were perused for insight into current and prevailing topics of concern. Second, specific interviews were held with knowledgeable staff and non-sample students

for the same reasons. Third, two subordinate studies were undertaken to gain insight into the social life of the major secondary schools of the Buganda and Kikuyu areas of Uganda and Kenya, and of Makerere itself. In connection with the secondary level, safaris were taken to three types of schools; the major Protestant, Catholic and Government schools of the area. In all of them, the records were studied for relevant statistics about students and, at least, the Headmasters intensively interviewed concerning school standards, student-staff relations, and prevailing attitudes underlying educational practices. Regarding the university setting, a special questionnaire was circulated to both students and staff based upon preliminary interviews. This questionnaire sought to provide information about the total quality and range of types of student-staff relations at the university from both viewpoints. The findings of this special study were circulated to the staff and a meeting between the staff and the researcher resulted in which many diverse views were discussed. These in turn provided more insights and clues about the institutional setting in which Africans encounter Western higher education. Further, the researcher himself engaged in some part-time teaching (in Sociology) in order to experience at first hand some of the problems of the classroom. Finally, whenever possible, student homes and families were visited during vacation trips in which opportunities presented themselves to chauffeur students to their home villages.

These informal sources of information combined with considerable discussion and reading, yielded valuable information which rendered the data obtained through the more standardized techniques far more meaningful.

Broadly speaking, this study deals with two classes of data; social-psychological and historico-sociological. Figure II presents, in diagram form, a model of the dual position of the research-observer in relation to these

FIGURE II



Prak Observer Model

two classes of data. As social-psychologist, the researcher is operating with research units primarily comprised of psychological individuals. Addressing himself to the individual, the observer studies his present behavior and attitudes. Further, he collects data about the respondent's life history so as to plot this history in such a way as to locate the major factors which have influenced the respondent's present situation, problems and attitudes. In doing this, one is not studying social change as such. One is dealing only with individual life histories. There is another perspective which the observer must take if he wishes to set these histories into a broad pattern of social change. He may "step to the side" and adopt as his basic research unit not the individual but the historical pattern as such. Thus, the observer becomes a historical sociologist. When approaching a series of life histories from this perspective, one is searching for common events of a wider range with greater relevance than only to one family. One looks at the introduction of Christianity, the rise of Western education, government policy changes, Mau Mau, land consolidation, etc., as events affecting more or less all Kikuyu and/or Baganda families. Then one looks at local historical variations of these events (free-hold land tenure more developed in some areas than others, different forms of Christianity in different areas, etc.). In doing this, one can and does talk about social and cultural change. For, in the observer's mind, is a model of the recent pre-European Kikuyu and Buganda societies of the 19th century presented to him by ethnological records. And he is, in fact, looking at patterns of change in various dimensions such as economic organization, land tenure, religion, politics and education. Having fixed these two perspectives clearly in mind, the observer is now prepared to step back and forth from "in front" of the individual respondents to the "side"

and attempt to place these individual life histories in the context of socio-cultural change. The larger historical perspective affords a rough set of criteria with which to talk about a concept such as "distance moved by an individual, family or environment from traditional ways of life." In studying the amount of change a society has undergone, it is customary to examine that society at some point in time in relation to some ethnological base-line which is a model of what the traditional society is believed to have been like at about the time of arrival of a colonizing power. It is possible to apply this analogy to the individual person as well. Thus, in this study, a kind of "individual base-line" was constructed for each respondent (in analogy to the ethnological base-line of a society) in terms of which the processes of change can be studied on the level of the individual life history. This terminology is based upon the assumption that there is a very wide variety in the distance individual families have traveled from the ethnological base-line and that in dealing with individuals, one must take this variation into account. Thus, the "individual base-line" can be operationally defined as the type of social life and customs characteristic of the family and immediate environment into which the respondent was born and which formed his cultural reality until he became deeply involved in school (usually at an age between 7 and 10 years). This individual base-line is referred to in Figure II as the "birth and socialization environment" of the individual.

The Problem of Secondary Information:

Although, as suggested in the previous discussion, a considerable range of data was collected, its nature presented a sufficient methodological problem to warrant separate discussion. Much of the data concerning the past history of respondents obviously could not be based upon first-hand observation. The same is true of much of the general information gathered through informal

interviews with teachers, officials and students. Two general methods of reducing error were employed. First, in the case of information derived through informal sources such as general interviews and conversations, the data were always evaluated in terms of the known interests, orientation and position of the informant. Given this kind of knowledge, certain informants usually appear more reliable and "objective" than others. Second, with reference to historical data elicited from the student respondents about their own past, their early environments and their families, questions were asked in such a way as to stress objective facts which could later be used in operational definitions of concepts like "change". Thus a respondent was never asked a question phrased in a manner such as "How much do you think your family has changed from traditional Kikuyu ways?" Such phrasing invites defensive or offensive emotional response because words like "change" and "tradition" are affect-laden symbols. Rather, if the interest of the researcher lay in changes in the respondent's family customs, specific factual questions were asked about concrete matters such as land tenure, religious practices, kinship relations, social statuses, literacy and education, specific occupations, and standards of living. The interview guide was structured in the form of a check-list, affording the interviewer a chance to tailor the phrasing of each question to the personality and sophistication of each individual respondent. Since each respondent can be expected to have extensive information only about his own past and family, it is actually the researcher, in possession of comparative information, who is in the best position to construct a comparative typology of "individual base-lines" and to draw conclusions about comparative rates of change.

