EDUCATION AND CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN SIERRA LEONE

JOHN S. SINCLAIR
PART 4

KINSHIP, EDUCATION AND CHANGING PATTERNS
OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION
In the next few chapters we will turn back to examine in greater detail some aspects of the relationship between education and kinship. It has already been shown in Chapter 2 that family background influences educational opportunities, and that, in particular, individuals from more privileged geographical and socio-economic backgrounds have a better chance of obtaining a good education than individuals from less privileged backgrounds. This chapter will be more concerned with the effects of family attitudes and organisation on children's educational opportunities. It seems likely that such factors will be of greater importance in developing societies, such as Sierra Leone, in which education is a relatively recent innovation, and is not yet either universal or compulsory.

Two points may be particularly noted at this stage. In the first place, it will be argued that the attitudes of a child's relatives may affect its chances of obtaining a good education: not all families are equally enthusiastic about Western education, and probably the children of families which approve of it have a better chance of obtaining an education than the children of families which disapprove of it. In the second place, family organisation - and particularly the nature of the extended family - may affect a child's chances of obtaining a good education, for not only the parents but also other members of the extended family may participate in the rearing of the child. Through the traditional practice of fostering, a child may pass into the care
of relatives other than its natural parents; and these relatives, either because of their financial position or because of their attitudes to Western education, may be either more or less likely to give the child a good education than its own parents. In addition, because of the flexible nature of the extended family, its resources can be deliberately mobilised to promote the education of its younger members; and this may more effectively facilitate the spread of education than if each child had to rely on the resources of its own parents alone.

Let us first examine attitudes to Western education among the families of respondents. It is often wrongly assumed that there is always a strong demand for Western education, and that parents everywhere are keen to send their children to school. This may indeed sometimes be the case. Thus, in the 1940's, Fortes was able to write the following about Ashanti Region in Ghana:

"The demand for schools is sweeping the country. It is the outstanding instance of a matter on which almost full unanimity is found in every community, for which the people everywhere are prepared to make substantial economic sacrifices, and to promote which they are ready to drop factional differences" (Fortes, 1948, p. 32).

We should not, however, assume that this is always the case. Even in Ashanti 70 years earlier, education was not very popular, at least with the traditional authorities. In 1876 the Asante-hene himself stated that: "Asantee children have better work to do than to sit down all day idly to learn hoy. They have to fan their parents, and do other work which is better" (quoted in Hurd, 1967, pp. 218-19). More recently, Oppong reports that
there is considerable opposition to sending children to school among the Dagomba in Northern Ghana; and that the majority of school children, even in the period 1956-64, were compulsorily recruited by officials (Oppong, 1966, pp. 17-21). Both Foster and Hurd make the point that at first there is little demand for Western education, and that it is only later, when education can be seen to yield material rewards, that many parents wish to send their children to school. In other words, popular pressure for education follows economic changes which expand the well-rewarded occupational opportunities within the modern sector of the economy. Education is viewed as an investment, and only becomes popular when economic returns are considered adequate (Foster, 1965, especially chs. 2 and 4; Hurd, 1967, pp. 215-222).

Respondents in the survey were asked about the attitudes of their families to Western education. Creole respondents were almost unanimous in saying that their parents and other members of their families were favourably disposed to education, and had given them every encouragement while they were at school. This is hardly surprising as a high level of education is a crucial part of the Creole's self-image, justifying, at least to himself, his claim to superiority over members of other tribes. Among respondents of other tribes, on the other hand, almost a third said that their families had mixed feelings about their attending school, were not interested, or, in a few cases, were actually hostile. Given that all the respondents had actually attended school, it seems likely that their families must be more
favourably disposed to education than the population as a whole. A sample of illiterates would presumably reveal an even higher proportion of families with negative attitudes towards education; and hence the figures presented here probably underestimatate the extent of opposition to Western education in Sierra Leone.

Attitudes to Western education are also correlated with a number of other indices of socio-economic background. For example, practically all respondents whose fathers had attended school — Provincials as well as Creoles — reported that their families had been enthusiastic about their attending school; and negative attitudes were thus confined to the families of those with illiterate fathers. This is reflected in differences between the Provinces, as educated fathers are found particularly in the Western Province, followed by the Southern Province, with the other two Provinces trailing behind. Thus the families of respondents born in the Western Area were almost unanimously in favour of their children attending school, as were the families of about 80% of the respondents born in the Southern Province, but this figure drops to only about 60% among respondents born in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

This pattern would seem to reflect the degree of economic development as well as the length of exposure to Western education in the various Provinces. Thus the Western Area, which not only has had the longest exposure to Western education, but also offers the largest proportion of occupational opportunities
for educated persons, shows the highest proportion of favourable attitudes to schooling, while the least interest is shown in the North, the most underdeveloped Province. The favourable attitudes in the Southern Province may also be attributed to its relatively long exposure to Western education. In the East, despite its recent economic growth, quite a few families showed a lack of interest in education; and this may indicate that when schooling is a recent innovation, people may take some time to realize its benefits. Though in the long run, as Poster and Hurd suggest, the economic rewards accruing to the educated person may be the vital determinant of the popularity of Western education, it may take some time for attitudes to change in sections of the population previously unfamiliar with sending their children to school. It should also be noted, however, that much of the diamond industry in the Eastern Province is not based on bureaucratic organisation, and that it has been possible for many illiterates to become rich and successful through private digging. This may also help to account for the lower level of popularity of Western education in the Eastern Province, despite its relatively high level of economic development.

Two further points of interest may be noted at this stage. Firstly, the distribution of favourable and unfavourable attitudes to Western education among the various socio-economic groups corresponds quite closely with the distribution of educational opportunities, as outlined in Chapter 2, suggesting that such attitudes may be among the determinants of these opportunities. Secondly, the conclusion that economic or occupational
TABLE 5.1: Types of benefits believed to result from education; and percentage of respondents mentioning each type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>General benefits</th>
<th>Personal benefits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupational and financial</td>
<td>160 (64%)</td>
<td>124 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social, cultural, (&quot;civilizing&quot;), etc.</td>
<td>87 (35%)</td>
<td>58 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>65 (26%)</td>
<td>66 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>31 (12%)</td>
<td>5 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>37 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 As multiple responses were allowed, the percentages add up to more than 100%.

opportunities are the most important determinants of attitudes to education is supported by the respondents own statements on the benefits they believed to result from education. Respondents answers on both the benefits they believed to flow from education generally and the benefits they themselves had actually obtained from education are summarised in Table 5.1; and from this it can be seen that answers in terms of occupational and financial benefits predominated. Thus 64% of respondents mentioned occupational and financial benefits as among the general benefits of education, and 50% said that they themselves had actually received such benefits.1

1 It has often been noted that the main motivation among Africans attending school is economic. For example, this view
Despite these predominantly instrumental attitudes to
education, however, various other benefits of education were also
mentioned. For example, about one third of respondents men¬
tioned various social and cultural benefits of education, such as its
ability to make people more sociable or civilized, as among its
general benefits, and about one quarter of respondents claimed to
have improved themselves in this way through education. A quar¬
ter of respondents also mentioned strictly educational benefits
of education: they believed that through education one learnt
about the world and became more sophisticated; or that such edu¬

appeared in the work of Foster and Hurd referred to above (Fos¬
ter, 1965; Hurd, 1967). Two further quotations may be given
from different parts of Africa to illustrate the point that
education is seen primarily as an investment. Thus Sofer writes
the following of the educated African in Uganda:

"Like the European and Asian, the educated African takes
it for granted, that he will enter public administration,
industry or commerce. This seems to flow naturally from
the very investment of relatives in his education; this
is less because he must pay off loans, however, than be¬
because he feels obliged to demonstrate what his education
can do for him in securing European-type work. It is
hoped, at the same time, to save money to use for a better
start at home. A permanent career in town is seldom
contemplated and despite their long schooling the great
majority plan sooner or later to return home to cultivate
or trade" (Sofer, 1956, p. 605).

A similar point of view is expressed in the Ajayi Commission Re¬
port on the raising of school fees in Western Nigeria, when the
Commissioners write the following:

"Of all these possible ways of paying [ for education ],
school fees are the easiest and cheapest to collect be¬
cause there is hardly anything for which the average
Nigerian is willing to make sacrifices to pay for so
much as education for his children or relations. This
is because the average Nigerian regards the cost of
education as the most profitable of all forms of in¬
vestment" (Ajayi Commission Report, quoted in Cowan,
ation is a stepping-stone to further education, which in turn would provide greater occupational and financial rewards. So we return once again to the predominantly instrumental orientation towards education.

It was also noted that parental attitudes to Western education were correlated with their religious affiliation. Thus of Provincial respondents with Muslim fathers, 35% reported that their families were not interested in education, had mixed feelings about it, or were actually hostile, compared with only 15% of Provincial respondents with Christian fathers. If Creoles had been included in this comparison, then the differences would have been even more marked. Strictly Islamic tribes showed particular antipathy towards Western education. For example, Butcher tells us that the Fula in Sierra Leone reject Western education in favour of Islamic learning (Butcher, 1964, pp. 129, 263-66); and it is perhaps significant that of the eight Fula in the present sample, all but one had Non-Fula mothers, suggesting that they were not fully integrated into the Fula community and way of life.

This provides some clues to the reasons why some parents dislike Western education. Among Muslim parents, of course, it may be feared that children who go to school may be converted to Christianity, and for this reason they may prefer to send their children for training with Arabic teachers. This problem may be partially solved by the special schools run by the Muslim Congress and Ahmadiyya for Muslim children, but such schools are

---

1 Respondents' attitudes to education are examined in greater detail in Appendix 2.

408.
still very rare. Other parents may feel that educated children tend to neglect or even despise traditions, and to lack respect for their elders; and for these reasons may not wish to send their children to school. It may also be feared that educated children will leave home, and not look after their parents in their old age. Some parents and other guardians may also wish to keep their children at home to help with farm and other domestic work. Apart from the loss of labour while the children are actually at school, it is often believed that educated children despise manual labour, and would therefore be unwilling to help on the farms or around the house at other times. It also seems possible that some parents - either rationally or irrationally - do not believe that it is a profitable investment to educate their children. Particularly parents in remote areas remain attached to their traditional ways of life, and do not see any reason to send their children to school - especially if it involves a heavy financial outlay.

Despite these unfavourable attitudes, however, the majority of Sierra Leoneans appear to be more enthusiastic about Western education; and the evidence presented here suggests that this positive evaluation rests on the occupational and financial benefits which education is believed to bring. In other words, education is viewed primarily as an investment, and, as such, is expected to yield an adequate economic return. Enthusiasm for education, therefore, will only become apparent with the emergence of occupational opportunities providing such economic opportunities,

---

1 Oppong also makes this point for the Dagomba (Oppong, 1966, pp. 18-19, 22-24.)
and recognition of these opportunities by the families of children of school-going age. As suggested earlier, the attitudes of parents and other relatives to Western education may be an important variable affecting the chances of children obtaining satisfactory education. And, if as seems likely, the families of children from less developed parts of the country have less favourable attitudes to Western education, then this may play an important part in perpetuating the pattern of inequality.

The extended family and patterns of educational assistance.

Let us now turn to an examination of the effects of the organisation of the extended family on educational opportunity. Fraenkal points out that the emphasis placed on the role of the extended family in preventing the emergence of social classes has tended to obscure its role in promoting social mobility (Fraenkal, 1964, p. 219). Her sample of school children in Monrovia showed that only 45% of boys and 60% of girls were living with one or both of their parents, while the others, mainly from illiterate homes, were usually staying with and being supported by educated relatives or guardians (Fraenkal, 1964, pp. 215-216). In the Ivory Coast sample of Clignet and Foster, no less than 27% of school children described some person other than their own parents as the individual primarily interested in their education, this usually being an educated sibling or uncle (Clignet and Foster, 1966, pp. 63-64).
But a significant difference was found in that professional and clerical parents were more likely than farming parents to be cited as the persons primarily interested in their children's education, which could explain the discrepancy between boys and girls in Monrovia, schoolgirls usually coming from a higher socio-economic background than schoolboys (Fraenkel, 1964, p. 218). The extended family appears to play its most important role in providing for the education, and hence social mobility, of the sons of its non-literate members, either by clubbing together to pay for their education, or by an educated member fulfilling his obligation to provide for the education of his younger relatives.

The process also has a geographical dimension, for, in his sample of Ghanaian secondary school students, Foster found that no more than 40% of his respondents were still living at their place of birth (Foster, 1965, p. 244). Studies of the composition of urban, and particularly elite, households in West Africa have generally revealed the presence of children of poorer, rural relatives, who exchange their domestic services for the opportunity to attend school in town (see, e.g., Fortes, Steel and Ady, 1947, p. 164; Banton, 1957, p. 207; Fraenkal, 1964, pp. 115-116; Lloyd, 1967a, pp. 142-144).

The present survey shows that school children in Sierra Leone are also often supported by people other than their own parents; and this help includes not only the provision of accommodation, but also other forms of educational assistance. Thus be-
fore leaving school, 62% of the respondents had lived in a non-
parental household, and a further 8% had boarded at school,
leaving only 30% who had never been separated from their parents
while at school. The proportion of Creoles who had lived only
in their parental home or boarded while at school is more than
twice that of Provincials (i.e. 56% as against 25%). Also 59% of
the sample had received other kinds of educational assistance
from private individuals other than their own parents, such as
full or partial payment of fees, buying of books and uniforms,
and so on; and again there was a similar difference between
Creoles and Provincials. Of those respondents who received
little help from individuals other than their own parents, 45%
were on scholarships, compared with only 30% of the rest of the
sample; and it is possible that without such scholarships some
of these respondents might either have had to leave school, or
to gain further assistance from a wider circle of relatives.
Either way, the proportion of respondents receiving such help
would be raised.

In summary, only about one quarter of the sample (46% of
Creoles and only 12% of Provincials) received no help in the
form of fee payment, accommodation, or other encouragement from
Private individuals other than their own parents; and of this
quarter, rather less than half were on scholarships. So only
14% of respondents were completely dependent on their parents for
support while at school, this number being composed of 27 Creoles
(particularly females) and eight Provincials.

412.
On the other hand, despite the extent of outside assistance, parents seem to have remained primarily responsible for their own children. Thus, in answering the question: "Who gave you most encouragement while you were attending school?", 68% of respondents mentioned their parents. This constituted 62% of all replies to this question, the remaining responses being 14% for uncles and aunts, 10% for brothers and sisters, 7% for grandparents, 4% for other relatives and 3% for non-relatives.

It appears that in only about 20 cases (i.e. 8% of the total) did some person other than a parent take complete responsibility for a child's schooling, accommodation and so on, such cases usually being explicable by the death of one or both parents, separation of the parents, or sending of the child to be reared by an educated elder sibling. It is much more common to find parents sharing the responsibility for educating their children with other relatives. Thus of children who lived in foster homes for at least part of their secondary school careers, about 50 - or just over two fifths - had their parents contributing to their fees. And about half-a-dozen of the children living at home during this period had someone other than their parents paying the bulk of their secondary school fees, though it is more usual to find such people paying the low primary fees "as a gesture".

Table 5.2 shows that many respondents had several people helping with their education, suggesting the dispersal of responsibility among parents and others.1 There is, however, a

---

1 A number of points should be noted about this table. First—
TABLE 5.2: Research worker’s estimate of the number of people helping respondents with their education by tribe; and respondents’ own estimates of the number of people helping them with their education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>No. of people helping</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials born in Western Area</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials born in other Provinces</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents’ own estimates</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

significant difference in this between Creoles and Provincials:

thus whereas 55% of Creoles had only one or two helpers, usually

ly, the nature and duration of the "help" can vary greatly. In some cases it can mean complete responsibility for a child’s education, and in other cases only the occasional buying of clothes, or other presents. It seems likely that only some of the respondents will have bothered to mention this latter kind of assistance. Secondly, it should not be assumed that when one or two helpers only are mentioned that these are necessarily the parents of the child. Thirdly, my own estimate of the number of helpers is larger than the respondents’ own estimates mainly because I included guardians with whom they had stayed while attending school, but who had not otherwise helped them with their education. The respondents may have excluded them either because of the stress on educational assistance in the wording of the question, or because they had not been on very good terms with these guardians, and felt that they had not done enough to help.
their parents, and less than one quarter had four or more helpers, only 21% of Provincials born outside the Western Area had only one or two helpers, and slightly over a half had four or more. Among Provincials, those born in the Western Area and those whose fathers had Western education seemed more likely to have fewer helpers. For example, of those Provincials whose fathers went to school, 40% had only one or two helpers, compared with 18% of those with illiterate fathers.

Much of this help appears directed specifically to assisting children in their educational careers. It should not be assumed, however, that this sharing of responsibility for rearing children is a new phenomenon in Africa, arising only in response to Western educational opportunities, nor should it necessarily be viewed as a pathological symptom indicating the breakup of the family. Fostering of children is a traditional and widespread institution in West Africa, being found from Timbuctoo to Ghana, and from Nigeria to Sierra Leone. In fact, educational fostering appears to be a successful adaption of a traditional institution to meet a modern need, and indicates the continuing vitality rather than disintegration of the extended family system.

1 For Timbuctoo, see Miner, (1953, pp. 132-4, 154-5); for Ghana, see Goody (1966 and 1970); and for Nigeria, see Nadel (1942, p. 399) and Marris (1961, pp. 56-66).

In Sierra Leone, fostering is found in most major tribes; and has been recorded among the Mende (Little, 1951, pp. 115-6); Temne (Dorjahn, 1958, p. 842; Gamble, 1963a, pp. 214, 215, 220, 224; Gamble, 1963b, p. 259); Limba (Finnigan, 1965, p. 79); and Fula (Butcher, 1964, p. 129).

Fostering is also found among the people of African descent living in the West Indies. See, for example, Smith (1965, pp. 104, 123, 143-4); and Clarke (1957, pp. 147-81).
It has been noted, however, that fostering is not practised in all West African societies; and the hypothesis has been put forward that institutionalized fostering will not be found in segmentary societies, i.e. those societies such as the Tallensi and LoWiili which are based on strong patrilineal descent groups, and which usually lack a centralized form of government (J. and E. Goody, 1967). Thus, for example, the Tallensi believe that: "a child's natural parents are the right people to rear it, educate it, and control it"; and that they follow this maxim in practice is shown by Fortes' survey of 170 Tallensi children, 78% of whom were living with both parents, 20% with one natural and one proxy parent, and only 2% of whom were orphans, cared for by more distant kin (Fortes, 1949a, p. 136). Among the Fanti of Southern Ghana, on the other hand, where strong unilineal descent groups are absent, E. Goody found that 32% of the children in her sample were fostered (Goody, 1966, p. 31).

It is necessary to look briefly at what is meant by fostering, and some of the difficulties of applying this term in the African situation. Children who are fostered are reared by people other than their natural parents, but only certain of the rights and duties of parentage are delegated to the foster parents, the real parents, or their representatives (e.g. the government), retaining the residue, unlike adoption, in which the adopting parents take over total responsibility for the adopted child. Thus in the case of fostering, rights and duties over the child are usually shared between real and foster parents, with the former usually retaining the ultimate responsibility (see Goody,
As has already been pointed out, this seems to be the case with educational fostering in Sierra Leone.

Because of its origins in the Western social context, the term fostering has several culturally specific overtones which must be shed before applying it to the African situation. In the first place, the term may imply that it is "normal" - in either the ethical or statistical sense - for children to be brought up by their "real parents"; and that for a child to be reared by someone else is a deviation from such a normal pattern. But the assumption that parents have an exclusive claim to "their" children may be incorrect in many non-Western societies. When kinship bonds are strong, children may be thought of as belonging to the lineage or kindred generally, rather than to the parents alone - i.e. other members of the extended family may also have claims on them. Either the extended family as a whole, as in the traditional Yoruba compound, or particular members of it, as among the Gonja, may have rights to participate in rearing them (Marris, 1961, p. 56; Goody, 1970, pp. 53-58). As mentioned above, such sharing of responsibility is a characteristic feature of fostering in any social context; but diffusion of these right among many members of the extended family is characteristic of traditional African fostering.

A special variation of this is found in matrilineal societies, where the mother's brother may have a stronger claim to a child than the father. If then, in a matrilineal society, a child is reared by his mother's brother - i.e. his proper guardian -
is this the same thing as fostering in a society which accepts the parents as the proper guardians?\textsuperscript{1} A further complication for the concept of fostering is raised by those societies which practise what anthropologists call "duolocal residence". For example, among the matrilineal Ashanti, a husband and wife may continue to live separately in their own lineage compounds after marriage, with the wife cooking for her husband in her own compound, and sending the food to his house, and the children eating in the father's house but sleeping in the mother's (Fortes, 1949b, pp. 63-64). In such cases where the parents often do not establish a permanent joint household, it would be impossible to think of fostering as a deviation from a normal pattern of children being reared in a nuclear family consisting of parents and their children.

A second major difference between Western and African fostering is that whereas Western fostering is generally thought to have undesirable social consequences, this is not necessarily true of African fostering. Because it is the norm in Western societies that children should be reared within the parental nuclear family, it can be assumed that fostering only occurs as a result of some family crisis, such as parental death or divorce. Not only is it generally believed that the crisis itself will have unfortunate effects on the children, but that at best foster parents are inadequate substitutes for "real parents". Broken homes are believed to be a cause of emotional inadequacy, juven-

\textsuperscript{1} This occurs among the Longude of Northern Nigeria, for example, among whom a boy goes to live with his mother's brother as soon as he is old enough to herd goats, though a girl stays with her parents and until she gets married (Mair, 1969, p. 117).
ile delinquency, divorce, and so on. In Africa, on the other hand, fostering is seen to have many positive, beneficial features for the rearing of children. It is not merely a last resort when, because of some family crisis, the parents are unable to fulfill their "proper" roles. Fostering may not then have the unfortunate consequences for children associated with it in the West; and the frequency of fostering among school children need not necessarily be thought of as a pathological symptom of the breakup of the (nuclear) family, but rather as a continuation of a traditionally institutionalized practice which indicates the remaining vitality of the (extended) family. Indeed the tradition of shared responsibility for children in the extended family may be functional for the more efficient utilization of the modern educational system in that it provides a precedent for the mobilization of the resources of the extended family to help its younger members. This seems to be an example of a traditional social institution being successfully adapted to meet new needs, and to allow the population to take better advantage of new opportunities presented by modern society.

E. Goody shows that among the Gonja of Northern Ghana adults who had been fostered did not seem to have more emotional or other problems than those who had not been fostered (Goody, 1970, pp. 65-72). Marris, however, seems to think that fostering will necessarily have undesirable social consequences: for example, it may impair the ability to form "satisfactory" social relationships in later life (Marris, 1961, pp. 64-65).

It seems possible that as fostering becomes more instrumentally oriented towards helping children with their education, it will lose some of its expressive anchorage in the kinship system, and more problems will arise. Such problems are mentioned by Busia (1950, pp. 84-100) and Goody (1966, pp. 32-33).

In most cases in the present sample, however, fostering does
Traditional and modern causes of fostering.

We may now turn to an examination of some of the traditional causes of fostering in West Africa, and the extent to which they are still relevant today. Traditional causes of fostering are many, but for convenience they may be grouped into seven main categories, named as follows: crisis fostering; fostering for emotional reasons; system-maintenance fostering; alliance fostering; pawning; fostering to redistribute domestic services; and educational fostering. These categories, however, are not analytically exclusive, let alone empirically exclusive. In any particular case of fostering a number of causes may coincide, especially if the various parties to the arrangement differ in their motives. For example, parents may foster their child to improve its educational chances, whereas the foster parents may be more interested in acquiring the child's domestic services. And, intentionally or unintentionally, an alliance between the two families will be created or maintained. The causes of fostering will now be examined in greater detail.

not appear to involve major problems; thus 70% of respondents who had been fostered said that they had been well treated by their foster parents, while the rest were equally divided between those who said that their treatment had been unfair and those who said that it had been variable. The major cause of complaint was overwork, which accounted for half of all complaints, followed by insufficient food, especially if this involved discrimination between themselves and other children in the house.

Goody notes five reasons for fostering, which partially overlap with the categories used here, namely: (1) redistribution of the social and economic services of the child; (2) education and training; (3) giving the child a social advantage; (4) system-maintenance; and (5) crisis fostering. The main differences are that I have merged her second and third categories, and added emotional fostering and pawning. Also I have divided the system-maintenance category into "alliance fostering" and "system-maintenance proper". (See Goody, 1966 and 1970).
1. Crisis Fostering.

Perhaps most obviously, fostering may result from a family crisis, such as the death of one or both parents, parents not being married, being separated or divorced, or the geographical mobility of parents. A distinction may be made between a "real crisis", particularly the death of both parents, which would make adoption inevitable, and a "socially-defined" crisis, such as the death of one parent, or the geographical mobility of parents, in which it would be possible for the child to go on living with at least one parent, but for some reason fostering is thought a better alternative (see Goody, 1966, pp. 29-30; 1970, pp. 58-59). Thus among the Gonja, for example, it may be thought disgraceful for a boy to stay in the house of his stepfather; that a dead or divorced mother's co-wives would not take proper care of her children; or generally, that step-parents and step-children are better separated because of the tensions inherent in such relationships (Goody, 1966, p. 30; 1970, p. 61); and similar beliefs are held among the Yoruba and Songhoi (Marris, 1961, p. 57; Miner, 1953, pp. 138-9, 149-150). Under these circumstances, if one parent dies, or if the parents separate, it may be thought preferable for a child to be fostered rather than to stay with one real and one step-parent. As mentioned above, most fostering in industrialized societies is of this crisis variety, but this is not necessarily so in African societies; and we will now go on to examine some other reasons for fostering children in Africa.
2. **Fostering for emotional reasons.**

Sometimes fostering can be a result of personal feelings of either affection or animosity between a child and various of its relatives. It was suggested above that certain structural tensions tend to arise when a child's mother dies or leaves home, and the child passes into the care of a step-mother. Such tensions may manifest themselves in some standardised form, such as accusations of mistreatment and even witchcraft or poisoning against the step-mother. For example, it has been reported that Yoruba children feel that their father's wives will try to poison them, especially if their own mother is dead, or for some other reason not there to protect them (Izzett, 1955). This may sometimes cause children to run away from home to live with other relatives.

Affection as well as animosity may be a cause of fostering. It has been noted by previous writers that foster parents often explain their taking of a particular child in terms of the special love they hold for it or its parents (Marris, 1961, p. 58; Goody, 1966, p. 29). When individuals have been happily fostered themselves in childhood, they often express a desire to rear one of their foster parent's children as a sign of gratitude, and to maintain the intimacy of the relationship. As a result there is considerable continuity in the relationships formed through fostering.\(^1\) The child's own preferences are also sometimes important in deciding with whom he will live. Thus a Creole

---

\(^1\) Caldwell also makes a rather similar point (1965, pp. 189–92).
girl in the present sample claimed that at the age of five years she went to live with a female cousin just because she liked her — but the fact that her parents were not married may also have played some part — while some older Provincial boys seem to have trekked round from one relative to the next in search of one who would help them with their education. Thus children as well as adults have a say in deciding with whom they live; and in the last resort they may "vote with their feet" by running away from home.

3. **System-maintaining fostering.**

In some forms of kinship structure, fostering may result from the logic of the system. For example, as mentioned above, in a matrilineal society with virilocal residence, children will usually have to return at some stage to the home of their maternal uncle. It has been suggested above that to call this "fostering" may be rather misleading, as the maternal uncle has a stronger claim to his sister's children that the father; but for convenience this will be referred to as "system-maintaining fostering".

As there are no matrilineal tribes in Sierra Leone, this type of fostering would appear to be irrelevant to the present study. It has been reported, however, from the Mende (McCulloch, 1950, pp. 18-9, 45), the Temne (Gamble, 1963a, pp. 214, 224; and 1963b, p. 259), and the Limba (Finnegan, 1965, p. 75) that children are often brought up by their matrilineal relatives; and at least for the Mende it has been suggested that this might be a survival from an earlier matrilineal system.¹ There does appear to be a

¹ See McCulloch (1950, p. 18), quoting Migeod (1926) and Crosby (1937).
special relationship between a man and his mother’s brother among the Mende, but this need not be interpreted as a matrilineal survival. Rather it should be seen as part of a wider system of social relationships linking together two families, strengthening the bonds formed by the marriage of the child’s parents.

4. **Alliance fostering.**

This brings us to the fourth reason for fostering children - to strengthen social relationships. Whereas system-maintaining fostering is an integral part of the logic of the kinship system, maintaining, for example, the structure of the descent groups in society, alliance fostering is the result of pragmatic individual decisions aimed at strengthening particular social relationships. Anthropologists have spent much time and ink in analysing how the exchange of women between descent groups can constitute an alliance; but less has been written on how the exchange of other personnel, for example children, can perform a similar function. Among the Nupe, for example, friends bring up each other’s children “to increase friendship” (Nadel, 1942, p. 399); and a Yoruba describes the exchanging of children between friends as “a traditional custom, .......... It strengthens our love” (Plotnicov, 1967, pp. 99-100).

When the foster-child is a girl, the alliance functions

---

1 For example, a man may inherit from his mother’s brother, especially his wives and daughters; he may be called the slave of his mother’s brother, and be pawned by him; and the curse of the mother’s brother is feared more than the father’s (Little, 1951, pp. 39, 110, 111; McCulloch, 1950, pp. 18-19).

2 The classical refutation of this fallacy on the mother’s brother is to be found in the work of Radcliffe-Brown (1924).

3 Similarities in the circulation of women and children have also been noted in Goody and Goody (1967) and Goody (1970, p. 62).
of fostering and marriage may be combined. Thus among the Ga of Southern Ghana a man may foster the daughter of a close friend, pay all the expenses of rearing her, and, if she consents, eventually marry her (Mair, 1969, p. 122); while among the Nupe a foster-daughter may be married to the son of her foster-father (Nadel, 1942, p. 399). In Sierra Leone the Temne appear to have a similar practice whereby infant betrothal may sometimes involve the girl being brought up in the home of her future husband (Thomas, 1916, p. 94); and this may also happen with prospective brides for Mende chiefs (Little, 1951, p. 115).

Unlike marriage, however, fostering is usually practised within the extended family. In this case, fostering can be seen as part of a more general pattern of kinship obligations, and its practice will selectively strengthen kinship ties. In most cases this alliance function of fostering may be latent rather than manifest, it being taken for granted that a well-off person should help the children of his poorer relatives; but it may show up more clearly when the principle is breached rather than when it is upheld. Illfeelings are often expressed against relatives who failed to help children with their education, particularly after the death of their fathers; and in some cases this appears to have caused a split in the family. Several respondents in the present sample reported that relatives had taken care of them "to please my father", or "to help the family", and others said that relatives paid their school fees "as a gesture", presumably towards family solidarity.

425.
5. Pawning.

A fifth reason why children may be reared by people other than their own parents is because they have been pawned as security for debts incurred by their parents or other relatives. In such cases they would usually go to live with the creditor, the acquisition by him of their domestic and other services being considered as interest on the debt. Among the Yoruba, a father's primary aim in pawning a child may not be to actually raise a loan but rather to establish an alliance with an influential patron.\(^1\)

A Tallensi father may pawn his daughter for a loan, which thereafter may be considered the first instalment of her bride price (Fortes, 1949a, pp. 136-9). Pawning was previously found among some of the tribes in Sierra Leone (see, e.g., Little, 1951, pp. 39, 110-111); but presumably it is of little significance today.

6. Redistribution of domestic and other services.

A sixth reason why children are fostered is to redistribute their domestic and other services between households, and especially between households with many children and those with few. Traditionally in the village, a man's social position is directly related to the amount of land he farms, and this in turn is dependent on the size of the labour force at his command - particularly in terms of women, children and other dependents in his household. But the composition as well as the size of the household is also important, for there is usually a division of labour between members according to age and sex. For example, men "brush" or prepare the farms, women plant and weed them, and both sexes partic-

\(^1\) This was a personal communication from Prof. Morton-Williams.
pate in the harvest. Sometimes it may be taboo for members of one sex to do essential tasks performed by the other, thus making single sex households unviable. Young children at first work mainly with their mothers, though boys will later take on more masculine roles; and there are also certain tasks which are especially associated with children, such as scaring birds away from the crops and fetching water (Dorjahn, 1958, p. 843). Thus children are an important part of the domestic labour force, performing many necessary tasks around the house or on the farm. However, children are not desired only for the work they can do, but also for emotional reasons – as is said in the West Indies, "they gladden the home" (Clarke, 1957, pp. 175-180). Households without children are considered very unfortunate, and children will be redistributed to remedy this.

There are a number of reasons why a traditional household might be short of labour. Some of these are temporary, caused, for example, by the seasonal fluctuation in the demand for labour (Jedrej, 1969); or the stage of the household in its developmental cycle. In such cases fostering may be used to even out differences between households, as among the Fulani where children and youths are passed from the older, more populous households to those at an earlier stage of their developmental cycle (Stenning, 2)

1 For a detailed examination of the division of labour among the Sewa Mende, see Jedrej (1969).
2 In some pastoral societies, for example, only women are allowed to milk. As the Fulani say: "The men own the cattle, and the women own the milk" (Butcher, 1964). See also Stenning (1966), and Evans-Pritchard (1951, pp. 130-31; 1940, p. 22).
The traditional, long-term solution to such a shortage of labour, however, is for the head of the household to take more wives. This immediately increases the number of female workers available, but the long-term effect of the addition of children to the household is probably more important.

The inability of some households to reproduce themselves is more permanent, however, resulting from sterility or old age; and in these cases fostering may be the only solution. Among the Temne, a childless couple will usually be given some young children by their relatives, so that they do not become "discouraged" (Dorjahn, 1958, p. 842). Old people - and especially old women living on their own - are also given children for companionship as well as to help with small household chores (Goody, 1970, p. 61; Harris, 1961, p. 56; Plotnicov, 1967, pp. 99-100). One of the respondents in the present survey, who was brought up by his grandmother from the age of three years until he entered secondary school at the age of 14, reported that his parents had sent him to stay with her "out of sympathy, for she had no child with her."

No doubt, as with the little girl living with her grandmother in a short story by Abioseh Nicol, he was expected "to do the things an old woman wanted a small child for: to run and take messages to the neighbours, to fetch a cup of water from the earthenware pot in the kitchen, to sleep with her and to be fêndled" (Nicol, 1966, pp. 113-119).

---

1 According to Jedrej: "Mobility of children as regards their effective domestic group and residence is a common characteristic of the Sewa Mende society which has the usual effect of evening out the ratio of children among various families which, in view of the high rate of infertility among women, would otherwise be extreme" (Jedrej, 1969, pp. 121-122).
Help and companionship for the elderly may have been an important cause of fostering among the 12% of respondents in the present sample who had lived for some time with their grandparents, as well as among those who stayed with other older relatives.

The situation in the urban household is rather different, for, unlike its rural counterpart, it is a unit of consumption but not usually of production; and thus a large family may be an economic liability rather than an asset. Despite a reduction in the demand for labour, however, a number of factors have combined to make child-labour of continuing importance, and its lack a cause of fostering. In the first place, the urban household tends to

---

1 It may be noted, however, that in this case there is also an alliance motive, for the father says to the grandmother: "There will always be this bond of love and affection between us, and I don't wish to share it with others. It is our private affair and that is why I've left my daughter with you." (Nicol, 1965, p. 114).

Similar motives for fostering are also found in the West Indies. As mentioned above, Jamaicans want children "to gladden the home". But according to Clarke: "the wish to have children is not purely sentimental. They are extremely useful in the home and from a very early age are made to perform a number of small household duties. There is also a belief that children are an insurance against parents' old age" (Clarke, 1957, p. 175).

In British Guiana, Smith reports that a grandmother "asked that the first child be allowed to go and live with her because she wanted a companion and help around the house" (Smith, 1965, p. 123).

2 Caldwell found that about one quarter of his sample of elite Ghanaians mentioned help in the house as one of the benefits of a large family, this being the second most common reply after help for parents in sickness and old age (Caldwell, 1968, pp. 53-54).
be smaller and to have fewer natural children than its rural counterpart. Polygyny is less common and intense; and women in town — especially those of higher socio-economic status — tend to have slightly fewer children than village women (Caldwell, 1968, pp. 38-9, 171, 189-213). In particular it has been suggested that Creoles and Americo-Liberians have a lower birthrate than the surrounding tribal peoples (Banton, 1957, pp. 102-3; Freankal, 1964, pp. 120-22); and this might partially explain their willingness to foster Provincial children. Secondly, urban children, and especially those of elite parents, tend to be primarily engaged in academic studies rather than household chores. Thirdly, urban wives, including those of the educated elite, usually wish to work outside the home, and hence need extra help with their household duties — particularly the care of younger children. Fourthly, the urban household tends to be geographically isolated from other members of the extended family, who might provide alternative sources of domestic assistance. Finally the ban on polygyny in educated Christian households prevents the expansion of the domestic labour force by this traditional expedient; and in any case this would be a costly solution in the urban situation. Some men have "outside wives" and children, which may solve some of the problems of childlessness, though it does not help with the labour shortage, for the wives must be housed separately. The most effective solution seems to be the substitution of the domestic labour of foster-children or wards for that of wives and

---

1 The evidence on Creole birthrate has been questioned by Porter (1963, pp. 75-6).
2 For the importance of employment among elite wives, see Little (1966, pp. 143-158) and B. Lloyd (1966, p. 165).
natural children; and this may partly explain the popularity of the "housemaid system" in Southern Ghana and Western Nigeria, and the "ward system" among the Creoles and America-Liberians.

7. Educational fostering.

The final reason why children may be fostered is to improve their educational chances. It should be noted that this is also a traditional motive for fostering children, though it has gained new impetus from the introduction of Western schools. For the present purposes this category may be sub-divided into four sub-categories, namely (1) discipline; (2) training in specific skills; (3) cultural resocialization; and (4) formal education. These will be examined in turn.

A Fula boy in the present sample reported that at the age of three years he had been sent to stay with his father's brother because his own father loved him too much. The idea that a child's own parents will spoil it, and that therefore it would benefit from the stricter discipline of some more distant relative, seems prevalent in West Africa, having been reported for the Mende (Little, 1951, p. 115), the Yoruba (Marris, 1961, pp. 59-62), the Gonja (Goody, 1970, pp. 60-61) and the people of Southern Ghana (Busia, 1950, p. 91). It would appear that in these societies the parental role is believed to approximate more closely to that of the "indulgent grandparent" rather than to that of the "strict parent" (See Radcliffe-Brown, 1940).

---

1 Peterson discusses how Creole farmers in the 19th century adapted farming to monogamy by the substitution of apprentice labour for that of a plurality of wives (Peterson, 1969, pp. 273-274). See also Banton (1957, p. 103).

2 References for this will be provided below.
Opposite beliefs, however, have been reported from some other West African societies: among the Tallensi, for example: "boys seem to be less amenable to proxy parents than to their own parents, especially as they approach adulthood" (Fortes, 1949a, p. 140); and in Timbuctoo: "the Songhoi practice of having foster and grandparents rear children results in less strenuous disciplinary measures being taken. Real fathers are the persons whose discipline is feared" (Miner, 1953, p. 139). Possibly this is a corollary of the hypothesis of J. and E. Goody on the relationship between descent systems and fostering: in societies with strong patrilineal descent groups, the father, or at least one of his brothers, should be the one to rear his own children; but when the authority of the descent group is lacking he is seen as too indulgent, and hence an outsider is thought to be a more effective guardian. In addition, the exchanging of children in societies with strong unilineal descent groups may tend to weaken these units, which are the basic building-blocks of such societies, while in societies lacking strong unilineal descent groups, fostering creates alliances which help to hold together these societies which lack the integration which would be provided by such groups. Or, to use Fortes' terms, in societies of the latter type, fostering serves to strengthen the woof of society, when the warp of strong lineage organisation is absent. This, however, is very tentative; and requires much fuller investigation.
At quite a young age children may go to live with other people, either relatives or non-relatives, who can teach them specific skills. Apprentices to various trades, especially traditional trades such as carpentry, metal work and tailoring, tend to live with their masters, and act as household servants as well as apprentices to their trade. This pattern has been reported from many parts of West Africa, including Sierra Leone. With reference to such apprenticeships, Peil notes the following:

"Very few craftsmen were trained by their fathers or siblings, even in cases where they had the relevant skills. The same principle seems to apply here as in the fostering of children; there is a feeling that better discipline will be maintained and hence better training given if the supervisor is not a member of the immediate family" (Peil, 1972, p. 49).

The "housemaid system" was traditionally meant to give young girls a training in housewifely skills, though in many cases today it may be exploited as a source of cheap domestic labour (Busia, 1950, pp. 34-37; Goody, 1966, pp. 27, 32; Goody, 1971b, pp. 238-239; and Little, 1951, pp. 115-116).

It has been noted, for example, with reference to Ibadan (Callaway, 1967, pp. 161, 166-167); Accra (Peil, 1970, pp. 139, 147-149); the Nupe (Nadel, 1942, pp. 266, 268, 278, 299); and the people of Southern Ghana (Goody, 1966, p. 32; Goody, 1970, p. 62; Goody, 1971b, p. 238). Nadel notes, however, that fostering is not associated with some apprenticeships, such as those for glass makers and barbers; and Goody notes that it is not common among the Gonja.

For Sierra Leone examples, see Dorjahn (1967, pp. 159-160); and Jedrej (1969, pp. 121-122).
Fostering may also be used to improve a child's skill in languages, and especially in Sierra Leone to give it the opportunity to learn English or Krio, either as an end in itself, or as a step towards further education. Thus in the present sample, a Mende boy from Moyamba District told me that though his father was headman of his village, and a bit better off than his neighbours, he was only a poor, illiterate farmer, and his mother could not even speak Krio. His father, however, was a select man with better ideas, and so he sent the respondent when aged five years to a Mende storekeeper on York Island so that he could learn Krio before going to school. After several years attending primary school on York Island, he moved to Freetown where his brother, a clerical worker, became responsible for him. Even among illiterates, especially young men, the inability to speak Krio is taken as a sign of backwardness, and the wish to learn Krio is sometimes given as the reason for migrating to Freetown (Finnegan, 1965, p. 131; Little, 1951, pp. 264-265). To illustrate their previous lack of sophistication, such migrants may point out that when in their home villages they could not even speak Krio!

Another category of educational fostering is what has been called "cultural resocialisation". In these cases children may be attached to foster-parents in a group considered to be socially or culturally superior to their own parents; and it is hoped that the children will thereby be resocialised in the culture of the supposedly superior group, and also acquire social contacts within it. Traditional examples of this are found in 434.
Buganda and Dagomba, where children may be sent to be brought up at the royal court: not only will this allow them to absorb the culture of the court, but also to establish politically influential connections (Goody, 1970, pp. 61-62).

Of particular interest here is the rearing of Provincial children by Creoles in Sierra Leone and Americo-Liberians in Liberia. In sending their children to be reared by Creoles, Provincial parents in Sierra Leone hoped not only that their children would be able to attend school, but also that they would become "civilised". Eventually such children might become completely Creolized, and hence absorbed by the Creole community. In fact it was through such a combination of formal and informal education that the Creole community was first created from the diverse peoples who settled in Freetown at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries; and the Creoles continued to recruit new members by these methods from the indigenous tribes until after World War I. Similarly in Monrovia: "the acceptance of tribal children as wards has long been considered a Christian duty by Americo-Liberians" (Fraenkel, 1964, pp. 115-122). In this way the Creoles and Americo-Liberians spread "civilisation", consisting mainly of Christianity and Western education, to the indigenous tribes; and at the same time acquired a useful supply of domestic labour. As a method of spreading civilisation, however, this tended to be rather self-defeating, for the provincials who became civilised were absorbed by the Creole or Americo-Liberian communities, and thus did not act effectively as intermediaries feeding back their newly acquired civilisation to their fellow
As Banton summarises the position:

"Once the native youth who aspired to a respected position in the service of the Government or of a European firm would change his name and pass himself as a Creole. Many Protectorate people, seeking an education for their children, placed them in Creole families as wards. Often the children came to value their association with these families, and frequently they were brought up to be ashamed of their native ancestry, so that on attaining maturity many wards assumed the surname of the family in which they had been living and aligned themselves with the Creoles. Beginning about the time of the First World War, however, a few native youths retained clerical positions without turning Creole, and today passing into this group has ceased" (Banton, 1957, pp. 103-104).

Some other variations of fostering for cultural reasons may also be found. Cross-cultural fostering may be practised to broaden a child's experience, and perhaps teach him a language, without the intention that he should be socially or culturally mobile from one group to the other. Fostering may also be practised to preserve a group's culture: for example, individuals who migrate, particularly from such highly mobile groups as the Creoles, the Fulani and the British in Sierra Leone, may send their children home to be fostered so that they will be brought up in their own cultural environment. As discussed above, this may also be seen as fostering in response to a socially-defined crisis.

Children also leave home for the purposes of more formal education; and even this is not new in Sierra Leone. Particularly in the Southern parts of Sierra Leone and in neighbouring Liberia, most youths between the age of 10 and 20 years would leave

---

1 For an autobiographical account of this process from the point of view of a Creole, see Wellesley-Cole (1960, especially pp. 43-44, 53). See also Porter (1963, pp. 37, 63-64).
home to enter the Poro society bush for initiation, and traditionally they might stay in this so-called "bush school" for up to three, or even six, years, depending on their age and status.¹ The sons of chiefs, for example, might stay in the initiation bush for longer than the sons of commoners, and might even travel from areas where the Poro was weak to be initiated in areas where it was better-established. According to Gervis, his informant: "quoted the name of his Poro school as proudly as any Englishman speaks of his public school" (Gervis, 1952, pp. 81-82, 214).

During their time in the bush, not only would the candidates take part in the various ceremonies of initiation, particularly circumcision and scarification, but they were also involved in an educational programme which included elements of practical training, character building and instruction in tribal traditions in a peculiar blend, not unlike that of the Boy Scout Movement.²

¹ For use of the term "Poro school" and descriptions of the functions of the Poro society, see Little (1948; 1949; and 1951, especially pp. 118-130, 240, 247); Harley (1941); Schwab (1964); and Parsons (1964).

² For a schoolboy's eye view of initiation in the Malinke tribe of neighbouring Guineas, see Camara Laye (1955). Another unprofessional, subjective and perhaps suspect source on the initiation school is Gervis (1952).

² It is difficult to estimate the significance of the Poro society among young men in Sierra Leone today. Not all respondents were questioned on this potentially sensitive topic; but from the information available it appears that between one and two thirds of Provincial males in the sample had been initiated into the Poro society, though with a greatly reduced period of training during their school holidays. Other writers have suggested that the Bundu society for women has made a more successful adaptation to modern urban conditions than the modern male Poro society (Little, 1948, pp. 14-15; 1949, pp. 210-212; 1951, pp. 129-130; Banton, 1957, p. 209; Peterson, 1969, pp. 266-267).
Children and young men may also leave home to pursue Islamic studies. Much more often than in the case of children at Western schools, the Islamic scholar may live with his teacher;\(^1\) and a number of the respondents in the present survey had been staying with Arabic teachers, even while attending primary school.\(^2\) More advanced students of the Koran, especially from the Northern Province of Sierra Leone, may trek northwards to study at Futa Jallon and other centres of Islamic learning (see, e.g., Finnegan, 1965, pp. 15-18; Butcher, 1964, pp. 28, 129).

Finally, children may leave home to further their education in Western schools, either going to stay in a boarding school, or with a guardian who can help them with their education. Sometimes, as with Arabic scholars, they go to stay with teachers;\(^3\) but more often they go to stay with relatives who are better placed than their parents—socially, economically or geographically—to help them with their education. This would seem to be a particularly important cause of fostering among respondents in the present survey. No direct attempt was made to assess the relative importance of the various causes of fostering within the sample. Respondents were not, for example, asked why they had been fostered—indeed it is unlikely that many of them could have known.

---

1 This appears to be widespread in West Africa, and has been reported by Nadel (1942, p. 310); Miner (1953, p. 134); Marris (1961, p. 59); Goody (1970, p. 62); Banton (1957, p. 137); and Gamble (1963a, p. 214).

2 A larger number had some Arabic education without actually having lived in the house of their teacher.

3 This has been recorded from several different parts of West Africa. See, for example, Goody (1971b, pp. 238-239) and Marris.
have accurately answered such a question. They are likely to have been too young when the decision was made to understand the contributory factors, or will have forgotten. And in addition it would have been difficult for them to untangle the various motives involved. From the statements made by the respondents who did comment on the reasons for their fostering, however, and from other circumstantial evidence which will be discussed in the next chapter, it does appear that the majority of respondents who left their parental home while still at school had been fostered to improve their educational opportunities. And even among the others who were fostered for more traditional reasons, the practice appears to have had a generally beneficial effect on their education. Evidence on this will be discussed below; and it appears to confirm that, at least within the present sample, the practice of fostering has been functional for the spread of education.¹

Fostering and educational opportunity.

A number of respondents who were fostered for traditional reasons have already been mentioned: thus one was sent to his grandmother as a companion for her, another to his uncle for effective discipline, a third to a cousin because she loved her, and a

---

¹ Of course this conclusion partly results from the nature of the sample. A sample of illiterates would probably reveal many more cases in which fostering had been prejudicial to education.

(1961, pp. 56, 62). In the present sample there were at least 12 respondents, nearly all Provincials, who had stayed for some time with relatives other than their parents who were teachers, and another 7 who had stayed with unrelated African teachers. This excludes the small number who had lived with, or otherwise been cared for, by foreign missionaries, Peace Corps teachers, etc.
fourth to an unrelated man to learn Krio. But even when fostering is for reasons other than educational, it may still affect a child's educational career, either for better or worse. Thus if a child is fostered because of parental death (or for any other non-educational reason), he may either pass into the care of a guardian better able to send him to school than his own parents; or, perhaps at least as likely, one less able or willing to help him.\(^1\) As was seen in Chapter 2, many children have to leave school on the death of their fathers because the relatives who become their foster-parents are unable or unwilling to pay their school fees.

Such fostering for non-educational reasons can also have a beneficial effect on education, however; and this is particularly likely to show up in the present sample of secondary school leavers. Thus, for example, a Mende youth reported that his going to school was \\textit{mere luck}. He was the youngest child of his parents and, when they both died he was adopted by an educated elder brother who sent him to school, while his other older siblings had to fend for themselves. As a result, he achieved a higher level of education than any of them, which would have been unlikely if he had stayed with his parents. A Limba teacher, the son of a farmer from Kamakwie in the Northern Province, was the only one of his 20 siblings to attend school. His father died when he was

\(^1\) For example, Oppong tells us of an educated civil servant in Ghana who had fostered four of his elder brothers' children, and sent them to school, as well as sending four of his own 15 children to school; but two of his own sons, fostered by his elder brother, were kept at home to act as grooms and grass-cutters, despite their father's protestations that they should go to school (Oppong, 1966, p. 23).
only two years old, and his mother, the last of his father’s five wives, came to Freetown to marry his father’s brother, perhaps according to a traditional practice of widow inheritance. When living in Freetown, he was forced to go to school by the neighbours; and so the death of his father in fact had a beneficial effect on his education, as in the previously quoted case. Another Limba, the son of a watchman in Freetown, stated that his younger brothers and sisters were more often at school than the older ones because by the time they were ready to go to school their father had retired, and so was no longer responsible for them. They wrote to a cousin who was a prosperous trader in Kenema District, and he sent their fees, though they continued to live with their father in Freetown.

In another example, a respondent was sent to stay with his elder brother because he was a sickly child, and needed better medical care than was available in his home village; and this probably improved his educational chances. The respondent’s father was an important Imam, an Alhaji, and his mother, a Gambian, he describes as the “Mammy Queen” because, although she was only the second wife of his father, the first was dead. His mother had had twelve children in all, but only two of them had survived — himself and a brother 20 years his senior. This brother returned to Sierra Leone with degrees from top English and American universities to become one of the highest ranking civil servants; and at the age of three years the respondent was sent to him to be educated. The respondent’s own explanation of this was that as he was not strong, his brother, as an educated
man, took him to give him a better chance of survival; and they seemed to have good reason to worry about this, especially as the mother had already lost so many children. It appears that the family did not attribute the death of these children to natural causes alone: they believed that a poisoner had been at work; and later the mother herself was also poisoned. It seems likely that the respondent's sickness was also attributed to poisoning, and that at least part of the reason for his being sent to his brother was to protect him from this. Thus he reported that he considered it impossible for him to go and live in his village, for he feared that he would be poisoned as his mother had been. The reason was that other people were jealous because his brother had grown up to be a ruler. But though this case of fostering may have been motivated mainly by the fear of poisoning, it also had the effect of improving the respondent's educational opportunities, for not only was the brother enthusiastic about education, but he was also in a good financial position to pay for it: not only did he readily pay the fees, but he also "encouraged" the respondent with his education by buying him clothes, a radio, and even a tape-recorder so that he could record the lessons from his teacher.¹

In another case, fostering was precipitated by a combination of positive and negative emotional reasons, stimulated by a

¹ It is possible that the real fear in this case was of witchcraft, but that it was expressed in terms of poisoning to make it more acceptable to the European investigator. It may also be a case of such fears being used as an excuse by a successful member of the family (in this case particularly the brother) to "blast away" or loosen unwanted social relationships with less successful relatives who may have been a financial and social burden. Such a process has been described by Warwick for the Cewa (1965, espes-
socially-defined crisis, and probably also had an educational component. The respondent, a Koranko driver with S.L.S.T., reported that his relatives disliked education greatly, thinking that to send your children to school was to spend a lot of money with no reward; and that it created jealousies within the family between those wives whose children went to school and those whose children did not. Only one of his 19 brothers and sisters had been to school. He only managed to go to school himself because one of his father's brothers, an ex-court messenger living in town, had a special love for him because they bore the same name, and so asked his father if he could take the boy and send him to school.

There also seem to have been some other motives precipitated by the death of the boy's mother when he was still small: food was scarce for the large family, and it was feared that the other wives would not feed him properly. As the boy himself said, he did not live with his father because he was too poor. In addition, his uncle was in a better position to send him to school than his father, particularly because he lived in Makeni, the Northern Provincial capital, and had more acquaintance with officialdom and the advantages of education, even though he himself had never been to school.

ially pp. 146-162, and ch. 9). The respondent's brother had good reason for wanting to "blast away" some of the relatives and others seeking help, for, according to the respondent, he was already paying fees for 15 children in school.

Harrell-Bond, in a paper on poisoning in Sierra Leone, also appears to suggest that the fear of poisoning may be used in this way by elite members "for managing social relationships", especially with their less successful relatives (Harrell-Bond, n.d., pp. 2, 38; and Harrell-Bond, 1972).
In another case the educational component appears to have been rather more important as a cause of fostering, within the general framework of a Creole/Provincial fostering relationship. The respondent, a Kono by tribe, had lived with his uncle while attending primary school in Kono District. A Creole woman used to stay with the respondent's uncle while on trading trips to Kono, and he helped her with her work. When he failed to win a scholarship to secondary school, this woman offered to take him with her to Freetown, and to feed and clothe him, if only his father paid the school fees. Thereafter she became his guardian, and he was still living with her eight years later when he was interviewed. In fact his parents had lately been complaining that he did not send them enough money, but spent all his wages on his guardian, to whom he was obviously very attached. This may possibly be seen as partly a case of alliance fostering, consolidating the business relationship between the woman from Freetown and her Kono landlord, the respondent's uncle; and it would be interesting to know how often the fostering of Provincial children by Creoles was part of such a trading relationship.