In such a discussion, however, the problems of psychological data

cannot easily be fitted into the operational logic just set forth. Respondents made frequent references to psychological attitudes toward change which they attributed to parents and other significant persons in their lives. The chances for ambivalence and misunderstanding are great when a person relates his own attitudes and feelings. Information obtained from a considerably Westernized off-spring about the psychological feelings of his traditional parents and family must be approached with extreme caution. On the other hand, such data seem vitally and consistently important in the total context of the research protocols. Indeed, as great as the risk was in coping with it, the risk seemed greater in disregarding it altogether. Such problems cannot be resolved within the limitations of the present research design; they can only be compromised. In the orientations to change discussed in Chapter V, the psychological dimension plays a major part. However, if we look upon it as perceived attitudes toward change, then the emphasis is shifted from an interpretation of the question, "What really were the attitudes of important figures in the respondent's early life?" to a question which can be phrased more accurately as, "What did the respondent perceive the attitudes of these figures in his early life to be?". This shift in interpretation is important because, at least partially, it resolves the dilemma of secondary information in this case and preserves the importance of the psychological data on the reasonable assumption that a person reacts more to what he perceives a situation to be than what it "really" may be in the eyes of some hypothetically "objective" observer.

It should be emphasized again that these few attempts to cope with the dangers of secondary information are designed to minimize, not eliminate, error. As in all research situations dealing with on-going and complex real life, compromises with canons of methodological perfection must always

over a considerable period of time during which the respondent had ample chance to forget previous answers to a question. If the answers were deliberate falsehoods, it was difficult to maintain this pattern throughout the research time period. If, however, inconsistent answers reflected ambivalence of feeling, the previous answer was usually recalled and explained by the respondent himself. Second, the intensive interview allowed for observation of a respondent as he answered questions. True ambivalence of feeling usually is reflected in facial expressions and gestures in quite a different way than is an attempt at fabrication of response. Thanks to these factors in the research process, it was possible to focus upon areas of ambivalence with the attention which this kind of data deserves.

The Problem of Secrecy:

Attempts at deliberate falsification of information usually took the form of withholding concrete items of information for one reason or another. Such attempts generally occur with information which threatens the image a respondent is trying to project, usually that of a modernized and Westernized educated African. Thus one might expect such maintenance of secrecy or even falsification in matters such as traditional religious and kinship practices, sexual behavior, and traditional cosmological beliefs such as the efficacy of witchcraft and charms on the part of the respondent or his family. In this particular study, certain concrete items of information proved easier to check than matters of personal attitude. Thus, if a student, for instance, withheld a fact such as the existence of a polygynous household, there were two ways in which this might come to light. First, inconsistencies resulting from such a secret would appear internally in the protocols, in the form of a few unexplained brothers and sisters. Second, other sources of information

be made. The attempts just described to salvage the possible usefulness of second-hand information reflects some major compromises of this kind.

The Problem of Language:

For a number of practical reasons, it was not feasible in the present study for the researcher to acquire a working knowledge of Luganda and Kikuyu, the languages of Buganda and Kikuyu respectively. The fact that all the respondents spoke fluent English facilitated the research process considerably. This fact turned every respondent into a linguistic informant. With the additional help of lengthy discussions with the two students acting as research assistants, it was possible to explore the traditional as against the English meaning of a word or concept whenever this seemed advisable. Thus, it appears to us that the language problem was kept at a reasonably minimal level in comparison to other methodological problems encountered in this study.

The Problem of Ambivalence:

It is unreasonable in contexts of change and upheaval to expect data in the area of psychological attitudes to show uniform and clear patterns. Ambivalence, self-doubt and anxiety are facts of life in more stable areas than East Africa. This self-evident point, however, creates a methodological problem. Ambivalence is an important psychological datum in itself for the study of change and adaptation. But, to be properly evaluated, it must be clearly distinguished from attempts at falsification. The major technique with which we attempted to cope with this problem is a common one in questionnaire and interview construction. It consists in the phrasing of the same question in a number of logically related but apparently different terms. This technique was buttressed by two other factors inherent in the present research process. First, the research instruments were administered

about a respondent such as other students, comments of teachers, and records might bring such information to light. However, in the matter of psychological attitudes, secrecy is more difficult to detect. It is our belief that in this particular study, two areas probably subject to the most intense secrecy are the vestiges of traditional religious beliefs of the respondent's family, and personal attitudes on the part of respondents themselves on the power of witchcraft. Certain incidents at the university suggest that the beliefs of many students regarding witchcraft are such that, were they brought to light, they might threaten the rationalistic and scientific image which students like to project. At least, it appears at times that witchcraft beliefs are subject to feelings of real ambivalence.