Because of the nature of the extended family, various relatives may exercise some influence on a child's educational chances; and, as Oppong points out, the consent of several members of the extended family may have to be obtained before a child could be sent to school in the first place (Oppong, 1966, pp. 19, 23-24). For example, a Tamne boy, who was the first in his family to attend school, reported that this was because of
the native law enjoining one to stay with the elders, and to show them respect. His father had been staying with his elder brother, and did not like to send his children to school in case of creating jealousy, especially as he was in charge of all the family funds. So the respondent's elder brothers missed school. But by the time he himself grew up, this senior uncle was dead, and his own father was head of the compound — so he and his two younger brothers were the first to be sent to school. This involved a great struggle for his father, who had to change from rice to fruit farming, not only because the latter was more likely to yield the cash necessary to pay school fees, but also because, with his sons away at school, he no longer had the labour force necessary to work a rice farm. According to his son, he spent all his time working in the plantation making money for their fees, and had burdened himself with a heavy government loan to start the plantation. Not unnaturally, the son, a clerk at S.L.S.T., felt that he should try to help his father pay back this loan.

Sometimes it is possible to locate a single relative who took the decisive step in sending a child to school. Often this may be the child's father, as in the previous example; but sometimes it may be another relative, as in the case mentioned above in which an uncle who loved his nephew asked that he should be allowed to take him and send him to school. Given the loose and often impermanent nature of many extended and polygynous families, the position of the mother is often crucial; and respondents often told me that whether or not they and their siblings attended school depended on the attitudes of their various mothers.
Some mothers would pay the fees and other expenses themselves, but more often they would enlist the help of their own relatives, particularly their brothers, in this. The son of a Mende farmer reported that his father had not been pleased at him going to school, for he wanted to keep him at home to work on the farm. There were too many children for his father to send them all to school (36 children in all); and so he only wanted to send the ones he loved. The respondent felt that his father did not like him very much. His mother and a primary-educated half-brother supported him at school, however, despite his father's resistance. A Temne clerk said that "natives" did not like to send their children for Christian education, though it paid better, but would only put them to Muslim school. His mother asked that he should be sent to her brother - a labourer in Freetown - so that he could be educated, but his father refused to let him go. So his mother played a trick to get him away: she pretended to be sick and need medical treatment, and on this excuse she took him to Freetown where she left him, at the age of about six years, with his uncle. After this the uncle was completely responsible for him, providing accommodation, paying his fees and other expenses, and so on.

A Creole reported that his parents had agreed that his mother would pay for his elder brother to attend school, while his father would support him; and he came out best from this arrangement, for his brother only reached form III while he himself finished form V. In some cases, when the child's father was dead, or the parents not married or separated, the mother might
enlist the help of her present husband—the child's step-father—on its behalf to assist with educational expenses. Finally, the son of a Muslim Mandingo cash-crop farmer reported that altogether he had 22 siblings, and they were distributed among relatives to be brought up: it was the responsibility of these relatives to decide whether they would go to English or Arabic school. This arrangement resulted in gross discrepancies between the educational levels of his various siblings. This again illustrates how the organisation of the extended family, and particularly the practice of fostering children within it, may influence a child's educational opportunities.

A particularly interesting point to emerge from this part of the study was the extent to which respondents claimed that their own attitudes and actions had influenced their educational advancement. A number of them stated that they themselves had persuaded their parents to send them to school; and had pleaded with them to continue paying their fees when they were reluctant. A Sherbro reported that his father had given all his children the privilege of attending school, but some of them had not bothered, feeling that learning was too hard. He himself had found companions in school who had encouraged him to continue, and he got used to the life. Another said that his brother would not go to school, despite beatings to make him go; and he spent his fees in wasteful ways. This may have been the influence of different mothers. Two brothers of a Fula respondent—the one mentioned earlier who had a brother who was a senior civil servant who fostered him because he was sickly—refused to go to school, not believing in educat-
ion but wanting to work: they told the respondent that an educated man was a foolish man. The brother of a Mende from Bo District had only reached class 1 when he was lured away by the diamond fields. Others preferred farming to studying, at least according to their educated brothers.

This apparent freedom among some children to make up their own minds on whether or not to go to school is a corollary of an educational system in which school attendance is neither compulsory nor universal. The parents, if they themselves are keen on their children attending school, may, in the last resort, beat them to make them go, but there is little external coercion, for example from the government. In addition, some parents are not particularly interested in Western education, or can only afford to send some of their children to school; and in this case the children's own attitudes are likely to be particularly important in deciding which ones will become educated. Given that the children's own attitudes are important, they will be influenced in making up their minds not only by their parents and other relatives, but also by their companions - their peer group. On a number of occasions respondents reported that they first went to school because they followed their friends there; or that their siblings did not go to school because they were distracted by bad companions. For example, a Mende from Kenema District, the son of a poor farmer, had some friends who were going to school before him: he followed them to school and the teacher became interested in him, and so asked his father to send him to school to become a clever boy.
Some respondents even claimed to have paid part of their own school fees. They had various means of raising money. Some had taken up paid employment during the school holidays, one having worked in a school printing press, another in a college library, and a third as a casual porter at a railway station. A Koranko had collected over £30 to pay school and boarding fees for two terms. He earned about half of this by working for Forest Industries at Kenema during the school holidays; and the rest he collected from relatives, some of whom gave him small "dashes", and others goats to sell for himself, while his sisters had sold rice and their gold ornaments to raise money for him.

More commonly boys would raise money through trading. Many had engaged in petty trading, usually on behalf of some female relative or guardian, but for a small minority it was a more serious business, for their school fees depended on the profits. A number had made up bundles of firewood to sell; and others had marketed produce from their own gardens. A Mandingo teacher told how, as a boy, he supported himself completely as a boarder at Bo Government school by selling palm kernels. His father was dead and his uncles, though well-off, would not help him with his education, fearing that he would ignore them if he became "somebody". Only his mother helped him, extracting oil from the palmnuts which he had collected so that it could be sold for a better price. Another boy bought bonga (dried fish) in the port of Bonthe, and sold it for profit in the inland villages of Bo District.
An unemployed Yulunka youth stated that his family did not even know that he had been going to school, for he had not seen any of them for years. Apart from his primary school fees, which had been paid by a District Officer who took pity on him, he had supported himself completely at school, paying for his own fees, rent and food, collecting the necessary money by working for different masters during the holidays and by selling eggs. At the time he was interviewed, he was living in a house full of illegal diamond diggers in Koidu. He made some money by selling hard-boiled eggs in the lorry parks of Koidu, and sometimes he would get "dashes" from his friends. On occasions he would act as sentry for the illegal diamond diggers, but he claimed that the largest amount he had ever made from this source was 50c.!

A Mende respondent appears to have been rather more successful, for he reported that while still at school he used to dig for diamonds illegally during the holidays in his home district of Kenema, and that he sold his haul for £200, which, after the death of both his parents, allowed him to pay school fees for himself and his two brothers. At the time he was interviewed he had just left school, and was waiting for his G.C.E. results, having registered in the meantime with Kenema Labour Exchange. His job prospects, however, did not seem good, and unless he gained entry to a teacher training college he expected to return to his home village in the hope of finding more diamonds, so that he could continue paying school fees for his two younger brothers. Teachers in Yengema, one of the richest diamond areas, and the H.Q. of S.L.S.T., told me that pupils there often paid their fees
from the proceeds of illegal diamond digging, sometimes dug up from the school's own playing fields!

Summary and conclusions.

The main conclusion of this chapter, then, is that in an educational situation as fluid as that of Sierra Leone, where school attendance is neither universal nor compulsory, there is more scope than in industrialized societies for individual or idiosyncratic factors to affect a child's educational chances. In particular, attention was drawn to the importance of attitudes to Western education in such a situation: the attitudes of the child itself, of its parents, and of other members of its extended family. As has just been explained, in such a situation, especially when neither the parents nor the authorities are forcing a child to go to school, and when indeed the parents may be indifferent or even hostile to Western education, the child itself may sometimes be the one to take the vital initiatives affecting its educational career.

The attitudes of its family towards Western education are also an important factor affecting a child's educational opportunities. It should not be assumed that all families are enthusiastic about schooling: especially among the Muslim and traditionally-orientated sections of the population there is sometimes considerable reluctance to send their children to school; and the child from such a background, other things being equal, will experience greater difficulty in obtaining a good education than the child whose family is enthusiastic about education. It appears
that more favourable attitudes to Western education and the demand for schools are only likely to emerge when it is recognised that such education is the passport to occupational and financial success.

Not only family attitudes but also family organisation may influence a child's educational chances. The family should not be viewed as a homogeneous body, having a uniform effect on educational opportunity: it is made up of different branches and different individuals; and these may have different attitudes to Western education, and different levels of resources with which to provide for such education. And because of the nature of the extended family in West Africa, these other relatives may influence a child's educational career, either directly, by participating in rearing it, or indirectly in various other ways. Even when the parents themselves are keen on sending their children to school, they may be discouraged by fear of jealousy or hostility from other members of the extended family - for example, brothers fearing the reaction of brothers, or wives of co-wives - and this may act as a brake on the spread of education. But the extended family can also have a positive effect on education, and, even when parents are unable or unwilling to send their children to school, other relatives may take responsibility for their education.

Special attention was paid to the role of fostering in affecting educational opportunities. It was noted that the fostering of children was a traditional institution in many West
TABLE 5.3: Age on first leaving parents' home by tribe and place of birth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>1 - 5 years</th>
<th>6 -10 years</th>
<th>11 -15 years</th>
<th>16 -20 years</th>
<th>over 20 years</th>
<th>not left</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials born in Western Area</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials born in other Provinces</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

African tribes, which was practised for a number of traditional reasons. Some of these reasons are still relevant causes of fostering; and, if a child is fostered today for a traditional reason, this may affect its educational chances for either better or worse. The child may pass into the hands of a person either less able or less willing to assist with its education than its own parents, in which case it seems that fostering has had a prejudicial effect on education. On the other hand, however, it may pass into the hands of persons either more able or more willing to help with its education than its own parents; and it seems likely that with the increasing recognition of the importance of education, the effects of fostering on education are increasingly being taken into account when parents make decisions about foster-
ing their children. Indeed it appears that the traditional institution of fostering has been widely used quite deliberately to promote the educational interests of children.

From the case studies cited above, however, it appears that both traditional and educational causes of fostering are found in the present sample; and this can be supported by evidence from Table 5.3, in which information on the ages at which respondents first left their parental homes is presented. For example, it can be seen from this that at least 17% of respondents had first left their parental homes before the age of six years; and it seems unlikely that such young children would have been fostered to improve their chances of attending school. It seems more likely that most of these very young respondents were fostered for traditional reasons.¹ On the other hand, however, the majority of respondents who had left home had done so during their school-going years — thus 47% of all respondents had left home between the ages of five and 16 years, which constitutes 61% of the respondents who had ever left home — and it can be assumed that educational motives did play an important part in many of these cases. In addition, although there is little variation in the rate of leaving home before the age of six years, in the

¹ It might be thought that crisis fostering would be most important in these very young cases, but this does not seem to be so. Although children who had lost a parent in the first five years of life were twice as likely to be fostered during this period as those whose parents had survived, the number involved was small, and even among those who had both parents alive, 15% were send to foster homes during this period. Parents not being married or being separated also appeared to have little effect, the child usually continuing to live with its mother. So other traditional causes of fostering are obviously also important.
school-going age groups the rate of leaving home is much higher among Provincials, who are most in need of educational assistance, than among the more privileged Creoles; and it would seem likely that in many of these cases they were being fostered for educat- ional reasons. It appears that in the present sample fostering was mainly favourable to education, either intentionally or unin¬entionally, and that it was part of a wider pattern of education¬al assistance passing from more privileged to less privileged sections of the population. This proposition will be taken up and examined in greater detail in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 6: The pattern of educational assistance.

In this chapter the pattern of educational assistance will be examined in more detailed, statistical terms. The main proposition to be put forward is that, at least within the present sample, the organisation of the extended family has facilitated the spread of education by allowing educational assistance, in the form of accommodation, fee payment, etc., to pass from the more privileged members of the extended family to the children of the less privileged members. This opens up educational opportunities for the children of these less privileged members which would have otherwise been unavailable to them; and thus, as Fraenkal points out, the organisation of the extended family stimulates social mobility (Fraenkal, 1964, p. 219).

In particular, two corollaries of this proposition will be examined in detail. Firstly, it will be suggested that respondents in the sample who received substantial educational assistance from persons other than their parents are likely to come from less privileged geographical and socio-economic backgrounds than respondents who did not receive such assistance. Secondly, it will be suggested that the individuals who gave such educational assistance are likely to be of higher socio-economic status, and thus better able to give financial assistance to the respondents, than their own parents. Another corollary is that in furthering their education respondents are likely to move from smaller settlements, where educational facilities are poor, to larger settlements where such facilities are more likely to be available; but closer examination of at least the second half of this corollary must
wait until Chapter 8.

Particular attention will be paid to the role of fostering in this pattern of educational assistance; and it will be shown that in general respondents passed from the care of lower status parents in small villages to higher status guardians living in larger towns. Such a pattern would be favourable to the expansion of educational opportunities for the children of lower status parents; and it is reasonable to assume that in many of these cases this was the motive for fostering these children. Before going on to examine this proposition in more detail, however, it may be useful to assess the importance of crises as a cause of fostering in the sample.

Crisis fostering.

As mentioned in the last chapter, various family crises, such as parental death, separation or geographical mobility, may cause the fostering of children in West Africa. Firstly, let us consider the death of a parent or both parents as a cause of fostering within the sample. The mortality rate among parents seems quite high, 64 respondents (26%) having lost their father alone, 29 (11%) their mother alone, and 15 (6%) both their parents, leaving 142 (57%) of the respondents with both their parents alive.¹

¹ Parental death rates seem slightly higher among provincials than among creoles, 36% of provincials having lost their fathers and 22% their mothers, compared with equivalent figures of 25% and 11%. The total figures are 32% and 17%. This difference does not seem to be necessarily connected with age. The average age of provincial fathers does seem about three years higher than that of creoles, and more of them are distributed in the higher age categories; but the opposite is true of provincial mothers,
But in estimating the effect of this on the rate of fostering it is necessary to remember that the child's age on the death of the parent will affect the outcome, and should therefore be taken into account. An attempt has been made to do this in Table 6.1.

Despite the inadequacy of the data in this table, it does suggest quite clearly that the death of a single parent does little to increase the rate of fostering, at least in the present sample. Comparison of the ages at which respondents with both parents alive at the time they were interviewed were sent to foster homes with the ages of fostering among those with at least one parent dead shows no statistically significant difference between the two groups. Looking more closely at the figures, taking into account the ages at which parents died, it does appear that there

their average age being six years younger than Creole mothers, and very few of them were in the older age categories - for example, only 19% of the known values of Provincial mothers' ages were above 50 years, compared with 49% for Creole mothers. But, despite this, the mortality rate is higher for both Provincial fathers and mothers than for Creole fathers and mothers. It may be that the cause of death is significantly different for Provincial males and females - for example, males dying more often of old age and females in childbirth - but in any case it is unlikely to be disputed that the main cause of the different mortality rates between Creoles and provincials is to be found in the higher standard of living, and particularly of health facilities in the Freetown area where most of the Creoles live. It is likely, however, that this differential mortality rate plays only a small part in raising the rate of fostering among provincials relative to Creoles.

1 Unfortunately the data on this are even more incomplete than the other data on parental ages. It does suggest, however, that whereas about half of the deceased fathers had died before the respondents were 11 years old, and just under a third before they were six, about two thirds of deceased mothers had died before the respondents were six. This may support the argument that childbirth is one of the most important causes of the death of Provincial mothers; and this is supported by some of the respondents' own statements.

458
TABLE 6.1: Age on death of first parent by age on first leaving parental home.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age on death of first parent</th>
<th>Age on leaving parental home</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 5 years</td>
<td>1-5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age on death</td>
<td>6-15 years</td>
<td>over 15 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29%)</td>
<td>(43%)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29%/15%)</td>
<td>(17%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 15 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age on death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-15 years</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(70%/58%)</td>
<td>(62%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 15 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age on death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 15 years</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(78%/72%)</td>
<td>(72%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age unknown</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age on death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age unknown</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total with at least one parent dead</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age on death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total with both parents alive</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age on death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age on death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Along the diagonal of the table has been inserted the cumulative percentage rate of fostering among all children who had lost at least one parent prior to the expiry of the given age category; and, for comparison, the cumulative percentage rate of fostering among children who had not lost a parent during the same period.

2. In the right hand margin of the table is given a reliable estimate of the number of respondents both of whose parents died in the given age range.

3. Just below this figure is placed the cumulative percentage
is a slight tendency for the fostering rate to increase at the time of a parent's death; and hence to be higher for those with parents dead than for those with both parents alive. Thus 29% of those who had lost a parent before the age of six years had been fostered in this period, compared with only 15% of those who had not lost a parent during this time; 70% of those who had lost a parent before the age of 16 years had been fostered in this period, compared with 58% of those who had not; and 78% of those who had lost a parent at any time before they were interviewed had left home, compared with 72% of those with both parents alive at the time they were interviewed. This seems to show that in each cumulative age category, the rate of fostering tends to be slightly higher among those with at least one parent dead than among those with both parents alive; but that the difference is less marked with increasing age.

It is necessary at this stage, however, to take into account the difference between a "real crisis" - i.e. the death of both parents - and a "culturally-defined crisis", when, for example, only one parent dies, so that it would be theoretically possible for the child to continue living with the surviving parent. Figures for the number of respondents with both parents dead, and estimates of the ages of these respondents at the death rate of fostering among respondents who had lost just one parent - i.e. excluding those who had lost both parents - before the end of the given period, again for comparison with rates of fostering among those whose parents had not died in this period.

No significant difference was found in the rates of fostering between respondents with at least one parent dead and those with both parents alive ($X^2 = 4.62; d.f. = 3; p. = 0.20$).
of their last parent (based on a majority of known values) are
given in the right hand margin of Table 6.1. Obviously these
children had to pass into the care of someone other than their
natural parents; and, therefore, as a matter of definition,
they were "adopted" rather than "fostered". The total numbers
are small (15) compared with the much larger number of respond¬
ents who were fostered in less extreme circumstances, and who
should interest us more because of the cultural element involved
in their fostering.

The figures in Table 6.1 indicated that those who had
lost a parent in any age group were slightly more likely to be
fostered than those who had not lost a parent during the same per¬
iod. If this variation is statistically significant at all, the
explanation for it can be either a real crisis - i.e. the death
of both parents - or a socially-defined crisis, as when one par¬
et dies, and the culture of the society gives an unfavourable
interpretation to the child continuing to live with the surviving
parent. Calculation of rates of fostering among those respond¬
ents who lost one parent only shows them to be no higher than among
those with both parents alive. Thus 17% of respondents who had
lost one parent only before the age of six years had been foster¬
ed in this period, compared with 15% who had not lost a parent in
this period; 62% of those who had lost one parent only before
the age of 16 years had been fostered in this period, compared
with 56% of those who had not lost a parent in this period; and,
in total, 72% both of those who had ever lost a single parent and
of those who had both parents alive when interviewed had left home

461.
at some time before their interview. Corresponding figures for those fostered with either one or both their parents dead are 29%, 70% and 78%, as can be seen from Table 6.1. From these figures it can be seen that the slightly higher rates of fostering among respondents with parents dead compared with those with both parents alive are due entirely to the effects of "real crises" - i.e. they result from the deaths of both parents, which necessitate the respondents passing into the care of other people. At least in the present sample, the death of a single parent does not seem to raise the rate of fostering; and hence the cultural definition of this as a crisis does not seem to be an important factor causing fostering.

It was thought possible that the sex of a parent who dies might affect the chances of a child being fostered, but this was found to be of little importance, although, if anything, the death of the mother seemed slightly more likely to lead to fostering than the death of the father. There appeared to be a difference in this between Creoles and Provincial, mainly because, in Freetown at least, Creole women are often household heads, whereas Provincial women are not. 1 Thus, if their father dies, most Creole children continue to live with their mothers, usually in an independent household, though sometimes in the house of grandparents. Of the Creoles in the sample who had lost their fathers, a very small number (3) had been fostered prior to the death of

---

1 Banton found that: "No less than 42% of the Creole households compared with 14% of the tribal households are under a female head" (Banton, 1957, pp. 204-205).
their father; and about a third of the remainder went to foster homes sometime after, though not necessarily immediately following, the death of their father. On the other hand, of the Provincial children who lost their father, very few continued to live with their mothers, most of them passing into the care of male relatives, mainly elder brothers or uncles.¹

Fewer members of the sample had lost their mothers, and the data on the results are less conclusive. About half of the Creole children continued to live with their fathers after their mothers' deaths, the others often going to their grandparents; while all but a couple of Provincial children who lost their mothers had been fostered, though some before their mother's death, and some after it. But then, most children from the Provinces who did not lose either of their parents were fostered anyway; and in this may lie the clue to the differences between Creoles and provincials. It appears that the higher rate of fostering among provincials who had lost a parent compared with Creoles who had lost a parent merely reflects the overall higher rate of fostering among provincials compared with Creoles.

In the sample as a whole, it is not possible to say that the death of a single parent had no influence on fostering, but rather that the rate of fostering for other reasons was so high that it masked the effect of parental death. Those children who

¹ The figures on this (based on 36 cases where the values are known, out of a total of 45 cases of Provincial respondents with only their fathers dead) are as follows: 39% were fostered before the death of their fathers, 39% were fostered about the time of their father's death; 14% were fostered sometime after their father's death, and 8% had not been fostered at all.
had been fostered after the death of a parent would probably have been fostered anyway, perhaps to further their education, and thus the death of a single parent does not significantly increase the overall rate of fostering. The death of both parents must, of course, increase the rate of adoption.

Similarly, the different reactions of Creoles and Provincial to the death of their fathers, the Creole children usually remaining with the mother while the Provincial children pass into the care of some other male relatives, make little difference to the overall results, for the Creole children would probably have been brought up by their own parents and the Provincial children would probably have been fostered anyway. These results, however, have probably been influenced by the nature of the sample: a sample of illiterate young people might suggest a rather different pattern, as the pattern of fostering in the present sample must be strongly influenced by educational factors. Thus it reflects the fact that children from under-privileged homes tend to be fostered for educational reasons more often than those from homes which give them a better educational start; and children from the villages in particular tend to be fostered more often than those from the towns. There is little room within the present sample for the death of a single parent to modify this basic pattern.

The consequences for the rate of fostering of the divorce or separation of parents should be amenable to similar analysis; and this would probably show that, like the death of a single parent, the divorce or separation of the parents has only a limited effect in increasing the rate of fostering in the sample, or
TABLE 6.2: Tribe and parents' marital status by age on first leaving parental home.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Age on leaving parental home</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 - 5 years</td>
<td>6 - 15 years</td>
<td>over 15 years</td>
<td>not left</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles (parents married)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles (parents not married)</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

modifying the basic pattern just described. Unfortunately, there is little data on this; but what there is suggests that this is the correct interpretation. There are full data, however, on those Creoles with parents who were not married; and the ages at which they left home are included in Table 6.2.¹ The numbers involved are not large enough to allow definite conclusions to be drawn, but two points suggest themselves. In the first place, it seems that the children of parents who were not married are, if anything, rather less likely to have lived apart from their parents, 40% of these "illegitimate" children having never left the home of a parent, compared with the average value for the total sample of 23%. It should be remembered, however, that "illegit-

¹ Because of the more variable nature of Provincial marriage (compared with Creole marriage) it was not felt possible to divide Provincial parents into those who were "properly" married and those who were not. All "unmarried parents" and their children ("illegitimate children") in the sample are therefore Creoles.
imate" children, as defined here, are found only among the Creoles; and that 48% of all Creoles in the sample had never left their parental home. As can be seen from Table 6.2, there is very little difference in the rate of fostering between Creoles whose parents were married and Creoles whose parents were not married, suggesting that the marital status of parents has very little effect on the age at which children leave home.

The last variety of crisis fostering to be considered is that caused by the geographical mobility of a child's parents; and again it may be noted that this is largely a culturally-defined crisis, for in most cases it would be theoretically possible for the child to accompany his parents. It may be that if the parents are very mobile, this is thought to be bad for the child and his education. Or, if the parents are living and working in an alien environment, the culture or educational opportunities of which they consider inferior to their own area, they are likely to send their children home so that they will grow up in their own cultural surroundings. This is true of the Europeans and Fula living and working in Sierra Leone, and of Creoles who have left Freetown to work elsewhere. Europeans and Fula cases are not important in the present sample, for the two respondents of European descent and the eight Fula members of the sample are all examples of those who have renounced their foreign connections in favour of becoming Sierra Leoneans. Those who were sent home to be educated may not have returned, or, in the case of the Fula, may not have received an English education, and for these reasons would obviously not be included in the sample.

466.
On the other hand, Creoles who were living with foster-parents because their own parents were working elsewhere certainly do appear among the respondents interviewed. During the 19th and 20th centuries the Creole population of Freetown - "the Athens of West Africa" - has formed an important reservoir of professional, clerical and other occupational skills for the British Colonies in West Africa as a whole, as well as for the immediate hinterland of Freetown itself in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone; and this emigration of Creoles, especially males, both "down the Coast" and "up-line" has at times left its mark on the demographic structure of the Creole community in Freetown.¹

Of the Creoles interviewed, one third (32 cases) had had their parents, or at least one parent, working outside Freetown during their childhood, 16 of these being in the Provinces, three in inaccessible parts of the Colony, particularly the Banana Islands, and the rest abroad, mainly in Nigeria, Ghana and Guinea. In a couple of cases each, the parents had been in Britain, or the father had been a sailor. It should also be remembered that in about half-a-dozen cases, the parents of "Creoles", or particularly the father alone, had been foreign, and the child had been an immigrant into Sierra Leone, or, more likely, the father had worked for some time in Sierra Leone, and then returned home, leaving the child behind with the mother. In 12 of these 32 cases in which Creole parents had lived away from Freetown, the children

¹ Wellesley Cole remarks on the predominance of women, especially Grannies, and the absence of males (husbands) in the East End of Freetown, where he was brought up in the early part of this century; and he attributes this to the men working "down the coast" (Wellesley Cole, 1960, pp. 67-68). See also Banton (1957, pp. 204-205). Such migration has played a prominent part in Creole history.
were not fostered, mainly because the father only travelled, and the children could therefore continue to live with their mothers in Freetown. In the remaining 20 cases, migration of both parents, or the surviving parent if one was dead, seems to have been an important contributory factor, though not necessarily the only factor, in causing their children to be fostered. This could account for about two fifths of all cases of fostering among Creoles in the sample.

Among Provincial respondents, on the other hand, parental mobility does not seem to have been an important cause of fostering. In fact the relationship between migration and fostering appears to be completely different among provincials. Whereas among the Creoles, fostering is caused by the parents migrating to find work while the children remain in Freetown, among provincials, in the present sample at least, fostering is more likely to be caused by the children migrating to the larger towns, particularly in search of education, while the parents remain in their original homes. The half of all Provincial parents who were farmers are the most likely and obvious examples of parents who will probably be non-mobile. Of the Provincial children in the sample, it seems that less than a dozen (say 8%, compared with 40% of the Creole children who had been fostered) had been fostered mainly because of parental geographical mobility.

If this argument is taken a stage further by combining all types of crisis fostering, it seems that parental death, separation and mobility together may account for much of Creole fostering, but relatively little of Provincial fostering; and it is
necessary to remember that the rate of fostering among Creoles is only about half that among Provincials. As shown above, two fifths of the cases of Creole fostering may be accounted for by parental geographical mobility. In another 16 cases, one or both parents had died, or the parents were not married or had separated, or very often some combination of such crises existed. This means that crises, if only socially-defined crises, could account for three quarters of all cases of fostering among Creoles. Of the remaining 12 cases, eight do not really appear to be fostering as such, but more part of the general process of young people establishing their independence, two leaving home to go to boarding school, three to college, one to obtain a job, and two (females) to get married. In some cases among Creoles a crisis may have existed, and yet the child not have been fostered. But few Creoles appear to have been fostered unless some kind of crisis did exist. Crises may therefore be seen as an important cause of fostering among Creoles.

The position is less clear among Provincials. It may be estimated, however, that a crisis — such as a parental death, the separation or mobility of parents, or some combination of these — is unlikely to have occurred in more than half of all cases of fostering, and will have been the main cause of fostering in only a proportion of these. Yet, unlike Creoles, nearly all Provincials in the sample had been fostered. So while family crises may provide a satisfactory explanation of most fostering among Creoles in the sample, they cannot explain the much higher rate of fostering among Provincial respondents. For an explanation of this we must turn to educational factors.
The characteristics of respondents receiving educational assistance.

We may now turn to an examination of the pattern of educational assistance among respondents. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, if the fostering of respondents was practised mainly to promote their educational interests, then it follows that the least privileged respondents—geographically and socio-economically—would be the ones most likely to have been fostered, for they would have been most in need of the kinds of educational assistance which could have been provided through fostering. In this case, fostering may be seen as part of a more general pattern of educational assistance whereby various kinds of help pass from the more privileged members of the community to the children of the less privileged members, particularly within the framework of the extended family, thus facilitating the diffusion of educational opportunities to the children of the latter. The rest of this chapter will be concerned with describing this pattern of educational assistance, especially as it affects the respondents in the present survey. In this section we will be particularly concerned with examining the characteristics of respondents receiving educational assistance, and comparing them with the characteristics of respondents not receiving such assistance to see if they conform to the expected pattern.

Firstly, we may examine the extent to which respondents were fostered: data on this have already been provided in Table 5.3 in the last chapter, and in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 in this. From these it can be seen, though 17% of respondents were fostered during the first five years of their lives, the majority of
respondents first left home during their school-going years: in particular, 29% of respondents first left home in the six to ten years age range, and another 18% in the 11 to 15 years age range. This in itself is symptomatic of the fact that many of them probably left home for educational reasons. In addition, whereas there was little variation between the proportions of Creoles and Provincials leaving home before the age of six years, Provincials were much more likely than Creoles to leave their parental home during the school-going years. In fact, by the age of 20 years, 95% of Tribesmen born in the Provinces had left home, compared with only 47% of Creoles. This is probably attributable to the fact that Provincials are more in need of the kind of educational assistance that can be provided through fostering than Creoles.

Because of the strong correlation between parental tribe and parental educational and occupational levels, it follows that the child’s age on leaving home will also tend to be associated with more general measures of parental socio-economic status. Within the Provincial group itself, there is also a correlation between father’s educational level and age on first leaving home: two thirds of the children of fathers with no Western education had left their parental home by the age of 11 years, compared with only one third of those whose fathers had been to either primary or secondary school. It seems possible that this results from the fact that the better educated parents tend to live in the larger towns, and so have less need to send their children away to school. But the evidence on this is not clear; The effects of the sampling method, however, must be
it also seems possible that illiterate parents want to increase their children's educational chances by sending them to relatives who have more money than themselves with which to shoulder the expenses of sending their children to school.

Another factor which may affect a child's chances of being fostered is its sex; and data on this are shown in Table 6.3. At first sight it appears that boys are more likely to be fostered than girls: thus 69% of boys had left home by the age of 16 years, and only 18% had never left home at all, compared with equivalent figures of 44% and 46% for girls. Closer examination of these figures, however, reveals that this mainly reflects the variations in rates of fostering between different socio-economic groups. In particular, the rates of fostering among Creoles are lower than the rates among Provincialis, and most of the female respondents were Creoles. If the rates of fostering among male and female respondents are compared, as in Table 6.3, it will be seen that there is very little difference, though females may be fostered slightly earlier than males. The number of Provincial females in the sample is too small to allow satisfactory conclusions to be drawn; but from the information available, it does appear that Provincial females are rather less likely to be fostered than Provincial males. This would be consistent with their

allowed for. Because most of the interviewing was done in towns, particularly Freetown, and because most Creoles were born in Freetown, while most Provincialis were born in the villages, it follows that those Provincialis who were interviewed were more likely to have left home than Creoles. However, the point to be emphasised is not so much the fact that Provincialis had left home, but rather the early age at which they had done so. It should be remembered, however, that Provincialis who had not left home were unlikely to be included in the sample.
TABLE 6.3: Sex and tribe by age on first leaving parental home.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex and tribe</th>
<th>Age on leaving home</th>
<th>Total left</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 - 5 years</td>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole males</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole females</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial males</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial females</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total males</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total females</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

higher socio-economic backgrounds than males; only one Provincial female had neither the benefit of being born in the Western Area nor an educated father; and her father was in fact a Lebanese trader. Thus it appears that the difference in rates of fostering between males and females is not an independent variation, but merely a reflection of the fact that, on average, females come from more privileged socio-economic backgrounds than males; and rates of fostering are generally lower for all respondents - both male and female - from such privileged backgrounds.
TABLE 6.4: Size of place of birth by number of households lived in while at school (excluding boarding homes).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of place of birth</th>
<th>Number of households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freetown</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5,000</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000–4,999</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1,000</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Sierra Leone</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another way of looking at fostering is by examining the number of households in which each respondent lived while at school, some information on this being given in Table 6.4. It will be seen that while about one half lived in only one household while at school, a third had lived in two households and the remainder in three or four. This varies mainly according to the size of place of birth of the schoolchild. Whereas four fifths of children born in Freetown and two thirds of those born in other towns of over 10,000 people had lived in only one household while at school, this is true of only 30% of children born.
in towns of under 5,000 people; and about a quarter of children from such towns had lived in three or more households while attending school. Three quarters of Creoles lived in a single household while attending school, as did a similar proportion of provincials born in the Western Area. Fewer children from the Northern Province seem to have lived in more than two households than either those born in the Eastern or the Southern Provinces. 1

Within the Provincial group alone, there appears to be only a slight correlation between father's level of education and the number of households lived in while at school, 43% of the children of fathers with Western education having lived in only one household, compared with 35% of the children of illiterate fathers.

But not all children who left home while still attending school went to stay in private households: a significant minority lived in boarding homes attached to their schools; and figures for this are shown in Table 6.5. 2 Of the total sample, 17% had lived in a boarding home for their complete secondary education, 11% for part of it, and 72% had never lived in a boarding home. It would seem likely that living in a school boarding home would be a substitute for living in more non-parental households while at school; and there does indeed appear to be an inverse relationship between them, particularly among Provincial respondents. This is most obvious in the larger Provincial towns, for, whereas

---

1 The figures are 10% for those born in the Northern Province, 27% for those from the South, and 34% for those from the East. Of course the figure for children living in three or four households is lowest for children born in the Western Area, at 5%.

2 The significance of boarding schools for Secondary education appears to be less than in some other West African societies, such
### TABLE 6.5: Size of place of birth by type of attendance at secondary school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of place of birth</th>
<th>Full boarder</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Non-boarder</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full boarder</td>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>Non-boarder</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freetown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5,000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000 - 4,999</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1,000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Sierra Leone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respondents born in such towns seem to have stayed in fewer households, on average, than respondents from smaller towns (see Table 6.4), they are more likely to have been boarders while at school. Thus half of all respondents born in towns of more than 5,000 people, apart from Freetown, and 64% of all Provincial children from such towns, had been boarders for at least part of their secondary education. This compared with 29% of those born in settlements of between 1,000 and 5,000 people, and 39% of those from as Ghana. This is because the development of secondary education in Sierra Leone was geared mainly to the needs of the Creoles; and as they were mainly concentrated in Freetown, they did not need boarding schools. The first secondary school designed specifically for Provinceals, Bo Government school, was of course a boarding school, as have been many of the subsequent schools in the Provinces.
smaller villages. It may be that residents of larger towns do not find it so necessary to send their children away to school, as shown by the low average number of households their children had lived in while at school; but they are more likely to have the necessary resources to send them to boarding school, which is not only considered better academically, but also carries more prestige.

When looked at by Province of birth, it appears that as well as living in the largest average number of households while at school, respondents born in the Eastern Province are also the most likely to have been boarders: 57% had boarded for at least part of their secondary education, compared with 39% of respondents born in the Northern Province, 32% of those born in the Southern Province, and only 9% of those born in the Western Area. This coincidence of both a large number of households lived in and a large proportion of boarders among respondents born in the Eastern Province is associated with the fact that they tended to attend a larger number of schools than respondents from the other Provinces, as will be seen in Chapter 8; and this in turn may be attributed to the relative paucity of educational facilities in the Eastern Province compared with the resources possessed by the people — mainly as a result of the prosperity brought by the diamond business — with which to educate their children.

Children from the Western Area have least need to leave home to attend school, as this Province is best provided with
educational facilities. As can be seen from Table 6.5, only 11% of children born in Freetown itself had ever stayed in a boarding school. Thus, only eight Creoles had ever been boarders, and in most of these cases some unusual family circumstances had been involved, such as parental geographical mobility. Creole boarders usually attended one of the high status up-country schools, particularly Harford School for Girls, but also Bo Government School and the other famous boys' boarding schools in Bo. Creole children did not usually need to stay in boarding schools, as there are plenty of good day schools in the Freetown area; but some provincials also claimed that another reason why so few Creoles attended the top boarding schools was that they were unable to compete academically with the more dedicated and vigorous provincial schoolboys.

Within the provincial population alone there appears to be little correlation between father's level of education and whether or not a respondent was a boarder at school. At first glance, this, together with the small correlation between father's level of education and the number of households lived in while at school, may seem to be in conflict with the previous findings that the children of provincials with no Western education were twice as likely as those whose fathers were educated to have left home by the age of ten years. These results, however, are neither contradictory nor merely aberrations produced by different statistical approaches. Children from educated homes are more likely to spend their early years at school living with their parents, while children of illiterates tend to move to other relat-
TABLE 6.6: Number of respondents who lived with selected categories of relatives and non-relatives while at school by tribe; and relationship with all non-parental relatives and non-relatives lived with while at school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship with self</th>
<th>Creoles</th>
<th>Tribe Provincials</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both parents</td>
<td>46 (46%)</td>
<td>37 (25%)</td>
<td>83 (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>8 (8%)</td>
<td>25 (17%)</td>
<td>33 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>28 (28%)</td>
<td>10 (7%)</td>
<td>38 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>16 (11%)</td>
<td>18 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>6 (4%)</td>
<td>8 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>5 (5%)</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>8 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>15 (15%)</td>
<td>13 (9%)</td>
<td>28 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>7 (7%)</td>
<td>53 (35%)</td>
<td>60 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>12 (12%)</td>
<td>21 (14%)</td>
<td>33 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>21 (14%)</td>
<td>23 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relatives</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>52 (35%)</td>
<td>55 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total of all non-parental relatives lived with while at school | 266 (99%) |

1 Because some respondents may have lived in a number of households with heads in different categories of relatives, the totals in each column add up to more than the number of respondents, and the percentages add up to more than 100%. This does not, however, allow for the fact that some respondents may have lived in different households headed by the same category of relative; but in the two right hand columns of the table, figures are given for the total number of non-parental households in each category lived in by respondents. In this case the percentages are calculated on the basis of the total number of non-parental households lived in by respondents.
ives as soon as they enter school, or may even be living away from their parental home before they go to school. Thus, though the average number of households lived in while at school is much the same for the children of educated and uneducated fathers, this number is more likely to include the parental home among the former, while among the latter the number of non-parental households is higher than among the former. Thus Table 6.7 shows that while only 37% of Provincial respondents with uneducated fathers had stayed in their parental home at any time while attending school, 80% of those whose fathers had some Western education had done so. It would seem likely that the reason for children from educated homes leaving their homes later than the children from uneducated homes is that the former tend to live in larger towns, and are thus more likely to be able to attend school within easy reach of their own homes, especially at the primary level. Later on they may have to join in the geographical mobility to still larger towns, which their less fortunate contemporaries began at an earlier stage in their educational careers. The slight tendency for children from educated homes to have lived in fewer households while at

Two further points should be noted about Table 6.6. Firstly, it should not be assumed that the relationships given are exact biological relationship: e.g. there may be a tendency to describe any non-parental male guardian as an "uncle".

Secondly, in the case of parents, the wording used by respondents has been followed - either "parents", "father", or "mother" - rather than consolidating this into a single parental category. This has been retained because an interesting variation between Creoles and Provincials emerges; and does not necessarily imply that if the householder is given as "father" or "mother" alone, that the other parent is not present in the household.
TABLE 6.7: Number of Provincial respondents who lived with selected categories of relatives and non-relatives while at school by education of fathers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship with self</th>
<th>Education of father</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Western education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>41 (37%)</td>
<td>31 (80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>18 (16%)</td>
<td>31 (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle, aunt</td>
<td>66 (59%)</td>
<td>11 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives</td>
<td>26 (23%)</td>
<td>11 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relatives</td>
<td>40 (36%)</td>
<td>12 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The footnote to Table 6.6 also applies to this table.

School is probably also a result of them living in the larger towns, and is also shared by the children of illiterate fathers in such towns, as Table 6.4 suggests.

So it is being suggested that most of the variations in age of first leaving the parental home, and in number of households lived in while at school are to be explained in terms of the size of place of birth, with the children from smaller settlements having to leave home to attend schools in the larger towns, and so tending to have left home earlier and to have lived in more households. When this geographical factor is held constant, the variations between children from educated and uneducated Provincial homes, and even between Creoles and Provinceals, will tend to disappear.
It seems probable, then, that many of the respondents were fostered to improve their educational opportunities. It should be remembered, however, that although the rate of fostering may be lower among them, even children from the largest towns are sometimes fostered; and this cannot be accounted for by the above theory. Some of these will have been fostered because of family crises, as was seen in the last section. Others may have moved from poorer homes to better-off homes, also in search of better opportunities of attending school. And others may have moved for other traditional reasons, for example to stay with their lonely grandmother in the house, or to help a childless relative. The overall pattern, however, suggests that geographical mobility for educational purposes is the main cause of fostering in the present sample.

Let us now move on to an examination of the pattern of fee-payment. The form of fee-payment, broken down by educational level of father, is shown in Table 6.8; and a more detailed examination of the proportion of respondents receiving fee contributions from selected categories of relatives and non-relatives is presented in Table 6.9. It should be noted that Table 6.8 refers to fee-payment at secondary school only, while Table 6.9 refers to fee contributors at any stage. It will be seen from these tables that while over three fifths of respondents had at least part of their fees paid by their parents, under a third had their complete fees paid by their parents. On the other hand, two fifths of respondents had fee contributions from other relatives or non-relatives while at secondary school, and one fifth were
TABLE 6.8: Form of fee-payment at secondary school by level of Western education of father.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of fee payment</th>
<th>Educational level of father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents only</td>
<td>22 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarship only</td>
<td>9 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents + scholarship</td>
<td>14 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents + other relatives</td>
<td>25 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives + scholarship</td>
<td>10 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives only</td>
<td>24 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relatives, self, other</td>
<td>8 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>112 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

totally dependent on such sources for the payment of their secondary school fees. Over a third of respondents had scholarships while at secondary school, and 13% had their full fees paid by scholarship.

More interesting than the basic figures, however, are the variations within them. Let us first look at these variations in terms of fathers' levels of education, as shown in Table 6.8. Of those whose fathers had post-primary education, 71% had fee contributions from their parents, and 41% were totally dependent on their parents for fee-payment, while only 54% of those whose
fathers had no Western education had fee contributions from their parents, and only 20% were totally dependent on their parents. This variation is even more marked if we look at the proportion of respondents in each category receiving help from other relatives and non-relatives. The children of uneducated fathers were three times as likely to receive help with their secondary school fees from such sources as the children of fathers with post-primary education; and 29% of the former were totally dependent on such sources, compared with only 7% of the latter. Given the close correlation between parental tribe and educational level, it is not surprising to find that only 19% of Creoles received help with their fees from relatives other than their parents, compared with 47% of Provincial children.

It is perhaps interesting to note from Table 6.3 that for respondents with post-primary-educated fathers, the category of those with fees paid completely by their parents is much the largest (41%), while for those with uneducated fathers, the category of those with fees paid by their parents and other relatives is the largest (22%), closely followed by other relatives alone (21%) and parents alone (20%). Educated fathers are more likely to be in the financial position to pay completely for their children's education. Uneducated fathers, on the other hand, are less likely to be able to manage alone; and are more likely to have to seek help from others, especially relatives. The children of

---

1 The actual proportions of children receiving help with their fees from non-parental relatives and non-relatives are 60% of children with illiterate fathers, 39% of children with fathers with primary education only, and 19% of children with post-primary-educated fathers.
uneducated fathers are as likely to have their fees paid by other relatives as by their own parents;\(^1\) and when we take account of those who had fee contributions from non-relatives, it seems that such children were more likely to have their fees paid by non-parental individuals than by their own parents.

So far the effects of scholarships as a non-parental source of fee-payment has been excluded from the analysis, though it has been mentioned that about one third of respondents had some form of scholarship for at least part of their time at secondary school. It seems possible that scholarships might be used to help children from less privileged homes obtain an education; but this does not seem to be necessarily so. If anything, it appears that children from more privileged homes are more likely to have scholarships, though the variations have a low level of statistical significance. Thus, of those whose fathers had no Western education, only 29\% had scholarships, compared with 34\% of those with primary-educated fathers, and 43\% of those with post-primary-educated fathers. Similarly, 43\% of Creoles had scholarships as against 31\% of provincials; and over half of provincials whose fathers had post-primary education had scholarships compared with 30\% of all other provincials.\(^2\) These children are not clearly enough differentiated for one to say definitely that children

---

1 Of children whose fathers had no Western education, 54\% had fee contributions while at secondary school from their parents, and 52\% from other relatives; and 20\% were totally dependent on their parents, compared with 21\% on other relatives.

2 The statistical significance of these figures is low, however. For example, for the variations in possession of a scholarship by father's level of education: \(X^2 = 4.49; d.f. = 2; 0.20 > p. > 0.10;\) and for the variations by tribe: \(X^2 = 3.24; d.f. = 1; 0.10 > p. > 0.05.\)
from more privileged homes have a better chance of obtaining a scholarship, but they certainly suggest that scholarships are not used specifically to promote the education of those from less privileged homes. It would seem likely that educated parents are in a better position than illiterate parents to obtain scholarships for children, if not because they have personal contacts within the agencies granting scholarships, then at least because they have a better understanding of how these agencies work.¹

Finally, as mentioned in the last chapter, some respondents claimed to have paid at least part of their own school fees. The number involved was small, however, with only two respondents claiming to have paid all their own secondary school fees, and about a dozen to have paid part of them.

The characteristics of those providing educational assistance.

From the previous section it does appear that respondents from less privileged backgrounds are most likely to receive educational assistance, thus supporting the contention that this is part of a general pattern in which educational assistance passes from more privileged members of the community to the children of less privileged members. It remains, however, to examine the characteristics of those giving educational assistance to establish if they are really of higher socio-economic status than

¹ It is of course possible that children with higher status backgrounds are more likely to get scholarships because they perform better academically than those of lower status backgrounds. Examination of respondents' academic performance, however, suggests that there is little correlation between socio-economic background and academic results.
the parents of children receiving such assistance; and this will be attempted in this section. But first let us examine the relationship between those giving and those receiving educational assistance in terms of kinship.

From such an examination it would appear that educational assistance is largely provided within the framework of the extended family. The relationship to the respondents of people providing them with accommodation while in school is shown in Tables 6.6 and 6.7; and of fee contributors in Table 6.9. As the extent of help from parents has already been dealt with above, this section will concentrate on the non-parental individuals giving educational assistance. It would appear that peoples classified as "uncles" are the most important non-parental source of help for school children. Of the non-parental households lived in by respondents, it appears that a quarter were headed by "uncles"; and over a fifth of respondents had at least part of their fees paid by "uncles". It seems possible that there is a tendency for the term "uncle" to be used in a classificatory sense by respondents to describe anyone who places himself in the position of an uncle (or even father) relative to a respondent by taking responsibility for him, as when providing accommodation or paying fees. In a number of interviews it was noticed that respondents were using such terms as "uncle", "guardian", and even "brother" more or less interchangeably to describe the same person. Probably, however, the respondents' understanding of the interview situation, and of the Europeans' outlook generally, encouraged them usually to give some approximation to the correct
TABLE 6.9: Number of respondents receiving fee contributions from selected categories of relatives and non-relatives while either at primary or secondary school by tribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship with self</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>83 (83%)</td>
<td>90 (60%)</td>
<td>173 (69%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>21 (14%)</td>
<td>23 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>6 (4%)</td>
<td>8 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>4 (4%)</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>7 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>6 (6%)</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
<td>9 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle</td>
<td>9 (9%)</td>
<td>47 (31%)</td>
<td>56 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>5 (5%)</td>
<td>7 (5%)</td>
<td>12 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>16 (11%)</td>
<td>17 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relatives</td>
<td>0 (-)</td>
<td>13 (9%)</td>
<td>13 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>250</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 As many respondents lived in more than one household while at school, the totals in each column add up to more than the number of respondents, and the percentages to more than 100%.

Biological relationship, though they may also have been influenced by the social content of the relationship between them and their benefactors. These reservations mean that we must be cautious over the meanings we attach to the various kinship terms, but this is not to say that analysis of them is without validity. The terms represent respondents' own definitions of their relation-
ships to their benefactors, and as such, like any kinship terms, include both biological and sociological elements, with the latter probably predominating.

Other people who provided educational assistance are also listed in Tables 6.6, 6.7 and 6.9. After "uncles", the next most important category of people providing accommodation is "non-relatives", a fifth of respondents having lived with such people, followed by grandparents (14%) and aunts (13%). Fewer respondents appear to have received help with their fees from anyone other than their parents or uncles; but brothers (9%), "other relatives" (7%), grandparents (7%), aunts (5%) and "non-relatives" (5%) were all mentioned as fee contributors.

As was noted above, Provincial children receive more help with their schooling from people other than their parents than do Creoles. There is also a variation between Creole and Provincial children in their relationships to their non-parental helpers. Thus among Creoles, grandparents contribute to a child's school fees as often as uncles; and a Creole child seems more likely to be fostered with either a grandparent or an aunt than with an uncle. Among provincials, on the other hand, grandparents and aunts are relatively unimportant compared with uncles. The categories of "other relatives" and "non-relatives" are also important for provincials, over a third of them having lived with a non-relative, and 14% with someone in the "other relative" category, whereas less than half-a-dozen Creoles had received help from such sources.
Who are the people classified as "other relatives" and "non-relatives"? The "other relatives" were mainly people described by the respondents as "cousins", but also included relatives such as step-fathers and brothers-in-law. The "non-relatives" are more difficult to specify exactly. Some may merely be townsmen who were willing to accommodate a schoolboy on a more or less contractual basis in return for his domestic services. It seems likely, however, that in most cases there was an established relationship between the child's parents and guardian before he passed into the latter's care. Some may actually have been relatives, but wrongly classified as non-relatives because the respondents merely described them as "guardians", a term which covers both relatives and non-relatives. However, it seems unlikely that this happened in many cases. Respondents often described unrelated guardians as "friends" of their fathers, of their previous guardians or of themselves. They may have been "town-mates" from the same home villages as the respondents and their fathers who had migrated to a larger settlement, and so were in excellent positions to act as intermediaries between town and village. As shown in the last chapter, teachers were another unrelated source of help; and particularly expatriate teachers and missionaries account for many of the non-relatives paying school fees.

Of particular interest among cases of fostering by non-relatives are those in which the foster-parent is a Creole and the foster-child a Provincial, as such fostering has been important in the development of inter-tribal relations in Sierra Leone. But the practice of Creoles acting as guardians for Provincial children
by housing them and paying for their education seems to be of much reduced importance today. In the present sample, there were only six or seven cases in which Provincial children had been helped by Creoles, and some of these were not straightforward examples of Provincial wards in Creole homes. In one of these, the "guardian" only paid the fees for a Temne boy whose father was dead; and another two Temnes were in fact the relatives of the Creoles who acted as their full guardians. This leaves only three cases of Provincial children fostered by unrelated Creole guardians; and such foster homes therefore constitute only 1.4% of all non-parental households lived in by Provincial children. Perhaps significantly, in none of these cases was the foster child a Temne, the tribe most often associated with the ward system: two were from Kono, the most Eas-
erly part of Sierra Leone, and the third was a Mende fostered by a Sierra Leone Yoruba, who he described either as a "friend of his father, or as his "uncle". There may have been a few other instances which have been missed due to difficulties of analysis, but it is clear that, for this sample at least, the fostering of Provincial children by Creoles is a much less important means of social mobility today than has sometimes been suggested.1

1 There also appeared to be two cases in which Creole children were helped with their education by Provincial, but in both these cases the Provincial turned out to be maternal relatives of Creole girls with Susu mothers. In about a dozen other cases Provincial children received educational assistance from members of different tribes from their own; and these were mainly the result of inter-tribal marriage, with the child identifying with the father's tribe, but receiving help from maternal relatives.

491.
It is possible that the present sample under-estimates the extent of Creole-Provincial fostering. If, for example, children who are fostered do less well at school, as has sometimes been suggested, then they are likely to be under-represented in the sample. It is more likely, however, that these figures reflect a real decline in the institution, perhaps because of its growing unpopularity with Provincial, especially since the last World War. Both Creoles and Province to whom I talked about this kind of fostering, explained it in terms of the greater ability of Creole foster-parents to send the children to school compared with the real Provincial parents; and very little was said about the resocialisation of children in Creole values.

Some Province did mention it, however, but only to condemn it as a Creole trick to skim off the cream of Provincial youth, and to say that this was why Provincial people had stopped sending their children to Creoles. Banton has documented the pressures and remedial measures among the Temne which helped to stop them passing into other tribes (Banton, 1956; and 1957, pp. 175-183).

So, though the socialisation of Provincial children into Creole values may once have been considered desirable, it is now condemned by a Provincial population more conscious and proud of its own identity. Province now prefer to foster their children with fellow tribesmen; and luckily there is an increasing number of educated Province who are in a position to put their own and

---

1 There have been various estimates of the extent of fostering in Freetown. See, for example, Banton (1957, pp. 207-8); Lynch-Shyllon (quoted in Banton, 1957, pp. 207-8); and G. Cohen (1971, pp. 20-21). None of these estimates, however, attempts to separate the different kinds of fostering.
their relations children to school without alienating them from their traditional cultures to the same extent as fostering with Creoles must have done. The ward system is now practised among the provincials themselves (Gamble, 1963a, p. 220); while the Creoles complain that they cannot find suitable provincial children to stay with them. So the conclusions of the present study are that most fostering is now practised among relatives, or at least among people of the same tribe; and that there is relatively little cross-cultural fostering.

Turning back now to the characteristics of relatives who helped respondents with their education, it appears that maternal relatives are a slightly more important source of such help than paternal relatives; that this is more marked among Creoles than provincials; and that provincials are more likely than Creoles to get help from both sides of their families; but the variations are quite small. The general impression, then, is that either side of the family may provide educational assistance; but that because of the important position of the mother, among both Creoles and provincials, her relatives are particularly likely to become involved.

Information on this is available for 135 respondents receiving substantial educational assistance from relatives (e.g. accommodation, fee-payment, etc.), which constitutes about two thirds of respondents receiving such assistance. This shows that 64% of these respondents received help from maternal relatives and 47% from paternal relatives. The equivalent figures for Creole respondents alone are 68% and 37% respectively, and for provincial respondents 62% and 51%. Of provincial respondents, 13% seem to have received help from both paternal and maternal relatives, compared with only 4% of Creoles, but these figures should probably be higher.
### TABLE 6.10: Sex of non-parental guardians by tribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Creoles</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16 (33%)</td>
<td>134 (61%)</td>
<td>150 (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32 (67%)</td>
<td>62 (28%)</td>
<td>94 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Don't know</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 ( - )</td>
<td>22 (10%)</td>
<td>22 ( 8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>48 (100%)</td>
<td>218 (99%)</td>
<td>266 (99%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a marked difference between Creoles and Provincials in the sex of the people giving them educational assistance, as can be seen from Table 6.10, which gives information on the sex of guardians. Creole children who leave home are twice as likely to be put under the care of a female guardian as a male one, while the opposite is true of Provincial children who are fostered. This is probably because Creole women have a higher status and are allowed to take more responsibility within the household than Provincial women, for the latter are usually supposed to be under the authority of some man, particularly a father or husband. That the head of a Provincial household should be a man, exercising authority over all its members, is shown clearly in the case of respondents who went to stay with their sisters or aunts, but described the husbands of these female relatives as their guardians rather than the female relatives themselves. A look at Table 6.6 will show that this variation between Creoles and Provincials in the sex of people responsible for them as child-
ren extends even to their parents. Normally respondents would talk of living in their parents' home, but if they mentioned only a single parent, Creoles would be more likely to say their mother and provincials their father. In many cases this may be because only a single parent was living in the house, but in others it was a reflection of which parent owned the house, or even was the one to "wear the trousers".

It may be worthwhile comparing the relatives and non-relatives who provided accommodation with those who paid school fees, for though they may often have been the same individuals, this is not necessarily so. Comparison of Tables 6.6 and 6.9 shows that there is a tendency for relatives to take more of the burden of providing accommodation than of fee-payment from parents. But the difference is really only significant in the case of non-relatives, for while 22% of the sample had lived with a non-relative at some time, less than 5% of respondents had received fee contributions from such a person (apart from scholarships). It is a common pattern to find children living with non-parental relatives or non-relatives, but still having their fees and other expenses paid by their parents or closer relatives. In some cases the provision of accommodation may be on a more or less instrumental or contractual basis, dictated only by geographical and financial necessity, children from the villages having no closer relatives living near enough to schools, and boarding facilities being either unavailable or too expensive. Parents who are unable for geographical reasons to provide suitable accommodation for their children attending school may still
there is indeed a tendency for the helpers to be of higher socio-economic status than the fathers. Thus 57% of the helpers had been to school, compared with only 42% of the fathers of respondents who had been helped. Of those helping the children of illiterates, 46% had themselves been to school; while 40% of those helping the children of primary-educated fathers had themselves gone beyond this level of education. It should also be noted, however, that a number of respondents had been helped, particularly with accommodation, by benefactors with a lower level of education than their fathers. Helpers who were brothers were particularly likely to have attended school, whereas uncles were unlikely to have done so, which reflects the increasing spread of education in the younger generation. Insofar as educational helpers come from the younger generation, this also helps to explain why educational helpers have a higher average level of education than fathers.

There is also a tendency for educational helpers to be of higher occupational status than the fathers of those they help. Thus only 12% of the helpers were farmers or fishermen, compared with 30% of all fathers, and 40% of the fathers of those actually helped. On the other hand, 41% of the helpers were in professional, administrative, managerial, clerical and other white collar positions, compared with only 28% of the fathers of those helped, despite the fact that this figure is inflated by the inclusion of responsible for the respondents for at least part of their time at school, 30% provided accommodation alone, 30% had paid fees alone, while the remaining 10% had helped in smaller ways, such as buying books and uniforms, providing holidays, and so on.
### TABLE 6.11: Educational level of main helpers by educational level of respondents' fathers; and proportion of respondents receiving substantial help by educational level of father.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education of main helpers</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Post-primary</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>67 (53%)</td>
<td>6 (19%)</td>
<td>4 (9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>77 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>21 (17%)</td>
<td>8 (26%)</td>
<td>10 (21%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-primary</td>
<td>36 (29%)</td>
<td>15 (48%)</td>
<td>27 (57%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>79 (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>6 (13%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total no. of helpers</strong></td>
<td><strong>126 (101%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>31 (99%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>47 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>206 (99%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total no. of respondents helped</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total no. of respondents</strong></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% of respondents receiving help</strong></td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average no. of helpers per respondent</strong></td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions on people who had helped the respondents, and information was collected on their social characteristics. However, either because the question was biased, or because respondents had strained relationships with certain categories of helpers, they often failed to mention helpers who merely provided accommodation; and when the existence of such helpers emerged later in the interviews, the additional data on their social characteristics were not always collected. So these 206 helpers are biased towards fee-payers, and away from those, usually non-relatives, who provided accommodation alone. Also a number of helpers nominated by respondents who merely provided non-financial encouragement, presents, pocket-money, etc. have been excluded from the analysis. Roughly 30% of these helpers were fully res-
be able to afford to pay their school fees; and in any case, they can hardly expect non-relatives to shoulder this burden as well.

Such geographical factors may also influence which kind of relatives a child is sent to. Younger male relatives, such as uncles and brothers, are most likely to have previously migrated to town, and so be best situated to provide accommodation near schools, and also be most likely to have the cash necessary for school fees. For demographic reasons, uncles are likely to be more numerous and better established than brothers, which may explain why they are a more common source of help. The fact that Provincial women are less likely than males to migrate to the larger towns may be another reason why they are less likely to act as guardians for the children of their relatives. Among Creoles, on the other hand, both males and females mainly live in Freetown and the other towns of the Western Area, and hence are equally useful as guardians.

We may now turn to an examination of the socio-economic characteristics of the people who helped respondents with their education: in particular, it is hoped to establish the validity of the prediction that they are likely to be of higher socio-economic status than the respondents' own parents. Data on this are presented in Tables 6.11 and 6.12, based on 206 of the most important helpers.¹ From these tables it can be seen that

¹ Unfortunately there are some inconsistencies in the data resulting from the method of collection; and thus these results are incomplete. In the interview schedule there were specific
### TABLE 6.12: Occupational levels of main helpers and fathers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational level</th>
<th>Main helpers</th>
<th>Fathers of those helped</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, administrative, political, etc.</td>
<td>9 (4%)</td>
<td>12 (8%)(^1)</td>
<td>23 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar, technical, supervisory, police</td>
<td>77 (37%)</td>
<td>32 (20%)</td>
<td>77 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual, other unskilled</td>
<td>28 (14%)</td>
<td>20 (13%)</td>
<td>32 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, trade, independent crafts</td>
<td>55 (27%)</td>
<td>30 (19%)</td>
<td>42 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming, fishing</td>
<td>24 (12%)</td>
<td>64 (40%)</td>
<td>74 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, don't know</td>
<td>13 (6%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>206 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>159 (101%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>250 (101%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) This category includes eight Paramount Chiefs, who could have alternatively been classified with farmers.

Thus the evidence from Tables 6.11 and 6.12 appears to confirm the prediction that educational assistance will pass from more privileged members of the community to the children of less privileged members: the figures in Table 6.11 support the evidence in the last section that a higher proportion of children

---

1 The variations in occupational levels between helpers and the fathers of respondents who were helped, as in Table 6.12, are highly significant statistically: \( X^2 = 51.1; \) d.f. = 5; \( p < 0.01. \)
from less privileged homes received help from people other than their parents, and also show that they tend to receive such help from a larger number of people; while from Tables 6.11 and 6.12 it can be seen that the helpers are generally of a higher socio-economic status than the parents of those helped. The result of this is to reduce the difference in socio-economic level of the main helpers of privileged children, who are mainly dependent on their own parents, and low status children, helped by people - usually relatives - of higher socio-economic status than their own parents. In this way the education of such underprivileged children is encouraged.

It is perhaps significant, however, that helpers are not only drawn from educated workers in professional and white collar occupations, but also from among business, traders and independent craftsmen - this category accounted for 27% of the helpers, compared with 19% of the fathers of those helped, and only 17% of all fathers - and this category is characteristically urban rather than educated as such. Of course the occupational structure of towns is different from that of the rural areas, containing a higher proportion of white collar workers, traders, craftsmen and unskilled workers, while the rural areas obviously contain a higher proportion of farmers. Thus even a random movement of children from villages to towns to attend school would probably cause the proportion of children in the care of guardians in the more urban occupational categories to rise relative to the proportion of children in the care of guardians in the more rural occupational categories. This will also tend to in-
volve upward social mobility, for the urban social structure contains a higher proportion of upper and middle level occupations. The urban categories are also most likely to have the necessary cash to pay for education, which is probably at least as true of businessmen and traders as of clerical workers and teachers. But perhaps of greatest importance in the choice of these guardians is their urban residence, as it allows for easy access to schools; the importance of migration to town in search of education will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8.

Thus whatever the reason, whether mainly social or geographical, there is a tendency for children from less privileged homes to become realigned with better-off relatives than their own parents. This is also exhibited in the choice of "next of kin" by students at Fourah Bay College, as shown in Tables 6.13 and 6.14. Of the students born in the Western Area, 84% gave one of their parents as next of kin, whereas of those born in the other Provinces, only 37% gave a parent as next of kin - and only 28% of those born in Provincial towns of less than 2,000 people. On the other hand, 28% of students born in the other Provinces declared a brother or sister as next of kin, and 18% an uncle or aunt. Siblings appear to be particularly important for those born in towns of less than 2,000 people. It is interesting to note that mothers again appear to be important only for those from the Western Area, 27% of such students giving their mother as next of kin, compared with only 6% of those born in

---

1 This is "next of kin" as declared by students on their application forms for entry to college. They should enter the name, address, occupation and relationship with self of this person.

501.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Relationship of next of kin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Area</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Provinces,</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settlements over</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 people</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Provinces,</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>settlements under</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 people</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The category of "other" is made up of 29 "cousins", 16 spouses, 4 other affines, 6 grandparents, and 9 unrelated guardians.

other Provinces. It would seem likely that what is happening is that students whose parents are illiterate farmers are rejecting them as next of kin in favour of more educated relatives, particularly those who already have a foothold in the bureaucratic sector of the economy. Among respondents born in the Provinces, over half had fathers who were primarily farmers; and on this basis we might expect that something like 130 or 140 students' fathers...
TABLE 6.14: Occupational level of next of kin of students born in the Northern, Southern and Eastern Provinces by relationship of next of kin to respondents; and occupational level of next of kin of students born in the Western Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational level of next of kin</th>
<th>Relationship of next of kin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, administrative, political</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar, supervisory, technical</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual, other unskilled</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, trade, independent craft</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming, fishing</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None, don't know</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two things may be noted about this table. Firstly, the occupational category "none" is mainly made up of female relatives, particularly mothers, who appear to be housewives. Secondly, the occupational categories used in this table have been standardised with those in Tables 2.6 and 6.12 to allow easy comparison.
might be farmers. It seems likely, however, that students will come from slightly more privileged homes, evidence for this being found in the higher proportion of students having associations with people in the professional, administrative and political class, and the slightly higher proportion coming from the larger settlements in the Provinces, compared with respondents. But one can still assume that over 100 of the fathers of students are probably farmers. However, only 24 fathers who are farmers are cited as next of kin, this being about a quarter of all fathers given as next of kin; and other relatives given as next of kin are much less likely to be farmers than fathers. In fact, most relatives chosen as next of kin are in some form of bureaucratic employment - particularly white collar employment, but also at professional, administrative and manual levels.

It is noticeable that businessmen, traders and independent craftsmen are less important as non-parental next of kin than as helpers for respondents, only rising to a fifth of all next of kin for students in the case of uncles and aunts. This increased im-

---

1 However the difference in the sizes of place of birth between students and respondents born in the Provinces is not statistically significant. 57% of students born in the Provinces were born in settlements of less than 2,000 people, compared with 65% of the respondents born in the Provinces. A table with 5 degrees of freedom based on the size of place of birth of these people gave the following probability: 0.20 > p. > 0.10. The proportion of students born in the Western Area relative to the other Provinces is very close to that for the respondents, which may seem surprising considering that all the students were in Freetown while 32% of the respondents were interviewed up-country. It does suggest, however, that education rather than geographical or social factors were vital in determining the composition of the sample, which is of course how it should be, and that the backgrounds of the two samples are rather similar.
importance of relatives in bureaucratic employment is associated with the increased importance of siblings relative to uncles and aunts. Whereas uncles and aunts easily outnumbered siblings as respondents' helpers, the opposite is true of the next of kin of students; and, as pointed out in the case of helpers, siblings were more likely to be educated and in white collar employment than uncles or aunts. So the increased importance of siblings and the higher occupational levels of students next of kin are interdependent facts.

It may seem obvious that students should choose educated relatives to cite as next of kin in preference to illiterate parents. After all, the purpose of giving a next of kin is presumably so that the university authorities have someone to notify in the case of an emergency involving the student; and the educated relative is likely to prove of more use in such a situation than the illiterate parent. He is more likely to live in an accessible town, and can be communicated with in writing, whereas a parent who is a farmer, or for other reasons lives in a remote village, may be difficult to contact. And equally important, the educated relative is more likely to know what the appropriate action is to deal with the emergency. Add to this the fact that the student is likely to have previously been under the care of some relative other than his parents while at school, perhaps even the relative who he now cites as next of kin, and it seems reasonable that students will give some relative other than their parents as their next of kin. It is not necessarily the case that students are trying to disown their humble origins, though
this may play a part, for it seems likely that practical considerations are most important.

But whatever the reason, the choice of next of kin supports other evidence of a tendency for young people from illiterate homes to become separated from their parents, and realigned with relatives of higher status. It will be argued later in the thesis that this is symptomatic of the emergence of class divisions, perhaps because of conscious decisions, but more likely because of the unconscious working out of social and geographical processes.¹

Summary and conclusions.

It has been established in this chapter that there is indeed a pattern of educational assistance, with such assistance, in the form of accommodation, fee-payment, etc., passing from the more privileged members of the community to the children of less privileged members, mainly within the framework of the extended family; and the effect of this pattern must be to promote the educational interests of children from lower status backgrounds. Without such assistance, their chances of obtaining a good education would presumably be much less.

¹ It was also thought possible that children from large families would be more likely to be fostered than children from small families; or that position in the birth order of its siblings might affect a child's chances of being fostered; but examination of the evidence showed that neither of these was particularly important. Although it was true that those from families with more than 10 siblings were more likely to be fostered – e.g. 65% had left home before the age of 11 years, compared with only 41% of other respondents – this appears to be only a corollary of the differences between tribes: most respondents with more than 10 siblings were Provincials, and in general Provincials had a higher rate of fostering than Creoles. When the effect of tribe is allowed for, the variation is no longer statistically significant.
In particular, children from homes of lower socio-economic status in the smaller villages appear much more likely to be fostered than those from more privileged homes in towns. Although no definite information of the causes of fostering is available in most cases, the evidence on the characteristics of those fostered and their foster-parents is consistent with respondents being fostered to improve their educational opportunities; and a number of examples of this were quoted in the last chapter. Thus Gamble is probably right when he states:

"... a switch has been made from the traditional idea that children are there to look after their parents to one where the father considers himself obliged to put up the money for a long and expensive education for his children" (Gamble, 1963a, p. 215).

In particular, it seems that children from the villages are sent to stay with foster-parents in towns, where they would have easier access to educational institutions, particularly at the higher levels.

According to this theory, respondents from more privileged homes are fostered less frequently because they are less in need of educational assistance. An alternative theory is possible, however, based on the uneven rate of cultural change: thus it is possible that the most enculturated sections of the community are less in favour of the traditional institution of fostering; and that their attempts to imitate Western family life account for the lower rate at which they foster their children. The evidence from Harrell-Bond's research does appear to indicate that some members of the elite are not in favour of fostering. As she reports:

507.
"Respondents were asked to respond to the statement, "If I thought it would better my child's educational opportunities, I would send him to a relative to be reared". Among the students, 43% of the Creoles and 61% of the Provincials agreed, only one third of the professional sample agreed, and there were no significant differences between the responses of Creoles and Provincials, or men and women" (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 100).

Unfortunately, there is no control group allowing for comparison with lower status sections of the community. The relatively high proportion of elite respondents disagreeing with the statement may be accounted for by the fact that for many of them it is a purely hypothetical situation: they are part of the section of the community which is best able to educate its children; and they do not need to foster them for educational reasons. In addition, evidence in the present study indicates that when geographical, and perhaps also socio-economic factors, are held constant, there is little difference in the rate of fostering between the children of educated and uneducated fathers. Although further evidence on this is required, it would seem likely that the rate of fostering is dependent mainly on geographical and socio-economic factors rather than on cultural values.

But although it is being claimed that fostering in the present sample is practised mainly to further the educational interests of the children involved, this does not mean that other more traditional reasons for fostering children do not also operate. Some examples of fostering for traditional reasons were cited in the last chapter; and the customary nature of such fostering may also be illustrated by the case of a Temne respondent who reported that he was reared by his grandmother "in the Afri-
can way". It seems probable that today, however, even when children are fostered primarily for traditional reasons, the effect on their education will also be taken into account. Indeed, as explained in the last chapter, traditional practices may be deliberately used to promote education: thus a Mende respondent said simply that his uncle had paid his school fees "because he is my mother's brother".

As it is assumed that children from more privileged homes are less in need of educational assistance, it seems likely that those of them who do leave home as children must be fostered for various non-educational reasons. In particular, it was suggested that most fostering among Creoles results from family crises. But it may be just because some forms of family crises, such as parental geographical mobility, are feared to have a detrimental effect on education that they lead to fostering; and in this case they may be considered indirectly as forms of educational fostering.

The final conclusion of this chapter concerns the effects of educational assistance in general and educational fostering in particular on relationships within the extended family. It appears that during the course of their education, young people from lower status backgrounds, and particularly those from remote areas, tend to strengthen their relationships with higher status benefactors at the expense of those with lower status parents; and this may involve a partial transfer of filial allegiance from the latter to the former. A similar tendency was noted among the students from rural areas at Fourah Bay College: many of them
chose higher status relatives as next of kin in preference to rural parents. In the past such higher status guardians were often Creoles, which was disruptive to the family life of the socially mobile Provincial, though it did help him adjust to his new position in society. Today, however, such guardians are usually relatives; and the flexibility of relationships within the extended family allows the socially mobile individual to realign himself with higher status benefactors without such severe disruption of his relationships with his lower status parents.

The process of social realignment through educational fostering may be an important mechanism for the successful adjustment of the socially mobile individual in a rapidly changing society. The fostering of a young person attending school with a guardian of higher socio-economic status than his own parents allows for his "anticipatory socialisation" into the "class" which he is probably about to enter; and it also facilitates his adjustment by strengthening his relationships with people in this class at the expense of those in his class of origin.

This may have important implications for the emergence of a new pattern of social stratification. Fraenkal's suggestion that the extended family may promote social mobility has already been noted (Fraenkal, 1964, p. 219); and we may now see that there are two aspects to this. In the first place, members of the extended family provide the financial and other assistance which allows the young person from a humble background
to acquire an education. And secondly, the flexibility of social relationships within the extended family allows the young person with an education to realign himself with relatives of a higher socio-economic level than his own parents; and in this way class divisions are encouraged rather than hindered by the ties of the extended family. This point will be developed further in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 7: The extended family, education and social stratification.

In the last chapter it was shown that as young people from lower status homes obtain an education, they often receive assistance from benefactors other than their parents; and it was suggested that this may involve some weakening of their relationships with their parents at the expense of their relationships with their educational benefactors. Young people, from higher status homes, on the other hand, are more likely to be supported while at school by their own parents, who thus remain the most important relatives in their lives.

In the present chapter we will examine whether such a pattern persists even after the respondents leave school, with those of higher status backgrounds retaining more contact with their parents than those who have been socially mobile from lower status homes. Two main indices of the nature of the relationships between respondents and their families will be examined: firstly, we will look at their residential patterns, to see if respondents from higher status backgrounds are more likely to be still living with their parents than those from lower status backgrounds; and secondly, we will look at the extent to which respondents give money to their parents and other relatives, to see what this can tell us about the pattern of relationships within the extended family. From such data it should be possible to build up an impression not only of the respondents' current relationships with their parents, but also with the other members of their extended families, and particularly with those who helped them while at school.
These results may have important implications for the development of social stratification in Sierra Leone. In the introductory chapter to this thesis it was suggested that the rapid rate of social mobility in developing societies results in many relationships of kinship, and particularly those between parents and children, cutting across incipient lines of stratification, thus preventing the emergence of social classes. But if, as suggested in the last chapter, young people from lower status homes tend to transfer part of their filial allegiance from their parents to guardians of higher socio-economic status, then this objection to the use of class terminology in the African situation would not be so important. In realigning themselves with higher status guardians, such respondents would be strengthening their relationships within the class they were about to enter at the expense of their other kinship relationships outside it; and this would in fact encourage the emergence of social classes. The material presented in this chapter provides further evidence of this.

Residential patterns and kinship.

Firstly, let us examine residential patterns among the respondents; and particularly the variations in these between respondents from differing socio-economic backgrounds. Respondents were asked to state with whom they were currently living; and a summary of their answers is given in Table 7.1. From these data, it appears that at the time they were interviewed, about one third of respondents were still living with their par-

513.
## TABLE 7.1: Accommodation by level of education of father.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accommodation</th>
<th>Level of education of father</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td>13 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives</td>
<td>32 (29%)</td>
<td>13 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relatives</td>
<td>9 ( 8%)</td>
<td>0 ( - )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renting</td>
<td>62 (56%)</td>
<td>17 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>111 (100%)</td>
<td>43 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Information on this is available for only 246 respondents, the other four interviews being incomplete.

ents, another third rented for themselves, or lived in quarters provided by their employers, a quarter lived with other relatives, while the rest lived with friends or other non-relatives. Apart from parents, the most frequently mentioned relatives were uncles (15 cases), brothers (11), grandmothers (8), cousins (8) and aunts (7). Grandmothers and aunts were most often mentioned by Creoles, while uncles, brothers and cousins were most often mentioned by Provincials. This seems to confirm the previous findings that female relatives are more important for Creoles, while male relatives are more important for Provincials. The five married women in the sample stayed with their husbands, and the 11 remaining respondents stayed with a variety of other relatives, including sisters, grandfathers and in-laws.

1 As explained in the last chapter, these kinship terms should be understood in a classificatory sense.
Of particular interest here is to examine whether there are any significant variations in residential patterns between respondents from high and low status homes. This may be illustrated by looking at either the variations between Creoles and Provincials, or between respondents from educated and illiterate homes. Looking first at the former, it appears that while 69% of Creole respondents were still living with their parents, and only 8% were renting, only 13% of Provincial respondents were still living with their parents, and 53% were either renting or living in quarters. In terms of parental educational levels, similar results were found: thus 68% of sample members whose fathers had post-primary education were still living with at least one parent, compared with only 7% of those whose fathers had no Western education; and, on the other hand, 56% of the latter were living in rented accommodation, compared with only 11% of the former. It is therefore apparent that respondents from lower status homes are more likely to leave their parental home than those of higher status backgrounds, which confirms the findings of the last chapter.

The explanation for this is not difficult to find. Most young educated people wish to live in towns, for it is mainly in the urban centres that there is a concentration of the best educational and occupational opportunities. For the same reasons most educated parents — and particularly Creoles — are also found in the towns; and it is therefore possible for their children to continue staying with them while at the same time taking advantage of the opportunities provided by the urban environment.
Children from illiterate, rural backgrounds, on the other hand, must leave their parental homes if they wish to participate in the economically and socially rewarding roles available in the urban environment. Such socially mobile individuals are what have been called "spiralists" - that is they are geographically mobile at the same time as they are socially mobile - and geographical distance reduces the frequency of their interaction with their lower status kinsmen.\(^1\) This is of course particularly true of the children of farmers, who must move to towns to find jobs suitable for their level of education. The children of the urban proletariat, who would not necessarily have to be geographically mobile to find elite or sub-elite jobs, and would thus find it possible to continue living with their parents, have the least opportunity of achieving social mobility, as was seen in Chapter 2. Thus, for purely geographical, environmental reasons, there will tend to be some degree of social separation between socially mobile individuals and their lower status relatives; and this will be favourable to the emergence of social classes. It also seems possible that the upwardly mobile individual may prefer, for financial or social reasons, to restrict his interaction with his lower status relatives; but the present study provides no direct evidence on this.

Of course the analysis of residential patterns is only one way of assessing the relationships between parents and children; and by itself gives a very incomplete impression of the

\(^1\) For the origin of this term, see Watson (1964). See also Whyte (1956) for an American version.
strength and nature of such relationships. Though a young person may have established a separate home from his or her parents, the strength of the parent-child relationship may be maintained through regular visits, and the exchange of letters, gifts, money, and so on. Unfortunately, due to shortage of time, it was not possible to thoroughly investigate all of these possibilities; but some additional information is available.

For example, some information was collected on the frequency of respondents' contacts with their parents; but it is neither complete, nor particularly reliable. This information is summarised in Table 7.2. Of course the overall trend tends to reflect the residential pattern, with Creoles being more likely to still live with their parents, and hence to see them more frequently. Even among those who do not still live with their parents, however, it seems that a similar pattern is found: among Creoles not living with their parents on whom sufficient information is available, it appears that 43% had seen at least one of their parents in the last week, and only 7% had not seen a parent during the last six months, while among provincials not living with their parents, only 9% had seen a parent in the last week, and 33% had not seen a parent in the last six months.

There is also a similar pattern of differentiation within the provincial population, with those from higher status backgrounds appearing to have a higher frequency of interaction with their parents than those from lower status backgrounds. In residential terms, 29% of provincial respondents with educated fathers were still living with at least one of their parents.
### TABLE 7.2: Tribe and educational level of fathers by last time of seeing a parent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe and educational level of fathers</th>
<th>Living with a parent</th>
<th>Last time of seeing a parent (excluding those living with parents)</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Within last week</td>
<td>1 week-1 month</td>
<td>1 month-6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providinals (fathers educated)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providinals (fathers illiterate)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excluding four respondents whose interviews were not completed.
compared with only 7% of those with illiterate fathers; while of those provincials not living with their parents on whom sufficient information is available, 50% of those with educated fathers had seen at least one of their parents in the last month, compared with only 19% of those with illiterate fathers. This pattern may again be explained largely in geographical terms, for educated parents are more likely than illiterate parents to live in towns, thus facilitating social interaction between them and their educated children.

**Patterns of expenditure and kinship.**

Respondents were also asked about their expenditure patterns; and particularly about the extent to which they gave money regularly to their parents and other relatives. This may be used as an index of the strength of social relationships between respondents and their various relatives; and we will be particularly interested in how it varies between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds. Although, as has been shown above, respondents from lower status backgrounds are less likely to live with their parents than respondents from higher status backgrounds, it seems possible that they will be more likely to send money to their parents, for it is the poorer parents who will be particularly in need of financial assistance. So it seems likely that family solidarity between upwardly mobile respondents and their lower status parents would be more often manifest in the sending of remittances than in common residence patterns; and this hypothesis will be tested in this section.

---

1 Thus provincials with educated fathers made up three fifths of provincials still living with at least one parent, though they constituted just over a quarter of all provincials.
**TABLE 7.3: Tribe by average amount of money given to parents per month.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Less than Le5</th>
<th>Le5-Le10</th>
<th>Le11-Le20</th>
<th>over Le20</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This table is based on 246 respondents on whom enough information is available.

Respondents were asked about how much money, on average, they gave to their parents each month; and the results are set out in Table 7.3, broken down by tribe. Because of the generalised nature of the question, the desire of some respondents to impress the interviewer with their filial piety, the lack of external checks, and the rather arbitrary choice of a monthly period, whereas many respondents may have given money to their parents on a more irregular basis, these figures may be rather distorted, particularly in an upward direction, and they must therefore be treated with some caution. It may be that in a number of cases they represent aspirations rather than actualities, especially...
as many of the respondents were short of money. Even aspirations to give money to parents, however, may be taken as an index of the strength of extended family ties, and hence they may still have some validity for the present purpose.

According to respondents' replies, 40% of them gave no monthly money to their parents, 24% gave less than L5 (mainly between L2 and L5), 20% gave between L5 and L10, 13% gave between L11 and L20, and 3% claimed to give more than L20 to their parents every month. It should be remembered, however, that 40 of the respondents were unemployed, and therefore hardly in a position to give anything to their parents. Of the remaining respondents who were earning a regular income, and therefore in a better position to give money to their parents, 71% gave money to their parents each month, with most of these (48%) giving between L2 and L10, and most of the remainder (15%) between L11 and L20. It should also be remembered that a number of respondents had lost both parents (15), and for this reason would not be making contributions to them. Of employed respondents with at least one parent alive, over three quarters (147/191) were making some financial contribution to their parents. Thus, if we are to take respondents' answers at their face value, it appears that most gave money regularly to their parents, indicating the continuing strength of the parent-child relationship, but the amounts of money involved are often small.

Of course the amount of money a respondent can give to his parents also depends on his level of income. The analysed figures above take no account of the proportion the absolute amount
TABLE 7.4: Tribe by proportion of income given to parents each month.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>less than (1/8)</th>
<th>(1/8-1/4)</th>
<th>(1/4-1/2)</th>
<th>over (1/2)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>provincials</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) This table excludes the 40 unemployed respondents, and also four respondents on whom no information is available.

represents of the total income of respondents. Looking now at the proportions of their incomes which employed respondents gave to their parents, as in Table 7.4, it appears that 29% gave nothing to their parents, 19% gave less than one eighth, 25% gave between one eighth and one quarter, 23% gave between one quarter and one half, and 4% gave over one half of their income to their parents. Thus, though many respondents may have exaggerated the amount they gave to their parents, it does appear that the majority gave something each month, and this might amount to anything up to half their salary.

We may now turn to how financial contributions to parents varied between respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds. The hypothesis was put forward that respondents from lower status
and presumably poorer homes would send more money to their parents than respondents from higher status homes. This is because the parents of the former are more likely to be in need of financial assistance than the parents of the latter. An examination of Tables 7.3 and 7.4, however, reveals that there is a slight tendency for the reverse to be true. Thus, from Table 7.3 it can be seen that 48% of provincials gave nothing to their parents, compared with only 29% of creoles; and 52% of creoles gave over 1e5 per month, compared with only 25% of provincials. This may be partly due to the fact that a higher proportion of provincials are unemployed. But even when the unemployed are excluded, as in Table 7.4, the effect is still noticeable: thus only 22% of employed creoles gave nothing to their parents compared with 33% of employed provincials. Another factor which may have been partially responsible for the difference between creoles and provincials is the lower death rate among creole parents, but it seems unlikely that this would have a decisive effect.

What seems to be crucial is that a higher proportion of creoles were still living at home with their parents; and part of the money which they gave to their parents may be considered as payment for board and lodging. Provincials, because they tended to live away from home, less often had to contribute to their family for board and lodging; and this probably explains why they were less likely than creoles to make payments to their parents. When they did give money to their parents, then, it was more likely to be in the nature of a "pure gift"; and perhaps it is then surprising that so many of them did in fact give gifts to their parents each month.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe and residence</th>
<th>Proportion of income to parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Creoles living with parents</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles not living with parents</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provincials living with parents</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials not living with parents</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total living with parents</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total not living with parents</strong></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand total</strong></td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This table does not include unemployed respondents and four others on whom insufficient information is available.
Data on this are set out in Table 7.5. Firstly, it can be seen from this Table that respondents who lived with their parents were more likely to give them money each month than those who lived elsewhere; and the former, on average, also gave larger amounts than the latter. Thus of those who lived with their parents, only 11% gave no money to them, and 57% gave over one quarter of their income, compared with equivalent figures of 39% and 12% for those not living with their parents. Further examination of the figures reveals that the higher proportion of Creoles compared with provincials giving financial contributions to their parents merely results from the fact that a higher proportion of Creoles than provincials come into the category still staying with their parents. In fact provincials living with their parents tend to give them more than do Creoles living with their parents, 93% of provincials living with their parents giving them over a quarter of their income, compared with only 48% of Creoles. For those living away from home, the amounts given by Creoles and provincials to their parents are roughly the same, though again the provincials have a slight lead.

It is then possible to come to the following conclusions about how the relationships between parents and children vary between different status levels. Respondents from higher status homes are more likely to remain in their parental homes while in their twenties, and thus retain a strong bond with their parents, while those from lower status homes who have been socially mobile are likely to have also been geographically mobile, which attenuates their relationships with their parents. Even those from
lower status homes, however, do maintain their relationships with their parents through visits, letters and, as illustrated here, the sending of gifts, particularly in the form of money, though these "gifts" tend to be fewer than among those with upper status backgrounds, mainly because the "gifts" are less likely to be partly payment for board and lodging. In this case they are more in the nature of a "pure gift", and indicate even more clearly the wish to preserve the kinship relationship, or at least to show gratitude for educational help. In addition, of course, poor parents are more in need of financial help than rich parents; and indeed many respondents from better-off homes said that they did not need to give money to their parents because they were rich, or that they only gave money to cover the cost of their own food.

It would seem likely that, apart from the complications raised by the question of board and lodging, which leads those from higher status homes to give more to their parents than they would do otherwise, the amount of money given to them would tend to vary directly with the extent of upward social mobility of the children. The individual who starts high and stays there does not need to give much to his parents because they are already well-off, while the individual of lowly origins who remains there is not himself in a good position to help his parents. It is the individual who is socially mobile upwards who should be best able to transfer money to his parents; and the more he is mobile, the more he should be able to give them.
Although this pattern may be found in the wider community, however, it is not as noticeable in the present sample as might be expected. This may well be because of the narrowness of the sample in socio-economic terms: it may be that as members of the sub-elite, respondents have not been sufficiently socially mobile to be able to discharge their family obligations as they would like. It may also indicate either a continuing sense of obligation to their family among the upper groups in the sample, or some degree of laxity among the lower groups. It should also be noted that the giving of money to needy parents does not necessarily indicate an intimate social relationship; and it would seem likely that even among some of the respondents who fulfil their obligations to their parents in monetary terms, there is nevertheless increasing social distance between them and their parents. Unfortunately, however, the evidence available here does not allow the point to be taken further.

One interesting point to emerge, however, is that almost as many respondents gave money to other relatives as gave money to their parents: thus 56% of all respondents claimed to give money regularly to relatives apart from their parents, compared with 59% who claimed to give money regularly to their parents. If the giving of money may be used as an index of the strength of social relationships, then it would appear that for the respondents, relationships with non-parental relatives are almost as important as relationships with the parents themselves. This would be consistent with the hypothesis put forward above that many respondents strengthen their relationships with other kins-
TABLE 7.6: Tribe by proportion of income per month given to non-parental relatives.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Less than 1/8</th>
<th>1/8-1/4</th>
<th>1/4-1/2</th>
<th>Over 1/2</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provinals</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ These figures do not include the 40 unemployed respondents, nor the four respondents on whom no information is available.

More detailed figures on the money given regularly to non-parental relatives are set out in Table 7.6. Of employed respondents, it appears that one third gave nothing to non-parental relatives, while one quarter gave less than one eighth of their monthly income, another one quarter gave between one eighth and one quarter, 15% gave between one quarter and one half, and 2% claimed to give over half their income to other relatives each month. There appears to be a slight tendency for Provinals to give more to other relatives than Creoles, 37% of employed Creoles giving nothing to other relatives, compared with only 30% of employed Provinals; and 53% of employed Provinals giving...
over one eighth of their income compared with only 29% of employed Creoles. This may indicate the greater strength of the extended family among provincials, but it is perhaps surprising that the difference between Creoles and provincials is not greater in this respect.

More specifically, the difference between Creoles and provincials is partly a reflection of the greater help received by provincials from non-parental relatives, either while at school or at the time of interview, most of the "gifts" going to people who had given various forms of help to the respondents. Of all the employed respondents who gave money to relatives apart from their parents, about 65% (89/138) gave money to relatives to whom they were in some way indebted, either living with them (36 cases) or being fed by them (25 cases) at the time of interview, or having been helped by them while at school (23 cases). Money given by respondents to people to whom they were not indebted was generally of a small amount, three quarters (37/49) of such cases representing less than one eighth of the income of the respondent concerned, and the remainder less than one quarter. Of cases where there was indebtedness, on the other hand, only 17% (15/89) involved less than one eighth of the respondent's income, 44% (39/89) between one eighth and one quarter, and the remaining 39% (35/89) over one quarter of the respondent's total income. Those actually living with relatives were particularly likely to give a large proportion of their total income, 89% (32/36) giving over one eighth of their income, and 45% (16/36) giving over one quarter. Thus many of the larger payments to

1 Creoles gave money mostly to people they were actually liv-
relatives, as to parents, were part of a pattern of indebtedness; and this may partly explain why Provincials tend to make more and larger payments than Creoles, having accumulated more debts to such relatives in the course of their careers. Even among the payments actually made to relatives, a higher proportion of those made by Provincials was to relatives to whom they were indebted - thus almost three quarters of payments made by Provincials (59/82) were to relatives to whom they were indebted, compared with only about one half (29/56) of payments made by Creoles.

However, it is not my intention to argue that money given to parents and other relatives is merely the contractual repayment of debts. Most respondents questioned on this point rejected such an interpretation. If course, as has been shown, many of the payments did involve some contractual element, as in the cases of respondents giving money to parents or other relatives with whom they were staying, or at least a moral obligation, as in the cases of money given to relatives who supported the respondents while at school. But such payments may also be seen as part of a wider moral system enjoining mutual aid among members of the kinship group - i.e. they involve "gemeinshaft" rather than "gesellschaft" relationships. The extent of such payments, as indicated by the results of the present survey, shows

\[ \text{ing with, while Provincials were divided between the three categories} \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{45% of such payments involved less than £2 per month, and} \\
\text{86% less than £5.}
\end{align*} \]

1 Caldwell makes a similar point. (Caldwell, 1965).
See also Harrell-Bond (1972, p. 95).

530.
the continuing vitality of the extended family as a social institution. Another interesting point to emerge is that, although there is considerable overlap, among Creoles relatively more mutual aid is confined within the parental family, while among Provincials a wider range of relatives, and even non-relatives, is likely to be involved. Indeed this provides some support for the hypothesis that among Provincials there is some deflection of filial loyalty from parents to other relatives, and particularly to those who helped them with their education.

The payment of school fees.

It appears from a number of previous studies that educated people in West Africa expect to give assistance to their families mainly in the form of payment of school fees and other educational expenses for their younger relatives. Thus Caldwell reports the following results on a sample of students at the University of Ghana:

"Almost three quarters of students expect to spend money on at least one brother or sister and almost half on at least one nephew or niece. Much of this expenditure will be specifically allocated for the education of these relatives. It is the kind of educational chain reaction mentioned before. If money has been received for education, it is thought fitting that the recipient should later repay or express gratitude by assisting other relatives, especially siblings, with their education" (Caldwell, 1965, p. 192).

Harrell-Bond also obtained similar results in her survey of students at Fourah Bay College. Reporting on this survey, she states:

"...... students expect to be giving the most financial assistance to younger relatives who will be of school age."
The most acceptable request a relative can make is for the educational costs of some child in the family. Paying for the education of a younger relative is viewed as an investment in the future of the entire family" (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 340).

Harrell-Bond also found that about half of all Creoles and three quarters of provincials expected to help siblings financially, and a third of Creoles and half of provincials expected to help nephews and nieces.¹ Informants in the present sample also gave the impression that educational assistance to younger relatives would be one of the most important forms of financial assistance they would give to their families. It reflected the high priority which they gave to Western education, and eclectically combined this new value with a traditional one, namely the importance of mutual aid within the extended family.

Given these impressions, it would appear that the actual amounts paid by respondents for school fees are in fact rather small. Thus at the primary level, 48 respondents were paying school fees for 73 children, with the majority (32) paying for only one child; while at the secondary level, 23 respondents were paying fees for 28 children, with a further nine making partial contributions to the payment of secondary fees. In total 67 respondents were paying whole or part fees for younger relatives in school, which is about a quarter of all respondents, and about a third of all employed respondents. The amounts involved also seemed quite small: of those paying fees, 60% (40/67) were paying on average less than Le2 per month, 31% (21/67) between Le2 and Le5, and only 9% (6/67) were paying more than an

¹ 32% of Creoles and 47% of provincials expected to give to uncles and aunts, and 21% of Creoles and 33% of provincials expected to give to grandparents (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 339).
average of Ls5 per month. This represents less than one eighth of their incomes for 93% (62/67) of the respondents concerned. If payments for educational purposes really constitute one of the most important parts of expenditure on relatives, and yet fee payment, as a concrete instance, is found to be relatively rare, this suggests that the abstract estimates made by respondents of the total amounts they spent on their relatives may be too high. They should probably be treated with some caution, except perhaps in the cases in which respondents were actually staying with the relatives concerned, in which case the money was at least partly for board and lodging. The fact that a higher proportion of respondents did not give financial assistance, particularly for education, to their relatives, may be an indication of the fact that they are not yet considered sufficiently established themselves to be able to discharge such responsibilities. Certainly if they succeed in achieving further social mobility, heavier demands for assistance will be made on them by their relatives.

Creoles were slightly less likely to pay school fees than provincials: thus 86% (83/97) of all Creoles, and 81% (72/89) of employed Creoles were paying no fees, compared with 66% (99/149) of all provincials, and 56% (66/117) of employed provincials. This again is an indication that most Creoles support their own children in school, while many provincial children are at least partially supported by members of the extended family. Probably this is mainly because most Creoles are better-off than provincials, and so in a better position to
support their own children in school; but it may also result from the fact that Creoles tend to put more emphasis on the nuclear family relative to the extended family than Provincialis. Indeed the two things are probably related. As individuals in the community become more prosperous, it is likely that, other things remaining equal, they will also become more self-sufficient - i.e. mutual aid in the extended family will become less important for them. This seems already to be the case among Creoles, as shown both in this chapter and in Chapter 6; and it may be indicative of the likely trend in the rest of the society. If the trend does indeed follow the Creole pattern, with a narrowing of relationships within the extended family, and an increasing emphasis on the nuclear family, then it will probably facilitate the emergence of a new pattern of social stratification.

Summary and conclusions.

It appears, then, that the results presented in this chapter support the conclusions of the last chapter on the relationship between social mobility and kinship: in particular, it is being suggested that while those from higher status backgrounds retain strong relationships with their parents, there is a tendency for some weakening in the relationship between socially mobile individuals and their lower status parents. This was illustrated by the fact that the latter are much less likely to live with their parents than the former; and in general it was found that those of lower socio-economic backgrounds interact less frequently with their parents than those of more privileged backgrounds. Even in
financial terms, though it might be expected that those from poorer homes would find it more necessary to send money to their parents, it appears that those from higher status homes are more likely to give their parents money; but this is particularly associated with the fact that they are more likely to be staying with their parents, and hence giving their parents money for their board and lodging.

Although the nuclear family of parents and children appears to be strongest among those of higher status backgrounds, particularly the Creoles, the extended family was of relatively greater importance among Provinceals. Provinceals were more likely to have received help with their education from non-parental relatives than Creoles; and at the time they were interviewed, they seemed slightly more likely to be staying with non-parental relatives, and to be giving them money. What seemed to be happening in many cases was that these respondents were transferring part of their filial loyalty from their parents to these other relatives - very often the relatives who helped them with their education; and it was noted that these relatives are often of higher socio-economic status than the respondents' own parents. Such internal readjustments within the extended family are allowed by the flexible and non-particularistic nature of many of these relationships; and facilitated by the classificatory form of kinship terminology. Such kinship terms as "father", "mother", "brother" or"sister" (or their colloquial equivalents) may be used to designate anyone who occupies such a role relative to ego.

535.
It seems likely that both the tendencies noted above — namely the tendency for lower status provincials to transfer part of their filial loyalty from their parents to other relatives who are often of higher status, and the tendency for creoles and others of high status to concentrate on the nuclear rather than the extended family — will encourage the emergence of a more class-like system of social stratification in Sierra Leone. Insofar as socially mobile provincials have been fostered while at school, then there tends to be a reduction in the importance of their relationships with lower status parents, which would otherwise cut across lines of incipient stratification; and insofar as their guardians were of higher status than their parents, this provides them with a new set of relationships at a higher social level. Individuals of higher status origins, on the other hand, tend to retain stronger links with their parents; but in this case these relationships do not cut across potential lines of stratification, but tend to be concentrated within the same or adjacent strata. Such upper status individuals have less need of assistance from other members of their extended families, and hence they tend to turn inwards to focus their interests in the nuclear family.  

1 As the standard of living of the community as a whole rises, it seems possible that such a pattern will become more common, with greater emphasis being placed on the nuclear family relative to the extended family; and such a development would probably also encourage the development of social classes.

This need not always be the case, however: some high status individuals may still encourage members of their extended family for reasons of prestige or political support.

536.
as it reduces the importance of the wider relationships of kinship which may cut across incipient lines of social stratification.

Insofar as the socially mobile individual has weakened relationships with his lower status kinsmen, what are the reasons for this? Is it because of the deliberate manipulation of social relationships, with higher status individuals attempting to cut themselves off from their lower status kin? Or is it merely the result of impersonal forces operating within the social system? Probably both have an effect. Harrell-Bond, in her study of the elite in Sierra Leone, found that many of her respondents had ambivalent relationships with other members of their extended families, and tended to avoid them. As she writes:

"In view of the conflicts between traditional urban values (sic) and the social ambitions of the professional group, it is understandable to find that considerable tensions exist in their social relationships. Although family ties impose a heavy burden, the professional cannot afford to break with his relatives. He must learn to manage them adroitly, and avoidance seems to be the main technique. Most people disagree with the statement, 'I would prefer to live in a location which would make it easier for relatives to get together'. In fact, most were quite firm in stating they would prefer to live far enough away so that visits from kinsmen could be limited. Most of the professional group also say they prefer to spend their leisure time with friends rather than relatives" (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 129).^1

In particular, Harrell-Bond picks out the fear of poisoning as one of the most important mechanisms by which professionals in Sierra Leone manage their social relationships. As she writes:

---

^1 See also Harrell-Bond (1972, p. 343).

537.
"The consequences of the fear of poisoning, I suggest, is that the individual is permitted to remain aloof in almost all social relationships, which gives him 'breathing space' for him to survey the situation so that he may deliberate and decide to which set of social relationships he will ultimately commit himself. ... "The care necessary to avoid the possibility of being poisoned also, I suggest, provides a mechanism for managing social relations in this highly competitive situation" (Harrell-Bond, 1972, pp. 117-118, 143).

Thus Harrell-Bond places much emphasis on the deliberate nature of the pattern of social relationships. She talks of the individual "managing" his social relationships; or of "very self-consciously and deliberately going about the process of picking his way through a very complicated social environment" (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 120).

So it appears that conscious motivation is an important determinant of the pattern of social relationships, though in many cases the manipulation of social relationships is probably less conscious and deliberate than the above account suggests. In the case of an upper status individual who uses the fear of poisoning to increase the social distance between himself and his lower status relatives, for example, it seems unlikely that he would admit his more selfish "motives" even to himself: the process probably operates more indirectly through such subconscious psychological mechanisms as the projection of guilt. For example, in the case cited in Chapter 5 in which a respondent claimed to be unable to return to his home village because of the danger of poisoning, he explained this by the fact that other villagers were jealous because his brother had grown up to be a ruler. But at a deeper level, the respondent and his brother
may have been quite glad to loosen their relationships with poorer relatives, who would have otherwise made excessive financial demands on them. Possibly they felt guilty about this, and projected their own sense of guilt and hostility onto these relatives, who thus became, to them at least, malignant witches and potential poisoners.  

The present study, however, provides little evidence on the effects of such motivation, either conscious or unconscious, on the patterns of social relationships. What it does indicate is the importance of structural factors in increasing the social distance between socially mobile individuals and their lower status parents. As most educational facilities, and the occupational opportunities for their products, are concentrated in the towns, the socially mobile individuals, who are frequently from the rural areas, are usually also geographically mobile; and for this impersonal structural or geographical reason alone, they tend to have less frequent interaction with their parents.  

This is not to deny the possibility, however, that in some cases, as suggested in the quotation from Harrell-Bond given above, individuals may deliberately use geographical mobility to increase the geographical and hence social distance between themselves and other members of their extended families. The relationship between geographical mobility and the pattern of social relationships will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter.

1 For other examples of African migrants afraid of witchcraft or poisoning in their home villages, see Maxwick, (1965, ch. 9; Plotnicov, 1967, pp. 201-2, 297).

2 As pointed out in Chapter 2, the children of lower status parents in urban areas are unlikely to achieve social mobility.
CHAPTER 8: Migration: its character, causes and consequences.

In this chapter we may move on to examine the pattern of geographical mobility or migration among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone; and also the causes and consequences of this pattern. In particular, this will allow us to take up and develop two points raised in previous chapters. Firstly, in Chapters 5 and 6, the hypothesis was put forward that most fostering was now for educational purposes; and, as a corollary of this, it was suggested that the pattern would mainly consist of children moving from smaller to larger towns in search of better educational facilities. In Chapter 6 it was shown that the rate of fostering was indeed higher among respondents from smaller settlements; but it was not possible in that chapter to examine the characteristics of their geographical destinations. We may now look at this other side of the picture to see if most children leaving their parental homes did actually tend to move to larger towns than those of their origin, which would suggest that most fostering in the present sample would at least have a favourable effect on children's education, if it was not actually practised to promote their education.

Secondly, in the last chapter, it was suggested that the relatively low frequency of interaction between socially mobile individuals and their parents was because of their high rate of geographical mobility, respondents from low status backgrounds being more likely to have been geographically mobile than respondents from high status backgrounds. The data on fostering pre-
suggested in Chapter 6 and on residential patterns in Chapter 7 suggested that this was true; but the data in this chapter allow this proposition to be examined in greater detail from a geographical point of view.

Apart from these main points, this chapter will also look generally at the pattern of migration among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone, and speculate on the main causes of this migration. In examining the overall pattern of migration, however, it is especially important to remember the extent to which the results on this must have been influenced by the drawing up of the sample. As most respondents were interviewed in the larger centres, especially Freetown, the pattern which emerges is of course one of migration to these centres. This is probably the typical pattern of migration among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone; but it has to be remembered that the present sample makes no allowance for deviant cases.

**Education and migration.**

As was noted in the introductory chapter, school places in Sierra Leone are unevenly distributed geographically relative to the population as a whole, being concentrated particularly in Freetown and the other larger towns; and this imbalance in the distribution of educational facilities is increasingly marked at successive levels of the educational hierarchy. This gives urban children an educational advantage over their rural counterparts. As noted in Chapter 2, however, the latter are still drawn into the educational system in large numbers, and hence it
TABLE 8.1: Size of place of birth by total number of schools attended.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of place of birth</th>
<th>Total number of schools</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freetown</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5,000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000-4,999</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1,000</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

is necessary for them to move geographically in order to attend school, particularly at the secondary level. It seems probable that this necessity for geographical mobility for educational purposes is the cause of much fostering among members of the present sample.

That village children experience more educational difficulties than town children is suggested by the fact that the former, on average, attend more schools than the latter, as shown by the figures in Table 8.1. Whereas well over half of the children born in Freetown and the other towns with a population of more
than 5,000 people had attended only two schools — i.e. one primary school and one secondary school — this is true of only about one quarter of the children from villages of less than 1,000 people, whereas, on the other hand, 31% of the latter had been to four or more schools, compared with only 15% of the former. It seems likely that this reflects the need for respondents from smaller villages to move from school to school in search of education; and this mobility may in turn explain why such respondents tended to live in a larger number of households while at school, as seen in Chapter 6. It is also possible, however, that in some instances this causal relationship may work in the opposite direction: Provincial children may sometimes have to move because of difficulties with their foster-parents, and this may result in them attending a larger number of schools.

Looking at the figures for primary and secondary schools separately, it appears that the average number of primary schools attended by respondents was 1.63, and of secondary schools was 1.23, both these figures varying indirectly with the size of place of birth. It is interesting to note that on average the Sierra Leonean students at Fourah Bay College had attended a larger number of secondary schools than the respondents, their average being around 1.5, although a few of them had not been to secondary school at all. This difference may be explained by the fact that students had spent a longer average time at secondary school than respondents. In particular, they had often attended sixth form, and in many cases they had to change schools before entering sixth form as only a few schools provide a full sixth form course of studies.

543.
TABLE 8.2: Province of birth by location of first primary school relative to place of birth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of birth</th>
<th>Same town or village</th>
<th>Same chiefdom</th>
<th>Same Province</th>
<th>Other Province</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Sierra Leone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of schools attended also varies with the province of birth: both respondents and students born in the Western Area had attended fewer schools, on average, than those from other Provinces; and among the latter, though the order is not invariable, there is a tendency for those from the Southern Province to have attended fewest schools and those from the East to have attended most. It may again be noted that this distribution is quite similar to the number of households lived in while.
TABLE 8.3: Province of birth by Province of last primary school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of birth</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Sierra Leone</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At school, for in that case those from the Western Area lived in fewest households and those from the Eastern Province lived in most, but the order of the other two Provinces has been reversed.

Differences between Provinces are also manifest in the extent to which respondents had to leave home to attend school. Thus Table 8.2 shows that about two fifths of respondents first attended school outside their own town or village of birth, this figure rising to two third of those born in the Northern Province and over half of those from the Southern and Eastern Provinces, compared with only one tenth of those born in the Western Area. It is particularly noticeable that two fifths of those born in the
Southern Province first went to school outside their own Province of birth, which is surprising in view of the long educational traditions of this Province.

At successive stages in their educational careers children from the Northern, Southern and Eastern Provinces tend to move further away from their natal homes, whereas those from the Western Area stay put, or just move to Freetown if they come from one of the villages in the Province. At no stage do more than 8% of respondents born in the Western Area attend school outside their natal Province. Among children from the Southern Province, on the other hand, 61% were already attending school outside their Province of birth by the time they had reached their last primary school, and this is true of 44% of those born in the Northern Province and 23% of those born in the Eastern Province. Equivalent figures for the first secondary school are 61%, 55% and 68%; and for the last secondary school are 61%, 72% and 66% respectively.\(^1\)

These figures indicate the very high rate of out-mobility from the Northern, Southern and Eastern Provinces, especially when contrasted with the low rate of out-mobility from the Western Area. The latter recruits students from the other three Provinces – and especially from the Northern and Southern Provinces – without itself exporting them. To a lesser extent the Southern Province

\(^1\) It is most obvious to emphasise the similarities in the high rates of out-mobility from the three Provinces, especially as the variations between them lack consistency. Thus, for example, the Southern Province, which shows the highest rate of out-mobility at the primary stages has least at the secondary stage; and the Eastern Province, which has least at the primary stages, has most when entry to the first secondary school is considered.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of birth</th>
<th>Province of last secondary school</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Sierra Leone</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

also draws in students from the Eastern and Northern Provinces, but itself exports them to the Western Area, especially from Moyamba District which borders it. So it appears that to some extent at least the Southern Province - and especially Bo Town - retains its importance as the Centre of Provincial secondary education; and its effect seems to be particularly important in so far as it interrupts the flow of migrant students from the Eastern Province, where educational facilities have been especially inadequate, to Freetown. The Northern and Eastern Provinces retain a proportion of their own students, though over half at the secondary level leave to study elsewhere; and they do not attract many
Table 8.5: Province of birth of students at Fourah Bay College (1968/69) by Province of last secondary school.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of birth</th>
<th>Province of last secondary school</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Sierra Leone</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) This table includes students of Sierra Leonean nationality only.

Immigrant students from the other Provinces.\(^1\) This must be attributed to the shortage of school places, particularly at the secondary level, in these two Provinces.

This would then seem to support the hypothesis that stud-

This pattern is confirmed by figures for the origin by District of first year pupils enrolled at secondary schools in Freetown, Bo, Makeni, and Magburaka for the academic year 1968/69, which were kindly made available to me by Ken Swindell.

548.
ents are moving to the Provinces which are better endowed with educational facilities than their own. It should be noted, however, that there must be a fair degree of flexibility in this, for all Provinces have some school places, particularly at the lower educational levels. It seems unlikely that so much mobility at the primary stage would be required by the geographical distribution of school places alone; and some of this mobility—such as the considerable movement from the Southern to the Eastern Province—seems, at least at first sight, to be contrary to the pattern expected from the distribution of school places. It may therefore be suggested that at the primary level the distribution of school places is not the crucial variable in causing long-distance migration, for most children in the sample were born within reasonable distance of a primary school. Such migration is more likely to be caused by the need to find a suitable person to look after the child while at school than by the difficulty in finding a place for it in a primary school. Thus children from the Southern Province who migrated to the East to attend school often went with their own parents or, more often, to join other relatives who were participating in the new prosperity created by the diamond industry.