Generally speaking, it must be stated that no ultimately satisfactory techniques could be devised for the desired minimization of secrecy in the area of attitudes. As concerns information of a concrete factual nature, periodic checks indicated that this kind of information was offered freely with remarkable lack of reticence once confidence had been established. As a general rule of thumb it appeared true that if a respondent was willing to volunteer information about kinship practices such as polygyny and personal data in matters of sexual behavior, no significant factual data were being withheld in other areas of investigation.

In sum, this section has attempted to deal systematically with methodological problems by isolating six relevant issues: problems of rapport; the operational problems of data collection; the risks of secondary information; and problems of language, ambivalence and secrecy. Not all of these were solved to the satisfaction of a rigorous methodological conscience. One can only hope that they were solved to a degree sufficient to allow the development of significant research results.

B. Methodological Techniques

Prior to the application of the three formal research tools, a file of basic data was collected from each respondent. This material dealt with two basic categories of information: family data and educational experience.

1. Family Data:

Individuals about whom information was elicited included the respondent's:

- father
- father's father
- father's mother
- father's brothers
- father's sisters
- father's wives other than respondent's mother (same for mother)
- siblings of respondent
- wife of respondent (if any) plus her parents and siblings

The information gathered about these individuals included:

- alive or dead
- age
- education (formal)
- languages spoken and written
- occupation (at death or retirement or at present) both main and secondary
- previous occupations in earlier phases of life cycle
- community involvement and political activity

2. Educational Data:

Respondents were asked to list all schools attended and give the following information about them:

- years attended
- management
- where respondent was living at the time
- distance of residence from the school
- difficulties in settling down and nature of adjustment to them.

Respondents were also asked the following questions:

"What did you do between leaving school and coming to Makerere?"

"Who helped you most to come to Makerere and in what way?"

"Why did you decide to apply for entrance to Makerere, rather than going straight into employment, to the Royal Technical College (Nairobi) or overseas?"

"What course of study did you enter upon first arrival at Makerere and what were your reasons for that choice?"

Subsequent to this, the research tools were applied in three phases according to the following order:

- autobiography
- questionnaire
- interview (multiple sessions)

Included in this Appendix are the instruments used for the Makerere staff-student relations subsidiary study discussed in Chapter IV. These are:

- the staff questionnaire
- the student questionnaire

Copies of all these instruments follow in the order cited above.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I. BACKGROUND

In this part we are interested in the following kind of information:

1. Where were you born and into what kind of family (large or small; level of income and wealth; general social position in your society, etc.)
2. To what extent were you raised within the social framework and customs of your traditional society?
3. Give a brief account of your past education and how you came to be at Makerere.
4. What are two or three events or factors which you consider to have been of outstanding influence in making you what you are?
5. How did you decide upon what you are reading?

II. THE FUTURE

In this part we would like you to project yourself into the future, and we are interested in the following kinds of information:

1. What are your plans for the future in general?
2. Describe what you think you will be doing in the next ten years specifically.
3. What is the single most important thing you hope to do with your life?
4. What, for you, would constitute a happy life?

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____

Tribe _____ Religion _____

Marital Status: (tick one) Single __, Married __, Divorced __, Separated __.

If married, what was the ceremony? (tick one)
Customary Law __, Christian __, Moslem __, Civil __.

Any children? Yes __, No __. If yes, how many? _____.

This is all the personal data you are asked for in this questionnaire.
A more detailed discussion of your family relations will be gone into during the interview.

-
1. How would you characterize your present physical condition?
Excellent __, Good __, Fair __, Poor __.
 2. State occupation or profession you are most likely to enter.

 3. If you had your choice of any occupation or profession in the world (the necessary ability and a full opportunity to enter it), what occupation would you choose? _____
 4. What is your attitude toward paying bridewealth? (tick one).
 - a. ___ I am against paying it under almost any circumstances.
 - b. ___ I am against it, but if asked I would pay it.
 - c. ___ I actually never thought about this and have no feelings on it.
 - d. ___ I believe in the bridewealth tradition and would like to pay it.
 - e. ___ I would not marry a girl from a family so far removed from tribal traditions that they would not ask me for bridewealth.
 5. What is your attitude toward careers or occupations outside the home for married women? (tick one)
 - a. ___ I approve of full-time careers for them.
 - b. ___ I approve of part-time careers for them.
 - c. ___ I disapprove of any career or occupation outside the home for them.
- FOR MARRIED STUDENTS (please answer): Did you pay bridewealth? Yes __, No __.
If yes, why; if no, why not? _____

6. Would you (or did you) marry a girl of whom your parents disapprove? Yes , No , Undecided .
7. Would you marry a girl from outside your own tribe? Yes , No . If no, why not? _____
8. Would you expect your wife to obey you without question? Yes , No .
9. Number, in order of importance to you, the following qualities of a wife (1 for the most important, 2 for the next most important, etc.)
- a. Shares my own opinions and beliefs.
 - b. Basic intelligence though not necessarily academic education.
 - c. Academic education.
 - d. Pleasant disposition and a good companion.
 - e. Hard worker, and efficient housekeeper and mother.
 - f. It doesn't matter as long as I am in love with her.
10. If you get married and have a family, who do you expect will be most influential in the direction and control of the family as divided into the following categories (tick one in each category).

Domestic Affairs of the Household

Myself _____
 My wife _____
 Both equally _____
 My parents _____
 Her parents _____
 My clan _____

Marital Problems and Disagreements

Myself _____
 My wife _____
 Both equally _____
 My parents _____
 Her parents _____
 My clan _____

Education of the Children

Myself _____
 My wife _____
 Both Equally _____
 My parents _____
 Her parents _____
 My clan _____

Inheritance

Myself _____
 My wife _____
 Both equally _____
 My parents _____
 Her parents _____
 My clan _____

Land

Myself _____
 My wife _____
 Both equally _____
 My parents _____
 Her parents _____
 My clan _____

Money

Myself _____
 My wife _____
 Both equally _____
 My parents _____
 Her parents _____
 My clan _____

11. Would you marry a girl of a different religion than your own? Yes , No .
12. Do you think it at all possible that you will be divorced during your lifetime? Yes , No .

13. What, in terms of your own values, should be valid grounds for divorce
a. for the husband _____

b. for the wife _____

14. What is your attitude toward polygamy? (tick one)

- a. Under no circumstances would I consider a polygamous married for myself; it is wrong and backward.
- b. I see nothing inherently wrong in a polygamous marriage: If I could afford it, and found the right woemn, I might consider it.
- c. I see nothing inherently wrong in polygamy, but for myself, I don't think I would like it.
- d. I have actually never thought about this and don't know what my opinion is.

15. Would you marry a girl chosen for you by your family if you were not in love with her? Yes _____, No _____.

16. Have you ever broken a friendship with a girl because of her parents' or your parents' disapproval? Yes _____, No _____.
If yes whose parents disapproved? Hers _____, Mine _____.

17. How many children would you like to have if you marry?

- none _____
- one _____
- two _____
- three _____
- four _____
- five _____
- more than five _____
- I don't care.how many _____

18. FOR UNMARRIED STUDENTS ONLY: Do you intend to get married eventually?

- a. Yes, I would like to get married.
- b. I don't care one way or the other; I don't think about it much.
- c. No, I don't think now that I want to get married.
If your answer is "No", please briefly state why you feel this way

If your answer is "Yes", what marriage ceremony would you desire?
Christian _____, Moslem _____, Traditional _____, Civil _____.

19. As a parent, what two specific things will you try hardes to teach your children?

- a. _____
- b. _____

20. What two things would you most like your children to have which you yourself did not have?

- a. _____
- b. _____

21. Would you like to live the main part of your working life in (tick one)
- a. your own tribal area
 - b. your territory, but not necessarily your tribal area
 - c. in some other territory of Africa altogether. Where? _____
 - d. in some non-African country. Where? _____
22. Would you like to live your retired life in (tick one)
- a. your own tribal area
 - b. your territory, but not necessarily your tribal area
 - c. in some other territory of Africa altogether. Where? _____
 - d. in some non-African country. Where? _____
23. How long do you expect your working life to be?
- a. the next 10 years
 - b. the next 20 years
 - c. the next 30 years
 - d. the next 40 years.
24. At what age do you expect to retire? _____
25. To about what age do you expect to live. (barring unforeseen catastrophes)? _____
26. Everyone at one time or another thinks about the best and the worst things that could happen to him in life. What, for you, would be the worst conceivable thing that could happen to you in your life?
- _____
- _____
27. Do you find that you are losing touch with some of your friends and relatives outside the University because your ideas have become different from theirs?
- a. I find this very often
 - b. I find this fairly often
 - c. I find this occasionally
 - d. I find this rarely.
28. If you had a personal problem that worried you (for example, a difficult decision to make), whom would you most prefer to talk it over with? (tick one for each category.)

- In Marriage Matters
- a. Parents or member of parents' family
 - b. My wife (if I had one)
 - c. A relative outside my immediate family. (what relation _____).
 - d. A religious minister or priest.
 - e. A friend.
 - f. Other (State whom _____).

- In Land and Property Matters
- _____ Parents or member of parent's family.
 - _____ My wife, (if I had one).
 - _____ A relative outside my immediate family (what relation _____).
 - _____ A religious minister or priest.
 - _____ A friend.
 - _____ Other (State whom _____).

28. Continued.

- | <u>In Career Matters</u> | <u>In Money Matters</u> |
|--|---|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> Parents or member of parents' family | <input type="checkbox"/> Parents or member of parents' family |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> My wife (if I had one) | <input type="checkbox"/> My wife (if I had one) |
| c. <input type="checkbox"/> A relative outside my immediate family.
(What relation _____) | <input type="checkbox"/> A relative outside my immediate family.
(What relation _____) |
| d. <input type="checkbox"/> A priest or minister. | <input type="checkbox"/> A priest or minister. |
| e. <input type="checkbox"/> A friend. | <input type="checkbox"/> A friend. |
| f. <input type="checkbox"/> Other. (State who _____) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other. (State who _____) |

29. Do you sometimes feel lonely and wish you had more close friends? Yes , No .

30. Concerning your personal future and the possibility of fulfilling your hopes, would you say that in general you feel (tick one

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> enthusiastic | c. <input type="checkbox"/> confused | e. <input type="checkbox"/> indifferent (I'll adjust to whatever comes along.) |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> hopeful | d. <input type="checkbox"/> bitter | |

31. Do you sometimes feel you are drifting with no real goal in life?

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> I often feel this way. | c. <input type="checkbox"/> occasionally, but seldom, I feel this way |
| b. <input type="checkbox"/> I sometimes feel this way | d. <input type="checkbox"/> I do not recall ever feeling this way |

32. Please number, in order of importance to you, the following items which you expect will give you the most satisfaction in life. (1 for what you expect most satisfaction from; 2 for what you expect next most satisfactions from, etc.).