At the secondary level the geographical imbalance in the distribution of school places is more acute, and competition for them is more keen; and in these circumstances the geographical characteristics of the educational system are more likely to be the crucial determinants of the pattern of migration than at the primary level, though it should be noted that other factors are
also operative in particular cases. The geographical distribution of secondary school places, however, provides limits within which the effects of these other factors must be confined. Thus in moving up the educational hierarchy, we find increasing rates of migration from educationally underdeveloped areas to those with better provision of educational facilities, which means particularly the Western Area. Thus 71% of students at Fourah Bay College completed their secondary education in the Western Area, as did 62% of respondents in the survey; but only 52% of respondents first went to primary school in the Western Area, and only 43% were actually born there. So, although there is considerable flexibility in the pattern, it does suggest that much of the geographical mobility was necessitated by the uneven distribution of school places throughout the country.

The clearest factor affecting rates of migration, however, seems to be the size of place of origin, with students having to move from smaller to larger settlements in the course of their educational careers, as shown in Tables 8.6 and 8.7. Whereas the geographical spread of school places in all Provinces - despite the unevenness of their distribution - allows for some flexibility in most cases in the need for long-range mobility, the concentration of school places in the larger towns often makes mobility imperative for those from the smaller villages if they wish to continue their education at higher levels. Table 8.6 traces the size of place of residence of respondents at all stages in their careers. It shows in the first place that they are already select by origin: thus, while about three quarters of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Free-town 5,000</th>
<th>Over 5,000</th>
<th>1,000-5,000</th>
<th>Under 1,000</th>
<th>Outside country</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population (000's)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>1,634</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's birth</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's birth</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent's birth</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First primary school</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last primary school</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First secondary school</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last secondary school</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First job</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present job</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of points should be made about this table. Firstly, the use of the terms first and last school, first and last job, is not necessarily meant to imply that all respondents attended more than one primary or secondary school, or held more than one job.

Secondly, unemployed respondents were categorised as if they held a job in the town at which they were registered at the labour exchange. Thirdly, respondents were categorised according to the size of town in which their workplace was located rather than the
population of Sierra Leone live in villages of less than 1,000 people, only about one third of respondents, or even of their parents, were born in such small villages; and another third were born in Freetown, although only 6% of all Sierra Leoneans live there. Those respondents from the smaller villages move progressively to larger towns, especially on entering primary and secondary school, so that by the time they leave secondary school, 90% are already living in towns of over 5,000 people, and 61% are in Freetown itself. Although, as explained above, this pattern of migration partly results from the method of sampling, the direction, extent and stage of migration in the sample as a whole does suggest that much of it is caused by educational necessities.

The extent of migration is particularly noticeable among Provincialis, as can be seen from Table 8.7: this shows that while only about one quarter of all Provincialis were born in towns of over 5,000 people, more than three quarters attended their first secondary school in such towns; and a third of them did so in Freetown itself. It also shows that, apart from those born in Freetown, the size of the place in which a person attends secondary school does not vary much with the size of his place of birth, which supports the earlier contention that at the secondary level the distribution of school places is the crucial variable affecting mobility patterns.

Size of town in which they actually resided. These two were usually the same in any case; but, for example, the workers at Sierra Leone Brewery were classified according to the size of Wellington, though some of them lived in Freetown. The workers at S.L.S.T. were all classified as if they worked at Yengema, the H.Q. of S.L.S.T., though a few of them were stationed at outlying plants.
TABLE 3.7: Size of place of birth by size of place of first secondary school (Provincials only).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of place of birth</th>
<th>Size of place of first secondary school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free-town Over 5,000 1,000–5,000 Under 1,000 Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freetown</td>
<td>13 76%  3 18%  1 6%  0 1%  17 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5,000</td>
<td>6 25%  13 54%  1 4%  4 17%  24 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000–5,000</td>
<td>10 26%  21 54%  5 13%  3 8%  39 101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1,000</td>
<td>21 30%  30 43%  9 13%  10 14%  70 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50 33%  67 45%  16 11%  17 11%  150 100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inevitably pupils must move to the larger towns where the secondary schools are mainly situated if they wish to continue their education at this level. The actual extent of mobility at this stage is remarkable: of all Provincials born in the Provinces, only 6% attended their first secondary school and only 4% their last secondary school in their natal chiefdom. This is the mobility which is reflected in the high rate of fostering among Provincials, and in the large number of households in which they lived while attending school.

The high rate of migration is even found among pupils from the largest Provincial towns, though it might not be expect-
ed that they would have to move for educational reasons: thus of the 24 Provinceals born in towns with more than 5,000 people (apart from Freetown), only three attended secondary school in their town or chiefdom of birth. It will be remembered that this was the section of the population who, though leaving home at a relatively late age, and living in relatively few households while at school, were particularly likely to have attended boarding school at the secondary stage. In this case, mobility may have been encouraged by competition to find places in high status boarding schools.

Five main conclusions, then, may be drawn from this section. Firstly, there is a high rate of migration among respondents while at school; and especially among those born in the Provinces. Secondly, much of this migration appears to be towards areas where educational facilities are superior to those in the areas of out-migration, and particularly towards the larger towns where secondary schools are concentrated. Thirdly, from this pattern it may be concluded that much of the migration among respondents is motivated by educational necessity, but it must also be kept in mind that the method of sampling partially predetermined the pattern which would be found. Fourthly, the pattern of migration is largely reflected in the pattern of fostering, as described in Chapter 6, with those from the smaller Provinical villages being most likely to migrate, and also being most likely to be fostered. In addition, it can now be seen that most foster-parents lived in the larger towns, where educational facilities were superior; and these facts together support the conclusions.
of Chapter 6 that migration for educational reasons is one of the main causes of fostering in the present sample. This is not to deny, however, that in some cases the causal chain may operate in the opposite direction, with fostering causing migration, and this perhaps having unintended consequences for educational opportunities, either for better or worse. In addition, even when fostering is specifically for educational reasons, the availability of suitable relatives with whom to foster a child may also affect the exact course of its migration. Looking at the theory advanced here as a whole, however, it must be admitted that there are many gaps in the argument: the conclusions require further testing, and probably this could most usefully be done by intensive case-studies using anthropological techniques.

Finally, it may be noted that most respondents completed their secondary education in the larger towns, which has implications for the frequent assertions about the "drift of school leavers to towns". It is often thought that, perhaps because of the largely academic nature of the school curriculum producing a desire for white collar employment, schools leavers tend to drift to towns to seek employment; but, due to the shortage of suitable jobs, they merely swell the number of unemployed "applicants". Although this may be true of primary school leavers, however, or even of those leaving the lower forms of secondary schools, it does not seem to be the case among respondents in the present survey. Because of the distribution of secondary schools in Sierra Leone, they completed their secondary education in the larger towns, and they cannot therefore be described as "drifting to
towns" on leaving school. They are in such towns already, and the geographical characteristics of the school system can be identified as the main cause of migration among them. In fact, as can be seen from Table 8.6, there appears to be some tendencies for geographical dispersal on leaving school to take up employment; but this is partly illusory, resulting partly from respondents going to work at the Brewery at Wellington, many of whom were actually still living in Freetown.

**Migration and employment.**

It might be thought that as most geographical mobility from smaller to larger towns has been completed before the respondents left school, there would be little mobility between leaving school and obtaining the first employment. This does not seem to be the case, however, for in seeking their first employment, over two fifths (107/250) of respondents were geographically mobile, and about one third (81/25) were mobile between Provinces. Creoles were unlikely to migrate between leaving school and obtaining their first employment: thus only 11% of Creoles moved between Provinces during this period, and 9 out of 11 of these respondents were merely returning to Freetown after completing their education in a school or college in the Provinces. Among provincials, on the other hand, there is a much higher rate of geographical mobility after leaving school, 61% (92/150) being

---

1 In this case movement to work at the Brewery at Wellington has not been counted as migration from Freetown.

2 Nine of these 11 cases were females, 4 of whom were females who attended Magburaka Teacher training college, and 3 of whom attended Harford School for Girls at Moyamba.
mobile, and 47% (70/150) being mobile between Provinces.

The pattern of mobility between Provinces at this stage is examined more closely in Table 8.8. From this it can be seen that the Provinces can be divided into three categories with reference to their migration characteristics. Firstly, there are the Northern and Southern Provinces, which produce secondary school leavers in quite large numbers, but seem to be mainly areas of out-migration. Less than one tenth of respondents finishing secondary school or college in these Provinces remained there, about half migrating to the Eastern Province, and a third to the Western Area. The Southern Province, as the traditional centre of Provincial education, is particularly marked in this respect, for 13% of respondents finished their secondary school there, but only 2% obtained their first job there. Of course, this is partly a matter of sampling, as little interviewing was done in either the Northern or Southern Provinces, but it is also indicative of the migration of secondary school leavers out of these Provinces because of the absence of suitable job opportunities.

The Western Area, on the other hand, shows very little out-migration, and only a modest amount of in-migration: thus 91% of those finishing secondary school or college in the Western Area remained there, and only 16% of those seeking or obtaining their first employment in the Western Area had finished their secondary school or college elsewhere. The Western Area is able to retain its secondary school leavers, partly because of the strong sentimental attachment to it among some of them, particularly the Creoles, but particularly because of the availability of suitable
TABLE 8.8: Geographical mobility by Province between leaving school or college and obtaining the first employment.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of last school or college</th>
<th>Mobile individuals:</th>
<th>Province of first job²</th>
<th>Non-mobile individuals</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ These figures exclude one respondent who was born and held his first job in Monrovia.
² The unemployed are treated as if they held their first job in the town where they were registered at the labour exchange.
employment opportunities; and in view of this it is perhaps surprising that more school leavers did not "drift" to Freetown from elsewhere.

The Eastern Province shows yet another pattern, with a low rate of out-migration and a high rate of in-migration. Of those finishing their secondary schooling in the Eastern Province, only about one fifth appeared to leave the Province in search of employment, but there was a high rate of internal migration within the Province. In fact, only 7% of those seeking or obtaining their first employment in the Province had not been mobile at all after leaving school, either from another Province, or within the Eastern Province itself. Mobility within the Province was stimulated by the dispersed nature of the distribution of educational and occupational opportunities. While in the Western Area, most educational and occupational opportunities are concentrated in Freetown, which makes internal mobility for the secondary school leaver unnecessary, in the Eastern Province the secondary schools are scattered widely in such towns as Kenema, Kailahun, Segbwema, Jaima, Blama, Yengema and Koidu, while the occupational opportunities are partly concentrated as at S.L.S.T. and Kenema Town, and partly scattered, as in teaching and minor clerical employment. Thus, though both the Western and Eastern Provinces have employment opportunities to attract secondary school leavers, much more internal reallocation is necessary in the latter case.

The Eastern Province also attracts a large number of educated migrants from outside, as was explained in Chapter 2. Thus about two thirds of those seeking or obtaining their first
job in the Eastern Province had finished their education elsewhere, particularly in the Southern Province. As explained in Chapter 2, the Eastern Province, with its expanding occupational opportunities, but relatively underdeveloped educational system, is likely to draw in educated personnel from other Provinces. It should be noted, however, that about half of these "immigrants" to the Eastern Province had been born there, and were merely returning to their natal Province, though not necessarily to their home town, after completing their education elsewhere.

On the whole, then, the movement appears to be one in which people move mainly from economically stagnant areas to areas where they feel they would have more opportunity of obtaining suitable employment. As has been pointed out, this involves migration to the growth-poles in the Western and Eastern Provinces; but it may also be seen as a move away from such moribund towns as Magburaka, Kailahun, Kambia, Segbwema and even Bo, where many of the Provincial secondary schools are situated, to more dynamic towns such as Freetown, Kenema and Koidu. But, although as Mitchell points out, the rate and direction of migration may be mainly a function of the differential levels of economic development in the various areas, the actual incidence of migration may be determined by more personal factors (Mitchell, 1959). Thus among respondents in the present survey, although their migration may have been largely motivated by the search for suitable employment, their actual migration patterns appear to have also been strongly affected by their network of kinship and friendship relations. We may now briefly consider the effects of this.
Although respondents might wish to move to areas where occupational opportunities were better to seek employment, their chances of doing this would be affected by where they had suitable friends or relatives with whom to stay while looking for a job. Sometimes the migration of respondents after leaving school is a result of their return to their parental home. This was particularly so among Creoles who completed their education in a boarding school or training college in the Provinces, but a few cases were also found among the provincials. For example, a Mende clerk from Kenema Town had returned to his father's house after finishing Form V in secondary school in Makeni. He remained unemployed for about a year in Kenema, before being taken on as a temporary clerk in the civil service. A Kono clerk at S.L.S.T., whose father had been a clerk at S.L.S.T. before him, also returned to his father's house after completing secondary school in Kenema. He had hoped to continue his education, but his father, who was about to retire, insisted that he return home and get a job to pay for the education of his younger brothers and sisters. The company guaranteed him a job because of the long service of his father. \(^1\)

Especially among provincials, however, other members of the extended family appear to have been more important in this than the parents themselves. This can be illustrated by the case of a Mende fitter from a village near Kenema who had only reached Form II of secondary school at Kailahun when he was forced to leave because of the death of his uncle who had previously been paying his school fees. After leaving school, he went first

\(^1\) This respondent's fees had also been paid by S.L.S.T.
to stay with one of his aunts in Freetown. He had hoped to train as a motor mechanic, but all places for this at the Technical Institute were taken; and so his aunt found him a clerical job with a contractor who was a friend of hers. He did not like the job, however, because he was still interested in becoming a mechanic, and he left after 18 months to return to his home village. Six months later he entered the Technical Institute in Kenema to do a course in carpentry, for again there were no vacancies for motor mechanics; and he successfully completed the three year course. From Kenema he went to Kono to stay with one of his uncles and look for a job, and, despite his training in carpentry, he obtained a job as a fitter grade III at S.L.S.T.

A Mende clerk at S.L.S.T. had finished his secondary education in Freetown, where his brother, an inspector of police, had been responsible for him. His brother went to England on a course for a year, however, and as a result the respondent's education was discontinued. After leaving school he went to stay with a cousin at Lunsar until his brother returned from England. During some of this time the respondent had a part-time job as a petrol pump attendant at a filling station run by a friend, but he was not happy with this as it was not the kind of job for which he had planned. When his brother returned he was posted to Kono, and the respondent accompanied him there. He was unemployed, staying at home reading, for about a year. He had hoped either to go to the technical Institute or to obtain a mining job with S.L.S.T.; but eventually he obtained a clerical job in the security section.
A Temne machine operator at the Brewery had had his first job as a wireless operator with S.L.S.T. After leaving secondary school in Freetown, he remained there for a year without looking for employment, for a cousin from Kono had said that he might pay his fees for further education. But the cousin did not have enough money, and eventually came and took him up to Kono where he was able to recommend him for the job with S.L.S.T.

When a Temne clerk from Yonibana had finished his schooling in Freetown, his sisters and aunts had tried to force him to return home to teach. But he did not really want to take a job, hoping to continue with his education, although he had thought of certain technical jobs, such as carpentry or machine operation. If he did become a teacher, he would rather not work in his home town, so that he could save some money. When he left school he went to visit his uncle who worked as a clerk with S.L.S.T., to see if he could help him get a better job than teaching, and managed to get a job with S.L.S.T. as a time clerk.

In the case of a Kono fitter, he had moved to Yengama after finishing his course at Kenema Technical Institute so as to be near his grandmother who had been the one to give him most help with his education. His father had been unable to pay his school fees, and so his grandmother had done everything for him. She was especially fond of him for his mother was her only daughter, and he was the only child of his mother. On leaving the Technical Institute he obtained a job at S.L.S.T. because this was within 10 miles of his grandmother's village, and he would thus be able to help her.
In some cases the respondents appear to have obtained jobs partly by chance while visiting relatives. Thus a Fula clerk, after finishing secondary school in Bo, went to Kono to visit the wife of his brother who had helped him with his education. He had not been looking for a job, expecting to continue his education in college, but when he saw an advertisement for a clerk with "O"-levels at S.L.S.T. he decided to try for it. After an interview and a small examination, he came out first of the 50 applicants, and got the job. He thought of it as only a holiday job, but in fact remained in it for more than a year until he left to continue his education overseas.

Another clerk at S.L.S.T., a Temne, also appears to have obtained his job without really trying. After leaving school in Makeni, he went first to stay with an elder brother in Freetown for six months, then to a sister in Kabala for three months, and then to another sister in the town of Sedu in Kono District. At this time he was not thinking of getting any job, but only of how to get back to school: he felt discouraged by his exam results, and that taking up employment would be a drawback to his mission of becoming a doctor. While returning from a football match at Kenema, some of his friends at Yengema convinced him that he should stay and seek employment with S.L.S.T. When he saw an advertisement for a clerk he applied, and was successful; and so he decided to stay for a year to try and save money to continue his education.

As can be seen from some of the above examples, some
respondents were quite mobile before obtaining their first employment. Two more examples of this may be given here. A Mende clerk at S.L.S.T. had finished secondary school in Kambia, and had travelled to Kenema in search of clerical work and to Boajibu in search of a teaching post before finally applying to S.L.S.T. He said that he would have preferred to teach because his principal had told him that as a teacher one could improve oneself more than as a clerk, particularly through continuing one's studies. Finally, however, he obtained a job as a store clerk at S.L.S.T. He was pleased to get this job, but it had not been his ambition to do clerical work. He saw it as a stepping-stone, for one cannot just sit down doing nothing; and he still hoped to follow up his original ambitions of studying agriculture. Another Mende respondent, after leaving the Technical Institute at Kenema with a certificate in brickwork, had sought work in his trade in Freetown, Kenema and the rutile and bauxite mines in the Mokanje Hills in the Southern Province. Finally he tried S.L.S.T., where he gained employment, but as an apprentice fitter rather than as a brickworker. Such cases of widespread travel in search of employment, however, appear to be exceptional.

Some respondents also seem to have travelled in search of employment without their relatives playing any important part. Thus a Limba work-study clerk at S.L.S.T. had written an application to the company directly from his secondary school in Magburaka, and was called for an interview and appointed. A Mende fitter at S.L.S.T. had returned to his home village of Bumpe af-
ter leaving secondary school in Bo. He stayed there for six months, and wrote about 15 letters of application, including applications to teacher training colleges, the Public Service Commission, an oil palm plantation at Njala and S.L.S.T. The latter company called him for an interview, and so he went up to Kono and stayed with a friend while attending the S.L.S.T. Training Centre for interview and examination. He was successful in these, and as a result was offered the position of apprentice mechanic.

Some respondents appear to have stayed with non-relatives while searching for employment, and particularly important in this respect were ex-school friends. The special effect of official transfer on the migration patterns of teachers and civil servants should also be mentioned. Their employing authorities may post teachers to the different schools under their control, and transfer them between these schools as the need arises. In particular, this may be used to fill vacancies in the more remote areas where teachers may not volunteer to go. Some teachers were also asked to join their staff by headmasters who had taught them in the past. Civil Servants could also be transferred from one town or Province to another. A number of civil servants in the sample had been taken on in Freetown, and then transferred to the Provinces, often against their wishes; and, as noted in Chapter 5, this sometimes provoked resignation among those who did not wish to leave Freetown.

As explained in Chapter 3, about one third of respondents had held more than one job; and the occupational experience of all respondents in terms of the Provinces and size of towns in
TABLE 8.9: Province of birth by all Provinces worked.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of birth</th>
<th>Western Area only</th>
<th>Western Area and other Provinces</th>
<th>Other Provinces only</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Sierra Leone</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The never employed are classified as if they had a job in the Province where they were registered at the labour exchange.

which they had ever been employed is summarised in Tables 8.9 and 8.10.  

It appears that 88% (220/250) of respondents had only been employed in one Province, 11% (28/250) in two Provinces, and 1% (2/250) in three Provinces. From Table 8.9 it can be seen that three fifths of respondents had only been employed in the Western Area, one tenth had been employed in the Western Area and another Province, while the remainder - between one quarter and

---

1 The never employed are classified as if they had a job in the Province where they were registered at the labour exchange.
one third - had only been employed in the other Provinces.

There are variations in the occupational experience of respondents born in the different Provinces, as might be predicted from the previous results. Thus 97% of the respondents born in the Western Area had only held jobs there, which confirms their unwillingness to migrate. Of those born in the Northern and Southern Provinces, over two fifths had also only held jobs in the Western Area, and of those born in the North, two thirds had at some time held a job in the Western Area. This confirms the importance of the Western Area as a Province of in-migration, particularly for those from the North. Those born in the Eastern Province, on the other hand, are relatively unlikely to look for work in the Western Area, only a quarter of them ever having worked there, which may be attributed to the relatively large number of occupational opportunities available for them at home.

Table 8.10 shows the proportion of respondents who had ever worked in Freetown or elsewhere. It appears that about half of all respondents had only worked in Freetown, and three fifths had worked in Freetown at some time, while two fifths of respondents had only worked elsewhere. There is a very marked variation in this between Creoles and provincials: three quarters of Creoles had only worked in Freetown, compared with under one third of provincials; and only 13% of Creoles had only worked outside Freetown compared with 55% of provincials.

Information on the respondents geographical distribution by Province and size of town at the time they were interviewed is shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 in Chapter 2. Despite the respond-
TABLE 8.10: Tribe by towns ever worked.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Freetown</th>
<th>Freetown and other</th>
<th>Other only</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) The never employed are classified as if they had a job in the town where they were registered at the labour exchange.

ents' job changes, this distribution is very similar to that of their first jobs, except of course that there were no respondents in the Northern Province, as no interviewing was done there, those respondents who had their first jobs in the Northern Province now supplementing the respondents working in the other Provinces. The same pattern of migration emerges from these tables: The Northern and Southern Provinces appear to be mainly areas of out-migration, while the Eastern and Western Provinces not only have a low rate of out-migration but also a high rate of in-migration, which can be accounted for by the relative levels of economic and educational development in the various Provinces. It may be noted that the importance of migration into the Western Area compared with the Eastern Province appears greater in Table 2.1, which looks at migration between birth and the time of interview, than in Table 8.8, which only considers migration between

569.
leaving school and obtaining the first employment. This is be-
cause of the difference in the level of provision of educational
facilities in the two Provinces: the Western Area is well pro-
vided with schools, and so many children migrate there to attend
school, and later stay on to take advantage of the occupational
opportunities which are also located there; while the Eastern
Province, having relatively poor educational facilities, mainly
attracts young people who have finished their schooling and are
seeking employment. In fact some respondents from the East
appear to have left the Province to attend school, particularly
in the Southern Province, and returned later to look for work,
thus artificially swelling the number of "immigrants" to the
Eastern Province between school and work.

Tables 2.2 and 8.6 show that the pattern of migration is
essentially from smaller to larger settlements; but this process
has more or less been completed by the time the respondents leave
school, and there is certainly little variation between the size
of towns in which they had their first and their present jobs.
Table 8.11 summarises the migration characteristics of the various
socio-economic groups which make up the sample. It shows that at
the time they were interviewed, \(37\%\) of respondents were still liv-
ing at the place where they had been born, \(19\%\) had moved to an-
other place within the same Province, while \(44\%\) were living outside
their Province of birth. Of course it should be remembered that
those who appear to have been non-mobile and are still living at
their place of birth may at some stage in their careers have mig-
rated to another Province, and only later have returned to their
place of birth.
Finally in this section we may return to the proposition that among socially mobile respondents, migration tends to weaken the relationships between them and their lower status parents. This is clearly suggested by Table 8.11: thus 75% of Creoles whose fathers had post-primary education were still living at their place of birth, compared with 57% of other Creoles, 28% of Provinceals with educated fathers, and only 9% of Provinceals with
illiterate fathers. On the other hand, only 12% of Creoles with post-primary-educated fathers were living outside their Province of birth, compared with 26% of other Creoles, 57% of Provinceals with educated fathers, and 68% of Provinceals with illiterate fathers. This clearly demonstrates that those from lower status backgrounds are more likely to move away from their place of birth than those from higher status backgrounds, and especially than the Creoles who are mainly based in Freetown; and, as a result of this geographical mobility, the social as well as geographical distance between socially mobile individuals and their lower status parents is likely to be increased. In consequence, as explained in the last chapter, these relationships which cut across incipient lines of stratification are weakened, and hence the development of a more class-like system of social stratification is facilitated.

Some attitudes to migration and town and village life.

Respondents were also asked where they would like to live, and the results are set out in Table 8.12. As can be seen from this, 63% said that they would like to live in Freetown, and 24% said that they would like to live in one of the Provincial towns with more than 5,000 people, particularly Kenema (24), Bo (20), Makeni (9) and Yengema (4). The proportions wishing to live in Freetown and the other towns of over 5,000 people are in fact rather similar to the proportions of respondents actually living in such towns, though a rather higher proportion would like to stay in Freetown than actually do so. Most of the other respon-
### Table 8.12: Sex and tribe by choice of place of residence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex and tribe</th>
<th>Choice of place of residence</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freetown</td>
<td>Other Western Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole males</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole females</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial males</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial females</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. This category includes mention of the various Provinces, and respondents who said that they would live anywhere. See the text and footnote for more detailed comment.

2. Multiple choices were allowed, and the percentages therefore may add up to more than 100%.
dents gave rather vaguer answers in terms of Provinces or Districts, while 9% said that they would live anywhere. Only 5% of respondents said that they would like to live and work in a town of less than 5,000 people, and almost half of these choices were for towns of more than 2,000 people, such as Kabala (2), Moyamba (2) and Boajibu (1). These figures are all the more remarkable when it is remembered that about half of all respondents had been born in villages of fewer than 5,000 people, as can be seen from Table 2.2: it is clear that such respondents do not wish to stay in their home towns. The majority of respondents aspired to live and work in Freetown, but there was also a sizeable minority who would like to be in one of the larger towns in the Provinces, particularly one of the Provincial capitals.

As can also be seen from Table 8.12, there is some variation in this between different socio-economic groups, though preference for Freetown is a feature of all groups: over four fifths of Creoles would like to stay in Freetown, compared with about one half of provincials. Among provincials, on the other hand, 37% would like to live in one of the larger Provincial towns, compared with only 9% of Creoles. Even among provincials, however, only 7% would like to stay in a Provincial town with a population of under 5,000 people, although 87% of the total population of Sierra Leone lives in such settlements.

1 The other answers were as follows: 11 respondents said that they would like to live anywhere, and 6 mentioned the Provinces generally, while 6 gave the Eastern Province (some specifically mentioned Kono or the mining areas), 3 the Northern Province and 2 the Southern Province.
No attempt will be made here to quantify the reasons for respondents' choices of the places in which they would like to live, but a few comments may be made on the main factors which appear to have influenced their choices. Particularly among the Creoles who had been brought up in the Western Area there was a tendency just to say that they were used to Freetown and liked the life there, the implication being that they would find it difficult to adjust to life elsewhere. Indeed, many of the Creole respondents had never been outside the Western Area, and showed little enthusiasm for travel within Sierra Leone, although they would have been pleased to go overseas for further studies.

Other Creole respondents said that they wished to stay in Freetown because all their relatives were there, and they did not wish to live away from their families. A few of the Creoles, however, stated that they would like to work for some time in the Provinces to gain more experience, and perhaps to learn one of the Provincial languages.

Kinship ties were also sometimes a factor encouraging provincials to wish to return to their home area, or to other places where they had relatives of whom they were fond. For example, a Temne clerk from S.L.S.T. said that he would most like to live in his home village in the Northern Province, so that he could look after his relatives and do farming. He felt that farming paid well if one starts it in the right way, with enough money to employ labour, but as he had no chance to farm in this way he had taken a job at S.L.S.T. A Mende clerk from Kenema said that he preferred to stay there because it was his home, and he could thus help his friends and relatives.
A Kono electrician at the Brewery stated simply that he would like to live at Yengema because there is no place like home. Finally, a Limba clerk at S.I.S.T. said that he would like to return to his home village in the Northern Province so that he could help his parents and younger brothers with his knowledge, but if he did this he would be doing his relatives an injustice for it would be a waste of the education which they had given him. An educated person should get a job to earn something, so that he can later go back and help his home; by staying put and earning nothing, he helps no-one. Some respondents, although recognising that they could not hope to obtain a suitable job in their home village, said that they would like to live in the nearest large town, perhaps the capital of their Province. They could thus help their relatives if the need arose, but retain some of the advantages of city life, and also perhaps some measure of social as well as geographical distance from their relatives in the village.

A few respondents said that they would like to live in a certain area, perhaps Freetown, because of the availability of many jobs; but this was mentioned less frequently than might have been expected. Respondents may have taken it for granted; or, as the above examples suggest, they may have seen the availability of work as something which influences where one must live rather than where one would like to live. Respondents were much more likely to say that they would like to stay in a certain place because of the educational opportunities it offered than because of its occupational opportunities, which once again in-
dicates their orientation to future rather than present employment. In particular, respondents said that they would like to stay in Freetown because of the opportunities it offered for furthering their education through institutions of higher education, public lectures, libraries and access to other educational media and educated people generally. It was also felt to be easier for someone in Freetown to obtain a scholarship for study overseas. Thus a Mende draftsman at S.L.S.T. said that he would like to live in Freetown, because there are more people there to help him with his studies, and more chances of hearing about scholarships. This is difficult at S.L.S.T. because of the poor communications between Kono and Freetown. A Mende machine operator at the Brewery pointed to the difficulty of travelling long distances for interviews for scholarships; while an unemployed Mende said that it was best to stay in Freetown for it is there that one has the best opportunity of seeing the "big men" who can help one get scholarships. He felt that in Sierra Leone it was a question of who you know and not what you know.

A smaller proportion of respondents had a rather different view of the relationship between town life and education; they felt that the town had so many distractions in the form of cinemas, night-clubs, gay friends and noise generally that the village was a better place for the really serious student. Thus a Limba clerk at U.A.C. said that he would like to live at Lungi or the Banana Islands because he could concentrate better on his books there; while a Creole teacher living at Hastings said that...
he liked the place because the environment was conducive to private studies. It is interesting to note that both these respondents also mentioned that they would spend less money in the village. Town life is seen as fine, but for the respondents it had two great disadvantages, namely that it encouraged them to spend all their money and it distracted them from their private studies, both of which were prejudicial to their long-term ambitions of achieving social mobility through education. This placed the respondents in something of a dilemma, for participation in this "modern" urban life was a vital part of their self-image as educated, civilised young men.

There is a general, stereotyped view of Freetown as the centre of national life - the place where "it is all happening" - and this is felt to be at the same time conducive to education in the most general sense, but prejudicial to education in the narrower, more formal sense. Quite correctly, Freetown is seen as the acme of modern development in Sierra Leone; and young, educated people want to be there to be in the forefront of national development. Freetown has the largest and most modern buildings in Sierra Leone; Freetown has the best provision of educational and health facilities, and of other social services; Freetown has electric light and piped-water; Freetown has cinemas, night-clubs, bars, hotels and football matches; and in Freetown one has the best opportunity of keeping up with the latest news and of meeting the most interesting and educated people. On the whole this is a correct assessment of the situation, and for all these reasons young people are attracted to Freetown, as the political,
economic, social and cultural capital of the new Sierra Leone.

A few quotations may clarify this. A Creole printer gave Freetown pre-eminence particularly because of its physical development: in Freetown there are magnificent buildings like cinemas, suitable roads, electric lights, supermarkets, and everything that you can want, while in the villages there are no good roads, hospitals or cinemas. He also liked Freetown because you meet educated people there. A Fula draftsman from S.L.S.T. said that he would like to live in Bo, for it is near his home at Taiama, and is a civilised place, with beautiful roads, trees, buildings, schools and hospitals. He also said that he particularly liked town life because health is better there, while in the villages it is difficult to get medicines. He also criticised the villages for having poor schools, and no improvement in their level of civilisation. A Mende fitter at S.L.S.T. explained that he would like to live in Freetown because it is a city, and one may enjoy a lot of facilities there: you may go to the cinema, an international football match or the beach, and you may also get many friends. He would not like to live in a village because you could not know a lot of people there: you would only be with your family, and your mind would be too shallow.

Quite a number of respondents emphasised the possibility of broadening one's experience in the town by meeting new people and learning new things. As a draftsman at S.L.S.T. explained, in the town you can go to the cinema, and have the chance to see strange people, like Nigerians, Ghanaians, Chinese and
Russians. One can talk with them about their ways of life, and compare them with the British way of life in Sierra Leone to get a better idea of which way is best to follow. A Mende store-keeper at S.L.S.T. said that in towns there were certain privileges, such as entry to important places like embassies, where one could read of other countries: in town there are important social meetings, parties, cinemas and games; and one can come into contact with people from abroad. An electrician at the Brewery thought that it was mainly in Freetown that important things happened, and that one could come into contact with people from tourist ships and diplomats from abroad. He also mentioned the importance of social activities, such as night-clubs and film-shows, which are mainly concentrated in Freetown.

It was generally felt that it was only in Freetown that one could know things at first hand in Sierra Leone. Thus a Mende operator at the Brewery said that he wanted to stay in Freetown, for it is the big city where one can enjoy life. It is only in Freetown that you can know things with your own eyes, and not just read or hear about them. In Freetown one can see visitors from overseas, and go to the beach or cinema; but not up-country. Another Mende operator said that in Freetown there were more educated and cultured people, and one could learn from them and improve oneself. There were modern things in the town: one could hear the news on the wireless; and learn more as one sat by the radio or television. One might also learn to be social at dances, and clubs are also educative. A Susu operator also said that he preferred town life, for one can stay with friends.
and exchange thoughts, and in this way decide what is good or bad. In the village it takes a long time to know anything, and you cannot get any intelligent friends for company.¹

In fact the village is generally believed to have all the opposite characteristics of the town. To summarise some of the comments of respondents about village life, the Mende draftsman quoted above felt that it would be very lonesome as one could not meet different people, and would have no good chance of educating oneself; the Mende store-keeper felt that one would have no access to the things of the town, such as important parties, the cinema, "big men", and people from abroad; while one of the Mende operators complained that in the village there was not much to be seen - for example, there was no radio or television, no good schools, and no-one speaking English, all of which would be bad for the young person who wanted to be educated. A Temne driver at S.L.S.T. said that he preferred to live in the town, for life was more lively there, and one could have intelligent friends and school mates. In the village there are only illiterates, and there is no talk on important topics.

Town life is not seen to be totally good, however: there are also believed to be disadvantages which do not exist in the villages. Thus many respondents complained that the cost of living is much higher in the town than in the village, particularly because in town one has to buy food, while in the village one can grow it oneself or buy in cheaply directly from the farmers. In

¹ There was a tendency among respondents to use the words "intelligent" and "educated" as synonyms. Grillo notes a similar tendency in Uganda (Grillo, 1973, pp. 136, 140-141).
the villages rent also tends to be less, and there are fewer entertainments on which to waste money. Some of the larger provincial towns are also believed to be cheaper than Freetown: thus a Mende teacher at Kenema said that he liked the place because he did not have enough money for town life in Freetown; but another Mende teacher, also at Kenema, said that he would prefer to live in Bonthe because he thought the cost of living would be lower there. A Fula civil service clerk in Freetown chose Makeni because of the low cost of living there, especially considering his poor salary. There appeared to be a tendency for respondents to think that the cost of living would be least in their home areas.

Town life is also condemned for its social disorganisation compared with village life. Some respondents complained about the congestion in towns, both in terms of accommodation and traffic, and some also mentioned the dangers of road accidents in town. Lawlessness in towns was particularly condemned: thieving, vandalism and violence were seen as characteristics of town life which were largely absent in the village. A few respondents did complain about petty quarrels and gossip, perhaps with implications of witchcraft, in the villages, but violence was not believed to be rife there as in the towns. A Mende clerk at the Brewery complained of the "gesellshaft" nature of urban social relationships. He said that he would like to live in his home village because his relatives were there, and by custom they would assist each other when in trouble. He claimed that the town in Sierra Leone is just like Britain: when you are out of work peo-
people will not care for you, you will lose friends, and even your own brother may hate you. However, this respondent later admitted that if he had a secure job, he would really like to stay in the city for the social life and amusements to be found there. Village life is too dull: there is no enjoyment, and you cannot easily get what you want — for example, if you are sick, it is difficult to get a doctor in the village.

Apart from his comments on the "gesellschaft" nature of urban life, which were rather unusual, this respondent's point of view was probably typical of many: he believed that village life enshrined many of the traditional virtues, but he was still more attracted by the educational and occupational opportunities and the "bright lights" of the town. The general view of the village is thus mainly a negative one of a place lacking in any suitable educational and occupational opportunities for secondary school leavers, and also lacking electric light, entertainment, and intelligent conversation: a place, in other words, where people must go to bed early for lack of any suitable alternative. On the whole, let it be said, this is a realistic picture, for "urban" facilities are indeed highly concentrated in the main

1 Such stereotypes of town and village life are widespread: indeed, Baroja calls them "an ancient commonplace" (Baroja, 1963). It is perhaps worth noting, however, that two elements which are common in such stereotypes were not emphasised by the respondents in the present survey: firstly, they seldom mentioned sexual immorality as a feature of town life, e.g. prostitution, promiscuity; secondly, they seldom mentioned the social isolation of urban existence. The first undoubtedly exists, though it may not be defined as a problem, except in official circles; and possibly the second is not at this stage an important feature of African urban life. The close-mesh of kinship and ethnicity may still encapsulate most of the population.
tions, particularly Freetown; and this concentration is the main determinant of the migration pattern of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. The availability of both educational and occupational opportunities and "bright lights" are likely to affect the attitudes of young people to town life, and hence to influence their migration patterns; in other words, they tend to gravitate to the areas where these opportunities and facilities are concentrated. Some respondents, and particularly Creoles, were unwilling to leave the Western Area where the full range of urban facilities is available. Particularly among the Provincial respondents, however, there does seem to be some recognition of the primacy of obtaining work over enjoying the "bright lights" — and this recognition is particularly apparent among those who were willing to work at the more remote S.I.S.T. plants and teaching posts, where urban facilities are completely absent. But although the availability of work may be the most important determinant of the pattern of migration, the presence not only of "bright lights" but also of educational facilities, other social services, and some sense of involvement in national affairs may also have an important affect on the level of satisfaction among secondary school leavers, for they see such participation in "modern urban life" as part of the role of the young educated person in a developing society. Thus not only the concentration of educational and occupational opportunities in the main urban areas, but also the concentration of other urban facilities, and even the urban ethos itself, will increase the level of dissatisfaction among those who are excluded from the urban "magic circle"; and will stimulate a continuing desire among them to move to the urban areas.
Summary and conclusions.

Looking generally at the pattern of migration among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone, it appears to be predominantly a movement from less developed to more developed parts of the country; and, in particular, a movement from the Northern and Southern Provinces to the Eastern and Western Provinces, and from the smaller settlements to the larger towns. Since entering secondary school, very few of the respondents had lived outside a small number of major towns; and the great majority had no wish to do so. Freetown itself plays a predominant part: between one half and three fifths of respondents had spent most of their time since primary school in Freetown; and almost two thirds of them wished to live there.

This migration to the towns can largely be attributed to the concentration there of the main educational and occupational opportunities which the respondents were seeking — there are few such opportunities outside the major urban areas, and therefore secondary school leavers are unlikely to be attracted elsewhere. It was particularly noted that most respondents migrated to town while still in secondary school, because most secondary schools are located in towns; and it was therefore suggested that the notion of school leavers "drifting to town" on leaving school in search of white collar employment or "bright lights" was inappropriate to secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone for they were there already. They are unlikely at this stage to wish to return to the villages, for the types of job and the opportunities for further education to which they aspire are mainly located in
the towns.

Not only are educational and occupational opportunities concentrated in the main towns, particularly Freetown, but also the social services, public utilities, and centres of entertainment; and, in addition, there is a certain aura surrounding Freetown as the centre of national life, and the main point of contact with the outside world. These factors undoubtedly exercise a powerful attraction on secondary school leavers, for they see participation in modern urban life as a necessary part of the experience of any educated person. It is suggested that the attractions of the "bright lights" are probably secondary to the effects of the inequitable distribution of educational and occupational opportunities in explaining the pattern of migration among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. It is possible, however, that exclusion from urban life may play an important part in promoting dissatisfaction among secondary school leavers who are unable to find jobs in the main towns; but this would require further research.

It is being suggested, then, that the concentration mainly of educational and occupational opportunities, but also of social services, entertainment, etc., in a few large towns will explain most of the pattern of migration among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. Of course this uneven distribution of opportunities and facilities itself requires explanation; but this is a task which cannot be tackled here.¹

¹ Some of these more general issues have been discussed in a recent collection of papers, edited by Amin (1974).
The evidence presented here appears to support the two propositions carried forward from previous chapters. Firstly, it shows that the movement of school children is indeed from smaller to larger settlements, which supports the contention that they are moving from areas which lack adequate educational facilities to areas which are better provided with them; and this in turn suggests that both the migration and fostering of school children is a result of the desire to promote their education. Secondly, the evidence shows that young people from lower status backgrounds are not only more likely than those from more privileged backgrounds to be geographically mobile away from their parents while at school, but also when they enter the world of employment. These socially mobile individuals from lower status homes are "spiralists" - that is they are geographically mobile at the same time as they are socially mobile; and it is being suggested here that this geographical mobility has the effect of increasing the social distance between them and their lower status parents, which would facilitate the emergence of a more class-like system of social stratification.

This is not to suggest, however, that the bonds of kinship are broken completely; they are emphasised selectively, and are indeed an important factor influencing the pattern of migration. Although the uneven distribution of educational and occupational opportunities may be the main factor explaining the overall pattern of migration, kinship may also have an effect in particular cases. Or, to use the terminology which Mitchell borrows from Durkheim, while economic factors may be crucial in
determining the rates of mobility, other factors, such as kinship ties, may affect the incidence of mobility (Mitchell, 1959). Thus, although the overall flow of young, educated people to the towns is because schools and job opportunities are concentrated there, a particular boy may move to a particular town because he has an uncle or other relative in that town with whom he can stay. The parents of socially mobile individuals tend to be less important in this respect for they are usually in the small villages where the respondents do not wish to live; but when they were in towns respondents also expressed a wish to live near them. This attraction to relatives was noted both while the respondents were still in school, and when they were looking for their first jobs; and it demonstrates the continuing importance of kinship among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.
PART 5

SOME ASPECTS OF NON-KINSHIP SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE SUB-ELITE
CHAPTER 9: Tribalism and stratification in non-kinship primary relationships.

In the introductory chapter it was suggested that cross-cutting social relationships may prevent the emergence of the social separation between socio-economic strata which is usual in a fully-fledged class system. In other words, these cross-cutting ties may prevent the emergence of social classes in the full sense of the term. Some of these cross-cutting ties may be relationships of kinship; and some aspects of such relationships have been discussed in the last four chapters.

As rates of mobility into the upper strata in developing societies such as Sierra Leone tend to be quite high, many kinship relationships cut across lines of incipient stratification, and thus discourage the development of social separation between "classes".

In sociological terminology, relationships of kinship are "ascribed", which means that people must usually "make do" with their kin, whether or not they find them congenial. It was suggested in the above chapters, however, that the extended family in West Africa is a fairly flexible institution, and that there is therefore some room for internal readjustment in its relationships. In particular, it was suggested that for various reasons socially mobile individuals tend to have weakened relationships with their lower status parents, and that there may even be a tendency for higher status relatives to take over part of the parental role. The result of such a readjustment of relationships within the extended family would be to strengthen
the socially mobile individual's relationships with his relatives of similar socio-economic status to himself at the expense of his relationships with relatives of different socio-economic status; and this would effectively encourage the social separation of classes.

Non-kinship relationships, such as those with friends and spouses, tend to be achieved rather than ascribed, which means that individuals have much more freedom to choose their friends and marriage partners than they do to choose their kinsmen. We shall be interested in this chapter in the use made by respondents of this opportunity to "choose" their friends and spouses; and particularly in the factors which appear to influence their "choices". Two factors which may influence relationships of friendship and marriage will be of particular interest: namely tribe and socio-economic status, or "class". What are the relative importance in choosing friends and spouses of "traditional" factors, such as tribe, producing tribal homogeneity in such relationships, and "modern" factors, such as class, producing homogeneity in terms of socio-economic status in such relationships?¹ We will be particularly interested in whether friends are drawn mainly from those of similar socio-economic status, for this would be indicative of the emergence of social classes. It is possible that respondents consider status factors to be important in relationships generally, but this would not be particularly apparent in their kinship relationships, because

¹ Mitchell has noted that tribalism is really a "modern", or urban phenomenon (Mitchell, 1956 and 1966); but at least for the actors it is seen to be based on traditional factors.
their ascribed nature sets limits on the extent to which these can be manipulated. It is in relationships of friendship and marriage, with their greater possibilities for the exercise of choice, that the importance of class in primary relationships would be expected to emerge most clearly.

Of course, to talk of individuals choosing their friends and marriage partners is an over-simplification: there is a sense in which a person's friends, and even his spouse, may be thrust upon him. To the extent that there is homogeneity in relationships of friendship in terms of either tribe or socio-economic status, an attempt will be made to identify the main reasons for this: is it a result of choice, with respondents deliberately selecting friends from the same group; or is it merely the result of propinquity? Are there certain processes in society which bring people more in contact with members of their own group than with members of other groups; and is this the main factor explaining the extent of homogeneity in relationships of friendship and marriage? Or should the extent of such homogeneity be explained in normative terms, with people preferring to associate in their primary relationships with others of the same tribe or class?

If normative factors are important, it seems possible that the effects of these might vary between different socio-economic groups. In particular, it is often assumed that modernisation will lead to a decline in the importance of tribalism; and, if this is so, it may be predicted that respondents from more
highly Westernised backgrounds, as measured, for example, by having educated parents, or coming from an urban environment, will be less tribalistic in their relationships of friendship and marriage. This proposition will be tested. It is also often assumed that as tribalism decreases in importance, so class will increase in importance; and this proposition will also be examined. To anticipate the conclusions of this chapter, it appears that this hypothesis is an over-simplification of the situation; and it will be suggested that, at least in Sierra Leone, the relationship between tribe, class, and modernisation takes rather a different form.

It has been pointed out that the friends of respondents are important to the research worker from a methodological point of view, for the non-ascribed nature of friendship allows them to be used as a test of the importance of tribe and class in the society generally. It may now be noted that relationships of friendship are also substantially important to the respondents themselves, and especially to those who have been socially mobile from lower status backgrounds. It has been previously suggested that, at least to some extent, socially mobile respondents may have transferred some of their primary filial allegiance to relatives of higher socio-economic status than their own parents; and it is now being suggested that friends also act as substitute kinsmen for those who lack any educated relatives. It seems that education will to some extent alienate the educated person from his illiterate relatives, and he will compensate for this by strengthening his relationships with other educated people who he
feels have more in common with himself. In the first instance he is likely to establish such relationships with his schoolmates; and Harrell-Bond has noted the deep and enduring nature of such friendships formed in school among Provincials in Sierra Leone (Harrell-Bond, 1972, pp. 98-99).

The importance of friends among young, educated people in Sierra Leone, and their particular importance among those who have been socially mobile, is suggested by the data provided in Table 9.1, which summarises their answers on the people with whom they spent most of their leisure time. It can be seen that the largest proportion, about half, said that they spent most of their leisure time with friends, compared with 20% who said that they spent it mainly by themselves, 14% who said with spouse or friend of the opposite sex, 9% with parents, 10% with siblings, and 11% with other relatives. Provincials were particularly likely to say that they spent most of their free time with friends, 62% of them mentioning it, compared with only 33% of Creoles. On the other hand, 18% of Creoles said that they spent much of their leisure time with their parents, while this was mentioned by only 4% of Provincials. This may be another indication of the weakening social ties between socially and geographically mobile Provincials and their lower status parents, and suggests that they make up for this not only by strengthening their ties with other relatives, as shown in Chapters 6 and 7, but also by emphasising

---

1 These percentages add up to more than 100% as respondents were allowed to give more than one answer.
TABLE 9.1: Leisure time companions by tribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Creoles</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>22 (23%)</td>
<td>26 (17%)</td>
<td>48 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>17 (18%)</td>
<td>6 ( 4%)</td>
<td>23 ( 9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>11 (11%)</td>
<td>13 ( 9%)</td>
<td>24 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other relatives</td>
<td>9 ( 9%)</td>
<td>17 (11%)</td>
<td>26 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse, partner, etc.</td>
<td>16 (16%)</td>
<td>18 (12%)</td>
<td>34 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>32 (33%)</td>
<td>93 (62%)</td>
<td>125 (51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>97</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Most of the information on friends is based on the 246 respondents who completed the interview up to this stage.

their relationships with friends. The main interest of this and the following sections will be in the characteristics of these friends - particularly their tribal and socio-economic characteristics.

However, the differences in leisure time companions between Creoles and Provincial are not only related to geographical and social factors, but also to differences of sex. There was a significant difference between the sexes in their leisure time companions: female respondents were mainly Creole, and the distribution of their leisure time companions was, therefore, more like that of all Creole respondents than of the Provincial, but it was more extreme than that of the Creole males. Thus 30% (14) of females said that they spent most of their leisure time alone,
28% (13) said they spent it with parents, and 17% (8) said they spent it with siblings, while only 19% (9) said they spent it mainly with friends. This presumably indicates the greater home-centredness of young females, and accounts for the majority of Creoles who said they spent most of their leisure time with parents or siblings. Young males, on the other hand, are more orientated to their groups of friends, and spend much of their leisure time outside the home. This difference between the sexes in spending their free time probably persists, even after marriage.

Respondents were also asked to characterise their friends, as, for example, ex-school friends, workmates, neighbours and so on. Half of the respondents (123/246) described most of their friends as people with whom they had been to school - I will return to the importance of friendships made in school later in this chapter. Common residence seems to be another important basis for making friends, a third of respondents (79/246) saying that their friends were mainly neighbours, or even people living in the same compound, while 5% (13/246) said that their friends were mainly fellow migrants from their home areas. This latter figure may be an underestimation. Only about a fifth of respondents (53/246) said that their friends were mainly people they had met at work. In some cases these categories coincided, and, for example, neighbours or people from the same home village might also be friends at school or work.
Attitudes on relationships with friends and spouses

One way of examining the effects of such structural factors as tribe and socio-economic status on patterns of social relationships is to ask respondents about their attitudes to these factors in relationships of friendship and marriage. This was done in some of the early interviews, but, as the results were not entirely satisfactory, the questions were dropped from later interviews. Respondents were asked to assess how important they felt various factors to be in their friends and spouses. Of primary interest were such structural factors as tribe, religion, education, occupation, income and social background, but they were also asked to assess the importance of more personal characteristics, such as character, temper, sense of humour, appearance, generosity, attitudes to life, and so on. Not only was the assessed importance of these personality characteristics of interest in itself, but it served as a standard against which to measure the importance of the structural factors, and to partially disguise the areas of main interest in an attempt to gain more unbiased replies. The results of the questions on qualities desired in friends are set out in Table 9.2; and on qualities desired in spouses in Table 9.3.1

Looking first at the results of the questions on the assessed importance of the various qualities in friends, it appears, perhaps rather obviously, that personality characteristics are

---

1 A full set of answers on this is available for only the first 64 respondents; and a more limited set of answers for the next 23 respondents. Of these 87 respondents, 86 were males and only one was a female.
considered most important. The rather vague quality of "good character" seemed to be assessed most highly, being considered "very important" by 88% of respondents, and "important" by the remaining 12%. After all, who would want friends of bad character. In particular, respondents mentioned that they would not like friends who drank excessively, as this might lead them to misbehave in public — for example, some young men get drunk in dances, and then start to fight. Other respondents said that they could not be friendly with people who were thieves, liars or gamblers. Not only did they morally condemn such behaviour, but they felt that association with such persons would be scandalous, and would lead to a reduction of their own social status. A number of respondents mentioned that if any of their friends started to practise such "tricks", they would advise them to desist; but if their advice was not heeded, the friendship would break up.

Another aspect of "good character" was proper behaviour towards other people; and respondents particularly stressed that they liked friends who would show respect towards their elders. Other personal qualities were also considered important: ambition, intelligence, good temper, progressive views and sense of humour were all assessed as either "very important" or "important" by at least 90% of respondents; and these were followed, in order of importance, by the desires that a friend should have similar interests to oneself, should be friendly and popular, and should have a generous nature. All of these are primarily personal
TABLE 9.2: Importance attached to selected qualities in friends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not very important</th>
<th>Not important</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good character</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambition</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good temper</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive views</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense of humour</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar interests</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly and popular</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generous</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good level of education</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respects tradition</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holds good job</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent of family</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western orientation</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plenty of money</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same income as self</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Related to big men</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A relative of self</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
qualities, though ambition and progressive views may also have some status implications. When respondents were asked to pick out from the list the one or two characteristics which they considered most important in their friends, "good character" and "ambition" were again selected most often, "good character" being picked out by 63% (40/64) of respondents, and "ambition" by 38% (24/64).\(^1\) Intelligence, good temper and educational level came next, each being mentioned by 13% (8/64) of respondents.

The structural characteristics of friends were generally assessed as of less importance than their personality characteristics, though respondents showed greater variability in their assessment of the former than of the latter. Among the structural factors, level of education seemed to be considered the most important, about a third of respondents saying that it was "very important" for a friend to have a good education, another third saying that it was "important", while the final third said that it was "not important" or "not important at all". It was generally thought that educated friends would be most congenial, partly because of shared interests, particularly in furthering their education, and partly because educated people would be better behaved ("more civilised") than illiterates. It was also thought important that a friend should hold a good

---

\(^1\) These constituted 33% (40/122) and 20% (24/122) of all replies, respondents being allowed to give more than one answer each.
job. Less importance was attached to a friend having plenty of money or having about the same income as the respondent, less than a third thinking the former "important" or "very important", and only about a tenth thinking the latter "important" or "very important".

It may be noted that the socio-economic characteristics desired in friends were generally of an achieved rather than an ascribed nature: a friend should have a good level of education, hold a good job, and, above all, should have ambition to go further in life; but his socio-economic background was not important. Only 12% of respondents thought that it was either "important" or "very important" that a friend should be related to "big men", compared with 36% who thought that it was "not very important", and 52% who thought that it was "not important" or "not important at all". The only quality that was assessed as of less importance was that friends should also be related to oneself by kinship. In short, respondents wanted friends with very similar socio-economic characteristics to their own.

Tribe and religion were not seen to be important barriers to friendship by the respondents, though they sometimes noted that they might be important for other people. Thus only a quarter of the respondents said that the religion of their friends was either "important" or "very important", the remaining three quarters describing it as "not very important", "not important" or "not important at all". Similarly, less than a fifth of respondents said that they cared about the tribe of their friends, compared with almost half who said that tribe did not matter. So it would appear, at least from their expressed
values, that tribe and religion were not important determinants of friendship patterns among the respondents.

Respondents were also asked about the importance of various qualities in spouses; and, as there was only one female in this section of the sample, this really meant the qualities which young, educated men were seeking in their wives. The results, as set out in Table 9.3, have many features in common with the results on qualities desired in friends, though there are a number of differences. It can again be seen that personal qualities are considered more important than structural factors. The most important quality sought is faithfulness, this being ranked as "very important" by 81% of respondents and as "important" by 17% of respondents; and it is followed by pleasant personality, which 52% of respondents said was "very important" and 48% said was important. The importance attached to these two qualities in spouses mirrors the importance attached to "good character" in friends - they serve as "portemanteau" terms, which for some respondents summarised all the qualities they were looking for in friends and spouses. It is interesting that so many respondents considered it "very important" (38%) or "important" (36%) that their relatives should approve of their choice of spouse, as this suggests the survival of some traditional attitudes towards spouse selection. It is unlikely that the respondents would automatically accept their parent's choice of spouse - indeed most respondents who were asked about this vehemently rejected the idea - but at least they would like their parent's blessing on their own choice.
TABLE 9.3: Importance attached to selected qualities in spouses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualities</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not very important</th>
<th>Not important</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faithfulness</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approval of relatives</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious compatibility</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past sex life</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follows traditional life</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follows Western life</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social status of family</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

601
Importance was also attached to sexual compatibility, and the past sex life of the intended wife, though the meanings attached to these terms tended to be rather vague and variable. For example, some of the respondents who attached importance to their wife's past sex life said that they would like her to be a virgin, sometimes adding that this would be a source of pride to them. Others were less ambitious - and perhaps more realistic - in saying that they would not like to marry a girl who had had a child for another man, or who had engaged in prostitution. That a wife should be physically attractive is also considered "important" or "very important" by about two thirds of all informants. This primary importance attached to the personality characteristics of a wife is confirmed, more or less, by other studies, such as those of Omari (1963) and Little, (1966, pp. 141-143).