- a. Your career.
- b. Family relations and married life (home and children).
- c. Leisure time and recreation activities.
- d. Participation in the affairs of my tribal community.
- e. Participation in national and international activities.
- f. Religious beliefs and activities.
- g. Other (state what _____).

33. In general what do you believe will be more important to your advancement in life; personal ability or influence through personal contacts, family and friends? (tick one)

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. <input type="checkbox"/> personal ability | b. <input type="checkbox"/> influence through contacts. |
|--|---|

34. The world is an unfriendly place in which men are basically evil and dangerous. (tick one)

- a. I agree with this.
- b. I agree with this slightly.
- c. I slightly disagree with this.
- d. I disagree with this.

35. Do you expect to be more successful as a leader in your field than the average person in your field who has the same amount of education as you?

- a. more successful
- b. about the same
- c. less successful.

36. If you should suddenly get a large sum of money at the end of your schooling, what would you do with it? _____
37. Balancing obligations and benefits, to what extent do you expect your relatives (i.e. members of your present family and the family of your future wife) to be of assistance to you in your lifetime? (tick one)
- a. Constantly available and difficult to do without.
 - b. Available whenever needed for advice and some assistance, both personal and financial.
 - c. Emergency economic assistance only.
 - d. A slight hindrance to me.
 - e. I am afraid, a real barrier to my advancement.
38. It is often said that newly emerging African societies should be healthy combinations of the best of the Western way of life plus the best of African traditions. Please give three African traditions, in order of importance to you, which you feel should be carried over to your future society.
- 1. _____
 - 2. _____
 - 3. _____
39. Do you expect your destiny to be (tick one)
- a. determined largely by what you yourself make of it.
 - b. determined largely by external circumstances over which you have little control.
40. What, in your opinion, are three major world problems which must be solved within the next twenty years if total disaster is to be avoided?
- 1. _____
 - 2. _____
 - 3. _____
41. Give two or three aspects of Western life which you would not like to see adopted into modern African society.
- _____
- _____
42. Please name, in order of importance, what you feel the two most important problems of your society will be after independence.
- 1. _____
 - 2. _____
43. Democracy is often defined in the words of Abraham Lincoln as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people". If you were forced to do so, would you personally give greater emphasis to the conception - (tick one)
- BY the people (one man, one vote, elected representatives, opposition, etc.)
 - FOR the people (paternal government, socialized economy, centralized government, etc.)

44. As a solution to the problem of international tensions, four principal possibilities have been suggested. They are listed below. Please tick the one you yourself favor, and then the one you think most likely to come about (if they differ).

- | | I expect
this to
happen | I would
like this to
happen |
|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. A situation of strong nationalism where each country retains its full sovereignty, much as in the recent past. | _____ | _____ |
| b. Development of regionalism. For example, Pan-American Union, A United States of Europe, East African Federation, etc. | _____ | _____ |
| c. Federal union of most non-Communist countries, with the door open to Russia and other nations not at first participating | _____ | _____ |
| d. A world government worked out perhaps through an extension of the United Nations | _____ | PPPP |

45. Do you feel you require some form of Christian religious orientation or belief in order to achieve a fully mature philosophy of life? (tick)
___ Yes, ___ No. ___ I don't know yet.

46. Which three of the following aspects of Christian religions have you found most important in your life? Read them all first and then number the three most important 1, 2, 3 in order of importance to your experience up to the present time.

- a. ___ Theology and proofs of existence of God.
- b. ___ The promise of life after death.
- c. ___ Ethics and philosophy of society.
- d. ___ The existence of ministers (or priests) to whom you could take
- e. ___ your personal problems.
- f. ___ The Missions as a path to Western education.
- g. ___ Doctrines which can tell you what is right and what is wrong.
- h. ___ The local church as a place in which to meet people and feel at home.
- i. ___ Prayer and the help of God in personal problems.
- j. ___ Other aspects (please specify _____).
- k. ___ Religion has played almost no role in my life.

47. Leaders of the Church should be automatically consulted by those in political power on the moral aspects of major social, economic and political decisions. (tick one) I agree _____ I disagree with this _____

48. Religious ministers should be expected to guide their church members in political, as well as personal problems such as advising them how to vote, in the best interests of morality. (tick one) I agree _____ I disagree _____

49. The church has a duty to express opinions on public affairs.
I agree with this _____ I disagree with this _____

50. Religious leaders do not have a greater right than any other citizen to have their opinions listened to by those in power.

I agree with this.

I disagree with this.

51. What do you think will be three serious personal problems you will face over the next few years after your graduation from Makerere?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

52. Do you think of yourself more as a Muganda (or Kikuyu), or as a citizen of Uganda (or Kenya)? (tick one)

Muganda/Kikuyu

Uganda/Kenyan

53. "Many African students, after they graduate from University, will shortly find themselves in positions of great power and influence. They will be too young and inexperienced for these positions; they will have no older generation to look up to for guidance; the traditions of their society are no longer adequate to guide their decisions; they themselves are confused and anxious about who they are and what they really want. Yet the decisions of many of them will influence the lives of millions of their fellow Africans. Considering all this, it must be said that few groups stand in greater potential danger of personal unhappiness, of profound corruption of character, and egotism than does the young African student elite of today." (tick one)

a. I largely agree with this statement.

b. I largely disagree with this statement.

c. I don't know if I agree or disagree because I have never thought about myself in these terms.

Would you please comment briefly on your answer. (If you agree, how do you feel these dangers might be avoided; if you disagree, why do you feel the statement is inaccurate; if you have never thought about it, what is your immediate reaction to the statement?)

INTERVIEW CHECK LIST

(For Interviewer Only)

I. FAMILY:

The purpose of this section is to explore the social structure of the subject's family; where he fits into this structure (e.g. rank, obligations and benefits, etc.); the psychological relationships obtaining between the subject and his family; relationship to family as a partial index of link to tribal tribal tradition, etc.

Questions:

1. Clan relationships
2. Rank and position in family
3. Psychological feelings about family
4. Family relationship to tribe (e.g. social position, type of socialization of child, religion, economy, etc.)
5. Family attitudes toward and ambitions for subject
6. Obligations and benefits
7. Residence history of subject (how long where and with whom and why) (relate this to charts)
8. Communication (topics of discussion, closeness, etc.)

II. COLLEGE LIFE:

The purpose of this section is to get at the formal and informal aspects of adjustment to college life and the role that the social social framework of the college plays in the contact of the African student and Western ideas.

Questions:

1. Differences between college and secondary school life e.g. study habits, staff-student relations, atmosphere, discipline, etc.
2. Problems of adjustment to college.
3. Staff-student relations
4. Activities and student societies
5. Helping relationships
6. Friendships (sociometry, topics of communication; methods of contact.)
7. Extra-college activities (politics, visiting fellow tribesmen, work experience, foreign travel & study etc.)
8. Aesthetic experience, education and aspirations.

IV. SEX AND WOMEN:

The purpose of this section is to get at the heterosexual experiences and problems within which the subject views relationships with women and considers the prospects of marriage and family life.

Questions:

1. Personal history and experience
2. Feelings about women; emotional, physical, moral. (unity of procreation and sex, influence of tribal attitudes)

V. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE:

The purpose of this section is to get at the subject's version of family life; the traditional content of this version; relationships between family of procreation and family of orientation; etc.

Questions:

1. Marriage prospects (already married; engaged, plans,)
2. Mutual rights of marriage partners (e.g. divorce; reasons for separation; rights of appeal and to whom, degree of privacy, etc.)
3. Mutual obligations (marital roles, etc.)
4. Relationships between nuclear family and family of origin
5. Family planning
6. Socialization of children (validity of interchange of roles, etc.)

VI. FRIENDSHIP:

The purpose of this section is to examine friendships as part of the total pattern of social interaction of the subject, and also to contribute to an understanding of the scope and content of communication and consultation which these subjects take part in. Friendship and communication are important informal indices in understanding the growth of reference groups, future community life, etc.

Questions:

1. Friendship patterns in relation to kinship
2. Friendship and career (role of professional ties, assoc.)
3. Friendship and physical residence (neighborliness)
4. Benefits and obligations of friendship (material emotional)
5. Friendship and communication
6. The sociometry of friendship (location, tribe, religion, education, social stratum, shared activity).

VII. RELIGION:

The purpose of this section is to explore the influence of religion upon the subject's life, both in a personal and a social philosophic sense.

Questions:

1. Religious history; contact with individuals, institutions, customs, ceremonials, etc.
2. Exploration of some of the questionnaire questions on the influence of religion on personality and philosophy
3. Reading and religious practices and their influence.

VIII. CAREER:

The purpose of this section is to determine first, how the subject thinks of his career; second, what influences have been active in the formation of his aspirations; third, how his career fits in, in his mind, with the total framework of his life aspirations and his vision of the future.

Questions:

1. Major influences in career decisions (persons, reading, events)
2. Career stages and content
3. Purposes of career
4. Homogeneity of career vs. multiple occupations
5. Role of career in personal happiness
6. Problems with regard to career the subject is aware of having to face after graduation

IX. PERSONAL PROBLEMS:

The purpose of this section is to obtain a picture of the subject's sense of personal problems, their content and their scope.

Questions:

1. Alcohol
2. Personal problems after graduation: what will they be?
3. Personal values; e.g. what is specifically desired for life, contradictions, guilt feelings, etc.
4. Women and marriage; e.g. conflicts between career and home, personality conflicts in interaction, sexual fears
5. Friendship & community; e.g. 'roots', community life, finding one's own level, etc.
6. Family relationships; e.g. conflicts, obligations, communications, etc.
7. Psychological problems; e.g. fears, confidence, mental illness, lack of consultation, etc.
8. Financial and material
9. Over-intense personal animosities

X. IDEAS:

The purpose of this section is to explore the subject's thinking on vital issues of the time. Since it is impossible to do this in any complete and comprehensive manner within the context of a general interview, this section asks the subject to define certain key words in current events. It also presents some terms which are to be differentiated from other related terms. The assumption is that some understanding of the major world issues of our time requires as preconditions an understanding of the terms presented here for definition and contrast.