Structural factors seem relatively less important, though some are still highly valued. In particular, over a third of respondents said that it was "very important" that their spouse should be of the same religion as themselves; and another fifth said that it was "important". As a Creole told me: "God is my guardian angel, and I feel that I should be steered in life by someone who holds the same belief"; while a Muslim told me that adherence to Islam was the most important quality he was seeking in a wife - if she was not a Muslim, he

---

1 I did not ask detailed questions on sexual matters as they were not central to the study, and I did not want to risk disrupting rapport for non-essential reasons. Thus respondents were not asked whether they were having sexual relations with their partners of the opposite sex; and sometimes the question on the assessed importance of sexual compatibility was left out, thus accounting for the fact that there are only 59 responses to this question.
would drive her away). Another Muslim explained: "We must marry other Muslims because we are so steeped in religion. The Koran says that anyone who comes out of you must also be a Muslim. If not, you are to blame, and will suffer for it. You must make your children pray." Presumably this is easier if your wife is also a Muslim. The importance attached to the religion of a spouse contrasts with the relative indifference to the religion of friends. In his study of students in Freetown, Little also found that religion was the most important structural quality sought in a wife, though not in a husband (Little, 1966, p. 142). However, Omari, in his study of a similar sample in Ghana, found religion to be relatively unimportant, and it is not easy to explain this discrepancy (Omari, 1963).

Education and occupation also appear to be assessed as important in a potential wife, being considered as either "important" or "very important" by about three fifths of all respondents. There are a number of reasons for this, but detailed examination of them will be deferred to a later section. It may be noted here that various studies show some discrepancies in the importance attached to these qualities. From Omari's study, it appears that education is the most important quality sought in a wife - even more important than personal qualities -

1 It seems possible that the difference results from different methods of questioning. The importance of religion in Little's study emerged in response to questions on the importance of specific qualities, while it did not appear in his apparently open-ended question on qualities desired in spouses. Omari's question seems to have been of the open-ended type. However, it is difficult to judge which of these methods is better, and hence which is the "true" answer. This throws considerable doubt on the usefulness of this type of research.
but he confused the issue by including intelligence with education. Little, on the other hand, found that none of his interviewees mentioned education in response to an open-ended question on the qualities desired in a wife; but when he asked specifically about the importance attached to a wife's level of education, although it was not ranked as highly as her religious affiliation, the results obtained were similar to those found in the present study.

It should, of course, be remembered, that all but one of the informants in this part of the survey were men, and that the data therefore refer to the qualities desired in wives, but not husbands. It would seem likely that if girls were to be asked similar questions about the qualities they desired in their husbands, they might put relatively more emphasis on education and occupational factors compared with more personal characteristics. This is because a wife's social and financial position depends upon her husband, whereas husband's are seldom dependent in a similar way on their wives. The husband's social and economic position is crucial for the whole family, and therefore girls wish to marry educated and/or wealthy men. Such an interpretation would seem to be supported by the figures in Little's study (Little, 1966, p. 142). The results of Omari's study are rather more confusing, but it does make clear that whereas most girls would like to marry men with more education than themselves, preferably up to university level, men would usually like to marry girls who are educated, but not up
to their own standard (Omari, 1963). Men want educated wives not only because they bring prestige, but also because they may be better able than an illiterate wife to contribute to the family budget. But on the other hand, they feel that educated women tend to be expensive, insubordinate, unfaithful and sterile. As one respondent put it to me, it would not be advisable to marry a wife with more education than oneself as she would try to be the man over you.

Respondents did not seem to place high value on the family background of their wives, only a fifth of them saying that it was either "important" or "very important". This corresponds with the indifference expressed towards having friends who are related to "big men"; and probably again indicates that achievement counts for more than ascribed status. The least important quality in a wife was thought to be tribal affiliation, two fifths of respondents saying that it was "not very important" and over one third saying that it was "not important" or "not important at all". It may be noted that, though these appeared to be the less important qualities in Little's study, they were attributed with much more importance than in the present study. In Omari's study they did not appear at all, perhaps as a result of his open-ended questions.

It would seem possible that the qualities desired in friends and spouses might differ from one group in the sample to another. As there was only one female in the sample, it was not possible to test whether there was a significant difference
in views between men and women. In socio-economic terms, it
would seem probable that those who had been more exposed to
Westernising influences — e.g. Creoles — would hold more
"progressive" views than those who had been less exposed to
such influences. However, when this hypothesis was tested,
few important differences emerged between Creoles and Provinceals,
especially in their opinions on friends. Though at first
glance the figures revealed few differences, on closer inspection
it did appear that Creoles were more interested than Provinceals
in the tribe and educational level of their friends, whereas
Provinceals put more emphasis than Creoles on the religion of
their friends, as well as certain of their personality characteristics, such as popularity and generosity. However $X^2$ tests
revealed that none of these differences were statistically
significant. 1

When the views of Creoles and Provinceals were
compared on the qualities they desired in their spouses, a rather
similar picture emerged. On the whole, differences were not
marked; but it again appeared that Creoles put slightly more
emphasis than Provinceals on their spouse being of a similar

1 Respondents views were consolidated into the three most
useful categories (usually in the form (i) "very important", +
"important", (ii) "not very important", and (iii) "not important",
and "not important at all"); and $X^2$ test were worked out. The
following results were obtained:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>$X^2$</th>
<th>d.f.</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.50 &gt; p &gt; 0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.90 &gt; p &gt; 0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.70 &gt; p &gt; 0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popularity</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.50 &gt; p &gt; 0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generosity</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.30 &gt; p &gt; 0.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tribe and educational level to themselves, whereas provincials were more concerned than creoles that their spouse should meet with the approval of their relatives. However, although 75\% of creoles (22/30) thought it "important" or "very important" that their spouse should have a good level of education, compared with only 56\% (32/57) of provincials, this difference was not statistically significant; but the other two did prove to be statistically significant. Of creole respondents, 40\% (12/30) indicated that they thought the tribe of their spouse was an "important" or "very important" factor, compared with only 12\% (7/57) of provincials. Presumably the creoles, as the tribe with the highest status, are concerned to maintain their tribal exclusiveness, while provincials are less concerned with status preservation, and are forced together by common opposition to the creoles. Also intermarriage between them may be encouraged by the shortage of educated women in any one provincial tribe. On the other hand, provincials are more concerned than creoles that their spouses should meet with the approval of their relatives: one eighth of creoles (2/16) said that approval of relatives was "very important," compared with almost one half (2/48) of provincials. This presumably indicates the more traditional orientation of provincials; and

\[ X^2 \text{ tests yielded the following results:} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Education:} & \quad X^2 = 3.03; \quad \text{d.f.} = 2; \quad 0.30 < p < 0.20. \\
\text{Tribe:} & \quad X^2 = 6.10; \quad \text{d.f.} = 2; \quad 0.05 < p < 0.02. \\
\text{Approval:} & \quad X^2 = 6.17; \quad \text{d.f.} = 2; \quad 0.05 < p < 0.02.
\end{align*}
\]
particularly the continued influence of the extended family
over them. Little also found that the greatest variation
between Creoles and Provincials was in terms of the influence
of their parents and relatives over their choice of marriage
partners (Little, 1966, p. 142).

However, after the pilot interviews, it was decided
that there were serious flaws in this part of the research
project; and so it was partially abandoned after 64 interviews,
and completely abandoned after 87 interviews. On the whole,
it was felt that the method of questioning encouraged respondents
to answer in terms of vague, and often meaningless, "catch-all"
phrases, such as "good character", "Faithfulness", "pleasant
personality", and so on, and to underestimate the importance of
structural factors, which were of primary interest in this
research. In view of the stereotyped nature of the answers, and
the lack of significant variation between social groups, it
seemed unprofitable to continue this line of questioning.

Some of the problems were purely technical, resulting
from ambiguities in the questions themselves - it soon became
clear that respondents did not always understand the questions,
at least in the sense that they were originally meant, and it
was therefore difficult for the research worker to interpret
some of their answers. For example, some of the respondents
did not understand what was meant by "a Western way of life",
some thinking that it meant the opposite of an Eastern way of
life - i.e. a Communist way of life - and others thinking that
it referred primarily to the way of life in the Western Area of Sierra Leone. In addition instead of Western being seen as the opposite of traditional, as was originally expected, many respondents said that they wanted both at the same time. A look at Tables 9.2 and 9.3 shows that the answers on these questions are not too dissimilar. Similarly, the term "sense of humour" did not seem familiar to a number of respondents - perhaps they confused it with a "sense of honour".

There were also problems of interpretation for the research worker, even when the question itself was reasonably clear. Thus if a respondent said that his wife's past sex life was important to him, it could mean anything between him wanting to marry a virgin and his merely being unwilling to marry a woman who had engaged in prostitution. Similarly, if a respondent said that the tribe or educational level of a wife or friend was important, we do not know which tribes are acceptable to him, or what level of education he wants. In addition, the questions are sometimes implicitly biased - for example, when a respondent is asked to say how important it is to him that his wife should have attended school, he is encouraged to express either a favourable or indifferent attitude to female education - it is not easy for him to say that he would positively like to marry an illiterate woman.

Another problem is that the "why?" questions tend to be ignored in this type of research: why does the respondent want to marry an educated woman? ... why does the respondent
want to marry a woman of the same tribe? ... why is the
respondent indifferent to the religious faith of his wife?
... and so on. In short, this type of interviewing tends to
ignore more questions than it answers - and the questions it
ignores are perhaps the more interesting ones. Sometimes
the answers to such questions emerge incidentally in the
interview, but it is difficult to systematically record this
information,¹ and it merely tends to highlight the inadequacy
of the original questions. These technical problems may help
explain the poor quality not only of the present research but
also of much previous work in this field. Of course it might
have been possible to improve the wording of the questions in
order to obtain more adequate answers; but, as the interview
had to be shortened in any case, it was decided to abandon this
part of the research project.

However, the objections to this method of research
are not only technical, but also methodological. It was felt
that the questions were purely hypothetical, and did not take
account of the realities of everyday life. If a young man in
Britain or America is asked to imagine the girl he would like
to marry, he might well think in terms of the blond and beautiful
only daughter of a millionaire; but he will probably end up
marrying "Plain Jane" from next door. Similarly, if we ask a
young African about the qualities he is seeking in a spouse, it

¹ Of course the very attraction of the original method of
question is the ease of recording the responses.
is difficult to assess how his answer relates to reality. It may well be that his expressed views will have an effect on the type of person he will marry, other things being equal—but in these matters other things seldom remain equal. Thus if a young man met a girl with all the qualities he desired, he might well marry her—assuming she was willing—but supposing he met a girl he liked who had all but one (or two or three) of the qualities he desired, might he not also marry her? Many people end up marrying spouses who are very different from those they had originally desired. The point is that expressed views are only one of the factors affecting patterns of social relationships; and they are not necessarily the crucial ones.

Any attempt to explain the tribal or socio-economic distribution of friends and spouses would also have to take into account the attitudes of other people, such as the desired friends and spouses and the parents and other relatives of the respondents, as well as various other more objective factors. Thus, for example, the desire of lower class people to be friendly with upper class people will not be effective if the upper class individuals want to maintain social distance. Similarly the opinions of parents and other relatives should also be taken into account, particularly in view of the findings of previous research that young people will listen to the advice of their parents on choice of spouse. Thus, though they may say that they do not mind marrying someone from another tribe or religion, parents may object, and exert effective pressure to prevent this.
Some young people may anticipate difficulties in following their desired line of action, and take steps to avoid them: for example, one respondent said that he would have liked to marry an educated, Westernised girl, but as his wife would have to visit the Provinces often, and show respect to his relatives, he decided it was better to marry an illiterate girl from his village instead.

In addition, it is necessary to take into account the factor of propinquity which may bring individuals more into contact with other members of their own social group — e.g. tribe or class — than with members of other social groups, thus effectively limiting the range of people they could befriend or marry. Thus if middle class individuals, for whatever reason, mix mainly with others from the same class, it is likely that their best friends and marriage partners will also be drawn from the middle class. And a similar argument holds for tribe.

It was therefore decided that, in view of the many factors involved, any study of relationship patterns which concentrated purely on the effects of subjective attitudes would be completely inadequate; and that therefore more emphasis should be placed on the examination of the objective characteristics of actual friends and marriage partners. Respondents were asked to name their best friends and partners of the opposite sex or spouses; and an inventory was taken of their various socio-economic characteristics. These were then compared with those of the respondents themselves in an attempt
to assess the extent of homogeneity and heterogeneity in these primary social relationships. An attempt was also made to isolate objective factors which influence the incidence of homogeneity and heterogeneity. After examining such data, it is then possible to look back and assess the relative importance of attitudes - of the respondents themselves, as well as of other people - and propinquity in promoting or retarding inter-group contacts. The results of the present survey are reported in the next three sections of this chapter.

**Tribal identities of friends and spouses.**

Respondents in the survey were asked to name their best friend or friends (up to a maximum of three); and sociological information about these friends was then recorded. Of the 246 respondents included in this part of the survey, 12% said that they had no best friends, while 75% named one best friend, 9% two best friends and 4% three best friends, making a total of 259 best friends. Table 9.4 compares the tribal identities of respondents with those of their best friends. It shows that 59% (153/259) of best friends are of the same tribe as the respondents choosing them, this proportion being higher among female respondents (66%) than male respondents (58%). This higher rate among females is consistent with the fact that most females are Creoles, and Creoles as a whole have a lower proportion of inter-group choices.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Own Tribe</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temne</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mende</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limba</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loko</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susu</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kono</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kissy</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherbro</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korankon</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandingo</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulanka</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others/foreigners</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTALS: 81  48  59  15  3  5  19  2  6  5  1  8  0  6  1  30  289

TABLE 9.4: Tribe of respondents relative to tribe of their best friends. (Calculated on the basis of 246 completed interviews.)
Let us look first at the figures in tribal terms. It can be seen that Creoles have the highest significant proportion of best friends from their own tribe (80%), this being particularly marked among Creole females. Mende, Te-me and Kono also make most choices within their own tribe, while Fula, Sherbro and Mandingo have more contacts with members of other tribes. Limba and Susu appear to hold an intermediate position.

Several hypotheses on factors which would promote inter-tribal friendships were tested. It seems possible that the size of a tribe will affect the extent to which its members draw their friends from outside the tribe, those from smaller tribes being more likely to choose their friends from outside their own tribe than those from larger tribes. The high proportion of Mende and Temne - the two largest tribes in the country - with intra-tribal friendships would seem to support this hypothesis. It is also supported by the Fula, Sherbro and Mandingo, which are all small tribes with high rates of inter-tribal friendships. However, the glaring exceptions are the Creoles - though they are one of the smallest tribes in Sierra Leone, they also have the smallest proportion of inter-tribal friendships in the sample.

Two other factors seem to have an important moderating effect on the influence of size of tribe. Firstly, the geographical concentration of a tribe will affect the proportions of inter-tribal friendships: thus, other things being equal, tribes which are geographically concentrated, such as the Creoles and Kono, will have a higher proportion of intra-tribal friendships.
than tribes which are geographically dispersed, such as the Pula, Sherbro and Mandingo. Mende and Temne have an intermediate level of geographical dispersion, but this, together with their large numbers, is sufficient to ensure that many of their friends are within the same tribe.

Secondly, at least in this sample of sub-elite, the proportions of educated members in a tribe will affect the proportions of inter-tribal friendships. It was suggested above, and will be demonstrated again below, that educated Sierra Leoneans prefer to mix with other educated people. If this is so, then respondents from tribes with a high proportion of educated members will have less trouble finding friends from within their own tribes than respondents from less educated tribes. This is supported by the low rate of inter-tribal friendships among Creoles and the high rates among the Pula and Limba. However, it is not really consistent with the fairly high rates among the relatively well-educated Sherbro or the low rates among the educationally backward Kono. Thus it does not seem that any of these factors characterising the various tribes can provide an adequate explanation for the pattern of friendships by itself; but taken together they at least provide the beginnings of an explanation.

Several other hypotheses on factors which might promote inter-tribal friendships were tested. It was thought possible, for example, that respondents with exogamously married parents would have a higher rate of inter-tribal friendship than those
with endogamous parents; but analysis of the statistics showed
that this was not so. It is also generally thought that
education increases inter-tribal contacts, either by reducing
prejudice against other tribes, or by encouraging individuals to
migrate to towns and participate in modern social institutions
where they will be forced into contact with people of other tribes.
As all respondents had similar levels of education, it was not
possible to check this hypothesis on them directly; but it was
decided to test whether the extent of inter-tribal friendship
varied with parental level of education. It is immediately apparent
that a high level of parental education is not necessarily
associated with a high rate of inter-tribal friendship: Creoles, who have the highest average level of parental education also
have the lowest level of inter-tribal friendship, while Mula, with the lowest level of parental education, also have one of the
highest levels of inter-tribal friendship.

Statistics confirm that the relationship is in fact the
reverse of what might be expected: only 31% of respondents (23/
75) whose fathers had been to secondary school had friends from a
different tribe, compared with 43% (43/99) of those whose fathers
had no education. This effect, however, was due entirely to the
low rate of inter-tribal friendship among Creoles. Looking at
the figures for provincials alone, it appears that there is a
slight tendency for those with educated fathers to have more friends
from different tribes: thus 61% (22/36) of those whose fathers
had been to Western schools had friends from different tribes,

These results are out of a total of 210 respondents, whose
friends were either all of the same tribe as themselves, or all
of different tribes.
compared with only 43% (43/99) of those with illiterate fathers, but this figure is not statistically significant.¹

It was also thought that geographical factors might have an effect. For example, people having been born in towns, or living in the larger centres, or people involved in migration - as measured by having attended school or having been interviewed outside their province of birth - seem most likely to have friends from a tribe other than their own. These various factors were tested; but none seemed to have a clear overall effect. Again the higher rate of intra-tribal friendship among Creoles tended to reverse the expected trend. However, among Provinceals it was found that those born in the larger centres were most likely to have friends from another tribe - 60% (34/57) of those born in towns of over 2,000 people had friends from different tribes compared with only 40% (31/78) of those from smaller settlements.² Also among Provinceals there was a slight tendency for those from the Western Area to have more friends from another tribe than those from other Provinces; but this was not statistically significant.

In summary, it seems that there is little systematic variation in the characteristics of those with friends of the same tribe and those with friends of a different tribe from themselves. This suggests that common experience at school and work has made the respondents a reasonably homogenous social group despite initial differences in their socio-economic characteristics; and

¹ $X^2 = 2.7; \text{d.f.} = 1; \ p = 0.10.$

² $X^2 = 4.37; \text{d.f.} = 1; \ \text{0.05} > p > 0.02.$
that most variation in incidence of inter-tribal friendships are caused by random factors rather than any of the sociological ones previously investigated. The greatest differences appear to be between Creoles and members of other tribes. It appears that, though Creoles have many characteristics which it might be assumed would predispose them towards inter-tribal friendship, they confine most of their relationships within their own group, while members of other tribes, especially as they gain the same socio-economic characteristics as Creoles, are slightly more likely to pick their friends from outside their own tribe.

Respondents were also asked about their relationships with members of the opposite sex. Among both males and females about 10% of the sample were married, while among males 69% said they had a steady girl friend, and among females 84% a steady boy friend. The low rate of marriage in the sample is to be explained mainly in terms of the young age of respondents, and the extended periods of their lives spent in educational institutions. Also important, especially in the case of males, are their aspirations for further education. Not only did most of the respondents lack the financial resources for the type of marriage they desired, but they also felt that marriage would hold them up in their attempts to gain further education. As one respondent said, he was "not even in love" because of his educational plans; and another said that he had no children because he was "too ambitious".

Respondents were not asked too closely about the nature of their relationships with friends of the opposite sex as it was felt that this might jeopardise rapport in the rest of the interview.

---

1 According to their own declaration most males said they were not properly married, or were married "in the native way", while most females had been married in church.
However the relationships are likely to have been quite varied, ranging from semi-marriage to platonic boy-girl relationships, though there was probably often a sexual element. With reference to members of the sub-elite in Lunsar (Northern Province), Gamble writes: "... many of the younger men cannot afford marriage payments on traditional lines, or the expenses connected with a church ceremony. Marriage is postponed to the late twenties and irregular unions take place, concubinage being at its highest among clerical workers" (Gamble, 1963a, p. 220). This is probably more common among provincials than among Creoles, as the latter are more likely to be under the watchful eyes of their parents and home community. Harrell-Bond also found that members of the elite had often postponed marriage in their early years for educational reasons. During this time, however, they might have had a number of children, and, as they often later married other women, this is one of the causes of illegitimacy among the elite (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 383). It appears that some of the unmarried respondents had already acquired a number of illegitimate children: thus 12% (22/182) of the unmarried males and 30% (13/43) of the unmarried females admitted that they already had children, and the figures should probably be higher.

Among males it was noted that the married ones were of lower than average socio-economic status. Thus, for example, none of the married males was a Creole, and 60% of them had not gone beyond form IV in secondary school, compared with only 24% of unmarried males. Almost half (9) worked in manual employment, and over half (11) worked upcountry, figures which are well above
the sample average. These, therefore, were the respondents who had least chance of continuing their education, which is consistent with the idea that most respondents postponed marriage for educational reasons. They were also among the respondents who would have had most pressure put on them by traditionally-orientated families to get married. A number of other respondents from similar environments mentioned resisting such pressures to get married, firstly because they thought marriage would disturb their education, and secondly, because they did not wish to marry the illiterate girls that their families suggested.

Table 9.5 compares the tribal identities of respondents and their partners of the opposite sex. It can be seen that 62% of respondents have partners from their own tribe, this figure varying little between males and females. The proportion of in-choices is particularly high among Creoles (78%), and also among Mende and Temne (70%); but the figure falls drastically among tribes with smaller representation in the sample, so that the average for all Provincials is around 51%. This is probably because Creoles, Mende and Temne are able to find educated partners from their own ranks, while the other tribes, because they have only a small number of educated members, are forced to seek educated partners from other tribes.

Spouses are more likely than boy or girl friends to be of the same tribe as the respondents, 72% of all marriages being endogamous. However this effect is due entirely to the high rate of endogamy among married males in the sample: 85% of their wives are from within the same tribe as themselves (compared with
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe of self</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temne</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mende</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limba</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loko</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susu</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kono</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kissay</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherbro</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koranko</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandingo</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulunka</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 9.5:** Tribe of respondents relative to tribe of partner. (Calculated on the basis of 246 completed interviews.)
only 53% of the girl friends of other Provincial males - the relevant group for comparison, as all married males were provincials) but only one of the five married female respondents had married endogamously. Among Creole females, 73% of partners were also Creole, while only two out of nine partners of Provincial females were from their own tribe. This illustrates the tendency for high status Creoles to separate themselves - and particularly their womenfolk - from lower status tribes; and for educated Provincial females to look outside their own tribe for suitably educated partners. Again this may be partially attributed to the high proportion of educated people among the Creoles compared with other tribes, forcing the latter to look outside their own tribe if they wish to have an educated partner.

Factors promoting inter-tribal contacts were again investigated. This time it was found that differences in parental background were associated with differences in rates of inter-tribal contacts. Thus of those whose parents were exogamously mated, 48% (22/46) had partners from outside their own tribe, compared with only 30% (47/156) of those with endogamously mated parents, this being clearest among provincials. Similarly among provincials, those whose fathers were educated were more likely to have partners from other tribes than those with illiterate parents - thus 65% (24/37) of those whose fathers had been at school had partners from different tribes, compared with only 35% (28/80) of those whose fathers had not been at school.

1 \( \chi^2 = 4.6; \ d.f. = 1; \ 0.05 > p > 0.02. \)

2 \( \chi^2 = 7.9; \ d.f. = 1; \ 0.01 > p > 0.001. \)
Provincials living in the Western Area and those who had been born in the larger towns seem more likely than the others to have partners from a different tribe from themselves, but the effect is not very marked. So in the case of partners the hypothesis that factors of modernisation, such as education and urban residence, will increase the rate of inter-tribal contact seems more true than in the case of friends; but again it is mainly valid in the case of provincials. It appears that among provincials modernisation implies rising status and a break with the traditional environment, thus encouraging them to interact more with members of other tribes. Also the dominant opposition in the society between Creoles and provincials may increase the rate of interaction among the latter.

Among Creoles, on the other hand, possession of the high status characteristics which were assumed to imply modernisation and promote inter-tribal contacts merely reinforces traditional Creole values, and hence has little effect in producing inter-tribal interaction. In fact they tend to have the opposite effect of turning Creoles back on themselves in their relationships of friendship and marriage.

The overall conclusion of this section is that friends and partners are still largely drawn from within the same tribe, especially among Creoles, Mende and Temne. If they were to be drawn randomly from the "pool" of friends and partners, we would expect only about 19.6% of friends and 24.6% of partners to be of the same tribe as the respondents selecting them, whereas it has been seen that the actual proportions are 59% and 62% respectively -
i.e. there is a considerable degree of tribal homogeneity. Data on this, for the various tribes separately as well as for the total sample, are presented in Table 9.6. The extent to which these relationships are confined within the tribe is especially surprising in this section of the population, which is well educated, and integrated into the modern sector of the economy and society.

It appears that social change is having a fairly slow effect in breaking down tribal barriers affecting primary social relationships. While it is true that respondents' friendships and partnerships show a high proportion of inter-tribal relationships than do their parents' marriages - 78% of parental matings were endogamous, compared with only 59% of friendships and 62% of partnerships among respondents - these relationships are perhaps less crucial than marriage as tests of the continuing importance of tribalism in primary relationships; and the rate of endogamy among married respondents (72%) was not far short of that of their parents - i.e. there appears to be little change between the generations. These rates of endogamy are also very similar to the rate of 77% found by Banton among the parents of children whose births were registered in Freetown in the years 1951 and 1952 (Banton, 1957, p. 200 - recalculated from Table 37). As Banton's figures must include a proportion of illiterates, they might be expected to show a higher rate of endogamy, but the fact that they are about the same as those for the sub-elite supports the conclusion that, other things being equal, education does not greatly increase rates of exogamy.

1 Expected frequencies of choices within a given tribe (A) were calculated according to the formula:

\[
\text{Expected frequency} = \frac{\text{No. of friends/partners of tribe A} \times \text{No. of friendship/partnership choices}}{\text{Total friends/partners by Tribe A}}
\]
TABLE 9.6: Actual and expected frequencies of tribal homogeneity among friends and partners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th></th>
<th>Partners</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Expected</td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>Expected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temne</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mende</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limba</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loko</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kono</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kissy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherbro</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koranko</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandingo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulunka</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total within tribe</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total friends/partners</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion within tribe to total</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All expected values of less than 0.1 have been omitted.

Within the sample, also, it appears that factors of modernisation play only a small part in raising rates of intertribal contact and then only among Provincials. Among Creoles there seems to be a reverse trend, with higher social status being associated with higher rates of endogamy. These findings are supported by comparison with Harrell-Bond's figures on the
elite. According to the hypothesis that education increases rates of exogamy, we would expect to find higher rates of exogamy among the elite than among the sub-elite. However, comparison of figures for the elite and sub-elite shows that though this seems to be partially true among Provinceals, the reverse is true among Creoles, findings which parallel those within the sub-elite sample. Thus, confining the analysis to relationships among Sierra Leoneans, it was found that of Creole males, 89% of the elite were endogamously married, while 82% of the sub-elite had partners from the same tribe; and of Provincial males, 36% of the elite were married endogamously, 43% to other Provinceals, and 21% to other Creoles, compared with equivalent figures of 55%, 35% and 10% for the partners of the sub-elite. ¹

These results will perhaps surprise anyone who assumed that modernisation would have a dramatic effect on rates of inter-tribal contact. It appears that even in educated sections of the population, primary social relationships are still mainly confined within the tribe. Various factors of modernisation seem to have only a very limited effect in increasing the rate of interaction between tribes; and even this is confined to the Provincial sections.

¹ In Harrell-Bond's elite sample, 24% of the Creoles and 6% of the Provinceals were married to foreigners; but it was decided to exclude these from the comparison (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 87). This was because it was felt that their inclusion would distort the comparison, as these high rates of inter-marriage with foreigners were probably the result of the elite's overseas experience, which the sub-elite lacked.

Also it should be remembered that the figures for the sub-elite are for partners, not necessarily spouses. Given the previous findings that spouses are more likely to be of the same tribe than partners, this will slightly affect the results of the comparison with the elite. In particular it is likely to make the comparison less extreme in the case of Creoles, and more extreme in the case of Provinceals.
of the population. Creoles, on the other hand, despite being the most advanced section of the population, have the least rate of interaction with other tribes. Some of the causes of this continuing importance of tribalism in social relationships will be investigated in the next two sections of this Chapter.

**Constraints on inter-tribal contacts.**

Having seen that there is still considerable tribal homogeneity between friends and partners, it is necessary to look for an explanation for this. Two alternative explanations suggest themselves. In the first place, homogeneity may result from normative factors: the respondents may prefer friends and partners from the same tribe, and exercise deliberate choice so as to achieve this end; or, though the respondents themselves have no strong views on the subject, persons in a position to influence them, such as their parents or other relatives, may exert social pressure on them to confine their intimate relationships within the tribe. On the other hand, respondents may naturally interact more with fellow tribesmen, for reasons of propinquity, etc., and thus have friends and partners of the same tribe thrust upon them without deliberate discrimination on their part. It is hoped here to assess the relative importance of these factors in causing the tribal homogeneity of friends and partners.

If respondents preferred to restrict their social contacts to fellow tribesmen, this would be expected to show up in their expressed attitudes. However, as was previously shown, when respondents were asked to assess the importance of tribe in
friendship and marriage, they did not seem to think it important: thus in the case of friends, only 17% thought tribe "important" or "very important", 36% thought it "not very important", 6% "not important" and 41% "not important at all"; while for spouses 23% thought it "important" or "very important", 40% "not very important", 8% "not important", and 29% "not important at all". From this evidence, then, it seems unlikely that attitudes were crucial in limiting the extent of interaction with people of other tribes. This is supported by the fact that there is no statistically significant correlation between attitudes to friends and partners of different tribes, and the actual possession of such friends and partners, although few respondents who thought tribal homogeneity with spouse important or very important had a partner from a different tribe from themselves.\(^1\)

Not only the attitudes of the respondents themselves towards inter-tribal relations, but also the attitudes of their parents, other relatives and peer group may have an effect. Unfortunately there is little data available on this. However, it does seem likely that the attitudes of parents and older relatives, particularly among the Creoles, will be more conservative than those of the respondents; and this seemed to be confirmed

\(^1\) Of those who thought tribe of spouse "important" or "very important", 12 had a partner of the same tribe, and only one of a different tribe; of those who thought it "not very important", 16 had a partner of the same tribe, and 14 of a different tribe; while of those who thought it "not important" or "not important at all", 17 had a partner of the same tribe, and 13 of a different tribe. When \(x^2\) tests were carried out, the following results were obtained:

\[x^2 = 4.71; \text{ d.f.} = 2; 0.10 > p > 0.05.\]
by opinions expressed in some of the interviews. Creole girls, in particular, said that they did not think their parents, or especially their grandparents, would like them to marry a boy from the Provinces. An ex-pupil of Bo School told me that when he used to come down to Freetown to take part in sporting events, he found it impossible to go out with Creole girls - they would not lower themselves to going out with people from the Provinces, and, if they did, their fathers would ask them what they thought they were doing to go out with "natives". However he felt that things were now changing; and that the girls were finding out that the tales that they had been told about the native peoples were not true. He even felt that with the swing of political power to the Provincials, some Creole girls were chasing non-Creole boys in the hope of safeguarding themselves and their children. Attitudes held by members of the peer group may also have an effect on the extent of inter-tribal contact; but, in view of the homogeneity of friendship cliques, it seems unlikely that the views of their peer group will differ significantly from those of the respondents themselves. This is therefore probably not an independent variable.

Overall, on the evidence so far presented, it seems unlikely that tribal homogeneity among friends and partners is caused primarily by normative factors. It is therefore necessary to examine the alternative argument, namely that it is a result of propinquity which promotes most frequent interaction with people of the same tribe. This argument would be supported if it could be shown that respondents had a greater number of contacts among
members of their own tribe than with people of other tribes, and hence the "pool" of people from whom they could draw best friends and partners was greater than could be expected on a random basis in the case of their own tribe, and less for other tribes. This is what will now be attempted.

For this part of the research, 22 respondents were asked to examine a full list of the names of the 250 interviewees, pick out those who they could recognise, and answer several supplementary questions about their relationship with each of the persons selected. The social characteristics of the respondents were then compared with those of the people they selected.

Three initial points on this method of research should be mentioned. Firstly, the use of the list of interviewees gives a fixed universe whose characteristics are already known, which can act as a baseline from which to evaluate the selections made. It may be noted that the people not recognised from the list may be as significant as those actually recognised. Secondly, this universe is made up entirely of secondary school leavers in the 18 to 25 age range - i.e., the characteristics of the respondents. This means that the conclusions which can be drawn have less generality than if a more diverse sample had been used, but it has the advantage of limiting the number of variables which have to be considered. It also facilitates recognition in that all respondents are part of a group - probably comprising less than 5,000 individuals1 - who passed through a small number of secondary schools within a few years of each other. But within this group

1 See above, ch. 1.
there is still found the tribal diversity, which is the main subject of study here.

Thirdly, there were encountered some practical problems of recognition, caused mainly by naming customs in Sierra Leone. Many people bear the same or similar names, while others may have a number of different names, perhaps used in different contexts, or may change their name. Thus some people from the list may be falsely recognised because they bear the same name as someone else, while others who are known may not be picked out because they are known by a different name. To minimise this difficulty, the list provided not only the respondents names, but also their place of birth, schools attended and place of work; but it seems likely that the problem was not entirely solved.

In total, the respondents picked out 321 names from the list, or just under 6% of the potential number of names. The number of selections ranged from five to thirty, with an average of 14.6 persons recognised per respondent. Considering the homogeneity of the group in terms of age and education, this seems a fairly low average, which may support the belief that problems of recognition were being encountered. On average male respondents seemed able to recognise more names (15.8) than female

---

1 Particularly their "ose Name" - i.e. African name, used by their relatives and other close associates - and their "school name", or European name, which is used in official contexts. See Porter (1963, pp. 81-82).

2 Harrell-Bond went through her list of the elite with some respondents, though in a less systematic fashion than used here, and she claimed to find almost total recognition among members of the elite (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 120).
respondents (10.6), which is consistent with the fact that there are more male names on the list, and with the greater home orientation of female respondents.

The hypothesis now being suggested is that the concentration of personal relationships within the tribe can be explained by propinquity which gives more opportunity for interaction with members of one's own tribe relative to other tribes, and not by deliberate preferences among respondents for friends and partners of the same tribe. In other words, respondents have more friends and partners from their own tribe because they know more people from their own tribe than from other tribes. If this is so, we would expect to find that the tribal composition of persons recognised from the list would exhibit the same biases as friends, and partners - i.e. the proportions of best friends, partners and persons recognised from the list would be similar, and in all cases would be above the proportion expected if recognition was on a random basis. This was tested separately among Creole males, Creole females, and non-Creole males (there were no non-Creole female respondents); and the results are set out in Table 9.7.

In the case of Creole males it will be seen that the results closely conform to what would be expected from the hypothesis. It was previously pointed out that among Creole males a high proportion of best friends (77.5%) were also Creoles, but it can now also be seen that a similarly high proportion of total recognitions (79%) are within the Creole group, though on a random basis we would only expect 38% of recognitions to be within the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 9.7: Actual and expected selections by the same or different tribe.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Creole males</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual selections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected selections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Creole females</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual selections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected selections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provincial males</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual selections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected selections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best friends</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Figures for "expected selections" are based on proportions of the same and different tribes on the list of interviewees.

2 Best friends for Provincial interviewees who had been interviewed and had most of their secondary schooling in the Western Area (Total 47).
This would seem to support the hypothesis that best friends are tribally homogenous because of a limited knowledge of persons of other tribes. The data on Creole females also lend support to the hypothesis. Recognitions of Creole females are even more concentrated within their own tribe (96%) than those of Creole males; and in fact they appear to have more friends from other tribes (15.5%) than would be expected from their recognitions of persons of other tribes (4%). However the discrepancy is not large, or statistically significant, given the small numbers involved; nor is it in a direction which would contradict the hypothesis. It probably results from the fact that most recognitions are within the same sex, and there are few non-Creole females (6) in the sample from whom to choose. The most obvious explanation of these facts is that most Creoles live in and around Freetown, and hence have limited opportunities to meet provincials. For this reason they are unlikely to have many provincial friends.

The selections of Provincial males, however, do not seem to support the hypothesis. Altogether, 27% of the people they recognised were from their own tribe, which is well above the expected recognitions of 11.7%, but considerably below the proportion of 53% of best friends from the same tribe. Also it can be seen that although 36.5% of the recognitions are Creoles (a figure very similar to the expected one), only 4.5% of best friends are Creoles. The high proportions of Creoles' recognised relative to provincials of other tribes is presumably to be explained by the fact that most of the Provincial respondents used
in this part of the research were based in Freetown, and thus had a good opportunity to meet Creoles. The respondents in the main survey, on the other hand, were scattered all over Sierra Leone, and only a limited proportion of them would have much opportunity to meet Creoles. This might then explain the high proportion of Creole recognitions by Provinceals in the secondary sample, and the low proportion of Creole best friends among Provinceals in the main sample.

To check this, it was decided to examine the tribal distribution of the friends of those Provincial respondents in the main sample who had not only been interviewed in the Western Area, but had also had most of their secondary schooling there - i.e., those respondents in the main sample who most resembled respondents in the secondary sample in their opportunities to meet and make friends with Creoles. When this was done, the proportions of friends of the same and different tribes became more similar to the proportions of recognitions; but there were still considerable differences, and the proportion of Creole friends remained very low (6.5%). Thus the data on Provinceals do not fully support the hypothesis: in particular, though Provinceals, especially those from the Western Area, recognise a fairly large proportion of Creoles, they do not seem to take them as close friends.

Respondents in the secondary sample were also asked to rank the persons recognised from the list of names according to whether they were relatives, close friends, ordinary friends, or merely acquaintances. The results are shown in Table 9.8. If the hypothesis is true that friends are mainly of the same tribe because of a limited familiarity with persons of other tribes, then we could
TABLE 9.8: Class of friendship by same or different tribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Same tribe</th>
<th>Different tribe</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Creoles</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Male and female)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>11 (5%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>11 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close friends</td>
<td>36 (18%)</td>
<td>8 (19%)</td>
<td>44 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary friends</td>
<td>82 (41%)</td>
<td>18 (42%)</td>
<td>100 (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintances</td>
<td>72 (36%)</td>
<td>17 (39%)</td>
<td>89 (36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>201 (100%)</td>
<td>43 (100%)</td>
<td>244 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Provincials**    |            |                |         |
| (Males only)       |            |                |         |
| Relatives          | 2 (10%)    | 2 (4%)         | 4 (5%)  |
| Close friends      | 8 (38%)    | 4 (7%)         | 12 (16%)|
| Ordinary friends   | 7 (33%)    | 31 (55%)       | 38 (49%)|
| Acquaintances      | 4 (19%)    | 19 (34%)       | 23 (30%)|
| **Total**          | 21 (100%)  | 56 (100%)      | 77 (100%)|

\( \chi^2 = 12.46; \ d.f. = 2; \ 0.01 > p. > 0.001 \)

| **Total**          |            |                |         |

| Relatives          | 13 (6%)    | 2 (2%)         | 15 (5%) |
| Close friends      | 44 (20%)   | 12 (12%)       | 56 (17%)|
| Ordinary friends   | 89 (40%)   | 49 (50%)       | 138 (43%)|
| Acquaintances      | 76 (34%)   | 36 (36%)       | 112 (35%)|
| **Total**          | 222 (100%) | 99 (100%)      | 321 (100%)|

\( \chi^2 = 5.98; \ d.f. = 3; \ 0.20 > p. > 0.10 \)
expect the selected persons from the same and different tribes to be evenly distributed between the different categories - i.e. there should be no tendency for those of other tribes to be merely acquaintances. The overall results appear to confirm the hypothesis; but, interestingly enough, there is again a difference between Creoles and Provincials similar to that outlined above. Thus Creoles did not classify fellow tribesmen as closer to them than members of other tribes, but Provincials did. For example, among Provincials, 38% of fellow tribesmen recognised were classified as close friends, compared with only 7% of persons from other tribes (significant at 0.01 level).

Thus the results seem to confirm partially the hypothesis, though the data are rather inconclusive, and difficult to interpret. Certainly respondents of all categories tend to recognise a higher proportion of people from their own tribe than would be expected on a random basis; and this suggests that propinquity may be an important factor causing respondents to choose friends mainly from their own tribe. The results seem particularly conclusive in the case of Creoles: they recognise a fairly low proportion of non-Creoles, probably because of their geographical concentration in the Western Area; and this proportion is about equivalent to their proportion of best friends in the non-Creole category. The results on Provincials are more difficult to interpret. Certainly Provincials recognise more people from their own tribe than would be expected on a random basis, but their friendships are much more concentrated than even their selections, which suggests that propinquity is not the only factor explaining the tribal distribution of their best friends. The respondents
also recognised a fairly high proportion of names from outside
their own tribe, which probably reflects their high rate of
geographical mobility compared with Creoles - the latter had a
geographically stable pattern of life with fixed social contacts,
while the former were forced into contact with a diverse section
of the community because of their social and geographical
mobility. This was reflected in their diverse recognitions from
the list of interviewees. In particular, Provincial respondents
in the secondary sample recognised many Creoles because they were
moving into what had previously been Creole social and geographical
territory. According to the hypothesis, we would expect their
friendship pattern to reflect this. However, although they did
seem to make many friends from other tribes, few of these were
Creoles. The Creoles they knew tended to be acquaintances rather
than close friends.

Given the high proportion of friends drawn from their
own tribe and the low proportion of Creole friends compared with
recognitions, it seems unlikely that propinquity alone can explain
the results. There seems to be some kind of barrier between
Creoles and provincials, and, if propinquity is not the sole
explanation, it is tempting to turn back to the alternative
hypothesis that cultural preferences discourage close friendships
between Creoles and provincials. However this is a puzzling
result, as it contradicts some of the previous findings, particularly
those on Creoles earlier in this section. If from the Creole
point of view, propinquity explains most of the social separation
between Creoles and provincials, why do we not find the mirror image of this result from the provincial point of view?

There may be some purely technical reasons for these contradictory results. For example, the secondary sample, particularly of provincials, is very small, and may contain some biases. Comparison of the recognition patterns of the five provincial respondents reveals that they differ sharply: some respondents, who were brought up in their own tribal area, had a high proportion of recognitions within their own tribe, while others, who were migrants, had a higher proportion outside their tribe. A larger sample would have allowed the separate examination of these types. Also, as previously mentioned, the different compositions of the primary sample, making up the list of interviewees, and the secondary sample who were asked to make recognitions from the list, resulted in some difficulties. But perhaps the most important technical reason explaining the contradictions in the results is the biased nature of the sample. Because so much interviewing was done in the western province, there is an over-representation of Creoles relative to provincials, and this facilitates the recognition of Creoles for both Creole and provincial respondents, while at the same time discouraging the recognition of provincials. The geographically compact settlement of Creoles compared with provincials also tends to make it easier to recognise Creoles. If there was a higher proportion of recognitions of provincials relative to Creoles, comparison with the figures for best friends would give a slightly poorer fit with the hypothesis
in the case of Creoles, but a better fit in the case of
Provincials; and the resulting relative change in the figures
for the two groups would at least partially resolve the contra-
dictions in the results gained from them.

Thus the results achieved here are not entirely
satisfactory. However, despite these difficulties, it seems
that this method is worth following up. One way out of some
of the difficulties might be to concentrate the study on a
single geographical Area - e.g. Freetown, or even a section of
Freetown - rather than doing it on a countrywide basis. This
would at least solve some of the sampling problems. In the
meantime, until a more satisfactory study can be carried out, it
may be assumed that both propinquity and cultural preferences
play some part in causing tribal separation in primary relationships;
but the former is probably more important.

The effects of propinquity on friendship patterns were
also studied more directly. The Province of birth of respondents
was compared with that of their best friends, the degree of
homogeneity and heterogeneity was calculated, and an attempt was
made to establish the factors affecting these, using the same
method as that employed for tribe. The results, set out in Tables
9.9 and 9.10 are similar to those for tribe. As with tribe, most
friends belonged to the same category, two thirds of the friends of
respondents having been born in the same Province as themselves.
This is highest for respondents born in the Western Province, three
quarters of their friends also coming from the West, and lowest for
those from the Southern Province, only 43% of whose friends had
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province of birth</th>
<th>No friends</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>Outside Sierra Leone</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Total friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 9.9: Province of birth by province of birth of friends.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents born in the Western area</th>
<th>Province of birth of selections and friends</th>
<th>Same Province</th>
<th>Other Province</th>
<th>Other/ Don't know</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual recognitions</td>
<td></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected recognitions</td>
<td></td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best friends</td>
<td></td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents born in other provinces</th>
<th>Same Province</th>
<th>Other Province</th>
<th>Western Area</th>
<th>Other/ Don't know</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actual recognitions</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected recognitions</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best friends</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
also been born there. The figures for the other two Provinces are slightly above average. The high degree of homogeneity in the friendship patterns of respondents born in the Western Province is no doubt due to their geographical concentration and lack of mobility, particularly among the Creoles. The low degree of homogeneity among those from the Southern Province is less easy to explain, unless it is due to some peculiarity in their pattern of migration. As shown in Chapter 2, because of the economic opportunities offered by the Eastern Province, the tribes of this area, particularly the Kono - like the Creoles in the Western Province - have a low propensity to migrate; and for this reason may easily find friends within their home area. In fact most respondents in the survey who had been born in the Eastern Province had also been interviewed there. Northerners, on the other hand, are frequent migrants; and, as no interviewing was done in the Northern Province, all Northern respondents were migrants. This might be expected to result in a high proportion of friends from other Provinces; but it may be that as there are such large numbers of Northern migrants in all areas it is easy to make friends with other Northerners. Most of the Southerners in the sample were also migrants, but, as they migrate in smaller numbers, it may be more difficult for them to make friends who are also Southerners. However, without further evidence, this is not a particularly convincing explanation. Alternatively, it would be possible to put forward a psychological explanation in terms of a lower degree of tribal feeling among Southerners, but again there is no evidence for this.
The pattern of recognitions by members of the secondary sample was again used in an attempt to determine the relative importance of propinquity and cultural preference in limiting heterogeneous relationships. The results obtained were very similar to those for tribe; and in particular, contained the same internal inconsistency. The recognitions of respondents born in the Western Province were mainly of others also born there, the proportion being very similar to the proportion of best friends born in the Western Province (78% and 76%), suggesting that this concentration of friendships in the same group results from more frequent interaction with other members of the group than with outsiders, rather than from deliberate discrimination.

Results on respondents born in other Provinces are less clear, as were the results for Provinceals given above. Recognitions of others born in the same Province are higher than would be expected on a random basis, while recognitions of others born in other Provinces - or at least the Western Area - are lower than would be expected, which partially supports the hypothesis that homogeneity with best friends results from propinquity. However, best friends are much more likely to be drawn from the same Province and less likely to be drawn from the Western Province than recognitions, suggesting that other factors are also involved. Thus the results again suggest that propinquity is an important, though not exclusive, explanation for homogenous patterns of friendship.
It may seem a fairly obvious, if not tautologous, conclusion that friends are drawn from those with whom one comes into most frequent contact. In particular, it is difficult to make friends with people who live so far away that interaction is impossible. Even the corollary that friends come mainly from the same tribe because of the geographical distribution of tribes may seem hardly worthwhile investigating. Perhaps, however, the important point is the implication for the alternative hypothesis, namely that tribal and geographical homogeneity in friendship relations are not necessarily a result of deliberate discrimination in favour of members of the same tribe. The relative unimportance of "tribalism" as an ethnocentric frame of mind affecting friendship patterns is confirmed by both subjective and objective studies. This would not seem to be a tautologous conclusion.

The social status of friends and partners

It was previously suggested that with modernisation, social status would be an increasingly important factor affecting patterns of primary relationships, while the importance of tribe would decline. However it has now been shown that tribe remains important, though for reasons of propinquity rather than for cultural reasons. It is now necessary to examine the other side of the balance - i.e., to assess the importance of social status in primary relationships, and to account for the results. In an attempt to do this, respondents were asked about the educational and occupational levels of their best friends; and their answers are summarised in Tables 9.11 and 9.12.
It can be seen from these tables that there is considerable social homogeneity between respondents and their best friends. For example, nine tenths (92%) of best friends of sample members had themselves attended secondary school, and only 3% (8) had never been to school at all. Those with illiterate friends tended to come from lower than average background: none was a Creole, only one had a literate father, and all but one worked in the Provinces. At the other end of the scale, relatively few respondents had best friends who had passed secondary school level - thus of all respondents only 12% (30/250) had friends who had either studied abroad or in the University of Sierra Leone; and most of these friends (24/32) were still students rather than qualified graduates. Thus they were in transition from one status level to another rather than having already achieved a higher status than the respondents.

It can also be seen from Table 9.11 that there is selectivity within the sample, for friends of respondents with lower educational levels have a lower average level of education than friends of respondents with higher levels of education. Thus 83% of the friends of respondents who had reached form IV and above had themselves reached this level, compared with only 34% of the friends of respondents who had left school before form IV.

Friends also seem to come from similar backgrounds, as measured by the educational levels of their fathers: in those cases where enough evidence was available, 82% (84/102) of the
TABLE 9.11: Form reached by respondents by the educational level of their best friends

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education of best friends</th>
<th>Forms I - III</th>
<th>Forms IV - VI</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No friend</th>
<th>Forms I - III</th>
<th>Forms IV - VI</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms I - III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms IV - VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181 (63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195 (75%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
friends of respondents whose fathers had never been to school also had illiterate fathers, and 72\% (76/105) of the friends of respondents whose fathers had attended school also had fathers who had been to school. The great majority (25/29) of those respondents whose fathers were educated but whose friends' fathers were illiterate were Provincials rather than Creoles — i.e., they came from tribes in which the majority were illiterate, and they retained much in common with this illiterate majority. Thus it may be concluded that, on the whole, the friends of respondents not only have similar personal characteristics, but also come from similar backgrounds in socio-economic terms.

Similar points can be demonstrated by looking at data on the occupational status of respondents' friends, figures for which are presented in Table 9.12. From this Table it can be seen that about half (48\%) of the respondents' friends are in white collar occupations (including teaching), while 17\% are in skilled or semi-skilled work, mainly as mechanics, machine operators and drivers, another 16\% are still in school or college, and the remaining 14\% are unemployed. This is quite similar to the distribution of the respondents themselves. Only 2\% of the respondents' friends could be ranked as professionals, and only 1\% as unskilled manual workers or farmers. Thus respondents and their friends seem to be mainly drawn from the same social status group, which is particularly significant given that this group comprises such a small proportion of the population. Only one of the 259 friends was a farmer, though farmers make up about four fifths of the working population of Sierra Leone.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations of friends</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>W/Collar</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(No friend)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitescollar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled, semi-skilled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This social selectivity is even more obvious when we look within occupational categories: thus of the friends of teachers, 44% were also teachers, and altogether 64% were in white collar employment; of the friends of other white collar workers, 51% were in similar employment, and 58% in white collar employment including teaching; of the friends of respondents in skilled or semi-skilled work, half were in similar employment; and of the friends of the unemployed, a third were also unemployed. If we exclude friends who were either students or unemployed, it appears that 85% of teachers' friends, and 77% of the friends of other white collar workers were in similar white collar occupations; and 66% of the friends of skilled and semi-skilled workers were also skilled or semi-skilled workers.

Turning now to examine the extent of social homogeneity between respondents and their partners of the opposite sex, we find roughly similar results, though the pattern is slightly more complicated because men usually have higher educational and occupational standards than their female counterparts. This is partly to be explained by the fact that female education lags behind that of males, particularly among the Provincials. Despite this, however, 83% of the respondents' partners had also attended secondary school, and almost three fifths had reached at least form IV. The degree of homogeneity between respondents and their friends is particularly marked among Creoles: all the partners of Creole females, and almost three quarters of the partners of Creole males had reached form IV in secondary school;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex and tribe of respondents</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>No partner</th>
<th>No education</th>
<th>Primary I - III</th>
<th>Secondary IV - VI</th>
<th>Total friends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creole males</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(72%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole females</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial males</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(16%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(34%)</td>
<td>(37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial females</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(12.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(87.5%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total males</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(11%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(31%)</td>
<td>(48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total females</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(98%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(9%)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(24%)</td>
<td>(59%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.13: Sex and tribe of respondents by educational level of their partners.
and only 2% of the partners of Creole males had not reached secondary school at all. Also among Provincial females, all but one of their partners - a Lebanese trader - had at least reached form IV. This underlines the fact that females as a whole have partners with higher qualifications than themselves. In fact almost half (22/46) of female respondents' partners had some form of further education; and in particular one quarter (11/46) had trained overseas (many of them were still abroad on their course), and 17% (8/46) in the University of Sierra Leone. Among the partners of male respondents, in contrast, only 17% (26/157) had any further education after secondary school; and in most cases (17) this was only secretarial training. In only 2.5% (4/157) did male respondents say that their girl friend had continued her education either abroad or at the University of Sierra Leone.

But whereas females generally have partners with higher qualifications than themselves, and Creole males are generally able to secure partners of a similar educational level to themselves, Provincial males are often forced to take partners of a lower standard because of the shortage of educated Provincial women. Thus, although one third of Provincial males have partners with upper secondary education, and another third have partners with lower secondary education, the remaining third have partners who only have primary education or who are illiterate. It may be pointed out that half of the illiterate partners (9/18)
were wives. In general, the wives of married respondents were of lower educational standard than the girl friends of unmarried respondents: thus 45% of wives had not attended school, and none had been beyond form III, whereas only 7% of girl friends were illiterate, and 55% had been to the upper forms of secondary school. This is consistent with the previously mentioned fact that married respondents were drawn from the lower status levels within the sample; and, because all married males are provincials, it helps to lower the average social status of the partners of provincial males. Some of the other illiterate partners appear to be married women - usually married to older polygynous men - with whom the respondents were having temporary affairs.