Questions:

1. Ideology and Ideals (define each and differentiate between them)
2. State and Society (define each and differentiate between them)
3. Totalitarianism and Dictatorship (define each and differentiate between them)
4. Democracy
5. Freedom and Anarchy (define and differentiate)
6. Socialism and Communism (define and differentiate)

STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____

Department _____

Number of Years at Makerere _____

NOTE: If you need more space for any questions than the space provided please use the reverse side of this questionnaire. Also, chaplains, wardens and others whose primary responsibility is other than teaching are welcome to modify particular questions or to add qualifying comments relevant to their special experience.

- I. a) Is your presence at Makerere the first experience of any kind in a non-western area which you have had? (In the case of African staff, please state whether you have had an experience in a western country) (tick one)
- Yes _____ No _____

If you have had previous experience in a non-western area, please state what this experience has been. _____

- b) Do you find that students at Makerere are basically different from students with whom you have had experience in the West? (tick one) Yes _____ No _____ In some ways _____
- Please explain your answer _____

- c) What are some of the major problems with students you face here which are outside your experience in a Western university?

Were you aware of most of these problems you would face at Makerere which are different from those of a Western university before coming here? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how did you know them? _____

- II. What follows are some imaginary quotations expressing various attitudes of staff toward students. Please read them and respond as requested.

Quotation 1.

"The basic purpose of lecturers in any university is to teach teach students and not to play nursemaid to them. I do not see why it should be any different in a university in Africa."

(tick one) I largely agree with this _____
I largely disagree with this _____

If you disagree, please explain your answer _____

Quotation 2.

"Theoretically I would like to establish closer relations with students, but my schedule simply does not allow it. The whole situation here is such that if all my duties are to be performed, and on top of that I am to establish personal relationships with my students, my day would have to be 35 hours long."

a) Does the above quotation fit your experience? (tick one)

Yes _____ No _____

It does except for a few of my tutorial students _____

b) Would you please give a brief outline of your round of daily activities on an average day? Include details such as family commitments, committee meetings, etc. _____

Quotation 3.

"In general I don't mind getting to know my students, but the trouble is that they have so many personal problems that I just don't know what I can do. I can't solve these problems for them, and after a while - unless I can do something specific for someone - I tend to avoid encouraging students to talk about their personal lives with me."

a) In general, does this quotation reflect your experience?

Yes _____ No _____

If no, please briefly explain why this quotation does not apply to your experience. (i.e. is it because you do not feel that it is the job of the staff member to involve himself in students' personal problems; or is it that you restrict the number of students you know on a personal level; or do you find that you can help students with certain problems and not with others, etc.) _____

b) Do you feel that one answer to the problem might be to set up a guidance unit in the College (in conjunction with the student health office, perhaps) to which you could refer students with specific problems you do not feel you could handle?

Yes _____ No _____

If no, would you please indicate any alternative suggestions you might have, and the objections you feel can be raised against a guidance unit _____

c) Would you please list briefly some of the kinds of problems you are aware of among your students? _____

- d) At present do you do any referring of students to other staff members such as the student health officer the chaplain the warden, etc.? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, to whom (name) do you refer most often _____

Quotation 4.

"When I first came out here, I was very idealistic and enthusiastic. But I found that it just didn't work out the way I'd hoped: Students are difficult to get to know; they are suspicious; rather ungrateful for things done for them; and besides I find that I just do not have enough in common with them to establish a really close relationship."
(tick one below)

- a) In general I would say this is true in my case _____
No, I would not say this is true in my case _____
- b) More specifically, do you find students unapproachable in the sense of being suspicious, of not talking about themselves, of seeming to resent you, etc.? Yes _____ No _____
- c) What criticisms do you feel can be made of Makerere students as a group (that is, criticism which goes beyond the idiosyncracies of a few individuals) _____
- d) When you do talk to students informally, what do you find to talk about? _____
- e) Aside from academic knowledge and skills, do you consciously attempt to instill certain values or standards of appreciation into your students of an artistic, philosophic or religious, etc. nature? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, please state briefly what and why _____
- f) Do you feel that you as an individual have anything to gain from personal contact with students? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, please state what; if no, please state why not. _____
- g) Do you find that you have any tribal or regional favorite groups of students? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, please state which and why _____
- h) Are those students you know best on a personal level also the ones you are most interested in academically? Yes _____ No _____
If no, what other basis of initial interest in students is there? _____
- i) Do you feel that it is unrealistic to maintain the academic standards of performance at Makerere which you would adhere to with students in a university in Britain (or the best American or South African universities)? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what do you essentially attempt to accomplish with your students? _____

Filmed as received

without page(s) 234.

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Quotation 5.

"There are very few among any staff in any university who are gifted enough both to maintain the standards of their profession and to establish a personal bond with their students. It requires a special talent to walk the thin line between taking an interest in your students as individuals and deteriorating into full-time social worker at the expense of your profession; between easy informality and the familiarity which breed contempt."

- a) Do you agree with this attitude in the sense of recognizing special individuals on the Makerere staff who fit these qualities?
Yes _____ No _____
- b) Do you place yourself in this kind of special category? (Please be honest and also forget modesty) Yes _____ No _____
- c) Would you please put down the names of 2 or 3 people who you feel fit the characteristics described in the above quotation.
(REMEMBER THAT ALL OF THIS IS HELD CONFIDENTIAL AND NO NAMES WILL EVER BE MENTIONED IN ANY REPORT. WE ARE JUST INTERESTED IN COMPARING STUDENT AND STAFF EVALUATIONS ON THIS)
-

- d) If you agree with Quotation 5, do you feel that this talent is something generally undefinable - is "just there" in the personality - or do you feel that these people have qualities and techniques which could be consciously learned by all who would like to improve their relations with students?
-

- e) What do you think Makerere students in general feel about the staff in general?
-

- f) If you were asked to make an honest criticism of Makerere staff please state what you would offer as valid criticisms.
-

- g) Would you rate student-staff relations at Makerere generally as:
- | Relative to your experience in other universities | Relative to your ideal |
|---|------------------------|
| Very good _____ | Very good _____ |
| Fairly good _____ | Fairly good _____ |
| Mixed _____ | Mixed _____ |
| Pretty bad _____ | Pretty bad _____ |
| Terrible _____ | Terrible _____ |

- h) Some people claim that in western universities a case can be made for a kind of traditional hostility between staff and students. How do you feel about this in relation to Makerere?
-
-

III. May we respectfully ask for answers to the following questions.

- a) Please state which country or countries you spent your childhood and adolescence? _____
- b) How many years of teaching experience have you had? _____
- c) Please list your teaching experience elsewhere than at Makerere, including secondary level.

- d) What would you say were your motives in coming to Makerere as against teaching in your own country or in some other Western area? (This applies only to expatriate staff)?

Do you have any further comments of your own to add? If so, please use the reverse sides of this questionnaire. Any additional comments you might care to make would be most welcome. Thank you again most kindly for your generous cooperation.

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

It is not necessary to put down your name, but please put down the following information:

Tribe _____

Course of Study _____

Year _____

Secondary School _____

NOTE: If you need more than the given space for a question use the reverse side of the questionnaire.

I. a) Would you say your adjustment to Makerere has been: (tick one)
Easey _____; A bit difficult _____; Very difficult _____.

b) If your adjustment to Makerere has not been easy; please state briefly what some of the difficulties have been.

c) Has the transition from secondary school to college caused any problems of adjustment to Makerere? If so, mention some of the problems you have faced as a result of this transition.

II. a) How would you rate your personal tutor? (tick one)
Very helpful _____
Occasionally helpful _____
Virtually useless to me _____

b) Briefly explain in what way, if at all, your personal tutor helps you.

c) If you feel your personal tutor fails to be of much use to you, explain briefly why you feel this way.

d) Do you experience difficulty in approaching your tutor for advise or to discuss things in general? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, why? _____
If no, what is there about him that puts you at ease and makes him easy to approach? _____

III. a) In general, would you say relations between staff and students here are: (tick one)

- Very good _____
- Fairly good _____
- Mixed _____
- Pretty bad _____
- Terrible _____

b) Please give some reasons for your response in the previous question. That is, if you feel relations are good, why, and if they are bad, why is this? (How does staff meet or fail to meet the needs of students?)

c) Would you say that relations between staff and students in secondary school where: (tick one)

much better than _____	a little worse than _____
a little better than _____	much worse than _____
about the same as _____	

relations between staff and students here at Makerere?

d) What do you feel should be the most important responsibility of staff at Makerere in relation to students?

e) Do you feel that staff-student relations in an African university should be in some ways different than in a Western university?

Yes _____ No _____

Explain your answer _____

f) What do you think the staff at Makerere think about students?

g) What are some of the problems of adjustment which you think the staff faces when coming to Makerere?

h) Do you feel that staff wives have any influence on the popularity

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please explain briefly in what way you think this is true.

i) Have you ever had classes with an African lecturer?

Yes _____ No _____

j) What is your opinion of African staff?

- k) At secondary school, did you find the African staff more willing to help you on a personal level than the non-African staff?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how? _____

- l) Please give the names of two staff members (any staff - lecturers, warden, chaplains, physicians, etc.) whom you like best.

1. _____ 2. _____

NOTE: No names of staff mentioned will ever be revealed, nor must you reveal them.

What is there about these two individuals that makes you like them? _____

- m) Please give the names of two staff members you like least?

1. _____ 2. _____

What is there about these two individuals that makes you dislike them? _____

- n) What do you believe to be the basic purpose of a university in Africa? _____

- o) If you were asked to make an honest criticism of Makerere students please state what you would offer as valid criticisms _____

- p) In the event of a deep personal crisis, what single individual in Makerere would you approach? (Among staff or students or anyone).
Name _____
Why would it be this person? _____

- q) Do you have any further comments of your own to add? If so, please use the back pages of this questionnaire. Any additional comments you might care to make would be most welcome.

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