Figures on partners' occupations may also be used to illustrate some of the same points. Thus it appears that the occupations of partners of female respondents tend to be slightly higher than their own: 22% (10/46) of their partners are in professional, technical and supervisory occupations, 52% (24/46) are clerical workers, 20% (9/46) are students, mainly at institutions of higher education, while the remaining 7% (3/46) were businessmen or traders. With the partners of male respondents, the most noticeable feature is the proportion who are either still students or unemployed - thus 43% (67/157) are still students, mainly at secondary schools, and 24% (38/157) are unemployed. The high proportion of respondents' girl friends who
are still at school is probably to be explained by the fact that, though the respondents aspire to have educated partners, educated girls of their own age group are monopolised by older, better qualified men. They therefore turn to school girls for educated companions: and indeed when these girls leave school, they may well be of the correct age and educational grouping to become the wives of respondents in this survey. Of the remaining partners of male respondents, 69% (36/52) are in white collar occupations, and 31% (16/52) are working in various other occupations, particularly as traders, seamstresses, etc. Given the general tendency for males to be of a higher educational and occupational level than their female partners, the figures presented here support the hypothesis that there is considerable social homogeneity between partners, and that social status is probably a major determinant of patterns of primary relationships. Thus relationships with both friends and partners of the opposite sex seem to be mainly homogeneous in status terms; and this supports the results of most previous studies.¹

It appears that, at least in the case of friendship, homogeneity is even more marked in terms of social status than in terms of tribe; and in this case it seems likely that cultural

¹ See, for example those of Clements (1956, pp. 440-442, 452-453; 468-469); Schwab (1961, p. 138); Lloyd (1967a, pp. 135-136, 146); Jacobson (1968, p. 130); and Bond (1972, pp. 101-102). A partial exception is found in the results of Goldthorpe's study of old boys of Makerere College, for in this study it was found that the wives of this elite sample had much lower levels of education than their husbands. However this again may be attributed to the shortage of educated women at that particular stage in development (Goldthorpe, 1955, p. 38).
preference for friends of the same social group played a more
important part in determining this level of homogeneity. It
has already been seen in the second section of this chapter
that respondents gave higher priority to the educational and
occupational levels of their friends and spouses than to their
tribal identities; and this is confirmed by the views they
expressed on the matter. Respondents generally felt that they
had more in common with others of roughly the same educational
level. They faced the same problems in life, and could encourage
one another in their quest for educational, occupational and
social advancement. As a number of respondents mentioned, an
educated friend can give you good advice, and help you with your
further studies. Another respondent picked out differences of
educational level as the greatest barrier to friendship, as
there are some things an illiterate man cannot understand. It
was generally believed that, because of differences of interest
and understanding, friendship between an educated man and an
illiterate could not be firmly based.

It was also often mentioned that standards of
behaviour were higher among educated people than among illiterates;
and, as a result, it was thought that to mix with illiterates
brought dangers of both moral and social degradation. This may
be illustrated by paraphrasing the statements of a number of
informants:

The most important differences between people are in
culture, level of civilisation or intelligence. You
can't mix literates and illiterates. Literates, i.e.
people with secondary school education, have good
behaviour. At lodge meetings and parties you do not expect to meet those who are not cultured. The respondent would like to join a lodge, though he does not know much about them, but he likes their dress, meetings and good conduct. Illiterates have not come up to the climate required in good company of a civilised community. He mixes with illiterates, but does not make friends with them.

Differences in education are the most important barriers to friendship. An illiterate person does not know how to behave - he loses his temper very quickly. When the respondent gets married, he hopes that his wife will be educated up to his own standard, so that, if they go out together, she will not disgrace him in public. She should be able to stand up and speak, etc.

Differences in education are the most important barriers to friendship. The first class honours degree man will not bring himself to the rank of the ordinary man. They have nothing in common.

There are also felt to be dangers and difficulties in mixing with people of superior social status. In particular, a number of respondents mentioned the danger that, if your friends were better off than you, they might "look low" on you, and think you were just following them for their money. This can again be illustrated by paraphrasing some of their comments:

Differences of wealth and income are the biggest barriers to friendship. A wealthy friend may tell his wife and children that you are following him for his money. He will boast when he helps you.

Classes are more important than tribe in influencing friendship, for it is possible to be friends with people of other tribes, but not of other classes. If you visit a rich man, he will think you are just going for his money. Rich men like other rich men, and a rich man will not let his daughter marry a poor person. The respondent particularly admires those who have helped him among the big men, and not those who just want you as a servant.

He does not mingle with the rich, because if anything was stolen from them, he would get the blame - not the sons of rich men.
It is not easy to make friends in the upper class - he does not like to associate with them, for the African heart is black.

A person who is educationally more successful will leave behind a friend who has not made the grade - only greeting will be left between them, not real friendship.

This is probably a realistic assessment of the way in which friendship dissolves between those who advance socially at different rates, leaving only friendships which are homogeneous in terms of social status. As another respondent remarked, a rich man will take another friend if he leaves you behind.

The educational and occupational levels of spouses were also considered important by most respondents. Obviously to female respondents, this was usually of crucial importance for it would determine the social status of themselves and their children. Male respondents also wanted their wives to be well educated, though usually not up to their own level - as one respondent said, he expected to become a graduate, so he would like his wife to have at least reached school certificate level. One important reason for wishing their wives to be well educated was so that they could secure respectable white collar employment, as teachers, nurses, typists and clerical workers, and thus contribute to the family income. Another reason was that an educated woman would have a more "civilised" standard of behaviour, and thus be a source of pride to her husband. It was also thought by some respondents that an educated woman was better equipped to bring up children, being able to make use of modern child-rearing techniques, and to help the children with their school work.
In a few cases, however, respondents did not think it important to have an educated wife. Some mentioned that if their wives were illiterate, and thus unable to gain white collar employment, they could at least work as seamstresses and traders, and in this way make money to help the family. One respondent said that he would prefer his wife to be a seamstress, for then she would have no boss — presumably to seduce her. A small number of respondents said that they did not want their wives to work, but to stay in the house as housewives and traders. As one Aku informant told me, he wanted his wife to be well educated for bringing up children, but he did not want her to work. His father told him that a wife should stay in the house to look after the children and do trade. These were the exceptions, however: in most cases respondents said they wished friends and spouses who were educated; and such attitudes may help explain the homogeneity in such relationships in terms of socio-economic status.

Summary and conclusions.

For the purposes of the present study, perhaps the most interesting and important conclusion to emerge from this chapter is that non-kinship primary relationships are mainly homogeneous in terms of socio-economic status. It was noted, for example, that the best friends of respondents had very similar characteristics to themselves in terms of educational and occupational level; and it was suggested that this was mainly the result of deliberate
decisions by the respondents and their best friends in choosing each other. This may be inferred from the attitudes expressed by respondents, which suggested that they preferred to associate mainly with others of similar socio-economic status to themselves.

It was also suggested that these relationships of friendship were important to respondents, for they appeared to spend much of their leisure time with their best friends. Unlike the situation with the ascribed relationships of kinship, respondents had much more freedom to choose their own friends; and it is significant that they used this freedom to choose friends of similar socio-economic status to themselves. Indeed the importance of friendship among the respondents may be just because it allows them to associate with others of similar educational and occupational status — in other words, with others who they feel share similar views and face similar problems in life to themselves.

It was noted that friends appeared to be particularly important for those who had been socially mobile from homes of lower socio-economic status; and it may be suggested that this was because it allowed such respondents to partially substitute educated friends for illiterate relatives. Such substitution would be particularly important for those who had been socially mobile for two main reasons: firstly, they are likely to have moved away geographically from their relatives, and thus must look for another source of emotional and financial support; and
secondly, they will have been partially alienated from their relatives by their education, and will wish to establish closer relations with other educated young people with whom they feel that they have more in common. As one respondent put it: "You feel more related to a friend who has been to school with you than to an illiterate brother seen once in a blue moon". The quasi-kinship nature of many such relationships is symbolised by the extension of kinship terminology to friends - thus in Sierra Leone, as in the rest of West Africa, best friends are referred to as "brothers", and should be treated as such.

There also appears to be a tendency for spouses and other partners of the opposite sex to be of similar socio-economic status, though the pattern is slightly more complicated than in the case of best friends, for males are usually rather more educated than their female partners. This may be attributed partly to the lower average level of education of females, and also to the preference among both males and females for the former to be more highly educated than the latter in such relationships.

Among educated individuals both males and females usually wish to have well-educated partners, though males usually wish wives with a slightly lower level of education than themselves, so that they will not feel challenged in their superior position, while females wish husbands with as high a level of education as possible, for on this will depend their occupation, and hence income and style of life.
Thus in these relationships which allow greatest freedom of choice, there does appear to be emerging the social separation between socio-economic strata which is characteristic of class systems in Western industrialised societies; and this pattern of relationships is supported, or even caused, by a set of attitudes which is consistent with such a class system. Thus in relationships of friendship and marriage even more than in relations of kinship there are clear signs of the emergence of a class system in Africa.

It was suggested in the introduction of this chapter that there might be an inverse relationship between the importance of class and tribe in non-kinship primary relationships; and hence, having established that socio-economic factors are important, we might expect to find that such relationships are not necessarily homogeneous in terms of tribe. This prediction was not confirmed, however: relationships with best friends and partners of the opposite sex were still largely homogeneous in tribal terms; and in particular there appeared to be an important social gulf between Creoles and Provincials.

The prediction that tribal homogeneity in their primary relationships would be of diminishing significance among the respondents was based on the assumption that education would reduce tribalistic sentiments among them, and that, as a result, they would be less tribalistic in their social relationships. As it now appears that these relationships remain largely homogeneous in tribal terms, it might be assumed that this
results from the persistence of tribalistic attitudes among them; but in fact the respondents themselves denied that tribe was an important factor influencing their choices of friends and partners of the opposite sex. In addition, other evidence suggests that there is no simple relationship between Western education, or other enculturating influences, such as urban residence, and the tribal composition of primary relationships: although among provincials there appeared to be some tendency for the modernising influences to raise the proportion of inter-tribal relationships, the creoles who have been most subjected to modernising influences have very few inter-tribal relations.

In fact, the assumption that the extent of tribal homogeneity in primary relationships is likely to diminish with increasing modernisation is based on a highly simplistic and probably erroneous conception of tribalism as a traditional phenomenon which has no real basis in the modern world. But, as Mitchell points out, tribalism is actually a modern, urban phenomenon, and its importance in the present-day situation is not to be explained in terms of its survival from the past, but rather in terms of contemporary causes (Mitchell, 1966). In the case in which we are interested here, tribe may remain of importance in primary relationships mainly for modern, status reasons; or, in other words, differentiation in terms of class

---

1 For a case study of tribalism being of increasing importance in the contemporary world, (sometimes referred to as "retribalisation") see Cohen (1969).
and tribe reinforce each other. Thus the Creoles may remain tribally exclusive not for any traditional tribalistic reasons - after all, they are not a traditional tribe - but because they wish to be exclusive in terms of status. As most Creoles are relatively well educated, and many are in good occupational positions, they are able to fulfil their aspirations for friends of similar socio-economic status to themselves without looking outside their own tribe; and in addition the Creole identity itself comes to have status implications which reinforce the choice of friends and spouses from within the Creole community.

Among provincials, on the other hand, modernisation does appear to have played a small part in raising the proportion of inter-tribal relationships, mainly with members of other provincial tribes. This may operate in a number of ways: for example, through the lowering of traditional tribal hostilities, though this is probably of least importance; through increasing the rate of interaction between members of different tribes, particularly in the urban situation; and through the actualisation of the desire for friends of similar socio-economic status. Though it may be easy for Creoles to find friends of similar socio-economic status without looking outside their own tribe, it may be more difficult for members of other tribes which have a much smaller proportion of educated members. In such cases the desire for educated friends may encourage the formation of friendships between individuals of similar socio-economic status but different tribes.
Thus there is no automatic relationships between education, or other modernising influences, and the rate of inter-tribal interaction. In the more backward tribes, modernisation may have the effect of encouraging interaction between members of different tribes; but in a tribe such as the Creoles, a high level of education may only have the effect of increasing their exclusiveness as the highest status group within a system which combines tribal and socio-economic stratification.

Lloyd reports a rather similar situation among the Yoruba: he found that inter-marriage between the various Yoruba ethnic groups tended to increase with education, but in the group with the highest level of education, the Ijebu, the position was reversed. He explains this by the fact that most educated men wished to marry educated women, but that, because of the shortage of educated women, they often had to seek educated wives outside their own ethnic groups. Among the Ijebu, on the other hand, there were sufficient educated women, and so it was possible for the men to find educated wives within their own segment of the tribe (Lloyd, 1967a, p. 136). As well as resulting from the increased statistical possibility of finding a wife from within their own segment, this may indicate a re-emergence of traditional tribal values, which perhaps were merely masked by the need to look outside the segment for an educated wife, or the emergence of a new Ijebu identity, based on their superior social status, as in the case of the Creoles.
In any case, these examples seem to suggest that socio-economic factors take precedence over traditional tribal factors in the formation of primary relationships - i.e., an educated man's first priority is to find an educated friend or wife, and only then does he take tribal factors into account. This emphasizes once again the importance of socio-economic factors in primary relationships, and their likely effect in stimulating the social separation of socio-economic strata, and hence the emergence of social classes.

It was also noted that tribal homogeneity in primary relationships was partly attributable to the higher frequency of interaction generally with members of the same tribe relative to members of other tribes, which limits the opportunities for the formation of primary relationships with members of other tribes; and this appears to be particularly important in explaining the social gulf between Creoles and Provincials. Interaction between members of different tribes is partly restricted by their geographical separation, for tribes have different Provinces of origin and sometimes even live in different neighbourhoods in town; but it is also affected by the social separation of tribes in some institutional contexts. Most obviously voluntary associations and religious organizations tend to exhibit ethnic segregation; but in addition some schools and even occupations are dominated, and in some cases monopolized, by members of a single tribe; thus members of different tribes

666
may be separated by what may be called the "socio-ecology" of the system; and such "socio-ecological" factors may play an important part in producing tribal homogeneity in such primary relationships as friendship and marriage.

Jacobson makes a rather similar, though non-statistical analysis of the effects of place of work on friendship patterns among the elite in a medium-sized town in Uganda; and he comes to rather similar conclusions. He found that though tribe is not an overt criterion in the choice of friends, many friendships exhibit tribal homogeneity; and he suggests that this is because many friends are drawn from the same departments at work, and there is a concentration of certain tribes in some departments and occupations. Thus the tribal nature of these friendships is a result of what Jacobson calls "situational factors", and what have been referred to here as "socio-ecological factors" (Jacobson, 1968, pp. 134-135).

Such socio-ecological factors may also reinforce the social separation of classes. Educational institutions and occupations in particular usually have a definite class nature, and hence will bring together members of the same class, and stimulate the formation of primary relationships between them. In addition, because of the inter-relationships of class and tribe, the social separation of classes will once again reinforce those of tribes, and vice versa. For example, only members of the more advanced tribes will be found in the most senior occupations, while the ethnic association of a backward tribe will be made up of mainly lower status individuals.
The tribal and/or socio-economic homogeneity of a social institution - such as a voluntary association, religious organisation, or school - or an occupation may result partly from extraneous factors; but it may also be partly a result of deliberate choice on the part of participants in the social institution or occupation. For example, a voluntary association may be formed specifically for members of a single tribe, or a father may deliberately send his child to a particular school because of its tribal or socio-economic composition. This will have a cumulative effect on the homogeneity of the social institution; and increase the proportion of homogeneous relationships within it not only for those who chose to participate in it for particularistic reasons, but also for others who may have entered the institution for quite different reasons.

Thus it appears that the extent of both tribal and socio-economic homogeneity in primary relationships may at least partially be explained in terms of the nature of the institutional structure: the institutional structure is differentiated in terms of a number of mutually reinforcing tribal and socio-economic criteria, resulting partly from the deliberate choices of individuals and partly from other extraneous social and geographical processes; and this often has the effect of increasing an individual’s interaction with others of similar social characteristics to himself at the expense of his interaction with others of
differing social characteristics. Thus partly as a result of his participation in this differentiated institutional structure - and also partly as a result of deliberate choices, particularly in terms of socio-economic criteria - an individual builds up a personal network which is relatively homogeneous in terms of tribe and socio-economic status; and this in turn may partly explain the degree of homogeneity in his primary relationships, such as those of friendship and marriage. The effects of tribalism and stratification on the pattern of relationships in some institutional contexts will be examined further in the next chapter.

1 There may also be a cumulative effect within an individual's personal network which tends to increase the extent of tribal homogeneity.
CHAPTER 10: Tribalism and stratification in some institutional contexts.

Having examined the respondents' informal relationships with friends and partners of the opposite sex, we may now move on to look at their participation in some formal institutional contexts, such as schools, religious organisations and voluntary associations; and to assess the likely effects of such participation on their patterns of primary relationships. It was suggested in the last chapter, for example, that tribal and status homogeneity in primary relationships is encouraged by participation in institutions which are themselves largely homogeneous in terms of these characteristics; and it will now be possible to check this with some examples. In particular many of the respondents' closest relationships of friendship were formed in school; and an attempt will be made in the next section of this chapter to assess the extent to which the homogeneity in their relationships of friendship could be a result of the social composition of the student population in the school which they attended.

It also appears that social separation between tribes and status groups may be reinforced by their participation in religious organisations, for different ethnic and socio-economic groups tend to have different religious affiliations. In fact in Sierra Leone, as in many other complex societies, religious affiliation may come to have implications for social status, and may be manipulated as a status sign in the presentation of the self. In particular, Christianity tends to be associated with education and high status, at least in the modern sector of the economy, while Islam is assoc-
iated with illiteracy; and there is even a tendency for the various denominations within these religions to reflect socio-economic differentiation. Thus religious affiliation appears to be an integral part of the complex pattern of ethnic and socio-economic differentiation in Sierra Leone. In the second section of this chapter the religious affiliation of the respondents will be examined, with special reference to the implications of this for social stratification. An attempt will be made to show how some respondents manipulated their religious affiliation to express their positions in society more clearly; but it will be suggested that the status implications of religion are of declining significance in Sierra Leone today.

In the final section of this chapter the social significance of voluntary associations for respondents in the present survey will be examined. Voluntary associations are also contained within the grid of ethnic and socio-economic differentiation, with, for example, some associations recruiting mainly on tribal lines, and others restricting their membership in terms of socio-economic status; and because of this, they, like schools and religious organisations, are likely to have a homogenizing effect on primary relationships. Although ethnic associations cut across lines of incipient stratification, associations which are homogeneous in socio-economic terms are likely to be particularly important in the emergence of new patterns of social stratification.

Some writers have particularly stressed the adaptive functions of voluntary associations in the process of social change (Little, 1957; 1965; Johnson, 1975). They help the individual
unfamiliar with the urban environment to adapt to his new situation, acting as a kind of "cultural bridge" or "half-way-house" between the traditional situation which he knows and understands and the new situation which is strange to him; and providing him with a new primary group, usually composed of others of the same or similar ethnic background to himself, which will act as a substitute kinship group in giving him the emotional and even financial support which would otherwise be lacking in his new environment. Of particular significance is that in the voluntary association the migrant from a rural area may be introduced for the first time to a social group membership of which is by choice rather than ascription, and thus to a fundamental principle of the organisation of modern society, for in its basis of recruitment the voluntary association is typical of most institutions in the modern world.¹ This freedom of choice in the membership of voluntary associations may have one particularly important consequence for the argument of the present thesis: as suggested in the last chapter, such freedom may be used to choose to associate mainly with other members of the same socio-economic stratum; and if such choices are institutionalised in the formation of voluntary associations which are homogeneous in terms of the status of their members, then this would appear to be another indication of the emergence of social classes. In the last section of this chapter, the participation of respondents in voluntary associations will be examined; and an attempt will be made to assess the soc-

¹ Of course it should be noted that some traditional African societies do have associations, membership of which is by achievement rather than ascription. In addition, some ethnic associations may partially coerce their members to participate.

672.
ial significance of such participation for them.

Social and ethnic stratification in education.

As was seen in the last chapter, many of the respondents' important friendships appear to have been formed in school. Thus of the 259 "best friends" of respondents discussed in the last chapter, 58% had been first met at school or college, compared with only 20% who had been met in their home village or neighbourhood, 11% at work, 5% at a church, voluntary association or sports meeting, and 6% "casually" — i.e. usually through friends or relatives. A similar pattern emerges if we look at how the respondents in the secondary sample first met those individuals whose names they could recognise from the list of respondents in the primary sample: 39% had been first met at school, 20% in the home village or neighbourhood, 5% at work, 9% at a church, club or sports meeting, and 27% "casually". The most obvious difference between the two sets of figures is that best friends are more likely than recognitions to have been met at school, while recognitions are more likely to have been met casually, which once again supports the importance of schools as places for making friends. In neither of the samples does the first place met vary significantly with whether the respondent is a Provincial or a Creole, or the friend or the person recognised of the same or different tribe.

As so many friendships are formed in school, it seems lik-

---

1 See Chapter 9.

2 In the last chapter the respondents' own impressions of how they met their friends generally are summarised.
ely that the social composition of the student population in the schools attended by respondents will have an important effect on the nature of their relationships of friendship, and particularly the degree of homogeneity of these relationships in tribal and socio-economic terms. This can be investigated by looking at the schools attended by respondents of different tribes, and assessing the extent to which they overlap. The movement of respondents between Provinces to attend school has already been examined in Chapter 8. It was seen there that very few of the respondents born in the Western Area had left the Province to attend school. As for provincials, quite a number of them came to the Western Area for secondary education, but at least three fifths of them completed their secondary school in the other Provinces. This already implies the separation of Creoles and the majority of provincials in the educational sphere, if only because they tended to attend secondary schools in different Provinces.

This can be illustrated even more clearly, however, by the figures in Table 10.1, which break down the schools attended by respondents according to their proportions of Creole and provincial pupils among the respondents. The information from Chapter 8 showing that two fifths of Provincial respondents attended secondary school in the Western Area might suggest that they were attending the same schools as Creoles; but it can now be seen that, even within the Western Area, Creoles and provincials usually attend different schools. Thus certain schools seem to

---

1 See especially Tables 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4.
### TABLE 10.1: Tribe by type of school attended.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province and type of school</th>
<th>Creoles</th>
<th>Provincials</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Area</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creole schools(^1)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>36 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed schools(^2)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>56 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial schools(^3)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>36 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls' schools(^4)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>43 (14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>104</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Southern Province</strong>(^5)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>76 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eastern Province</strong>(^6)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Northern Province</strong>(^7)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Don't know</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>113</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>308 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List of all schools in each category with more than five pupils:

\(^1\) S.L. Grammar school (15); W.A.M. Collegiate (14); Prince of Wales (7).

\(^2\) Albert Academy (20); Methodist Boys' High School (18); Independence Memorial School (18).

\(^3\) St. Edwards (17); St. Helena's (11); Government Secondary Technical School (5); two others (3).

\(^4\) Freetown Secondary School for Girls (16); Annie Walsh (6); Methodist Girls' High School (8); St. Josephs (7); Two others (4).

\(^5\) Christ the King College (13); St. Andrew's (13); Bo Government school (11); Jimmi Government School (11); Harford School for Girls (6); 8 others (22).

\(^6\) Eastern Province: Kenema Government Secondary School (19); five others (11).

\(^7\) Magburaka Government Secondary School (15); St. Francis (7); four others (7).

\(^8\) The total adds up to more than the number of respondents (250) as the figures include all secondary schools ever attended by respondents.

675.
be predominantly Creole - e.g. all respondents who attended the Sierra Leone Grammar School were Creoles, and 12 out of the 14 respondents who attended the West African Methodist Collegiate School were also Creoles. These are the old established Creole secondary schools, and they still seem to be relatively exclusive. Social and tribal factors are also reinforced by religious ones, for these two schools are associated with the Anglican and Methodist churches respectively; and these are the two most important Christian denominations among the Creoles. Most girls' schools also show a predominance of Creoles, mainly because of the underdeveloped nature of education among Provincial females.

Other schools in the Western Area appear to have mainly Provincial pupils - e.g. nine out of the 11 respondents who attended St. Helena's were provincials, as were 14 out of the 17 respondents who attended St. Edward's, which may be associated with the greater importance of Catholicism among those from the Provinces. The pupils at Albert Academy, Independence Memorial Secondary School and the Methodist Boys' High School seem to have been more mixed tribally, though the first two appear to have rather more provincials and the last to have rather more Creoles.

Provincial schools appear to cater almost exclusively for Provincial pupils, especially in the Northern and Eastern Provinces where only one Creole respondent attended school. The Southern Province had a higher proportion of Creole pupils, particularly at Bo, which is an important educational centre. However, out of the 37 respondents who attended the three most distinguished boys' boarding schools in Bo - Bo Government School, Christ the
King College and St. Andrew's — only three were Creoles. This is partly a matter of convenience, Creoles easily being able to send their children to school in Freetown, but, as these are widely recognised as the best boarding schools in Sierra Leone, it may also indicate a disinclination among Creoles to send their children to school in the Provinces. The Provincial school which seems to draw the largest proportion of Creoles is Harford School for Girls in Moyamba, three out of the six respondents who attended it being Creoles. It may be thought of as mainly a Creole school, at least in orientation. Apart from these cases, most pupils at Provincial schools are drawn from Provincial tribes.

In summary, it appears that 82% of school places held by respondents had been in schools which were either mainly composed of Creoles or mainly composed of provincials; and only 18% of the places had been in schools which showed a significant degree of tribal mixture. If the Methodist Boys' High School, at which 13 of the 18 respondents were Creoles, was also counted as a Creole school the figures would be even more extreme: 88% of the places would be in tribally homogeneous schools, and only 12% in tribally mixed schools. It can therefore be seen that, although education might be expected to promote inter-tribal relations, because of the tribal composition of many schools, it is in fact one of the most important socio-ecological constraints reinforcing the pattern of social distance in primary relationships between Creoles and provincials.

It does seem likely, however, that education may promote interaction between the various tribes in the Provincial section.
of the population. As was seen in Chapter 8, and particularly in Tables 8.2, 8.3 and 8.4, many Provincials move between Provinces in their search for education; and thus, although Provincial schools do not contain many Creoles, they do contain a mixture of the other tribes in Sierra Leone. So, although the educational system reinforces the social separation of Creoles and Provincials, it may also promote a higher rate of interaction among the indigenous tribes; and this is consistent with the relatively high rate of interaction between them, as found in the last chapter. Thus these results appear to confirm the hypothesis advanced in the last chapter that the extent of interaction between tribes is not necessarily to be explained in terms of deliberate choices, but rather in terms of socio-ecological factors, and particularly the tribal characteristics of social institutions. As tribal identity and socio-economic status are correlated, the varying tribal composition of schools also implies a varying socio-economic composition; and this implies that the schools themselves are part of the system of social stratification. It appears that the various schools are evaluated in terms of status; and, insofar as they draw their pupils from different socio-economic strata, they promote the social separation of classes.

Religious affiliation and behaviour.

Information was also collected on the respondents' religious affiliation and, to a lesser extent, their religious participation. In the total sample Christians outnumbered Muslims by slightly more than two to one, there being 168 Christians and 82 Muslims. Creoles were predominantly Christian: of the 94 Creoles

678.
in the sample, only eight were Muslims; and in fact they should really be classified as "akus" or Sierra Leone Yoruba rather than Creoles, though for convenience of analysis they have been included among the Creoles in the present study. Respondents from the other tribes of Sierra Leone were more or less evenly divided between Christians and Muslims, 51% being Christians and 49% Muslims. The different tribes, however, varied in their religious compositions between almost exclusively Christian tribes, such as the Kono and Sherbro, and predominantly Muslim tribes, such as the Fula, Mandingo and Susu. The two major tribes of Sierra Leone fall in between, 69% of Mende being Christians and 64% of Temne Muslims. On the whole, Northern tribes tend to have a higher proportion of Muslims than tribes from the Western, Southern and Eastern Provinces. This religious differentiation of the various tribes in Sierra Leone will once again foster the social separation of different tribes and socio-economic groups, or, in other words, it will have a similar effect on primary relationships to that of the tribal differentiation of schools examined in the last section.

As religious affiliation appears to have implications for social status, it may be manipulated by individuals in an attempt to present a favourable impression of themselves to the rest of the world. Thus comparison of the religious affiliation of respondents with that of their parents indicates a drift from Islam to Christianity among members of the sample. Whereas only about a third of the respondents were Muslims, about half of their fathers and mothers were described as being Muslims. From analysis of the interviews it was found that there were 42 cases in which both par-
ents of a Christian respondent were Muslims. When it is remembered that these 42 cases do not relate to the total 250 respondents, but only to those respondents both of whose parents were Muslims — i.e. 113 respondents — it can be seen that the conversion rate was 37%. In addition, of the 16 respondents with parents of different religions, 11 became Christians and only 5 Muslims. No case was traced in which a respondent, both of whose parents were Christian, had become a Muslim.

This seems to be part of a general tendency for Christianity to be associated with education, a tendency which can also be illustrated by data on workers at S.L.S.T. and two companies in the Western Area (A.T.C. and S.L.B.) for which data on the religious affiliation of employees are available. Among illiterate workers at S.L.S.T., only 25% (701/2,823) claimed to be Christians, while among workers with post-primary education 68% (474/693) said that they were Christians. Similarly, examination of the data on the two companies in the Western Area revealed that in those cases where enough information was available, 73% of workers with post-primary education (127/175) were Christians, compared with 56% (61/109) of those with primary education only, and only 13% (17/137) of those with no Western education. Most of the others claimed to be Muslims, though a few were classified as Pagans.

Also in farming and other non-bureaucratic employment requiring little Western education there are very few Christians. Thus in

---

1 Twelve of the fathers in these mixed marriages were Christians; and so, if respondents were predisposed to follow their fathers' religions, this might explain the high proportion who became Christians.
a sample of 375 diamond diggers on the Alluvial Diamond Mining Scheme, Blair found that only 15% were Christians, most of the remainder claiming to be Muslims.¹

There are a number of reasons for this strong connection between Western education and Christianity. In the first place, the first schools tended to be set up by Christian missionaries; and many educational institutions are still run by the churches. This means that, other things being equal, Christians will be more likely than others to send their children to school. They are probably already attending the churches to which the schools are affiliated, and accept the values propagated in the schools, while non-Christians may be reluctant to send their children to a strange institution in which they may be enticed away from their traditional way of life. Muslims in particular may fear that if their children go to school they will be converted to Christianity. The fact that schools tend to select a higher proportion of Christian than non-Christian children will partly explain the high proportion of Christians in the educated section of the population.

In addition, pressures may be brought to bear on non-Christian pupils to convert to Christianity, and this is a second reason why so many educated persons are Christian. While at school they may be forced, either through compulsion or social pressures, to become Christians. Perhaps more important than actual coercion is the strong expectation, at least in the past, that an educated man would be a Christian. The connection bet-

¹ These figures were contained in a personal communication from J.A.S. Blair.
ween education, white collar employment and Christianity was assumed to be natural: any deviation from this pattern would be seen as anomalous, and, on the whole, human beings avoid anomalies. In addition to the general desire to achieve consistency in the presentation of self, status-striving will also encourage the educated individual to become Christian. In a society previously dominated by Christian Creoles, Christianity is an important factor in social status, at least for those in the bureaucratic or modern sector of the economy; and socially mobile individuals who wish to gain acceptance in the upper strata of society will be under pressure to convert to Christianity. This is usually necessary to achieve status crystallisation at the higher levels of society. These, then, may be some of the reasons why over a third of respondents with Muslim parents converted to Christianity.¹

Finally, it may be noted that, other things being equal, there may be some tendency for the relationship between education and Christianity to perpetuate itself: those early Christians who attended school were often able to secure the best jobs, and hence were in the best position to send their children to school. Thus because of their socio-economic backgrounds, Christians may be over-represented in the educated section of the community.

Despite these factors, however, there is some evidence that the close connection between education and Christianity is

¹ Two contrasting accounts of conversion to Christianity are included in Appendix 3 of this thesis. In the account of Dabo, a Provincial, the importance of coercion in school is emphasised, while in that of Wellesley Cole, a Creole, the process is seen to be entirely voluntary, probably based on the expectation in society (Dabo, 1965; Wellesley Cole, 1960) that an educated man will be a Christian.
beginning to break down, and that religion is no longer seen as such an important index of social status. Thus among workers at S.L.S.T. with post-primary education, only 60% (143/238) of those under the age of 26 years were Christians, compared with 83% (88/106) of those over the age of 35 years. And among workers with post-primary education in the two companies in the Western Area, only 70% (57/82) of those under the age of 26 years were Christians, compared with 79% (21/27) of those over the age of 35 years. This must be mainly due to the fact that a higher proportion of educated workers in the younger age categories come from Provincial tribes, and for this reason are more likely to be Muslims. But even among the Provinceals themselves younger workers are less likely to be Christians than their elders: thus of Provincial workers with post-primary education in the two companies in the Western Area, only 51% (20/39) of those under the age of 26 years were Christians, compared with 60% (29/49) of those between 26 and 35 years, and 70% (7/10) of those over the age of 35 years. This may indicate the increasing spread of education to Muslim sections of the population; but it probably also shows that educated individuals from Muslim backgrounds no longer find it so necessary to convert to Christianity.

There was also a slight swing to Islam among younger workers in the primary educated and illiterate categories, indicating that in the population as a whole Islam may be gaining at the expense of Christianity, which contrasts with the swing in the opposite direction among the respondents in the sample. This swing to Islam in the population as a whole, together with some
decline in the ascendancy of Christianity in the educated section of the population, may be seen as a reaction by Provincials against their previous domination by European and Creole Christians, and an attempt by them to establish a new, more satisfactory identity for themselves. What is of primary interest here, however, is that Christianity is no longer seen as such a necessary corollary of education and white collar employment; and thus it is no longer so essential to become a Christian to achieve status crystallisation at the upper and middle level of the bureaucratic status hierarchy. Thus while about one third of respondents with Muslim parents in the present sample did convert to Christianity, as many as two thirds apparently did not feel it necessary to do so; and it seems likely from this that the swing from Islam to Christianity in the educated section of the population is much less than in the previous generation.

It appears that the main factor influencing whether or not an educated individual turns from Islam to Christianity is the strength of his Islamic background. Respondents from solidly Islamic tribes, such as the Aku, Fula and Mandingo, were most unlikely to turn away from their faith. Not only were they thoroughly socialised in Islamic beliefs and Practices, and under considerable pressure from their own tribal and religious community to remain faithful, but they would also gain prestige, at least within the Muslim section of the community, from the reputation of their tribes for Islamic piety; and this would counteract the alternative prestige to be gained by converting to Christianity. Tribes less committed to Islam, such as the Mende, Kono and Sherbro
provided the majority of converts to Christianity: in fact Mende
made up over half (24/42) of respondents with Muslim parents who
became Christians; and Kono and Sherbro respondents, though half
their fathers were Muslims (6/12), all declared themselves to be
Christians. Many of these respondents probably come from back-
grounds which were only marginally Islamic, their parents being
only nominal Muslims. Their conversion to Christianity would
thus involve no drastic discontinuity with an orthodox religious
background; and thus the process of conversion would be a rel-
avely easy one.

It may then be concluded that, at least in the short-run,
the religious situation in Sierra Leone is relatively stable,
with predominantly Christian tribes remaining Christian, predomi-
antly Muslim tribes remaining Islamic, while the mixed tribes will
remain split, the majority of their less educated members profess-
ing to be Muslims, though probably not very orthodox Muslims, and
their more educated members tending to become Christians. In the
long-run, however, if Islam strengthens its social and political
functions in the community, and especially if it establishes itself
in a favourable position in the emerging status system, it seems
quite likely that it will make increasing inroads in these mixed
tribes, first among the less educated sections of their populations,
and later among the educated people as well. Indeed, such a pro-
cess seems already underway.

1 There is a tendency in Sierra Leone for all people to declare
themselves to be either Christian or Muslim, even although many
who say they are Muslims would be better classified as Pagans. In
fact the Muslim category tends to be a residual one, including all
those who cannot claim to be Christians.

2 Rates of conversion were also compared between Provinceals
The connection between rates of conversion and the type of school attended must also be mentioned. It has already been suggested that in Christian schools various types of pressure may be exerted on the pupils of Muslim background to convert them to Christianity; and Catholic schools in particular have a reputation for this. Analysis of statistics on the relationships between type of school attended and the rate of conversion to Christianity partially supports this contention. Of all the secondary schools attended by Provincial respondents with Muslim parents who had converted to Christianity, $32\%$ (16) were Catholic schools, $40\%$ (20) were run by other churches, $24\%$ (12) were government or private schools, and $4\%$ (2) were Muslim schools; while of the secondary schools attended by those who remained faithful to Islam, only $19\%$ (16) were Catholic and $29\%$ (24) run by other churches, while $50\%$ (42) were government or private schools, and $2\%$ (2) were Muslim schools.

Thus it does seem that, other things being equal, those who attend church schools are more likely to convert to Christianity than those who go to government or private schools who were born or worked in the different Provinces. It appears that conversion was most likely to occur among those from the Eastern Province; and least likely to occur among those from the Western and Northern Provinces, which appears consistent with the conversion rates in the various tribes distributed in these different Provinces. It appears that when there is a solid core-population of Muslims, as in the Northern and Western Provinces, the conversion of educated individuals to Christianity will be discouraged. The high activity of missionaries in the Southern and Eastern Provinces may also account for the high rates of conversion in these Provinces.

A test was made of the significance of this variation between Catholic schools, other church schools and government plus private schools, and the following results were obtained:

$$X^2 = 8.74; \text{ d.f.} = 2; \quad 0.02 > p > 0.01.$$  

It should be noted that the number of schools in these figures is higher than the appropriate number of respondents because each respondent may have attended more than one school.
schools; but the rate of conversion is only marginally higher in Catholic institutions compared with Protestant ones.

The relationship between type of school and rates of conversion is not a simple one, however. Conversion is by no means automatic in church schools, as can be seen from the fact that many of those who go to church schools remain Muslims, and even some of those attending Muslim schools convert to Christianity. In addition, the causal direction of the relationship is not certain. Though it seems likely that the religious character of a school will affect its pupils, and thus at least partly explain their later religious affiliation, it is also possible that the relationship between school and religion may be explained in the opposite way. It may be that pupils or their families who are already favourably disposed to Christianity, despite themselves being Muslims, will be most likely to choose Christian schools, while those who are more opposed to Christianity will choose Government, private or Muslim schools. Thus rather than respondents religious affiliations being explained in terms of the types of schools they attended, the latter would be explained in terms of the former. Though this may be partially true, however, the probability is that the most important causal connection runs from type of school to religious affiliation, especially among the respondents being discussed here, both of whose parents were Muslims.

1 Two other factors which might explain why some respondents from Islamic backgrounds converted to Christianity while others remained Muslims were also tested. It was thought possible, firstly, that respondents who entered white collar employment might be under greater pressure than other respondents to become Christians; or, secondly, that those who migrated from their home Pro-
As a measure of their religious participation, respondents were asked how often they attended church services or prayers at the mosque. The results show a high degree of religious participation, suggesting that religion still plays an important role in the lives of educated Sierra Leonesans. Thus, in answer to a generalised question on how often they attended church or mosque, 12% of the sample said that they attended every day, 49% said that, although not managing to attend every day, they attended at least once a week, 24% said once every two weeks, 8% once a month, and the remaining 8% gave various answers which suggested less than once a month, such as twice a year, at Christmas, or "not since I started work here". No respondent gave an answer which suggested that he was an agnostic, or did not attend church on principle; and some of those who attended less frequently explained apologetically that this was due to lack of time, the pressure of work, and so on.

As a check on their generalised answers, respondents were asked about the last time they went to church or mosque, but as the distribution of these replies was very similar to those obtained in answer to the generalised question, analysis will be confined to the answers to the latter.¹

These answers were analysed for variations between different groups in the sample; but, though such variations were found,

¹ It was also decided to omit the results to the more specific question on religious participation because of some technical difficulties in exactly interpreting the answers. For example, when a respondent said that he attended church "last week", this might refer to the last Sunday or the Sunday before. This difficulty was compounded by a method of recording the data which did not discriminate such differences with sufficient clarity.
they tended to be within fairly narrow limits, suggesting a fairly high level of religious participation in all sections of the sample. Thus among both Christians and Muslims only a small proportion — 9% of Christians and 6% of Muslims — admitted to attending church or mosque less than once a month. Given the overall high rate of attendance, however, Muslims tended to have a higher frequency of visits to mosque than Christians did to church, which is consistent with the different organisation and norms of the two religions. Thus about a third (29) of Muslims claimed to attend the mosque at least once a day for prayers, about half (39) said that they went at least once a week, usually on Fridays, while 13% (10) said that they only managed to go to mosque either once a fortnight or once a month. Among Christians, on the other hand, only two said that they attended church every day, about half (63) said that they went every Sunday, and as many as 41% (68) said that they only went to church about every fortnight or every month. So among both Christians and Muslims about half claimed to go to church or mosque about once a week, but in the case of Muslims most of the remainder claimed to attend more frequently, usually daily, while in the case of Christians they tended to attend less frequently.

It is generally found in studies of religion in Western societies that women are more frequent participants in religious institutions than men. This did not appear to be the case in the present sample, however, for 64% of males attended church or mosque at least once a week, compared with only 52% of females. But more detailed examination of the data reveals that this is mainly...
a result of a higher proportion of males being Muslims (usually Provincials), and Muslims having a higher rate of attendance at religious meetings. Comparison of Christian males with Christian females reveals that they have very similar rates of attendance, while Muslim males have a rather higher rate of attendance than Muslim females. Thus, though two fifths of Muslim males claimed to visit the mosque daily, no Muslim female did so, which is consistent with the greater integration of males in the Islamic religion. In contrast to studies of religious participation in Western societies, however, the overall impression gained from the present study is of roughly equal religious participation by males and females of the sub-elite in Sierra Leone.

Studies of religious participation in Western societies also suggest that those of higher socio-economic status are more regular church attenders than those of lower socio-economic status. The narrow basis of the present sample in educational and occupational terms did not allow an effective test of this proposition; but it was possible to compare the religious participation of the higher status Creoles and the lower status Provincials. This indicated that it was the lower status Provincials who were likely to be the most regular attenders rather than the higher status Creoles: thus, although over 90% of both Creoles and Provincials attended a religious institution at least once a month, 74% of Provincials attended at least once a week compared with only 42% of Creoles. This again is partly a result of Islam, with the higher rate of attendance among Muslims being reflected in the higher rate among the more Islamic Provincials. Provincial Christ-
ians, however, also attend church more frequently than Creole Christians, two thirds of the former attending at least once a week, compared with only two fifths of the latter. The higher rate of attendance among Provincial Christians may be because, as recent converts, they have greater religious fervour; and also have to struggle harder to establish their religious identity. The Creoles on the other hand, being almost automatically Christians, can be slightly more relaxed about their religious observances. As nine tenths of them still attend church at least once a month, however, there is little evidence from among them of "the modern trend towards greater secularisation" suggested by Porter, though this may be more noticeable among those of the more sophisticated strata of society (Porter, 1963, p. 88). Thus, at least among members of the sub-elite, religious participation appears to be an important aspect of life; and this importance may be particularly related to its function in defining their social status in society.¹

¹ As another test of the importance of religious factors in every-day-life respondents were asked about the religious affiliation of their "best friends" and partners of the opposite sex. There appears to be considerable social selectivity in this, for 72% of all best friends and 76% of all partners were of the same religion as the respondents choosing them. In the case of friends, it appears that 80% of the friends of Christians were also Christians, while 65% of the friends of Muslims were also Muslims, though the expected frequencies, if these friends had been distributed on a random basis, would have been 64% and 34% respectively. The contrast is even greater in the case of partners, 87% of Christians having partners of the same religion, compared with only 58% of Muslims. The particularly high proportion of partners of the same religion among Christians may be related to the stress on the importance of religion as a factor in the choice of a spouse (see chapter 9); while the relatively low proportion of partners of the same religion among Muslims may be attributed to their desire for educated partners, despite the shortage of such educated young women in the Muslim section of the population.
To conclude this section, the results appear to indicate that religion still has important social functions in Sierra Leone today. Its continuing significance, at least among the sub-elite, is shown particularly by the high rates of religious participation, and also by the tendency of some socially mobile individuals to convert from Islam or Paganism to Christianity. Religion appears to have permeated most aspects of life in traditional Sierra Leone society, and this basic religiosity remains, despite conversion to Christianity or Islam. The atheist or agnostic is virtually unknown in Sierra Leone. Indeed with the introduction of Christianity and Islam, religion has taken on some new functions, particularly in the sphere of social status. Christianity, as the religion of the ruling Europeans, high status Creoles, and educated people generally, has become the most prestigious religion in the bureaucratic sector of society; and it has been shown that social mobility in this sphere often involves conversion to Christianity. Even within the Christian community, as indicated by Porter, there may be status distinctions between the different Christian denominations, with higher status individuals attending the Anglican Church, particularly the Cathedral in Freetown, while lower status individuals go to various classes of non-conformist chapel. Porter shows, for example, how his own grandfather, A.T. Porter, moved up this religious hierarchy as he increased his personal prosperity (Porter, 1963, pp. 83-84). Similar tendencies for the social stratification of religious denominations have been noted in studies of various Western societies (e.g. Packard, 1959; Stacey, 1960).
Although in the educated section of the population there was found to be some swing from Islam to Christianity, suggesting that the former has lower status than the latter, Islam may also confer prestige, though in different contexts. As Banton has pointed out, certain Muslim tribes, such as the Mandingo and Fula, gain prestige for their Islamic devotion, especially among Provinceals (Banton, 1956; 1957); and, as has been shown above, very few members of these tribes are converted to Christianity. Gamble, in his study of occupational ranking in Lunsar in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone showed that Imam was among the highest ranked occupations (Gamble, 1966, p. 105); and other high status positions in the traditional and trading sectors of the economy also tend to be associated with Islam. Thus a correspondent reported in the Daily Mail of December 13th, 1958, that diamond dealers in the mining areas are commonly referred to as "Alhaj" (Quoted in Proudfoot, 1959). So it seems that in the traditional and trading sectors, Islam is important at all social levels, though Paganism may also retain its importance in the more backward, rural areas; while in the bureaucratic sector Christianity predominates at the top and Islam at the bottom. It appears, however, that a decreasing proportion of individuals who are socially mobile in the bureaucratic sector are converting to Christianity; and as a result an increasing proportion of those in high status positions in this sector are now Muslims. Not only does this reflect the declining significance of religious identity as a sign of social status, but it also has a cumulative effect on this process by further reducing the observable correlation between high status and Christianity. If such a trend continues, it seems likely that
in the future the objective relationship between religion and status will tend to disappear; and religious affiliation will no longer be subjectively evaluated as a dimension of social stratification. This trend for an increasing proportion of educated provincials to retain their Islamic faith may also be seen as a part of their resurgence of cultural pride, or even as a means by which they express their socio-political opposition to the creole elite; but discussion of such questions are beyond the scope of the present thesis.

The social significance of voluntary associations.

A number of writers have drawn attention to the importance of voluntary associations as mechanisms of adaptation and integration in West African urbanization. One of the most explicit writers on this theme has been Professor Kenneth Little; and he summarises the importance of voluntary associations as follows:

"West African urbanization ....... involves a particularly rapid diffusion of entirely new ideas, habits, and technical procedures, and a considerable restructuring of social relationships as a consequence of the new technical roles and groups created.

"Voluntary associations play their part in both these processes through the fresh criteria of social achievement that they set up and through the scope that they offer, in particular, to women and to the younger age groups. Women, and younger people in general, possess a new status in the urban economy, and this is reflected in the various functions which these associations perform as political pressure groups, in serving as a forum for political expression, and in providing both groups with training in modern methods of business. ....... In particular, voluntary associations provide an outlet for the energies and ambitions of the rising class of young men with a tribal background who have been to school. The individuals concerned are debarred by their "Western" occupations as clerks, school teachers, artisans, etc. and by their youth from playing a prominent part in traditional society proper; but they are the natural leaders of other young people less Westernized and sophisticated than themselves" (Little, 1957, p. 592).
In particular, Little draws attention to the importance of voluntary associations for migrants to the urban areas.

"The newly arrived immigrant from the rural areas has been used to living and working as a member of a compact group of kinsmen and neighbours on a highly personal basis of relationship and mutuality. He knows no other way of community living than this, and his natural reaction is to make a similar adjustment to urban conditions.

"This adjustment the association facilitates by substituting for the extended group of kinsmen a grouping based upon common interest which is capable of serving many of the same needs as the traditional family or lineage. ... Above all, by encouraging him to mix with persons outside his own lineage and sometimes tribe, the voluntary association helps him adjust to the more cosmopolitan ethos of city life" (Little, 1957, pp. 592-593).

Voluntary associations are seen to provide a number of functions for their members, which include the provision of financial help in times of trouble, social and moral support in a strange environment, social control, the preservation of traditional culture and values, and so on. But perhaps their most important function is an educational one, in facilitating the adjustment of individuals to the modern social system, for, as Little points out: "Their combination of modern and traditional traits constitutes a cultural bridge which conveys, metaphorically speaking, the tribal individual from one kind of sociological universe to another" (Little, 1957, p. 593).  

Various studies have suggested that a high proportion of urban West Africans are members of voluntary associations. Thus, in his study of Lagos, Marris found that 67% of the members of one sample, and 51% of the members of another were affiliated to various kinds of societies (Marris, 1961, p. 157). And Acquah,

---

1 For a similar, but more recent account, of the functions of voluntary associations in developing societies, see Johnson (1975).
in her Accra Survey, estimated that 75% of all females in Accra over the age of 18 years were members of mutual benefit societies. Only 10% of adult males, on the other hand, appeared to be in such societies, but they were usually more likely to be in other types of association, such as tribal unions (Acquah, 1958, pp. 87, 106).

Studies of the elite in West Africa, however, have given a rather different impression. As Lloyd writes of the Ibadan elite:

"One's dominant impression is that the educated Yoruba man is not a good club member; that is, he does not join associations which expect the regular weekly attendance of most members. (Hence such associations are rare.) His obligations to visit friends – on the occasion of a birth or death, to discuss affairs in the home town – transcend those to associations of a recreational nature. Economic or political interests seem to be pursued more through individual lobbying of one's acquaintances than through organized pressure groups. Physical recreation has few devotees – and few facilities are available" (Lloyd, 1967a, p. 148).

Lloyd does mention that the elite may be members of Old Boys' Associations, professional associations, progressive unions, and church committees; but he gives the impression that these would take up only a small part of their leisure time. Harrell-Bond also found a similar situation among the elite in Sierra Leone. As she writes:

"It is interesting to see that the Sierra Leonean professional is not deeply involved in organizations or associations. Among the sample 15% of the Creoles and 28% of the Providentials belonged to no organizations or associations at all. I found that those who did belong to some organization usually mentioned such clubs as tennis or other sports clubs, or 'old boys' associations' of their schools. None of these have attendance regulations or require formal commitments" (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 127).
Actually Harrell-Bond's figures might be interpreted as quite a high proportion of memberships; but presumably the lack of commitment to these associations among the elite is more significant. From the comments of the research workers it seems possible that in West Africa there is a reversal of the situation normally expected in industrialized societies, where the highest rates of participation in voluntary associations are normally found in the upper socio-economic strata; but unfortunately the statistics available are not adequate for an effective test of this proposition.

From the ideas expressed by Little in the quotations recorded above, it would seem that the members of the present sample would be particularly likely to join voluntary associations: they were all young, educated individuals, and many of them had been geographically and socially mobile; and these are characteristics which Little appears to suggest would predispose them to join voluntary associations. In fact there does appear to be a fairly high rate of membership and participation in voluntary associations, but it is not remarkably high. Thus in the total sample of school leavers, more than a third (93/250) of respondents were not currently members of any voluntary association, while 37% were members of one association, 22% were members of two associations, and 4% were members of three or more associations. Thus it appears that rather fewer respondents in the present sample were members of voluntary associations compared with respondents in Harrell-Bond's sample of the elite in Sierra Leone. Males were rather more likely to be members than females, 64% of males being members, compared with 59% of females.
An attempt was also made to assess the importance of voluntary associations by looking at the frequency with which members attended them. Full information on rates of attendance is unfortunately not available; but of those members on whom enough information is available, it appears that slightly over half (66/127) attended a meeting at least once a week, 28% attended fortnightly or monthly, while 20% attended less frequently than monthly. This probably means that of the total sample — both members and non-members — only about a third attended meetings of voluntary associations at least once a week, while about half were either not members, or attended less frequently than once a month.¹ It seems unlikely that this could be claimed as a high rate of participation in voluntary associations by members of the sub-elite in Sierra Leone.

It was also decided to examine whether rates of membership and participation in voluntary associations varied significantly with the socio-economic backgrounds of respondents, especially as this relationship is difficult to predict in advance. If the pattern is similar to that in industrialized societies, then it might be expected that there would be a higher rate of membership among those of higher socio-economic background; but if as is often suggested, voluntary associations are of particular importance for migrants, then those of lower socio-economic background might be the ones most likely to be members of voluntary associations. In

¹ In making these estimates, the 30 respondents for whom rates of attendance were unknown were distributed according to the proportions of frequency of attendance in those cases where the value was known.
fact, the former situation appears to be nearest to the truth, for rates of both membership and participation in voluntary associations seem to have been higher among Creoles than provincials. Thus 67% of Creole respondents were members of voluntary associations, compared with 60% of provincials; and the rate for Creoles is lowered slightly by the high proportion of females among them. In terms of participation, 72% of Creole male members attended at least once a week, compared with 48% of Creole female members, 47% of Provincial male members, and no Provincial female members. Thus only among Creole males do rates of attendance appear to have been fairly high.

It thus appears that the situation may be not too dissimilar to the situation in industrialized societies after all, with those of higher socio-economic status being most likely to be members of voluntary associations. This view is also supported by comparison with Harrell-Bond's figures: these figures show not only that within the elite, as in the sub-elite, Creoles are more likely to be members of voluntary associations than provincials; but also that the rates of membership in the elite as a whole are rather higher than in the sub-elite as a whole. This appears similar to results reported by Johnson for other developing societies (Johnson, 1975, pp. 58-60). It suggests that voluntary associations may not be so important for the adaptation of migrants in urban areas as is sometimes claimed, for membership and participation are higher among the more stable sections of the urban population. However this is not to deny the importance of such associations for migrants, for, as was seen above, quite a high
proportion of migrants were members of voluntary associations; and such membership was likely to have a more profound effect on their lives than among the more urbanized sections of the population. In addition, voluntary associations may affect a larger proportion of the migrant population than are actually members of them. Thus, although many migrants are not members of voluntary associations, and it appears that other social institutions, particularly the extended family, are performing the various functions for them which are often attributed to such voluntary associations, it may still be concluded that voluntary associations may have considerable significance for migrants to the urban areas in West Africa. Because of the narrow basis of the present sample, and the unavoidably shallow nature of the questions in this type of research, however, it is not possible to take this discussion further. It may only be noted that a more detailed empirical investigation of the relationship between socio-economic status and membership and participation in voluntary associations would appear to be in order.

A particularly important way in which voluntary associations may perform an educational role for young people is by giving them the opportunity to hold responsible offices within the associations, for this broadens their administrative experience, and often gives them their first chance to exercise at least a limited amount of power. Answers to questions on office-holding among the respondents revealed that 35% of them were office-holders at the time they were interviewed, 34%, though not holding any office at the time they were interviewed, had been office-holders at some time in the past, while 30% had never been office-holders.
Thus over two thirds of respondents had at some time in their lives been office-holders in voluntary associations. Of respondents who were currently members of voluntary associations, the proportion of officers rises to 55%, indicating either priority given to young educated people in office-holding, or the proliferation of offices in such associations, as reported by various writers on the subject (e.g. Banton, 1957). There does not appear to be much difference in the rates of office-holding between Creoles and Provincials;¹ but men are considerably more likely to have been office-holders than women. Thus 38% of males were currently office-holders, and only 27% had never been officers, compared with equivalent figures for women of 23% and 44%.

Most of the respondents who were asked about it felt that the experience of being an office-holder in a voluntary association was a valuable one, especially from the educational point of view. Through such office-holding respondents felt that they had been able to improve their command of English, and learn various secretarial skills, such as the taking of minutes at meetings, writing official letters, and addressing public meetings. For example, one respondent reported that he had been elected auditor of his youth fellowship, which meant that he had to check the cash-book every quarter. At first he did not know how to do it; but then he looked up a report of Barclay's Bank; and now he knows. Res-

¹ 34% of Creoles were currently officers in associations, 32% had been officers in the past, and 33% had never been officers, compared with equivalent figures for Provincials of 35%, 36% and 28%. The proportion of Creole officers is slightly reduced by the higher proportion of females among Creoles. Looking at males alone, similar proportions (27%) of both Creoles and Provincials had never been office-holders.
pondents also mentioned that through office-holding they learnt some man-management skills — how to make people cooperate with each other, and how to settle disputes among members. Presumably they hoped that these skills would be useful to them in their later lives.

Despite certain difficulties of classification, an attempt was made to establish the types of voluntary associations involved. Of the associations on which enough information was available (223), 44% seemed to be mainly social, 22% religious, 13% sporting, 6% former pupils' associations, 5% political, and 9% miscellaneous. The only major difference in this between Creoles and provincials was in the relative extent to which they were members of social and religious organizations: among Creoles, 35% of memberships were in social clubs and 37% in religious associations — mainly youth fellowships — while among provincials, 51% of memberships were in social clubs and only 9% in religious associations. And in fact, of Creole memberships in social clubs, 10 out of 36 were in the Y.M.C.A. or the Y.W.C.A., which are religious as well as social organizations. Membership of religious associations was at its highest among Creole females, half of their memberships (17/33) being in purely religious associations, and a further fifth (6/33) in the Y.W.C.A. The high proportion of Creoles who were members of youth fellowships, the Y.M.C.A., or the Y.W.C.A., indicates the extent to which they are integrated into a well-established, institutionalised religious system. Few provincials, on the other hand, were members of such religious associations; and in fact their religious affiliations were as likely to be to a Muslim

1 It was difficult to establish the exact nature of some associations; and some of them appeared to have multiple functions.
TABLE 10.2: Tribe by type of voluntary association.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Non-member</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Sports</th>
<th>Former pupil</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The percentages are calculated on the basis of the total number of associations (223). This total, however, excludes 12 associations for which the type is unknown.
"Jama Compin" as a Christian youth fellowship. No Provincial male was in the Y.M.C.A., and only one Provincial female was in the Y.W.C.A. This again illustrates the institutional separation of Creoles and Provinceals, as in the case of schools; and, by implication, it suggests the social separation of classes.

Both Creoles and Provinceals were members of social clubs, though membership was slightly more noticeable in the case of the latter. Respondents mainly explained their membership of these associations in terms of their search for sociability — through such membership one could meet and mix with different people. As one respondent explained, membership of a social club gains you popularity and makes you social. Such clubs may organise dances, debates, etc. Interaction with other members of the association is also considered to be educational, particularly in the fields of general knowledge, world affairs, and "civilised" behaviour. As another respondent summarised the situation, through membership one may meet with companions, exchange views, increase general knowledge, and promote sociability. Perhaps rather surprisingly in view of the emphasis which it has previously been given, not many respondents mentioned the mutual aid function of voluntary associations.

The names of these associations were usually fairly serious, often with a progressive or international flavour, reflecting the aspirations of their members. Examples are "The Sierra Leone International Organization", "the Young Pioneers", "the Vimto Club", "the Sympathetic Youth Association", "the Czechoslovakian Movement", and "the Motema Social Club". Though the
figures are not very reliable, it appears that between a third and a quarter of the social clubs joined by Provincials were either in their home villages, or were associations in town for immigrants from a particular area. Typical names included: "the Kono Youth Association", "the Tonkilili Youth Movement", "the Sando Chiefdom Progressive Association", and "the Loko Youth Progressive Society". The main aims of such societies were to bring together people from the same home area for social purposes, but they also often claimed to promote developments in their home areas, though usually their activities in this direction appear to have been minimal. One respondent, however, said that his society helped to send local children to school, and he contributed Le2 per month for this purpose. Another claimed that such societies could help young people to obtain jobs. A third respondent who was a member of a social club in his home village said that it functioned to impress on parents the importance of what was learnt at school, and to make the village lively for scholars home on holiday. They also made money by organising dances, and sharing the profits among themselves.

Most sporting clubs were mainly concerned with football (no female was a member of a sporting club); but they might also organise social functions. Their names tended to be more flamboyant than those of social clubs; and included the "Kono Lions", the "Dynamic Stars", and the "Rising Stars Football Club". Most political affiliations were either with the A.P.C. Youth League or the National Youth Movement. Most interviewing was done shortly after a ban on political activities had been lifted; and this
may explain both the relatively small numbers of respondents affiliated to political organisations, as well as the enthusiasm of those who were so affiliated. One or two respondents mentioned that associations could be used as a means to communicate with "big men"; and this was probably particularly true of political organisations. The "other" category of associations included Boy Scouts and Girl Guides (5), charitable organisations, such as the Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance (3), semi-occupational associations (5), choirs (3), and savings clubs (4).\(^1\)

To conclude, it does appear that membership of and participation in voluntary associations was quite important among school leavers in Sierra Leone: many of them were members of at least one such association, and they appeared to participate in them with a reasonable degree of regularity. In particular, such memberships served to broaden their experience of the modern world, especially when they were office-holders, and to extend their range of social contacts. In other words, participation in voluntary associations increased the adaptation and integration of individuals in the modern sector of society. In addition, as will be argued in the conclusion of this chapter and in the final chapter of the thesis, voluntary associations have important latent functions for the emergence of new patterns of social stratification, for often their members are mainly of similar socio-economic status. They thus encourage the social separation of classes.

The role of voluntary associations should not be exaggerated.

\(^1\) Of course many respondents were also members of trade unions; but these have been excluded from the present analysis.
ated, however, especially in view of the previous claims made for their functional importance. It should be remembered that between one third and two fifths of respondents were not members of any voluntary association at the time they were interviewed, under two fifths of respondents attended a voluntary association at least once a week, and about half of respondents either were not members, or attended less than once a month. In addition, in answer to a question on how they spent most of their leisure time, only about 10% of respondents mentioned attendance at voluntary associations;\(^1\) and in answer to a question on possible sources of help – particularly financial help – in times of trouble, only three respondents mentioned voluntary associations. It may also be noted that, although it is often assumed that such associations are of particular importance for migrants, those of lower socio-economic status were rather less likely than others to have high rates of membership and participation in voluntary associations.

No doubt voluntary associations are functionally more important than this suggests, but it cannot be claimed that they are crucially important social institutions, at least among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. They may perform certain important functions in the society, but they are not the only institutions which can perform these functions, especially in the educated section of the population. In some cases the

\(^1\) It may be noted that this is a much lower proportion than that of respondents who were actually members of associations, presumably indicating that for many who were members, their membership was not particularly important. For other answers on how respondents claimed to spend their leisure time, see Table 10.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Creole Males</th>
<th>Creole Females</th>
<th>Provincial Males</th>
<th>Provincial Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strolling</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resting</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 10.3: Sex and tribe by main leisure time activities (volunteerd)
tended family still plays an important role; and the church, the school, and even the peer group can all perform similar functions to the voluntary association. Thus, in agreeing that voluntary associations are functionally important institutions in society, with a particularly important role to play in facilitating adaptation and integration during the process of social change, we must make the reservation that there are also a number of other social institutions which may act as substitutes for them in performing similar social functions.

Summary and conclusions.

In this chapter some aspects of the respondents' participation in various social institutions - schools, religious organisations and voluntary associations - have been examined; and of particular interest has been the implications of such participation for social stratification. It was suggested that in many cases such institutions were contained within the grid of ethnic and social stratification, recruiting the majority of their members from a relatively narrow section of the population; and this might be one of the factors encouraging the social separation of different ethnic and status groups within the society. As these institutional groups in which respondents participate are more homogeneous in tribal and status terms than the community as a whole, so their primary relationships of friendship and marriage tend also to be relatively homogeneous. The effects of schools were seen to be particularly important in this respect, for it was while at school that the majority of respondents formed their closest relationships of friendship.
Religious organisations were also seen to play a part in reinforcing the social divisions between the various ethnic and status groups, for many religious organisations appear to recruit members on a sectional basis. In addition, religious affiliation has important implications for social status, with Christianity generally having higher prestige than Islam, at least in the modern sector of society. In the past it was necessary for upwardly mobile individuals to convert to Christianity to confirm their new positions in society; but this appears no longer so necessary today, which may indicate some decline in the association between religious affiliation and social status.

Voluntary associations appear to have particularly important functions for social stratification. Although some of them, particularly ethnic associations, bring together members of differing socio-economic status, many are homogeneous in the social composition of their membership. Some recruit mainly from the upper socio-economic strata; and by careful selection of their members they play an important part in defining those who are acceptable in such circles. In Freetown, the Masonic lodges are particularly important in this respect (see Cohen, 1971); but other sports and social clubs may also play a similar role. Even at lower social levels, the stratification of voluntary associations may reflect and reinforce the emerging status distinctions within society. Thus Banton writes of the youngmen's companies in Freetown:

".... The companies, I believe, mark the beginning of social stratification among the tribal proletariat. ..... The incipient stratification is apparent in the differential prestige attached to membership in the various companies. The better companies - those with higher stand-
ards - are careful about whom they admit, and make enquires about an applicant's background; they have a membership of better-behaved young people who observe traditional norms of honoring kinsfolk, but accept European conceptions of education and economic progress while acknowledging the Islamic faith" (Banton, 1965, pp. 143-144).

In addition, as Banton goes on to point out, such voluntary associations have a further mechanism for enhancing the social status of individuals through the creation of titles and offices for their most highly valued members. Thus it may be argued that voluntary associations have a particularly important function in defining and reinforcing the new lines of stratification which are emerging in society, for they combine the freedom of association found in relationships of friendship with the capability of formalising such relationships in an institutionalised context. In fact, especially for those of high and medium status, this may be the most significant function of voluntary associations in developing societies, such as Sierra Leone.
PART 6

THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF CLASS AWARENESS

AMONG THE SUB-ELITE
CHAPTER 11: The subjective perceptions of social stratification among the sub-elite.

Finally we may turn to an examination of how secondary school leavers themselves viewed their own society. As indicated in the introductory chapter, it has generally been suggested that there is a lack of class consciousness or even class awareness among most Africans; and the data presented in this chapter allow this proposition to be critically examined for at least one part of the African population, namely secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone. In addition, the respondents' own perceptions of their society will make an interesting comparison with the model constructed by the sociologist; and from this point of view we will return to several of the topics discussed in earlier chapters, including the evaluation of occupations and tribes, and the relationship between social stratification and patterns of primary relationships.

There is good reason to believe that with the increasing scale and differentiation of society, class awareness will also be of increasing importance, not only as a dependent variable emerging as a result of these changes in society, but also as an independent determinant of social and political behaviour. In their study of family and kinship in the East End of London, Young and Wilmott note that as families move their residence from the close-knit, village-like community of Bethnal Green to the more anonymous atmosphere of a suburban housing estate, their members found it necessary to change the basis on which they classified one another. Whereas in the village situation most people could
be known by their personal characteristics, in the new, more "urban" situation it was necessary to classify them by the more abstract criteria of socio-economic status (Young and Wilmott, 1957, pp. 161-164). A rather similar change occurs as people move from village to town in Africa. Thus Mitchell notes the increasing importance of what he calls "categorical relationships" in modern Africa - i.e. relationships in situations of interaction with the numerous and varied categories of strangers who will be encountered in the urban environment (Mitchell, 1966, pp. 52-54). In his earlier work, Mitchell appears particularly interested in tribalism as a form of categorical relationship (e.g. Mitchell, 1956); but he also recognises social class as another variety.

Presumably social class will be an increasingly important type of categorical relationship as economic development proceeds, for it reflects the increasing stratification of society in terms of socio-economic criteria. As society becomes increasingly stratified, it seems probable that socio-economic criteria will become increasingly important for placing individuals within that society. The term "categorical relationship" presupposes that individuals see others in society as divided into categories, differentiated in terms of ethnic, economic or social characteristics; and that these categories have some effect on their social behaviour. In particular, it would be expected that individuals would behave in a rather different way towards others who they placed in different categories. This chapter will be concerned with studying some of these categories, as held by secondary school lea-
vers in Sierra Leone; and, to a lesser extent, assessing their
effects on social behaviour. In particular, it is a study of
class awareness among the younger members of the sub-elite in
Sierra Leone.

A number of sociologists have already noted the need to
study class awareness in Africa, and the lack of previous studies
in this field. As Kuper writes:

"..... apart from occupational ratings, little is known
of the subjective awareness of class differences among
Africans, their class consciousness, or the nature of the
class distinctions they draw" (L. Kuper, 1965, p. 127).

And Mercier asks the question:

"..... to what extent are the members of these ['socio-
cultural groupings'], if indeed these groups are object-
ively definable, conscious (in a positive manner or by an
attitude of opposition) of their membership within such
groups, a consciousness that would give them the potential
characteristics of a social class?" (Mercier, 1966, p. 342).

A number of general reasons for studying class awareness
may be mentioned here. Perhaps most importantly, subjective
awareness of social differentiation is an essential element of any
stratification system; and, as such, should be studied as an in-
trinsic part of that stratification system. As noted in the in-
troductory chapter, for example, class consciousness and awareness
are characteristic features of the class systems of Western indus-
trialized societies; and an examination of these aspects of
stratification is a normal part of the study of the class systems
in such societies. Class awareness is of particular interest in
the present context because it is hoped to assess the extent to
which the stratification of Sierra Leone is becoming more like
that found in Western industrialized societies; and the results of such an assessment will depend partly on the extent to which a similar kind of class consciousness or awareness, with similar sociological functions, is found in the two cases.

Class images are also worth studying because they may throw light on the nature of the actual system of social stratification, and also on the motivation behind the actions of individuals and classes. As Hiller explains, there is a dialectic relationship between the conceptions of class held by individuals and the actual class system in which these individuals operate: thus, on the one hand, such conceptions of class are based on the experience of the individuals in the society of which the class system is a part, and thus reflect, more or less, the nature of this class system; while on the other hand, such conceptions of class may affect the patterns of social action of the individuals holding them, and this in turn may affect the form of the actual class system.¹

Thus in the first place, knowledge of the class images of members of a society may contribute to our knowledge of the structure of that society; and in particular may act as a useful check on the "objective" observer's model built up by the sociologist. Of course this does not mean that the sociologist will always agree with the participant's model of society; but in certain cases it may draw his attention to various aspects of the society which he has previously neglected, and, even when he decides that his own

model is more accurate than those of the participants, the causes and consequences of this divergence will still be of scientific interest.

Secondly, class images will be of interest insofar as they are determinants of the social and political actions of individuals; and thus may ultimately affect the structure of the society itself. Again it does not matter very much if the perceptions of society are "objectively correct", for individuals do not necessarily react to their society as it actually is, but rather according to their perceptions of it. Of course, sometimes their perceptions may be a realistic reflection of the objective structure of society, in which case the social action may be seen as determined by this actual structure, with the individuals' perceptions acting only as intervening variables in the causal chain. But even when their perceptions of society are objectively inaccurate, they may still affect the actions of individuals and ultimately the form of society, for, as W.I.Thomas points out in his famous dictum, "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas, 1951, pp. 226-231). Marxists tend to see social and political actions as determined by the structure of economic relations, with "class consciousness" acting as only an intervening variable; but even they allow for a "False consciousness" which may, if only temporarily, deflect the course of history. It is because of this possibility of conceptions of society acting as independent variables which at least partially determine the social and political actions of individuals, and hence may affect the structure of society itself, that sociologists
should not be content merely with comparing the participants' models of society with his observer's model, but must also attempt to incorporate the former as part of his own model of society.

There are a number of methods of studying class consciousness and awareness; and for the present purposes they may be classified into five main categories. Firstly, there is what may be called the "impressionistic or inferential approach". The essence of this is to study actual patterns of human behaviour, and to attempt to reconstruct from these the ideas which may have motivated them. In Africa the earlier work of Lloyd in Nigeria and of Levine in Ethiopia could probably be classified in this category (Lloyd, 1966b; Levine, 1966). To call this impressionistic or inferential, however, is not to brand it as necessarily inferior. Indeed some very good empirical research on class consciousness has been achieved by using this method, as can be seen by consulting Lockwood's book on The Black Coated Worker (Lockwood, 1958). This method is probably the most common for studying class consciousness of a political variety, while the remaining four approaches are probably better adapted to studying class or status awareness.

The second method may be called the "informal or anthropological approach" to the study of class awareness. In this approach the research worker attempts to build up a model of class awareness from his general experience in the society, as well as from non-structured discussions with informants on the topic of social stratification. In fact this may not be a distinct method of studying class awareness, but rather a combination of the first
and last methods discussed here, although the questioning of informants is less systematic and directed than in the final approach. Possible examples of the use of this method in Africa are Little (1951, pp. 266-271) and Grillo (1973, pp. 85-90, and ch. 5).

The third method of studying images of society may be referred to as the "partial method", for it tends to examine only one aspect or dimension of stratification models rather than attempt to reconstruct the complete models of society. The most common type of partial method is occupational ranking, and many studies of this type have been carried out in both industrialized and developing societies, including Africa. In Africa, studies by Xydias (1956), Mitchell and Epstein (1959), Foster (1965), Gamble (1966) and Peil (1972) may all be mentioned. Chapter 4 of this thesis also contains some material on occupational ranking, though of a less formalised and complete nature than the above mentioned studies. Of course it would also be possible to conduct such partial surveys into other aspects of stratification, such as the evaluation of education, possessions or patterns of social relationships.

The fourth method may be called the "personal ranking method". Whereas in the second method respondents might be asked to rank occupations, in this method they would be asked to rank actual individuals; and for this reason it tends to be focused on local communities rather than whole nations. A classical study of this kind is Hollingshead's Elmstown's Youth (Hollingshead, 1949, pp. 11-48); and Warner has outlined a more com-
plicated procedure for carrying out such ranking (Warner, 1949, pp. 1-17). In Africa, a pioneering study of this kind was attempted by Clement in Stanleyville; and this study shows how it is possible to move from ranking specific individuals within a community to constructing a picture of class awareness in that community as a whole (Clement, 1956, pp. 451-456).

The final method of studying class awareness may be called the "direct method", as respondents are usually asked directly to describe the class system of their society. At its most simple, this may involve asking them questions such as how many classes exist in their society, what are these classes called, what sort of people are in each class, which of the classes are they themselves in, and so on. Examples of this type of questioning are to be found in Centers (1961), Martin (1954, pp. 54-55), and Runciman (1966, p. 307). Some researchers have also used a slightly less direct, more methodologically sophisticated approach, asking about the social groups which constitute society, rather than specifically about social classes. Usually, however, respondents have replied in terms of class, or have been prompted later on class; and so it has been possible to follow up this more tentative beginning with questions on the nature of class, similar to those quoted above. Examples of the use of this method of research in Britain are found in the work of Bott (1957, p. 236) and Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer and Platt (1969, pp. 200-202)

1 The results of this limited survey, however, indicated very little class awareness in Stanleyville, as pointed out on p.31 above.
2 Carter used a method intermediate between the more direct and the less direct method discussed here. Thus he introduced the topic of class by asking: "Do you think there is such a thing as
Research of this kind has also been carried out by a small number of sociologists or anthropologists working in Africa; and special mention may be made of the studies by Kuper and Hahlo in South Africa, and Lloyd in Nigeria (Kuper, 1965b, pp. 118-139, 419; Hahlo, 1968; Lloyd, 1973, pp. 122-123; Lloyd, 1974, especially ch. 6 and pp. 228-233). 1

It was decided to use a modified version of the direct method in the present research, partly because there have been so few studies using this method in Black Africa, and no such study in Sierra Leone; and partly because, of all methods of studying class awareness, it appeared most compatible with the interview method being used in the research project as a whole. It must be recognised that there are some methodological difficulties in using this approach, particularly in the African situation. Two main difficulties may be mentioned here, the first of which is a problem in any such study of class awareness using this method, and the second of which is a more serious problem in Africa than it would be in an industrialized society.

The first of these problems concerns the relationships between the subjective models constructed through the interviewing procedure, and the reality of social structure and actual patterns of individual behaviour. Are these models accurate re-

---

1 Unfortunately Lloyd (1974) was only obtained after the preparation of this chapter, and so it has not been possible to make a full comparison between the results of Lloyd and those obtained in the present study.
flections of the social structure, and do they influence the behaviour of the individuals who hold them? Or are they perhaps merely hypothetical mental constructs, produced on the spur of the moment by the respondents in response to the artificial interview situation? Do they in fact have any relation to reality at all?

The second problem concerns the debate on the existence of classes in Africa. It is generally accepted by sociologists and laymen alike that classes of some kind exist, at least in capitalist industrialized societies; and so it is considered quite legitimate to ask questions directly about classes. Even in Britain, however, where the existence of classes is taken to be obvious, some recent research workers have been slightly more tentative in their approach to the study of class awareness. They have decided that it is not methodologically proper just to assume the existence of class awareness, as when previous researchers approached the topic of class by asking respondents directly about the number of classes or the class to which they themselves belonged. It is now felt necessary to try a slightly less direct method, and establish whether respondents think spontaneously about divisions of class in society without first being prompted.

In the African situation, taking into account the debate on whether classes exist at all, the position is rather more complicated. If a sociologist asks directly about class, he may be accused of using a leading question, which by its very nature
will produce answers suggesting the existence of class awareness, even although no such class awareness may have existed prior to the asking of the question. In other words, his questions may approximate more closely to those of a good educator, who, through effective questioning of his students, stimulates their awareness of themselves and their environment, rather than to those of a good social scientist, who merely wishes to describe and analyse the social situation without his own presence affecting it. Thus, through leading questions, the sociologist may act as a catalyst in stimulating class awareness among his respondents; and, if this is so, his results must be treated with considerable caution.

Though these undoubtedly constitute serious methodological problems, it is felt that with a little care in the acquisition and analysis of data their effects can be minimised. The first problem concerning the uncertain relationship between the subjective class models and the objective reality of society is probably most effectively reduced by containing the study of class awareness within the framework of a wider, more objective study of the society as a whole. In the present research project, data on more objective facts were collected by a variety of means, including questionnaires, documentary research, and, to a lesser extent, participant observation; and, as far as possible, the results of the study of class awareness have been interpreted in the light of the more objective knowledge of society obtained from these other sources. This allows a check on the extent to which the subjective class models of respondents are congruent with the objective realities of the society, and opens up the possibility of
investigating the nature of the relationship between the two.

The second problem, concerning the dangers of leading questions, is of a more technical nature; and it should be possible to overcome it by the careful selection of appropriate questions. It was decided for the present purposes to adopt a two-stage method of questioning. In the first place, respondents were asked a very open question on the types of social group which they thought existed in society, without specification of the type of group meant. They were then free to answer in terms of tribal groups, religious groups, geographical groups, classes, or whatever other type of group they wished. It was thought, however, that the answers that they volunteered to this open question might not exhaust their awareness of social differentiation — and particularly, it might not exhaust their awareness of differentiation in terms of socio-economic criteria. Thus, for those who did not volunteer differentiation in terms of socio-economic criteria, a second question asking specifically about differentiation in terms of class was included; but it was worded in such a way that respondents could deny all knowledge of the existence of classes in Sierra Leone. These questions, together with subsequent questions on class, may be found in the interview schedule, which is reproduced in Appendix 1.¹

¹ Kuper seems to have used a rather similar two-stage procedure in his study of class-awareness among Africans in South Africa (Kuper, 1965b, pp. 127-128, 419).
The extent and nature of class awareness.

As mentioned in the last section, respondents were asked about their images of society using a two part procedure.¹ They were first asked about social differentiation generally, without specific reference to social classes. Though there was some variation in the wording, according to the situation, the first question usually took some form similar to the following:

"Now, the last few questions that I want to ask you are about how you would classify the different sorts of people who live in Sierra Leone. If you are to think first of all the people in Sierra Leone, and then think that among them all there are some different kinds of people, what I want to know is how, in your opinion, you could best classify these people, or best divide them up into a small number of groups, so that each group contains the same kind of people."

Sometimes some further explanation or encouragement was necessary before the respondents would reply. Unless the respondent had at first mentioned class, he was then asked whether there were any other kinds of social division of which he could think. The answers to these questions were recorded; and only then, if the respondent had not previously mentioned class, was he asked about it directly, using a form of question similar to the following:

"The kind of differences between people that I am really interested in are what I would call differences of 'class'. I don't know whether you have heard people talking of 'upper class people' or 'lower class people'? Do you know what they mean by this?"

---
¹ It should be noted, however, that this procedure took some time to work out; and it was only applied in a completely systematic fashion after the first 82 "pilot interviews". During the early interviews, various procedures were experimented with, including the one finally adopted.
Table 11.1 classifies initial responses to the first question. It shows that over half of respondents first mentioned the division of society into tribes, which is hardly surprising considering the tradition of tribal differentiation in Sierra Leone, and the continuing importance of tribalism today. A further 11% mentioned other forms of social differentiation which were not related to class, such as differentiation in terms of language, religion, or geographical area. In the first instance, only 19% of respondents presented fully-fledged class models, while a further 14% offered models which approximated to class. Thus at this first
stage, about a third of respondents mentioned images of society
which at least approximated to class, and about a fifth volunteer-
ed relatively complete class models: of course this represents
only a minority of respondents in the survey, but, especially in
view of the previous scepticism about the existence of class aware-
ness in Africa, it is a relatively large and significant minority. ¹

It may also be noted that there was a significant differ-
ence between Creoles and Provincials in the first kind of social
differentiation which they mentioned. Thus 66% of Provincials
born in the Provinces first mentioned divisions of tribe, compared
with only 40% of Creoles; while 28% of Creoles immediately men-
tioned class, compared with only 10% of Provincials. It is inter-
esting to note that members of the Provincial tribes who had been
born in the Western Area had perceptions of society much more sim-
ilar to Creoles than to Provincials, suggesting the importance of
the urban areas in developing class awareness. Throughout this
chapter the evidence will suggest that class awareness is highest
in the most enculturated sections of the population.

¹ For the purposes of this analysis it was decided that full
class models should have the following three characteristics: (i)
they should involve the hierarchical ordering of individuals;
(ii) this ordering should not be in terms of a single criterion,
but a number of correlated criteria, e.g. wealth, education and
social status; and (iii) there should be a specified number of
categories in the hierarchy. In practice, the second criterion
may have been less rigidly applied than the other two. So-called
approximate class models usually had one or two of these conditions
missing - e.g. they might be in terms of a single criterion,
such as education, literacy, or wealth, or have only a simple pol-
arisation of characteristics, without discrete class categories.
Answers to the first question also varied according to the level of education of the respondents' parents, which is to be expected from the difference between Creoles and Provincials. Thus tribal differentiation was mentioned first by 41% of those with post-primary-educated fathers, 55% of those with primary-educated fathers, and 62% of those with illiterate fathers; while class divisions were mentioned first by 27% of those with post-primary-educated fathers, 20% of those with primary-educated fathers, and only 11% of those with illiterate fathers. There also appeared to be a relationship with respondents' own level of income, for 24% of respondents earning over Le30 per month mentioned class first, compared with only 12% of those with lower incomes; but this variation is not statistically significant. In general, however, it may be concluded that increased contact with enculturating influences raises the level of class awareness.

Respondents were encouraged to give more than one answer to the first question, especially if they did not immediately mention class; and a total of 465 answers were given to this question. In total, 62% of respondents mentioned tribe, 51% other non-class divisions, 28% full class models, and 46% approximate class models. Thus it may be argued that, though they formed only a minority in absolute terms, a significant proportion of respondents volunteered class models without specific prompting; and an even larger number had some ideas which approximated to class.

\[ \chi^2 = 16.5; \quad \text{d.f.} = 8; \quad 0.05 > p. > 0.02 \]
\[ \chi^2 = 8.4; \quad \text{d.f.} = 4; \quad 0.10 > p. > 0.05 \]
TABLE 11.2: Order of reaching social class by tribe and place of birth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order of reaching class</th>
<th>Creoles Tribe and place of birth</th>
<th>Provincials born in Western Area</th>
<th>Other Provincials</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class only</td>
<td>29 (30%)</td>
<td>5 (24%)</td>
<td>16 (13%)</td>
<td>50 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class plus other</td>
<td>8 (8%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
<td>9 (7%)</td>
<td>19 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class after prompting</td>
<td>46 (48%)</td>
<td>10 (48%)</td>
<td>71 (56%)</td>
<td>127 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate class; mixed class and tribe</td>
<td>9 (9%)</td>
<td>3 (14%)</td>
<td>15 (12%)</td>
<td>27 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe only</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>0 ( - )</td>
<td>10 (8%)</td>
<td>12 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confused, don't know</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>6 (5%)</td>
<td>9 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>96 (99%)</td>
<td>21 (101%)</td>
<td>127 (101%)</td>
<td>244 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: (a) Calculations are based on 244 completed interviews.
(b) With columns 1 and 2 added, and the last row omitted:–
\[ x^2 = 13.66; \text{d.f.} 4; p < 0.01. \]

When answers to the second question are also considered, an even clearer picture of the extent of class awareness emerges. From Table 11.2 it can be seen that 20% of respondents started off with class models; a further 8% gave class models later without prompting; and as many as 52% of respondents produced class models after prompting. A further 11% gave more marginal class models, 14 of which were classified as mixed class and tribe, and 13 of which were class-
ified as approximate class models. The former are included in the
class category, to make up the 210 complete models which will be
used in later analysis. Thus 86% (210/244) of the respondents who
completed this part of the interview appeared to hold reasonably
coherent class models of society, while the remaining 14% seemed to
have little or no idea of class. This would suggest a high degree
of class awareness among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone.¹

It seems that the idea that individuals may hold more than
one model of society simultaneously - e.g. a tribal and a class
model - has been vindicated. Sometimes these models may be kept
as if in separate compartments, and used selectively according to
the situation. Thus at one point in time a person may conceptual¬
ise a situation, and hence act, according to tribal criteria, while
at a different time, in a different situation, he may think and act

¹ In fact, the degree of class awareness may be even higher than
the above figures suggest. Many of the cases in which no class
models were obtained were early interviews which were conducted be¬
fore a satisfactory method of questioning on class awareness had
been devised. In many of these interviews the first question was
not followed up by a direct question on class when the first quest¬
ton had produced no response. Thus lack of evidence of class aware¬
ness may in many cases have been due to inadequate technical pro¬
cedures in the early stages of interviewing: in fact 32 of the 34
respondents who expressed no class images were among the 82 complet¬
ed "pilot interviews" at S.L.S.T., S.L.B. and U.A.C., with most
(29) being concentrated in the first two locations, for the method
of questioning had been improved by the time interviewing was con¬
ducted at U.A.C. Thus in the 162 subsequently completed interviews,
only two cases of respondents with no class images were encountered;
or, in other words, 99% of these respondents had some degree of
class awareness. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that
they came to the interview situation with a ready-made class model,
but that, when questioned about class, they were able to talk rea¬
onably coherently about it. It was something which made sense to
them.
in terms of class criteria, as studies by Mitchell and Epstein on the Copper Belt of Zambia have shown (Mitchell, 1956; Epstein, 1958). In other cases, the tribal and class models may be more integrated, as will be shown below for the situation in Sierra Leone. From the methodological point of view the analysis suggests that one need not accept the first kind of differentiation mentioned by respondents as their full model of society - it is necessary to delve below it, and to attempt to explore other potential layers of consciousness. The first kind of differentiation mentioned may not even ultimately be considered the most important. In answer to the question: "In a person's everyday life, which do you think is more important to him, his tribe or his class?", 63% of respondents said that it was his class, 25% his tribe, and 12% said that it was variable, depending on the situation, or that the two were linked together. So over twice as many people thought class more important than tribe as thought the opposite, even although the majority of them had first volunteered divisions of tribe.

Another indication of the extent to which class concepts have been integrated into the collective consciousness was the use of a reasonably standardised set of class terms. The terms "upper class", "middle class" and "lower class" certainly made sense to the respondents, and were commonly used; but it is difficult to say how widespread this was, for their introduction in the prompting question encouraged their subsequent general use. Variations on these were also found, probably being the result of improvisation, such as: "upmost, upper and lower classes", "high,
low and lowest classes", "upper, semi-lower and lower classes", "top class, middle class, lesser class, and lowest class", "upper, lower and lowest classes", and so on. As many classes were seen to be based on level of wealth or income, terms which specifically referred to this were often used, such as "rich, average, below average, poor and very poor", "rich, poor and very poor", "very rich, rich, average, poor, and very poor", and so on. An example of one such model is the following:

There are three classes of people in this country: (i) those who are a bit above average, who have accumulated much wealth, got houses for rent, or got other private enterprises; (ii) the average class, who are employed, or supporting themselves by other businesses; and (iii) the poor people who you see in the streets, such as beggars. He himself is in the poor class, for, though he has a job, he cannot see his future.

Other respondents used terms which implied the division of people according to specific educational criteria, such as "intellectuals, literates and illiterates": or occupational criteria. ¹

Some respondents used other conventional class terms, though perhaps unintentionally and unconventionally. For example, one person divided society up into "the ruling class, clerks, farmers and the masses"; and another gave a five class model of society as follows:

Firstly, the capitalists, i.e. people who are extremely rich, like the prime minister, and other government ministers; (ii) secondly, the rich, but not too rich, such as managers and diamond dealers; (iii) thirdly, those people living a normal life, who do not earn too much, but know how to move .... they have what they need, and live the best life .... he places himself in this class, for he lives a normal life, is

¹ The quotations used in this chapter, as in the rest of the thesis, are paraphrases of what respondents said, keeping as close as possible to the respondents' meaning and actual words. Because of the method of interviewing, however, the respondents' exact wording is not necessarily reproduced.
never in need, and gets what he wants; (iv) fourthly, the peasants, e.g. beggars, who have no place to live; (v) and fifthly, the extremely poor, who must go out and ask for food.

In only a handful of cases did respondents use the term "working class", and then it usually referred to an upper group in society, consisting of those who were lucky enough to have employment, as opposed to the unemployed masses, "e.g. the street boys, those found hanging around lorry parks, and so on". This distinction is not surprising in a country where there is a high rate of unemployment; and in fact research in Britain has also revealed some people who assimilate all those who work to the working class (Martin, 1954). Besides the use of these Western class terms, at least two informants were explicit in their borrowing of class concepts: one reported that he had learnt about classes from an economics textbook; and another, after having first given a tribal model, and then being prompted on class, said: "Oh! You mean divide people up in the English pattern?" Another informant, a female Creole, who had lived for several years in England married to an Englishman, told me that classes were much the same all over the world: "There are three classes everywhere - the rich class, the middle class, and the lower class".1

Various more specialised class terms were more commonly used in Sierra Leone, the most important of these probably being "aristocrats, gentry and senior service" for the upper groups in society, and "peasants, paupers, and commoners" for the lower

---

1 For a Sierra Leonean author referring to his background as middle class with explicit reference to the British situation, see Wellesley Cole (1960, pp. 13-14).
groups. Perhaps the most common terms for the upper group of society were "aristocrats", and its local variant, "aristo". As one respondent said: "The upper class, aristocrats, or 'aristos', as they are called locally, are people like ministers, top civil servants, and heads of departments generally". Other respondents, however, were more sceptical about the position of the upper group in Sierra Leone, as the following two comments show:

"In Sierra Leone, there are no aristocratic families as in England. 'Aristo' is used as a term of abuse for someone who is not quite rich, but pretends to be, such as top civil servants and professionals."

"The upper class in Sierra Leone does not compare with the top class elsewhere, but is more like the middle class in more developed countries, for salaries here are too low. In the West, the upper class is made up of millionaires, like the Rockefellers and Kennedys".

Other respondents may be making the same point when they called the top class in their models the "middle class". The term "gentry" is used in a similar way to "aristocrat", though rather less commonly: e.g. "The gentry class are people with wealth, luxurious houses, and children attending the most suitable schools - i.e. they can get anything that they want".¹ A few respondents used the expression "V.I.P." as the basis for their class terminology, thus talking of "very important people, less important people, and ordinary people". Fraenkal also found a proliferation of semi-ironic terms for the upper class in Liberia - such as "society, high society, big shots, the elite, honourables, etc", but, interestingly enough, they do not appear to coincide with the terms used in Sierra Leone. (Fraenkal, 1964, pp. 197-203).

¹ See Harrell-Bond, who quotes a Krio proverb: "Na gentry man de bon pikin" (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 244, italics mine).
The term "peasant" seems to be the most common one used to describe members of the lower groups in society, and it is not only used for those working on the land.\(^1\) As one respondent told me: "Peasants or commonfolk are those who live from hand-to-mouth"; while another said: "Sierra Leone society has been circumscribed by differences of status -- for example, a doctor would not like to mingle with peasants". Another respondent who was a teacher placed himself in the "peasant class", along with most other teachers, because of their low salary. There were also various derogatory terms, used particularly by Creoles to describe less educated provincials, such as "natives, bushmen, the uncivilized", and so on. Wellesley Cole mentions the use of the term "woroko-woroko" to describe illiterate, heathen labourers in Freetown, while Banton tells us that Creoles used to refer to provincials as the "unto whom", this being a reference to a passage from Psalm xcv: "Unto whom I swore in my wrath: that they should not enter into my rest" (Wellesley Cole, 1960; Banton, 1957, p. 9). In the present research I came across the use of the term "C.B.'s" among some young Creoles, which apparently stood for "country bodies", a term which seemed to be used particularly to describe provincial women, who the Creoles were in a position to exploit sexually.

Finally in this section, it is necessary to examine the main criteria used by respondents in differentiating the main classes in society, information on which is summarised in Tables

\(^1\) For an example of a Sierra Leonian writer using the term peasant in this rather broader sense, see Nicol (1965, pp. 62-4).
TABLE 11.3: (i) All dimensions of class models; (ii) Main factors in class-placement of individuals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. and proportion of models containing the dimension</th>
<th>All dimensions of class</th>
<th>Main factors for placement of individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occupation/income/wealth</td>
<td>193 (92%)</td>
<td>88 (42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/occupation</td>
<td>144 (69%)</td>
<td>98 (47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/civilization</td>
<td>49 (23%)</td>
<td>28 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>48 (23%)</td>
<td>11 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality/morality</td>
<td>31 (15%)</td>
<td>18 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family background</td>
<td>39 (19%)</td>
<td>31 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sufficiency/shortage</td>
<td>56 (27%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material culture</td>
<td>66 (31%)</td>
<td>0 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social relationships</td>
<td>35 (17%)</td>
<td>0 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>15 (7%)</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>676 210</td>
<td>278 210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The percentages are worked out on the basis of the 210 complete class models.

11.3 and 11.4. It was assumed that class models would be multidimensional, being made up of a number of correlated criteria of differentiation. From analysis of the 210 complete class models, 676 factors of differentiation were isolated, which is an average of 3.2 factors per class model. The most common factor of differentiation was one stressing occupation, and particularly its com-
ection with income and wealth, this being found in 92% of all complete models. Emphasis on economic aspects of social stratification may also be illustrated by those models which stressed the differential possession of material goods, such as houses, cars, etc.; and those which divided people up according to whether they had more than enough to meet their needs, just enough, or less than they required to meet their needs. The second most important factor in perceptions of social stratification was education, seen as a qualification for obtaining a good job, this being found in 69% of complete models; while a factor connecting education with level of civilization was identified in 23% of models. Tribal identity, family background, social relationships, and personality or morality were all mentioned as dimensions of social stratification in a significant proportion of models. Examples of such models will be given in the following three sections of this chapter.

Though respondents perceptions of social stratification were essentially multi-dimensional, an attempt was made to classify them according to their most important criteria of differentiation. In making such a classification, the research worker had to select the criterion of differentiation which he felt to be most important in each model, which obviously involved him making subjective, and at times even arbitrary, decisions; but, despite this difficulty, it was felt that the effort was worthwhile. The results are set out in Table 11.4, broken down by tribe. The paramount importance of occupation, income and wealth as basic criteria in perceptions of social stratification can once again be

735.
TABLE 11.4: Main factor in each class model by tribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main factor</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation/income/wealth</td>
<td>65 (73%)</td>
<td>84 (69%)</td>
<td>149 (71%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/occupation</td>
<td>17 (19%)</td>
<td>17 (14%)</td>
<td>34 (16%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/civilization</td>
<td>5 (6%)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
<td>13 (6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>12 (10%)</td>
<td>14 (7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>89 (100%)</td>
<td>121 (100%)</td>
<td>210 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 5.45; \ d.f. = 3; \ 0.20 > p. > 0.10 \]

seen, 71% of all models being classified as primarily based on such criteria. Education as a qualification for a good job appeared to be the most important criterion in 16% of the models, while education as a basis of civilization appeared to be the most important criterion in 6% of models. In the final 7% of models, social stratification was seen to be mainly a byproduct of tribal differentiation.

An attempt was made to see if the nature of perceptions of social stratification varied according to the respondents' socio-economic backgrounds, but no statistically significant variations were found. As can be seen from Table 11.4, it does appear that Provincials were more likely than Creoles to see tribe as the most important factor in social stratification; but the great majority of them (69%) agreed with Creoles in according
first place to occupation, income and wealth. Analysis was also carried out in terms of fathers' levels of education, respondents' occupations and respondents' levels of income. In each case there did appear to be some tendency for the higher status groups to put more emphasis on occupation and income, while the lower status groups put relatively more emphasis on tribal factors; but in no case was the variation statistically significant.

Finally, by use of the question: "What is the main factor which makes one person belong to the upper class, and leaves another in the lower class?", an attempt was made to find out what were the main factors which respondents believed determined the position of individuals within the class system. Respondents were allowed, though not encouraged, to mention more than one factor in replying to this question. The results for the 210 respondents who gave complete class models are set out in Table 11.3. In this case it can be seen that education was believed to be the most important factor, particularly because it was usually a necessary qualification for obtaining a well-paid job. Many other respondents, however, put more emphasis on the job itself, together with its associated income. The other replies were distributed as shown in Table 11.3.

Economic aspects of stratification models.

According to Fraenkel: "In Western industrial societies, occupation and income are the basic criteria of social ranking, but in Monrovia, as in other developing African towns, other factors, especially education and style of life, are at least as im-
important" (Fraenkal, 1964, p. 208). She and Little also suggest that the distinction between "civilized" and "uncivilized" (or "bush") may be the basis of an embryonic class system in West Africa (Fraenkal, 1964, pp. 196-229; Little, 1951, pp. 254-272). However, as shown in the last section, the present study seems to indicate that perceptions of social stratification among the subelite in Sierra Leone are solidly based on economic factors, such as occupation, income and wealth. This is consistent with the importance attached particularly to wealth, but also to occupation, in a partial study by Harrell-Bond of status awareness among university students in Sierra Leone (Harrell-Bond, 1972, pp. 105-107).

The nature of such economically-based models of social stratification may be gauged from the following example, collected from a Temne teacher working in Freetown. It is perhaps not a completely typical model, for, like most of the other examples given in this chapter, it was chosen partly for its greater than average coherence; but it illustrates many aspects which were present in most such models.

Model A: economically-based class.

Mr A's father went to Form II of secondary school, and was a native authority clerk before becoming first a Paramount Chief and later a Member of Parliament. His mother was an illiterate Muslim. While at school A was looked after by

---

1 Harrell-Bond asked students to write short answers to the question: "What do you think it is that determines status and prestige in the city and the village?". In the former case, wealth was mentioned most frequently, followed by education, with occupation some way behind in third place. See also Simpson (1968).

In the present study, it would have been useful if the occupation, income and wealth components of these models could have been
a paternal aunt and her son. The latter, described as a Creole, had completed secondary school, and was working as a foreman. Of A's 12 brothers and sisters, nine had reached at least Form V, and two brothers and two sisters had been to Britain to study; but a younger brother, by the same mother only, had never been to school, and worked as a driver. He described his family as being too busy with trading to be really interested in education.

He divides people up into three classes: the top class of lawyers, ministers and doctors, who live Western lives, and have houses with all 'mod. cons.'; the middle class who can afford meals everyday and small cars, working mainly as graduate teachers in secondary schools, qualified, and especially overseas-trained, nurses; and the low class of manual, daily-paid workers, on £10 per month, without decent housing, and unplanned families of many children, who are neglected because their parents must work long hours. Their standard of living is low, their food is of poor quality, and their way of life is typically African. The main factor determining class position is job held, or source of income, for on this depends the amount of money you have to meet your family commitments.

He places himself in the lower or middle class, perhaps more towards the middle for he is partly supported by his family, paying no rent, and not even paying the full cost of his food. His father (when alive), being a P.C. and M.P., had been in the middle class, as is the cousin with whom he lives; but his mother is in the lower class. Most of his friends, and also his girl friend, are all in the middle class, but he does not believe that class is a barrier to forming friendships.

He thinks that it will be a matter of luck if he is upwardly mobile into the upper class, for an ordinary B.A. degree does not guarantee such mobility. Though he wishes that classes did not exist in Sierra Leone, he believes them to be inevitable, for some must be richer than others, and hence looked up to. He sees no particular connection between tribe and class; and says that in Sierra Leone tribes are more important than classes. He particularly respects Dr Karefa-Smart as someone who has entered politics for honest reasons, not just for money and fame; and he thinks that he may return from overseas to do his bit for his country, even although he may lose financially by it.

Mr A thinks that he may end up in the commercial world, as there is more money there. Anyway, he does not expect to remain a teacher all his life.

separated, so that their relative importance could have been evaluated, but they proved to be so closely inter-related that this was not possible.
Many respondents mentioned specific occupations in describing the composition of the various classes; and the distribution of these occupations by class is shown in Table 11.5. From this it can be seen that most politicians, professional people, administrative grade civil servants, managers, paramount chiefs and diamond dealers are believed to be in the higher classes; most teachers, clerks, other white collar workers, and skilled manual workers in the middle classes; and most farmers, labourers, unemployed people, and others who were not working in the lower classes. Traders had a much more scattered distribution, which may be attributed to the fact that this is a very varied category, with very rich contractors and businessmen, as well as poor, petty traders; and qualifications according to size of business were often made before they were placed. On the whole, this ranking of occupations by class produced similar results to the evaluation of occupations in Chapter 4.

Examination of the relative ranking of the various occupations gives additional insight into the main criteria which are believed to determine class membership. Thus the relative importance attached to money and education can be illustrated by the different rankings given by respondents to a wealthy but possibly illiterate diamond dealer, and a secondary school teacher, who one can assume is quite well educated, but not very rich. The diamond dealer, because of his wealth, was placed in the upper class in 66% of cases, despite his lack of education, while only 32% of teachers were placed in the upper class, 56% in the middle class and 12% in the lower class. Moreover, when respondents placed
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Top class</th>
<th>Middle classes</th>
<th>Lower class</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political jobs</td>
<td>90.5%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100% (73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>86.5%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100% (150)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior civil service</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100% (99)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, etc.</td>
<td>84.5%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100% (45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramount Chiefs</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>100% (128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond dealers, etc.</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>100% (138)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traders</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>100% (111)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>100% (217)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>100% (125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other white collar, supervisory</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
<td>77.5%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>100% (62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher manual</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>100% (60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
<td>100% (130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>86.5%</td>
<td>100% (105)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other unskilled</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>97.0%</td>
<td>100% (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-workers</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>84.5%</td>
<td>100% (38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>94.5%</td>
<td>100% (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>1,603</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Of course there is only a middle class when there are more than two classes. Occupations in the top and lower classes in all models, irrespective of the number of classes, are placed in these categories; and occupations in all intermediate categories are placed in the middle class category.

2 This table is mainly based on the placements of occupations by class, which were volunteered in answer to general questions on the nature of classes. However, exceptions are the cases of Paramount chiefs, diamond dealers, teachers and farmers.

3 Example, beggars and thieves.
teachers in the upper class, they generally specified that they meant only the elite of teachers, such as principals, headmasters, or graduate teachers, others being in lower classes. Thus, in total, only 18% of respondents put all teachers in the upper class, while 40% said that their class varied according to their rank; compared with 66% who placed diamond dealers unequivocally in the upper class, and only 6% who said that they might belong to different classes. Some of the comments on the position of diamond dealers and other rich people were as follows:

Diamond dealers and paramount chiefs are in the upper class, for money is more important than education in Sierra Leone.

Even an illiterate diamond dealer must be in the top class, for with his wealth he can do what he likes - build houses, send his children to school, go overseas, or buy a car.

Diamond dealers are in the top class, for even if they are illiterate, they can get people to read and write for them.

An illiterate diamond dealer would be in the upper class, for people here do not want to know about qualifications but only money.

Money determines a person's position [in society], for without money one is nobody in Sierra Leone. If he [the respondent] went to any firm, he could not go to see the manager directly, but someone they know has money would be allowed in.

Many of the comments on teachers, on the other hand, stressed their low status:

People in Sierra Leone think that teachers are not highly paid, and so they do not respect them much. Parents will come to school and quarrel with teachers, e.g. over the punishment of their children.

Many people do not respect teachers - if you beat their child, they come to insult you. They know that it is a poor job, for teachers do not own houses.
Some people regard us teachers as labourers. In advanced countries teachers are the first to be recognised, but not here. Politicians and clerks are better off. Pupils who leave [school] make three times our salaries.

Diamond dealers look low on poor teachers. But teachers also get prestige, because at times they are the only civilised element in a community.

Teachers appear to be particularly vulnerable in their position, for they lack status crystallisation, having a relatively high level of education compared with their level of income. Most high status occupations, on the other hand, combine higher education with a relatively high level of income and standard of living; and thus they tend to be clearly ranked higher than a rich but illiterate diamond dealer.

Not all respondents, however, agreed with the relative ranking of teachers and diamond dealers suggested above. Some, for example, did not think a diamond dealer should have a high rank:

Illiterate diamond dealers are in the lower class because they do not understand things

An illiterate diamond dealer would be in the lower class, for he has no education; and what can one do with money?

A rich but illiterate diamond dealer would only be in the middle class, for he would not know how to spend his money, but would only waste it.

Diamond dealers are only in the middle class, for though they have a lot of money, they cannot join the social groups of the top people.

Some respondents also took a more favourable view of the position of teachers in society:

Teachers are generally upper class, for they must set a good example to the children. Respect for teachers is high.

People consider us [teachers] next most important to doctors.
Some teachers in secondary schools have high incomes, and so own cars and houses. Perhaps they are top class, but most teachers are average class. Also, many lady teachers have rich husbands. Village schoolmasters are respected, but not those in Freetown.

Thus it was recognised that the position of the school teacher was rather variable: for example, the status of the teacher is seen to be higher in the village than in the town ("Teachers in the village are regarded as 'big men', whereas in the town they are nothing exceptional"); some teachers are seen to be better off than others ("Most teachers are in the poor group, though secondary school teachers are among the rich"). It was also often mentioned that, although diamond dealers might be considered in the top group of society, their position there was rather exceptional and unstable:

- Paramount chiefs and diamond dealers would be in the upper class, but they are exceptional, for they are not really educated enough.
- Diamond dealers are in the upper class, but not permanently - their position is shaky, for they spend their money foolishly.
- Money can move someone up temporarily, but they will find that they cannot cope with [high class] company.
- Diamond dealers are in the middle class, for they have no education, and diamonds can fail.

Thus it appears that the really high class jobs should combine a good income with a high level of education, as in the professions and the senior civil service; but when these are separated, as in the cases of the illiterate diamond dealer and the poor teacher, money is believed to be more important than education. This appears to confirm the previous conclusions, both in this chapter and in Chapter 4, that differences of income and wealth are per-
ceived by respondents to be the basis of social stratification in Sierra Leone.

Respondents also often mentioned differences in material possessions or standard of living, resulting from the differences in wealth and income between the members of the different classes. Typical comments were the following:

Higher class people have thousands of leones, big cars and big shops – they marry so many wives, and have so many children.

The top class are the wealthy people – e.g. Lebanese, Indians, some diamond people from Kono, and ministers. They live in large houses, and have T.V.s, fridges and big cars. The middle class are accountants, secretaries to ministers, head teachers, principals, surveyors, etc. They have no cars and live in flats or quarters. The poor class are labourers, nurses, and those without work, who live in small huts, or the low cost housing scheme at Kissy. They only have electricity if lucky.

The rich ones have houses, cars and money. They send their children overseas for further studies, and even build houses for their children and girl friends. The poor are those without money to send their children to school, and who just go about in the streets. In some villages they do not even have clothes, or just pants. They work on farms, and live in mud houses.

The top class are the rich who hold high posts in firms and departments. They have big cars and snatch our girl friends.

Closely related to models which stressed differences between classes in possession of material culture are those which saw classes differentiated according to whether their members had more than enough to meet their needs, just sufficient, or not enough to meet their needs. An example of such a model may be given here:

Model B: stressing surplus, sufficiency, and shortage.

Mr B was a Christian Temne, though both his parents were illiterate Muslims. His father was a farmer, and before that a tailor. He was the oldest of his siblings, but
none of the rest had gone to school, except one brother who reached senior primary, and became a diamond dealer. Mr B left school in Form V, and went straight to Bunumbu Training College. He is now a teacher.

He first mentions tribe as the main division in society, and also divides people up into robbers, those who go to work, and the intelligent. On prompting about class, he gives a four class model, saying that class is more important than tribe, as it gives money, and people with money would like to keep company with others who also have money to spend. He feels that it is difficult to make friends with people from the top class.

The upper class have important jobs, with high salaries, and hence money to spend on luxurious houses and cars; the middle class, in clerical work and trading, cannot afford cars, but do own houses; the third class, who are traders and farmers, earn just enough to buy food, but cannot save; while the fourth class are wholly dependent on others, gaining a living through begging or being supported by their families. The main factor determining a person's class position is money; and one can normally, though not invariably, tell a person's class by the arrangement of his house.

He places himself in the third class because of his salary. His parents, however, are in the last class, because they are just farmers or peasants (sic); but he also has an uncle who is in the middle class - he is a trader and owns three houses in town. Most of his friends, including his girl friend, are in the third class, because of their financial position, but he has some friends with better jobs who are in higher classes. He sees teachers as in either the second or third classes, according to their grades; diamond dealers and paramount chiefs in the top class, because money is more important than education in this country; and farmers in the lowest class.

The connection between tribe and class is seen as resulting from historical factors, mediated through education. Creoles and Mendes were the first to be in contact with missionaries, and so have the best education; while Temes and others who were at first too scared to send their children to school are now in the lower classes. Lokos and Limbas who still do not like to send their children to school are in the lowest class today, working, for example, as palm-wine tappers.

He hopes through education to reach the top socially. He complains that the class system is not fair, as the upper class have better facilities. For example, in health facilities, while the upper class can go to hospital, the lower class must be satisfied with a dispenser, the third class stays at home with no treatment, and members of the
fourth class just die. He suggests that this might be
derned through socialism, if the leaders were not too
b nitious and greedy. He particularly admires people
ith courage, such as the prime minister; or a friend
of his own who, through hard work, is now abroad study-
ing, although he comes from a poor home.
Mr B thinks that he may leave teaching in later life to
become a trader, an army officer, a politician, or some-
one in government; and he suggests that he might live
in a place like Kenema.

The final point to be made in this section is that these
economically-based models of class are often explicitly or implic-
itly related to the bureaucratic structure. This is perhaps
clearest in the case of a teacher who actually divided society in
terms of the civil service grades, into administrative, executive,
and clerical levels, with a fourth group of "commoners, who are
illiterates who do not reach the system"; and he places himself
as equivalent to the clerical and typing grades. A clerk, who
said that he belonged to "the lowest rung of accepted society"
in a three class model, also added that below his level were other
people who made up a society among themselves of peasants, daily
labourers, and daily-paid wage earners generally. Some class
models just ignore the existence of the rural population, as in
the following case:

The top class of aristocrats or arizos are people like
ministers, top civil servants, and heads of departments
generally. In the middle class are less ostentatious
people, such as ordinary civil servants, managers, super-
visors and clerks in commercial firms; while in the
lower class are clerks in the government service and
teachers without certificates, along with tailors, lab-
ourers and watchmen.

Others explicitly hive off the non-bureaucratic sectors, as in the
following model:
The top level of company employees, civil servants and other office workers form the largest group, or about half the total population (sic). Farmers, traders and other people who have some money, and work for themselves are the medium class, making up about one quarter of the population; and the lower class, of about the same size, comprises farmers, unemployed people, and thieves.

Other respondents said that their models applied only to the urban areas, or hived-off non-urban sectors, for example by giving upper and lower urban classes, and a class of villagers. Thus there seemed to be some recognition among the respondents that the process of class-formation was occurring particularly in the urban areas.

This concentration on the bureaucratic, urban sector is also shown in the way respondents used occupations to illustrate their class models: firstly, bureaucratic occupations tended to be mentioned in this context more frequently than non-bureaucratic ones; and secondly, bureaucratic occupations were ranked more consistently in class terms than were others. Of the total number of occupations volunteered in their class models by respondents, bureaucratic occupations, such as manager, civil servant, clerk, and labourer, made up 46% of the total; and if neo-bureaucratic occupations, such as the professions and teaching, are added to this, the figure rises to 66.5%. Other categories tend to be much smaller, with trading making up 13% of occupations mentioned, farming 6.5%, politicians and chiefs 7% and others also 7%. Looking at this on the narrower, more accurate basis of the proportion of respondents who mentioned specific occupations, the proportion of respondents who mentioned specific occupations.

1 I.e. excluding those cases where respondents were asked specifically to rank an occupation. See the footnote (2) to Table 11.5.
ional categories, it is found that clerical jobs were most often mentioned, being volunteered by 61% of the relevant respondents, while 52% of them mentioned top bureaucratic positions, 54% labouring jobs, and only 32% of them volunteered farming as part of their description of the occupational aspect of social class. The fact that twice as many respondents mentioned clerical work as mentioned farming might not be considered significant if three quarters of the working population of Sierra Leone were not farmers, and only about three quarters of a single percent clerks. Of course this shows not only the tendency of respondents to apply their class models particularly to bureaucratic, urban occupations, but also their special interest in the clerical grades, of which they themselves were often a part.

The second point to be made here is that bureaucratic jobs can be placed more consistently in the class system than non-bureaucratic jobs. For example, clerical and other white collar jobs were placed in the middle class in three quarters of all cases; and senior civil servants, managers and labourers were consistently placed in over four fifths of all cases. On the other hand, the largest group of farmers is 59.5% in the lower class, and of traders is 43.5% in the upper class. Teachers are also widely scattered. This wide distribution of these occupations is partly a result of disagreement on values relevant to their placement - e.g. whether to place a diamond dealer by his high level of wealth, or his low level of education; but it is mainly a reflection of actual divergences within specific occupational groups, as, for example, in the case of traders, who can be either rich con-
tractors or merely petty traders; and this also applies, though to a lesser extent to farming and teaching. It may be argued that this apparent affinity between bureaucratic occupations and social class is obvious, for the differentiation of occupations in bureaucracies both proliferates categories, which accounts for the number of times they have been cited, and also narrows them down, which allows them to be more consistently placed than non-bureaucratic occupations; but if this is obvious, so much the better. The main point to be made here is that the emergence of social class is perceived first in the modern or bureaucratic sector of the society; and that in fact the bureaucracies themselves may give a pattern on which class models may be based. ¹

The general pervasiveness of bureaucratic norms and organisation is in fact a feature of most developing societies in West Africa. This can be attributed to two main factors. Firstly, bureaucracies in colonial and ex-colonial territories tend to take the form of total institutions, particularly at the higher levels; and in this aspect they are more extreme than their counterparts in Western industrialized societies. Bureaucracies everywhere are mechanisms which tend to bring about status crystallisation, and, as such, they are especially compatible with class systems; but in developing countries their scope tends to be even wider than in Western societies, for their influence extends directly into the non-work sphere, through the provision of housing, recreational facilities, and other privileges, differentiated

¹ Bergel makes a similar suggestion that the army hierarchy could mould the perceptions of social stratification in a society in which the military played a prominent part (Bergel, 1962).
according to rank. For example, as pointed out in the first chapter, there is an important distinction between persons who are eligible for a loan to buy a car and those who are not; and many respondents mentioned that members of the top class were distinguished from others by their possession of a car.

Secondly, the bureaucratic sector in West African societies exhibits a high degree of integration. This is partly because it tends to be very small, in Sierra Leone including less than 7% of the labour force; and also because of the predominance of the government, which itself employs over half of all bureaucratic employees, and which also intervenes in the commercial, industrial and mining sectors, setting minimum wages and standardising other conditions of employment, to bring them into line with conditions in government service. Thus one may sometimes find the various commercial firms, mining companies, and even the university being referred to as "departments", as if they were merely extensions of the central government. It is in the light of such a concept of a unified bureaucratic structure, embracing all major institutions in the country, that we must interpret the statement of one of the respondents at S.L.S.T. that he would vote for the political party in power, for he felt that he was almost a civil servant, and should therefore be impartial in politics. The use of the civil service as a reference group can also be seen in the agitation among teachers for a unified teaching service, for this seemed to be mainly motivated by the desire among teachers to obtain

---

1 See the quotation from Achebe in Chapter 1, p. 36.

751.
the same privileges as civil servants, for example in eligibility for car loans. It is thus being suggested that the development of a class system in Sierra Leone is largely based on the bureaucratic hierarchy; and that this is accurately reflected in the perceptions of social stratification among the sub-elite.

Educational aspects of stratification models.

Although economic factors appeared to predominate in most models of stratification, as can be seen from Tables 11.3 and 11.4, education was given priority in a minority of cases, and it was a secondary factor in many others. Usually the importance of education derived from its function as a qualification for a well-paid job; and such models closely resembled those based on economic differentiation. Separation of the two types of model was largely a matter of weighing up the relative importance attached to educational and economic factors; and classification of marginal models was sometimes difficult. An example of a model stressing education as a qualification for a good job is as follows:

Model C: education and occupation.

Miss C was a primary school teacher at Jui, a village not far from Freetown. Her mother, a primary-educated Creole trader, had been completely responsible for her upbringing. Miss C had started teaching straight away after leaving school; but she hoped later to go to training college, and make teaching her career.

Without prompting, she divided society up into three classes, based on education and occupation. The top group she called the highly educated - it is made up of graduates who have more money and more of everything. They work as lecturers, highly paid civil servants, etc. Then come the educated ones who have gone to Form IV or V, and work for their living in average jobs, with [enough] pay for their spending. Finally, the lower group is made up of illiterates - some do farming, others fish-
ing, and some do no work. The main factor placing a person in his class is his level of education.

Miss C places herself in the second or educated group, but her mother in the lower group, because she does not work, but just trades. Her friends are in the first and second classes - particularly her friends who are lecturers in secondary schools are in the first class. She thinks that she herself will reach the first class by studying and going to university. She also says that she wants to live in Freetown, to be a city girl.

In other models, education was more associated with its civilising influence, and individuals were differentiated according to their levels of education and civilisation, as in the following example:

Model D: education and civilisation.

Mr D was an applicant for clerical or garage work at the Kenema labour exchange. His father was a farmer, educated to Form III, and a section chief. Mr D was a Mende and a Christian, though his father was a Muslim, and his mother a pagan.

He first mentioned divisions of tribe, and elaborated in terms of internal tribal differentiation, e.g. Kpa Mende, etc. On being prompted about class, he gave a three class model, based on levels of civilisation. The upper class are the more civilised, living in towns in good conditions, with many friendships. The middle class are partly used to town life, and partly to the village, but they are not quite civilised. The lower class are farmers, used only to the villages, who only go to town when marketing. The civilised live in good conditions making progress - they are well educated, and in good jobs. They build good houses, and open shops and beer bars for their wives. Whether a person will be in the condition of the higher class depends on their education, their job, and their salary.

He himself is in the middle class, for though he is used to town life, he is not well civilised, and he is not working. When he starts working, he may change to upper class. His parents are in the lower class; but most of his friends, including his girl friend, are in the middle class, though one friend - an official earning much money - is in the upper class. His ambition is eventually to own his own garage, to build houses, and get his wife to trade.
A few other typical comments by respondents on "civilisation" may also be mentioned here:

The lowest class is of illiterate farmers and traders. They are 'uncivilised', and have to contact higher people to represent them. 'Uncivilised' is a West African term used to describe illiterates - the kind of person who takes money for 'woman palaver'.

Different classes spend their money differently. Thus the respondent spends his money on churches and clubs. The upper class drinks with restriction, but not the other classes who get drunk, and then fight. He would not get jealous over his girl friend in a club, but would be broad-minded, and look to his respect. He has learnt a bit from his education. You can tell a person's class from their way of talking and behaving in public, and their standard of friends.

The upper class are more civilised and intelligent; and they are responsible for doing everything for themselves, as well as [helping] others. If you see an upper class person, you will like him. They keep their rooms well decorated; and do not take to crime. They put their children to school. Lower class people are not civilised: some in the lower class can behave well, but others are not capable of doing anything. Some in the lower class are civilised - they are those who act well to others, do not abuse others, or turn to crime, but they have not got the money to be in the upper class.

In a place like Sierra Leone, tribe influences behaviour. One would be surprised to see an average Creole behave in an awful way like the other tribes. Creoles are upper class, being most educated, and having good personalities.

It can thus be seen that class is associated not only with civilisation generally, but also with the standard of behaviour evaluated from a moral point of view. The relationship between tribe, class and standard of behaviour will be looked at in more detail in the next section.

Thus, although it was not usually seen as the basis of class in Sierra Leone, education was considered the most important means of obtaining a good job; and thus of establishing a
person's position in the status hierarchy, as can be seen from Table 11.3. According to Omari, parodying Nkrumah, good advice to a young Ghanaian girl would be: "Seek first an educated husband, and all other material things will be in sight" (Omari, 1963). Equally it might be said that the motto for any enterprising young boy in Sierra Leone, or any other West African country, should be: "Seek ye first a good education, and all other things shall be added unto you." It has already been shown that most respondents hoped to improve their levels of education; and this was seen primarily as a means of raising their occupational and social status. Thus their view of the role of education in social stratification is quite consistent with their ambitions for social mobility through education; and indeed their perceptions of the nature of social stratification in Sierra Leone must be among the factors contributing to the persistence of such ambitions.

Social and Ethnic Stratification

Perhaps one of the most interesting results to emerge from this study of perceptions of social stratification among the sub-elite in Sierra Leone is the close connection between tribe and class in many of the models. It is often believed that tribe and class are completely independent principles of social differentiation, with class dividing society horizontally according to socioeconomic criteria, and tribe dividing society vertically, according to ethnic criteria. However, the objective facts reviewed in previous chapters of this thesis suggested that there was often
TABLE 11.6: Perceived importance of tribe as an aspect of social stratification by tribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>21 (27%)</td>
<td>42 (39%)</td>
<td>63 (34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(volunteered)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important</td>
<td>25 (32%)</td>
<td>44 (41%)</td>
<td>69 (39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(prompted)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not important</td>
<td>31 (40%)</td>
<td>21 (20%)</td>
<td>52 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77 (99%)</td>
<td>107 (100%)</td>
<td>184 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:– (i) Information on this is available for only 184 respondents.
(ii) Significance: $X^2 = 9.49$; d.f. = 2; $p < 0.01$

A quite close correlation between tribal identity and class position; and this relationship is reflected in many of the models of social stratification.

Although, as was seen in Table 11.4, only 7% of respondents gave tribe as the central feature of their class models, over two thirds of them thought that there was a connection between tribe and class. Information on this is shown in Table 11.6. The fact that tribe is only a subsidiary aspect of most of these class models is perhaps demonstrated by the fact that while 34% of respondents volunteered tribal differentiation as part of their original class models, 37% only mentioned tribe on being specifically asked about its importance as a dimension of social stratification, and the remaining 29% claimed that there was no particular connection between class and tribe. It appears that Provincials are more likely to
emphasise the importance of tribe as an aspect of stratification than are Creoles: thus whereas 40% of Creoles said that they did not think that there was an important connection between class and tribe, this was true of only 20% of Provincials.

Apart from the many models in which tribe was seen as an important, though secondary, aspect of social stratification, there were a number of cases in which tribe seemed so central to the whole conception that they were classified separately as tribal stratification models. Most of them were given by Provincials; and they tended to stress the historical differences in access to education between the various tribes, and the resulting variations in occupational and social status between their members. Thus they also had much in common with normal class models, based on economic or educational factors. An example is the following:

Model E: tribal stratification.

Mr E is a Mende applicant for a clerical job, registered at the Freetown labour exchange. He has been unemployed for 20 months since leaving school; and his comment on this is that in Sierra Leone getting a job is a question of who you know and not what you know. His parents are illiterate farmers; and he describes his home as poorer than average.

He first talked about tribal differentiation: the Temne are a war-like tribe, only interested in their own tribe; the Limbas are friendly, and do no harm unless provoked, but they are still primitive and superstitious; Creoles are traitors, who will go to your friend to get something from you, and then kick you out - they think too highly of themselves; the Mendes are kindly, hard-working, and like high office, but particularly the Kpa Mende can be wicked and boastful.

Because of the multiple and overlapping criteria in all models, there is of course much continuity between the different categories. This point is also made by Hiller (1975b, pp. 271-273).
It is such tribal personality traits which lead to stratification in terms of class: into two main classes along tribal lines. The Creoles 'like to learn book', and so get a good education; and the Mende and Sherbro like to follow and compete with the Creoles - so these three tribes make up the higher class. The Mende like uniformed or clerical jobs, or to learn a trade. The Temne, on the other hand, would like to leave school, and take a driving job, so as to be able to buy a fancy new shirt, ... so you find them, together with the Loko and Limba, in the lower class, doing such jobs as labouring, driving, hawking, and petty trading.

A person's class can be determined by knowing their ambition in life - for example, he places himself in the upper class because he wishes to continue his education, and become an accountant; while his parents and all his relatives are in the lower class because they have accepted their positions. He has friends from different classes, seeing no incompatibility in this; and his girl friend is in the lower class, as she only went to class 5 in primary school, and so she will not be able to do anything of great importance. He puts all teachers in the upper class, but he thinks that diamond dealers, even if they are rich, are in the lower class if they have never been to school. Class is seen as more important than tribe, for, though the Creoles are a small tribe, they have many high people to defend them. Ultimately class is fair, for in the end, everyone is equal before God.

A number of Creoles also gave tribal models, but in their case they tend to place more emphasis on the connection between tribe and civilisation; and their tribal models, therefore, have more in common with those based on education and civilisation, as can be seen from the following example:

Model F: tribal stratification.

Mr F is a self-classified Creole clerk, though both his parents were Okus. His model of society has three classes, with strong overtones of Creole superiority; and he places himself in the top class, which is consistent both with his emphasis on tribe, and with his family's prosperity, his father being a former chief accountant with an independent expatriate firm, and now an independent businessman. According to his son, in giving alms as the Koran commands, his father supports three quarters of the invalids in the Fourah Bay District of Freetown.
In character Mr F is very self-confident — e.g. being sure that his interview would be more useful than that of anyone else — and he is highly assessed by the manager of his department. He feels that his work is somewhat below him intellectually, and is given to walking round the streets in working hours. He drives to work each day in his father's car, and has his washing done for him by his father's 'laundry manager', except for his tergial and tergal trousers, which for the sake of safety he washes himself. Of his three older brothers, two have been to university, one in London, and the other at Fourah Bay College.

In thinking of the society in which he lives, Mr F identifies with the top people, who he distinguishes as the 'nobles, Creoles or aristocrats' — 'people who are too clever, who you cannot twist or turn so easily'. They have been 'brought up by the British' and 'well taught', so that they fight constitutionally when they want anything done.

The medium class contains a few Creoles also, but it is mainly made up of about 10% of the provincials, particularly Mendes, 'who have forced themselves forward by political affiliation, or marriage to Creole girls.' Originally these tribes would have run away from school, but now they are chasing the Creoles in education.

The remaining 90% of the Provincial population make up the lower class. Their social life is characterised by riotous assembly; and even after education, they remain addicted to cannibalism, ju-ju and violence, though inter-marriage with Creoles can have a mitigating effect. He tends to polarise the model into just two classes, with Creole aristocrats in one, and provincial tribesmen in the other. But on a later occasion he admitted that there were also some lower class Creoles, using this to explain the behaviour of one of his colleagues who refused to be interviewed, because he believed the research worker was a mercenary or spy. People in the different classes are mainly distinguished by their education and culture — i.e. beliefs, ways of doing things, and ways of using their intelligence.

He places most of his friends and relatives in the noble class, though he says that this does not mean that he cannot have friends from the lower classes - he encourages them, but does not make himself available to them at all times. He feels that most of his colleagues are in the lower class; and that they recognise his superiority, for several times they have called upon him to put forward their grievances to management, feeling him to be more eloquent. In friends, he thinks a high level of education is the most important quality, as it solves all problems; but in a wife religion would come first. She would have to be a Muslim — otherwise he would drive her [away].

759.
There are a number of other models with similar overtones. One in particular develops the theme suggested in the above model that the upper class consists of Creoles, the lower class of Provincial, while the middle class would result from inter-marriage between the two. This model is worth quoting, though at shorter length:

The top class are the richer people, mainly Creoles, originating from the city — so they are more influential, and, like expatriates, more Westernised and advanced in economy. They do top rank and clerical jobs in the government and civil service. The middle class or peasants (sic) consist mainly of those who have intermarried with Creoles — Mendes and Temnes who are partly Creoles. They are taught by Creoles or copy them; and then some of them go back to the Provinces and show their own tribes how to develop by increasing the economy, doing trade and making them advance. The third class are the poorer people, like Limbas, Lokos and Fulas from the Provinces. They are illiterate, and mostly in lower jobs like labourers and watchmen. If they earn today, they eat it, which is the main difficulty in this country. They do not try to keep it, and save it for their sons as the Creoles do. Creole families can help their sons, but not the provincials.

Interestingly enough, this respondent is the son of an educated Creole father and an illiterate Temne mother; and, in line with his own stratification model, he places himself in the middle class. His father had married three wives, and had 16 children, which may have been his personal attempt to spread civilisation among the Provincial tribes.

The ranking of tribes in these models was relatively consistent; and, on the whole, agrees with their ranking earlier in this thesis. Respondents were not asked specifically to rank tribes; but when they did so as part of their general descript-

1 See the impressionistic ranking of tribes in Table 1.1 (p.45), and their ranking by educational level in Tables 2.7 (p.109), and Table 2.13 (p.130).
TABLE 11.7: Classification of tribes by social class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Upper class</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Lower class</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kono</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherbro</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mende</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandingo</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temne</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limba</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susu</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koranko</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loko</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulunka</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kissy</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For comments on this classification, see footnote 1 to Table 11.5 (p. 741).

For the composition of classes, a note was taken of their placement of the various tribes; and the results of this are shown in Table 11.7. From this it can be seen that Creoles were predominantly placed in the top class; Mandes mainly in the top class, but with a significant proportion in the middle class; Temnes were even-
ly distributed between the classes; while Limba and Loko were seen mainly as lower class tribes. These stereotypes roughly correspond to reality, though of course they are a great over-simplification of the position. The number of times that other tribes are mentioned is too small to allow generalisation; but again they do roughly correspond with the level of development of the various tribes. The one exception to this may be the Kono, who, though not particularly advanced in socio-economic terms, are placed second only to the Creoles. The explanation for their high placement is that when respondents mentioned them, they were thinking primarily of the wealth available from diamonds in the Kono District.

It seems, then, that both objectively and subjectively, there is a strong relationship between tribe and social stratification in Sierra Leone. Rather than being opposed, or incompatible principles of social stratification, divisions of tribe and class may partially coincide, and thus reinforce one another. In this case the hierarchy of tribes may offer an alternative to the bureaucratic structure as a pattern on which to construct class models. Although objectively the relationship between tribal identity and class identity is only a statistical correlation, with many exceptional cases, if the correlation is strong enough there will be a tendency to ignore these deviant cases, and to suggest a one-to-one relationship between tribe and class, with, for example, all Creoles been seen as high class and all Limbas as low class. Tribal identity may then become a significant element in social status, and in fact an individual's social status
may be judged primarily in terms of his tribal identity. Thus the evaluation of tribes may act as a prototype for class models, or even as a skeleton around which such class models can be built up.

The assimilation of status in terms of tribal and socio-economic factors may be functional for those individuals whose status is congruent in the two cases; but it may also create problems for those who lack such status crystallisation. For example, the person who has a high socio-economic status but a low tribal status may be embarrassed by those who are uncertain which of his two statuses to respond to; or even suffer disrespect and humiliation from those who insist on responding only to his low tribal status.¹ Such evaluations of tribes in models of social stratification, and the resulting problems for those who lack status crystallisation in terms of tribal and socio-economic criteria, may explain the once-prevalent practice of tribal "passing" in Sierra Leone.

It was shown in the last chapter that if religious affiliation has status implications - e.g. if Christianity has higher prestige than Islam - then the socially mobile individual will be tempted to convert to the higher status religion to confirm his new position in society. In the same way, if tribes are relatively evaluated in terms of status, tribal identity may also be subject to manipulation by individuals who want to present a favourable image of themselves. For example, as was explained in

¹ The classical example of such a status dilemma is the Negro professional in the United States, particularly in his relationship with Whites.
the first chapter, socially mobile Provincial individuals may sometimes "turn Creole", or "pass as Creole".¹ As indicated by Banton, the roles of tribesman and clerk were seen as incompatible - i.e. they could not be occupied by the same person. A tribesman was, almost by definition, an illiterate, and probably also a Muslim or Pagan, while the Creole was educated and Christian. This did not mean, however, that a tribesman could not become a clerk; but to do so he had first to become a Creole. In some ways the distinction between Creole and tribesman was more one of culture, based on type and level of education, rather than of nature, based on descent. As previously indicated, a tribesman could "turn Creole", particularly if he was adopted from childhood by a Creole family - to be educated by them, accepted into their church, and probably take their English-type name. From this point of view, the expression to "turn Creole" is probably more accurate and meaningful than to "pass as Creole". Given that Creoles do not form a unified tribal group, but rather a cultural category, these socially and tribally mobile individuals should perhaps be considered as actual Creoles, and not just as "passers". From a sociological point of view, if not from a historical one, they have most of the attributes of Creoles; and presumably society accepts them as such.

Other situations of tribal passing have also been recorded. While the Temnes who had sufficient educational qualifications

¹ See Chapter 1, pp. 44-46, and also Chapter 5, pp. 435-436.
ions might become Creoles, those who were either illiterates or Muslims might prefer to adopt either an Aku or a Mandingo tribal identity (Banton. 1956; 1957, p. 165). At the iron ore mines at Marampa in the Northern Province, Limba who wanted to improve their occupational position might pass as Temne (Gamble, 1966, p. 108); while Limba, loko, Koranko and Susu living in rural areas where the Temne are the predominant landowners may claim to be Temne, or at least become Temnified (Finnegan, 1965, pp. 131-139; Pollock, 1970, p. 49; and personal communication). This is no new phenomenon, for apparently after the Temne/Loko war in Port Loko District, which ended in 1840 with a Temne victory, many Loko adopted the Temne language and nationality, partly for their own safety, and partly for the prestige attached to being called a Temne (Hirst, 1957). The Fula are in an ambiguous position with regard to tribal passing. On the one hand, as a high status Muslim group: "Fulbe will not allow Temne men to marry their womenfolk unless they first 'turn Fula', i.e. become good Muslims, give up all Pagan beliefs and allegiances, and enter into Fulbe activities" (Butcher, 1964, p. 108; see also p.295). On the other hand, however, Fula rank low in Western terms, and, perhaps because of this, many half-Fulbe, particularly the educated ones and those of slave status, are lost to the Fulbe community, as symbolised by their taking of Temne surnames.¹

¹ See especially Butcher (1964, pp. 28, 62). In the present survey it appeared that most children of Fula fathers retained their Fula identity, irrespective of the tribe of their mother. See above, pp. 96-100. Nadel reports from Nupe that the local tribes may "become Fulani" if they convert to Islam (1942, p.143).
It is not being claimed that such situations of tribal passing are particularly common - indeed, by definition, they must tend to be marginal - but it is being suggested that they should be recognised as an important index of structural pressures within the system of stratification. As Banton points out: "An African does not lightly renounce his own tribe for another", for his tribal affiliation must be central in defining his social identity (Banton, 1957, p. 165). It is presumably only if this identity becomes intolerable to him, because of the general image of his tribe, that he will take the drastic step of attempting to pass into another tribe whose image he perceives to be more congruent with his own social situation. The essential point here is that from this perspective, tribes are not seen as fixed, natural groups, recruited solely on the basis of descent, but rather as conceptual, cultural categories, the main significance of which lies in the conceptual meaning of their relationships with one another. Thus it is possible for an individual, at least in some cases, to manipulate his tribal identity if this is likely to benefit him in any way. It appears that in the examples of tribal passing quoted above, and particularly in the case of Provincials passing as Creoles, individuals were mainly motivated by a desire to present a favourable image of themselves by increasing the degree of their status crystallisation, usually at a higher status level. And of central interest here is that this manipulation of tribal identity is mainly determined by the meaning attached to such tribal identity in subjective models of society, such as those quoted above.
It should be remembered, however, that the successful transformation of tribal identity depends not only on the motivation of the individual who wishes to enter another tribe, but also on his acceptability to members of that tribe. If he is to be successful in his attempt to pass for a member of another tribe, the individual should normally share much of the culture of that tribe, and probably have a similar socio-economic position. The Provincial who wishes to pass as a Creole, for example, must normally be educated, have a good command of both Krio and English, and have a reasonably secure and respectable source of income. Thus the change of tribal identity can be seen as part of a process of increasing status crystallisation: it would presumably be much more difficult for an individual to take on the identity of a tribe whose other characteristics he did not share. Thus an illiterate Provincial would be unlikely even to attempt to "turn Creole". However, although it is unlikely that an illiterate could do much to improve his position in the modern status hierarchy, alternative sources of prestige are available in the Muslim and traditional sectors of society; and it is possible that such an individual might manipulate his tribal identity in an attempt to take advantage of these alternative opportunities of increasing his status.1

1 It should not be assumed, however, that the search for status is the only reason for individuals manipulating their tribal identity; or even that status is necessarily sought as an end in itself. Economic or political factors may often be more important than status considerations in determining the tribal identity which a person adopts. Thus Banton appears to suggest that Provicials had to turn Creole before they were considered eligible for white collar jobs (Banton, 1956). And Cohen suggests that the emphasis on their "Hausaness" among traders in Ibadan was mainly a means of enhancing their trading network (Cohen, 1969).
Thus it has been seen that individuals may manipulate both their tribal and religious identities, particularly to increase their levels of status crystallisation. It should be noted, however, that various other personal characteristics, such as dress, style of life, and even name, may be subject to manipulation by individuals in attempts to present favourable and consistent images of themselves. This can be illustrated by an actual case study. Jacob Rogers was a middle aged clerical worker in Bo Town, born to a Sherbro father and a Temne mother. His family's native name was Sesay, but he preferred to use the name Rogers as more appropriate to an educated man like himself. Jacob had 16 children living, mainly by different mothers; but let us confine our attention to just two of these, namely Alice Rogers and Brima Sesay.

Alice reached Form II of a well-established girls' secondary school; but she left early to get married. She later separated from her husband, however, and worked for some time as an unqualified teacher in Freetown. Thus Alice followed her father in using a Western name, in gaining an education, in type of work, and in religion, namely Christianity. Her mother had in fact been a Muslim and a Mende. Alice also claimed to be a Mende, explaining this by the fact that she had been born in Mendeland. But because of her father, and some time spent in Makeni as a child, she could also speak fluent Temne. So she could "pass" as a Temne when she so wished - e.g. in friendly categorical relationships with Temne - and she also often claimed that she was mistaken for a Creole, a belief which she would

1 All names have been fictionalised, but their original forms have been retained as far as possible.
not always refute.

Her brother Brima, on the other hand, had a Temne mother as well as father, and was mainly brought up by his mother's family in Temneland; and so, not unnaturally, he called himself a Temne. He did not go to school, having run away from home, and took a job as a lorry-boy. He called himself Brima Sesay - i.e. he returned to his family's native name - because he considered it more suitable for an illiterate like himself, while the name Rogers should be reserved for the educated members of the family. He also became a follower of Islam, turning away from Christianity because he considered Islam was more suitable for a person in his position. Alice and Brima were also differentiated in terms of style of dress, for while Brima would normally wear shorts, with a native shirt, hat and sandals, Alice would attempt to keep abreast of the latest fashions in Western dress and footwear. It is hoped that this example illustrates how a half-brother and sister have manipulated certain variables connected with their identities in attempts to effectively express their different aspirations and positions in society; and in doing so have apparently become opposed in tribe, religion, occupation, name, and so on. It is not being claimed that this example is in any way typical; but it is hoped that it once again illustrates how the images which individuals have of their society may affect the impression of themselves which they attempt to present to others in the society.

Returning now, however, to the specific relationship between tribe and class, it needs to be pointed out that the close
correlation is gradually breaking down; and that this has important implications for how people conceptualise social differentiation. With the spread of education to the Provinces, more and more Provincialis are able to compete effectively with Creoles for higher status jobs; and, as was shown by the statistics in Chapter 2, an increasing proportion of the occupants of such positions are Provincialis. As the strong association between high status and Creole identity breaks down, the high status Provincial no longer seems an anomaly, and the pressures on him to turn Creole are eased. Indeed, with the rising political consciousness among Provincialis, and particularly as they become aware of their underprivileged position and their potential political dominance based on their numerical majority, the benefits of turning Creole now seem meagre. On the contrary, tribal solidarity appears to be the best policy for both the Provincial individual and tribe, though of course it has its dangers for the nation as a whole. Banton describes how such tribal solidarity was built up among the Temne in Freetown; and, in particular, how effective pressure was exerted on young Temnes to prevent them defecting to the Creoles (Banton, 1956, pp. 360-364; 1957, pp. 164-183). As was seen in Chapter 2, no case of a Provincial turning Creole was found in the present sample of secondary school leavers; and one may assume that it is mainly a thing of the past.

This changing relationship between class and tribe was also reflected in some of the respondents models of society. Although the majority claimed that there was still an important relationship between class and tribe, as many as 28% denied that
there was such a relationship. They stated that members of most tribes could be found in all classes; and a few pointed out that though most people considered the Limba a low class tribe, the Prime Minister himself was a Limba. It may be noted that there was a slight tendency for respondents from more sophisticated social backgrounds to be more aware of the independence of class and tribe: for example, it can be seen from Table 11.4 that 10% of provincials gave class models which were mainly based on tribal stratification, compared with only 2% of Creoles; and from Table 11.6 it can be seen that 40% of Creoles thought that there was little or no connection between tribe and class, compared with only 20% of provincials. This variation may be because Creoles, as the upper status group, are particularly aware of the progress made in recent years by provincials, for this has tended to erode their own status privileges, and thus diminish the differences between Creoles and provincials, while provincials are still very much aware of the various disabilities which they still suffer, and therefore of the survival of important variations between themselves and Creoles in the opportunities open to them. It is also possible that the more sophisticated, urban experience of the Creoles makes them more aware of class as an autonomous and increasingly significant form of stratification. It is difficult to predict the future in these matters, but it seems likely, other things being equal, that there will be a decline in the tendency to associate social stratification with tribal differentiation, and that the bureaucratic model of stratification will ultimately be of more import-
ance than those based on tribe. This, however, will depend very largely on the future political climate in Sierra Leone.

Social stratification and primary relationships.

As sociologists, we are particularly interested in patterns of social relationships. It has been shown in Chapter 9 that primary relationships — and particularly relationships with friends and partners of the opposite sex — tend to be mainly restricted to individuals of roughly equivalent socio-economic status; and we may now examine the extent to which this is recognised in class models. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, 17% of class models explicitly incorporated discrimination in social relationships as an aspect of social stratification.¹ Many respondents were also asked whether they thought differences of class were an impediment to the formation of relationships of friendship;² and their answers are summarised in Table 11.8. Altogether about twice as many people thought it was difficult to make friends outside one's own class as thought class was not an important barrier to friendship, the figures being 62% of respondents saying that class was important or very important in friendship, 32% saying that it was not important, and 5% saying that it was variable or that they did not know. As might be expected, those of lower status tend to see class as a greater barrier to friendship than those higher up. So, for example, only 45% of Creoles saw class as an important factor affecting friend-

¹ See Table 11.3.
² Only 170 respondents were asked this question.
TABLE 11.8: Importance of class in friendship by tribe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance of class</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important and very important</td>
<td>30 (45%)</td>
<td>76 (74%)</td>
<td>106 (62%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not important</td>
<td>32 (48%)</td>
<td>23 (22%)</td>
<td>55 (32%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable, don't know</td>
<td>5 (7%)</td>
<td>4 (4%)</td>
<td>9 (5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>67 (100%)</td>
<td>103 (100%)</td>
<td>170 (99%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With last row excluded, $X^2 = 12.32$; d.f. = 1; $p < 0.01$

ship, compared with 74% of Provincials. Respondents were also asked the extent to which their friends were in the same class as themselves: 27% believed that all their friends were in the same class, and 51% believed that most of their friends were in the same class — i.e. over three quarters of respondents believed that all or most of their friends belonged to the same class as themselves. This compared with only 13% who stated that their friends were of mixed classes, and 4% who stated that most of their friends belonged to different classes from themselves.¹

The reasons given by respondents for this discrimination in primary relationships were discussed in Chapter 9. Respondents felt that there were many difficulties and dangers in relationships with people of both higher and lower status. The main

¹ This again was calculated on the basis of responses from 170 respondents. In 5% of cases respondents gave "don't know" answers.
dangers of associating with those of higher status were believed to be the possibility that they might "look low on you", believe that you were only after their money, and eventually desert you for friends of their own class. The financial problems raised by inter-class friendships were also pointed out: some respondents mentioned that a poor person could not keep up with the rate of expenditure of a rich friend; and one said that he avoided rich friends, because if anything was stolen from their house, he, as a poor man, would be the first suspect.

Many respondents also believed that it was dangerous to mix with those of the lower classes. Such people may behave badly - e.g. engaging in excessive drinking, fighting, or stealing - and thus they may lead you astray, or at least give you a bad reputation. People of the same status, on the other hand, have interests in common. For example, educated people like to exchange views with one another, and an illiterate, it is believed, could make little contribution to such a discussion. They even feel inferior to educated people, or are afraid of them. These points of view are summed up in such phrases as "birds of a feather flock together", or "one rotten bonge [dried fish] spoils the rest". An example may be given here of a model placing special emphasis on exclusiveness in social relationships:

Model G: Social stratification and class exclusiveness.

Mr G is a machine operator at the Brewery, and a very reliable one, according to his manager. His parents were illiterate Temne farmers, and he has remained a Muslim. He left school early, after Form II, and since then has attended day-release classes at the Technical Institute. He mentions first that people have different costs of living. Also that some foreigners unite and try to help
others, and that some Sierra Leoneans are now trying to do the same. Tribes may fight one another, but some people are now trying to unite to form a better group.

The top class is made up of specially rich people, who form themselves into a group to keep company with other rich people, and spend their money differently. Then there is the middle class, say of young men, who keep company with other young men – not with the old. He himself is a member of this class, and most of his friends are also young men. They would like to live a young life and not copy the olden days. Some have mechanical or clerical jobs, and some try to become doctors or lawyers, in which case they might enter the top class. Their level of education – e.g. Form III and IV – and their way of dressing is part of modern life. The bottom class is the older age group, without much education, who dislike modern life. Some are very jealous, for they did not have such privileges in their day; but some make better provision for their children. Young men with no education may copy the modern life, and he has some friends among them. Some of the older educated men went up to higher levels with their learning; but we are now trying for lower things. People in the middle class are most similar to himself, whatever their tribe; and divisions of tribe are not important for we all have to live together.

Mr G is quite satisfied with his present position, though he would like to become a rich man. He would then give financial assistance to other people, and keep an up-to-date custom of living. He particularly admires people who are advanced in their education and way of living, just above the medium class – some working as mechanics and others in clerical jobs. They have a higher income and standard of living. The country is changing because of financial problems, and unemployment is getting worse, all of which he would like to see clear up.

He likes his best friend for being up-to-date, honest, highly ambitious, and intelligent. He sees wealth as a barrier to friendship, for wealthy people will like friends of their own rank. But differences of education are most important. Educated men learn from each other, and find it easy to understand themselves. It is not right, but illiterates, especially old ones, may prefer to keep away from educated men.

Mr G says that if he was living alone, he would like a well-educated wife, but because of the necessity that she should respect his family, he finds his present illiterate wife most suitable. He likes to be a bit Western, but for his wife this is not too important, for she must go up to the Provinces. But she she should not be primitive, just a bit advanced.

775.
This model illustrates not only the perceived correlation between social stratification and patterns of primary relationships, but also a connection between social stratification and age, mainly as a result of the history of the spread of education. As was seen in Chapter 2, such a correlation does in fact exist. This point will be taken up again in the next section.

Some individuals admitted to closer contacts with members of the lower classes, though sometimes with patronising overtones. They stated that they might greet people of lower class than themselves in the street, and even give them a "dash", but that they would not be completely free with them. One young man reported that he only pretended to be friends with those of the lower class as a form of insurance against thieving. Others mentioned that the upper class has responsibilities towards those of the lower classes, and must know how to deal with them - one must talk down to members of the lower classes. Some respondents also mentioned that there were dangers in not being friendly with the lower classes, especially in Sierra Leone. They explained that they had so many poor relatives who they did not even know; and if they snubbed a poor person, they might find out afterwards that it was one of their own family.

Also in connection with patterns of social relationships, we may note the general belief that educated people or upper class people are more sociable or outward-going than lower class people, and that this is a desirable pattern to follow.¹ This

¹ Harrell-Bond also found that university students in Sierra Leone Mentioned "sociability" as a characteristic which gives peo-
may be illustrated by some quotations from the interviews:

You can tell a person's class by his appearance and behaviour - the lower class, if they meet higher people, feel themselves inferior, and are shy, ..... they just answer: "Yes Sir!" Many of the respondent's own relatives are lower class, for they have not been to school, or lived in a big community. It is difficult for the lower class to associate with the other classes, unless they are related.

As a result of his education, the respondent does not feel shy in public anymore, but equal with anyone else. Life is becoming more social in Sierra Leone, more like that in the West.

In the social field, the educated man is not shy - he known what to say.

The main difference between people is whether they are literate or illiterate. The literates are much more social than illiterate people, and like to keep company more than the latter.

As for the lower class, some people say that only the Limba are backward, but the respondent does not agree. They are said to be shy, they do not dress luxuriously, and they are not proud: so people think them dull.

Differences in tribe are most important - the Limbas don't bother to be friends with anyone - they fear to talk to strangers.

The central theme of such quotations is that while the illiterate peasant will be shy and suspicious of strangers, members of the educated or civilised classes will not be afraid to meet new people, and indeed will welcome such contacts - i.e. they will be more "social". This would seem to correspond with the realities of their varying situations, for the traditional villager, living

ple social status (Harrell-Bond, 1972, pp. 105-6). This may be the reverse of the situation normally expected in industrialized societies where the lower class is usually thought to be more friendly and satiable than the upper and middle classes (Carter, 1969, pp. 880-1). Wilmott and Young, however, point out that though lower class people may be more open in their friendships with people they already know, it is the more mobile middle class which has to develop most skill in making friends with strangers; and this is the point here (Wilmott and Young, 1960, pp. 127-128). 777.
as he does in a system of mainly primary relationships, is rarely likely to meet strangers, while those operating in the modern bureaucratic sector of society will have to come to terms with the complexity of social relationships of a secondary nature with both familiar and new people. As Wilmott and Young indicate, the "spiralist" in any society is likely to have to develop skills in meeting new people (Wilmott and Young, 1960, pp. 127-129); but in West Africa, there is an added dimension, for sociability is a positively evaluated part of the "civilised way of life".

That traditionally there was a distrust or even fear of strangers, and society was not geared to the interaction of strangers is manifest in two further aspects of social life in Sierra Leone, which may be referred to as the "greetings complex" and the "dashing complex". The term "greetings complex" is used here to refer to the fact that in Sierra Leone it is necessary to elaborately greet either a friend or stranger before further interaction is possible; and though the extent of this may at first seem odd to the European, to the Sierra Leonean it is merely a matter of good manners. Thus even before asking directions in the street, or making a purchase in a shop, it is necessary to make the appropriate greetings, with perhaps an enquiry about the state of health of the person being addressed; and in the absence of such greetings one may be completely ignored. It is being suggested here that this compulsory greeting of strangers is an attempt to personify these otherwise alien "Gesellschaft relationships"; and thus make them more similar to the kind of primary relationships which were the norm in traditional society.
A similar argument may hold with respect to what has been called here the "dashing complex". Particularly to the outsider, obtaining a job in Sierra Leone may often appear to be mainly a matter of corruption, depending in many cases on nepotism and bribery. But again this can be interpreted as an attempt to bring impersonal bureaucratic relationships into line with traditional African values by giving them a personal and particularistic content. In seeking a job, an applicant may first try to work through any friend or relative; but if this is not possible, he may then attempt to establish a quasi-personal relationship with a person who can help him through the giving of a gift - a "dash" or bribe, which is also sometimes referred to as a "handshake", indicating its introductory function. Such handshakes were a traditional feature of many West African societies, operating, for example, to establish relationships between strangers and landlords. According to Evans-Pritchard, bridewealth in primitive societies performs the function of a temporary "scaffolding" to support the newly-established relationship between the families of a newly-married couple, for previous relationships are precarious and the new relationship has yet to be secured by the birth of a child (Evans-Pritchard, 1951, pp. 96-97); and in a rather similar way, the payment of a "handshake" in Sierra Leone serves to establish a relationship, and in particular, it converts an otherwise distrusted bureaucratic relationship into a more highly personal and thus familiar one. 

1 This is not, however, an attempt to deny the straight-forward "bribery function" of the "dash". It is merely being suggested as another aspect to the institution; and indeed it is sometimes used as a rationalisation for their behaviour by those who engage in such practices.
In summary, when respondents told me that education makes a person more social, or that the educated man is not shy or afraid of strangers, and when, as they often did, they associated this with the idea that education makes one more independent, they were in fact describing the process by which the individual who is educated is liberated from the tight, particularistic bonds of his family and local community, and reintegrated into society at a higher level - a level at which he must come to terms with a system of universalistically-based social relationships. And the so-called "greetings complex" and "dashing complex" may be seen as part of this process of adjustment, for they essentially involve a compromise between the types of relationship found in the traditional and the modern social systems.

Some other features of stratification models.

Finally, we may look at a few of the other features which are characteristic of respondents' class models. The first of these features is the number of classes used in constructing the models. Of the 210 complete models, 17% had two classes, 69% three classes, 11% four classes, and 3% five or six classes. It is therefore obvious that the three class model, consisting of an upper class, a middle class and a lower class, is the most popular; and, as will be shown below, this is consistent with the tendency among respondents to place themselves in the middle class, and to recognise classes both above and below them. In fact this is the kind of "status hierarchy" model which is also popular with those in middle class positions in industrialized societies.

780.
As studies in industrialized societies have indicated that the number of classes per model may vary with the socio-economic status of respondents, it was decided to examine whether there was any variation in this according to the socio-economic background of respondents in the present survey. As can be seen from Table 11.9 there does appear to be a slight tendency for Creoles...
TABLE 11.11: Number of classes by type of class model.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of classes</th>
<th>Type of class model</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occupation/</td>
<td>All other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>income/wealth</td>
<td>types</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>19 (13%)</td>
<td>17 (28%)</td>
<td>36 (17%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>108 (72%)</td>
<td>37 (61%)</td>
<td>145 (69%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four or more</td>
<td>22 (15%)</td>
<td>7 (11%)</td>
<td>29 (14%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>149 (100%)</td>
<td>61 (100%)</td>
<td>210 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 6.88; \text{ d.f.} = 2; \ 0.05 > p. > 0.02 \]

to have more classes per model than Provincials, only 11% of Creoles giving two class models, compared with 21% of Provincials; and 15% of Creoles giving models with four or more classes, compared with 11% of Provincials; but this variation is not statistically significant, and among both Creoles and Provincials the great majority of respondents gave three class models. Analysis of the number of classes in terms of fathers' levels of education and respondents' levels of income also showed no significant variations, though at first sight it appeared that those in the upper groups were less likely to offer two class models and more likely to offer four or more class models than those in the lower groups. It thus appears that the basically similar positions of all respondents, despite variations in their socio-economic backgrounds, predisposes them to offer rather similar class models, at least in terms of numbers of classes.

One significant variation was found, however, and that was
between the employed and the unemployed, as can be seen from Table 11.10. Unemployed respondents were particularly likely to offer two class models of society; and, as will be seen below, this was associated with a tendency to place themselves in the lower class. People who feel themselves to be in the middle of society, as did the majority of respondents in the present survey, need a model with at least one class above them and another class below; but those who place themselves right at the bottom may see those above themselves as a homogeneous social category.

Table 11.11 suggests that, though once again there is considerable overlap, economic models of stratification have, on average, a larger number of classes than other types of model. It seems that these are the most sophisticated type of class model, both in their recognition of income and wealth as basic criteria of social differentiation, and in the complexity of their internal differentiation, reflected in the number of classes which they contain. Models based on civilisation, on the other hand, have the lowest average number of classes, 38% being two class models, 46% three class models, and 16% four class models. It may be noted, however, that three class models are still the largest category, as they are in every type of model.

It is also necessary to examine in which of these classes the respondents placed themselves. As might be expected, the majority (64%) placed themselves in the middle class, while 12% placed themselves in the top class, and 21% in the bottom class. As Table 11.12 shows, almost half of those placing themselves in either
the highest or lowest classes had offered models with only two classes, and therefore did not have the middle class alternative.

In contrast, 74% of those with three class models and 90% of those with four, five or six class models placed themselves in the middle class. On the whole this reflects the objective position of respondents in their society; and the larger the number of classes recognised, the more likely they were to be aware of their intermediate position within the class hierarchy.

An attempt was also made to determine whether self-placement varied according to the socio-economic background of respondents. As can be seen from Table 7.13, Creoles were more likely to place themselves in the upper and middle class than provincials; while 28% of the latter placed themselves in the lowest class, compared with only 11% of the former. There also appeared to be
### TABLE 11.13: Tribe by class of self-placement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Top class</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Lower class</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincials</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significance: with "don't know" values excluded:

\[ X^2 = 9.6; \text{ d.f.} = 2; \text{ p.} < 0.01. \]

### TABLE 11.14: Basic salary per month by class of self-placement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Top class</th>
<th>Middle class</th>
<th>Lower class</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le40 and over</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le30 - Le39</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than Le30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 31.70; \text{ d.f.} = 6; \text{ p.} < 0.01. \]
a slight tendency for those with educated fathers to place themselves in higher classes than those with illiterate fathers; but in this case the variations did not appear to be statistically significant.¹

The variations in self-placement by basic levels of income are shown in Table 11.14. From this it appears that the tendency for self-placement in the middle class decreases directly with decreasing levels of income, falling from 79% of those earning Le 40 per month and over to 31% of the unemployed. Conversely, the proportion placing themselves in the lower class increases from only 9% of those earning Le 40 per month and over to 49% of the unemployed. More surprising, however, is the fact that there is also a slight tendency for those placing themselves in the upper class to increase with decreasing levels of income. This apparent anomaly is to be explained by the previously mentioned tendency for the unemployed and other low income individuals to offer two class models, particularly in terms of civilisation and tribe, and thus have to place themselves in either the top or bottom class. There also appeared to be a slight tendency for those stressing education in their class models to place themselves higher than those putting more emphasis on wealth and income.

It is also worth noting here that, though certain variations have been pointed out, most of the class models found in the

¹ Of those with illiterate fathers, 71% placed themselves in the upper and middle classes, compared with 80% of those with primary-educated fathers, and 86% of those with post-primary educated fathers. 

\[ x^2 = 5.3; \text{ d.f.} = 2; \quad 0.10 > p > 0.05. \]
present study showed considerable homogeneity. Not only are the main causal factors perceived to be similar in most models, but also the number of classes and the class of self-placement are the same in the majority of cases. Certain variations have been noted between the models of individuals with differing socio-economic characteristics, some of which were statistically significant; but again we may note that the majority of individuals in all groups appeared to hold similar views on the nature of social stratification in Sierra Leone. As a result of this homogeneity of class models, two conclusions suggest themselves: firstly, these class models are a well-recognised part of the collective consciousness of the sub-elite in Sierra Leone; and secondly, the sub-elite is a fairly homogeneous group, as indicated by the homogeneity of their models of class. It seems likely, then, that the class models are a fairly accurate reflection of the similar social positions of the individuals holding them. If respondents had been drawn from a wider social spectrum, it is probable that greater diversity in the class models would have been found.

It may also be noted that, though class awareness was widespread among respondents,\(^1\) they did not appear to be class conscious in the political sense — i.e. respondents did not see society as divided into politically conflicting groups based on socio-economic stratification, and they did not usually believe that radical changes in the class structure were either necessary

---

\(^1\) In fact "status awareness" might be a more appropriate term; but this is not the place for a debate on the terminology of stratification. As "class" was defined very loosely in Chapter 1 as the type of stratification found in Western industrialized societies, the term "class awareness" will fulfil the present needs.
or possible. Of the 119 respondents who were asked whether they thought the existing system of stratification was fair or not, 45.5% said that they thought that it was fair, 48.0% thought that it was unfair, while the remaining 6.5% either had mixed feelings, or admitted that they did not know. Whether believing the system fair or not, however, the majority of respondents thought that it was inevitable, explaining this in terms of the natural inequalities between men, the requirements of society, or the will of God. Typical comments were the following:

According to the native way of putting it, all fingers are not equal.
Class is fair because the upper class would not like to do their own laundry.
Class is neither fair nor unfair, because it is difficult for all to be equal. Who would do the farming if all were clerks?
If everyone was upper class, some jobs would be left undone, such as street sweeping.
The class system is fair, if that is the will of God. There is a saying: "Poverty is no disgrace".
Ultimately class is fair, for in the end everyone is equal before God.

Apart from beliefs in the inevitability of the existing system, the lack of political class consciousness may also be attributed to the position of respondents within the social structure, for they had already advanced a bit within the existing system, gaining some benefits for themselves relative to the less privileged sections of the community; and, what is perhaps more important, they had ambitions to advance still further in the fut-

---

1 There did not appear to be much variation in these responses between members of different socio-economic groups.

738.
ure. Rather than wishing to improve the position of their class as a whole through collective action aimed at changing the existing class structure, they seemed more interested in individual upward mobility within the present class structure, mainly through the medium of further education. Thus of 186 respondents who were asked to assess their own chances of social mobility, 62% said that they thought they had a good or very good chance of improving their position, 14% said that they were uncertain, and only 4% said that they did not think that they had a good chance of further social mobility.¹

The majority of respondents who hoped to move up the social ladder emphasised further education as their most likely means, but a smaller number also mentioned gaining promotion at work, making more money, and several other possible routes to social mobility. The 178 respondents who said that they had a good, very good, or uncertain opportunity of social mobility were asked what they thought their main means of mobility would be: 65% mentioned further education, 18.5% promotion, 16% more money, and 13.5% various other means, including marriage, luck, and the will of God. Thus these results support those of Chapters 2 and 4 which showed that most respondents were optimistic about their chances for future occupational and social mobility, and that they mainly hoped to achieve this through further education.

The present results also support the hypothesis put forward

¹ There did not appear to be any particular variation in these figures according to the tribe or occupation of the respondents; nor according to their type of class model, or the class in which they placed themselves.
in Chapters 3 and 4 that the relatively successful adjustment of respondents to their present occupational and social positions was due to their expectations of future upward mobility. Obviously this continuing faith in the possibility of individual social mobility is an important factor discouraging the growth of discontent among the sub-elite in Sierra Leone; and thus in preventing the rise of class consciousness of a political nature. Respondents were at least reconciled to the existing system, if not satisfied with it, partly because they believed it to be inevitable, and partly because they believed that it offers adequate opportunities for upward mobility, especially for themselves. If such beliefs in the possibilities for social mobility were disturbed, there might well be a rise of class consciousness of a political variety among the sub-elite in Sierra Leone.¹

Apart from their mobility aspirations, there were other indications that many respondents felt that their social positions were more or less anomalous or temporary. This is perhaps most obvious among those respondents who claimed that, though their financial standing made them lower class, by education or style of living, they really belonged to a higher class. Thus some respondents claimed that through help from their families - e.g. in the subsidising of their food and rent - they were able to maintain a middle or upper class style of life. More interesting here, however, are those cases in which respondents saw some

¹ This interpretation seems fairly similar to that offered by Lloyd (1973, pp. 122-123; 1974). Lloyd also points out that the high rewards received by those at the top of the system are felt to be justified because of their "struggle" and "suffering" during the course of their educational careers.
contradiction between their relatively high levels of education, and their poor financial status: as one female respondent noted, according to her salary she was only in the lower class, though she felt that she was intelligent [educated] enough to be in the upper class.

Some respondents attempted to resolve this contradiction by placing the richest and the most highly educated people in different classes. For example, one respondent offered a three class model, as follows:

(i) the rich, who hold high posts, get big cars, and snatch our girl friends; (ii) the intellectuals, who are ambitious and educated, such as graduate teachers, politicians, barristers, and doctors; and (iii) the street fellows, who are very vulgar, and usually do not work.

Others indicated that still being young men who had not completed their education, they had not yet found their permanent and rightful place in society; and they therefore placed themselves in a special class which allowed for the temporary nature of their status. This class was variously called the "school children's class", "the school leavers' class", "the young men's class", and "the youth's class", the implication of this class presumably being that membership of it was only temporary, until the respondents could be socially mobile into one of the higher, more established classes. The recognition of such a class must have been especially encouraged by the very rapid rise in the numbers of school leavers in recent years, as a result of the great expans-

---

1 Carter's study in England also indicated that a few young respondents placed themselves in a special "younger generation class" (Carter, 1969, p. 884).
ion of the educational system; and the fact that their positions are often rather ambiguous, especially when they are unable to find jobs which are considered suitable for their levels of education.  

The existence of a "youngmen's class" has already been illustrated in Model G; but we may close this section with two further models, which not only illustrate this point, but also some other unusual types of class. The first model not only has a school children's class, but also shows how bureaucratic occupations may be placed in separate classes from farmers:

Model H: with school children's class and bureaucratic segregation.

Mr H is an unemployed applicant at Kenema labour exchange. He previously held a temporary job as a sales assistant in a shoe shop, but left to go back to school. He hopes eventually to become a teacher. By tribe he is a Mende, and by religion a Christian, though both his parents are illiterate Muslim farmers.

He volunteered that society is divided by tribe, religion, and level of education. On being asked specifically about class, he gives a four class model, based mainly on occupation, with functional overtones. The upper class contains the most important people, such as chiefs, managers, principals, M.P.s, the Prime Minister, the Governor General, and officers in the army and police. They are responsible for making laws, looking after the welfare of the country, and maintaining peace. Next come the middle class, who work in government departments and occupy non-managerial posts in commerce. Thirdly, we have the lower class, consisting of the farmers who are responsible for feeding the community. And within this class are the village headman, who are responsible for the welfare of the village people. And finally, there is the school children's class.

He places himself in the school children's class as he is not yet working; but when he starts work he will be in the middle class. Later, after further education, he may join the upper class. His parents are in the lower or farmers' class, while most of his friends are in the school children's class like himself.

1 The evaluation of the position of school leavers is made especially difficult by the "devaluation of education", for those in
Two further points of interest may be noted about this model. Firstly, there is an implication that classes are functionally interdependent, each having a special duty to perform for society as a whole - e.g. to maintain law and order, to feed the community, to look after the welfare of the villagers, etc. - and such functional overtones were also found in some other models. They appeared to be more common than any implications of political conflict between classes. Secondly, Mr H displayed a strong mobility orientation, hoping to move first from the school children class to the middle class, and then from the middle class to the upper class, through further education. These characteristics are typical of most respondents' class models: rather than being seen as political conflict groups, classes were believed to be functionally inter-dependent status categories, between which mobility was relatively easy for the deserving, among whom the respondents classified themselves.

Finally, let us look at a model which has an "unemployed or school leavers class" and a "thieves class", this latter class being similar to the "vagabonds' class" or "street fellows' class" found in some other models. It is also an example of a model which applies mainly to the educated and urban section of the population, which explains the difficulty of the respondent in classifying his illiterate, rural parents. This again illustrates the fact that many respondents believed that the class system was developing mainly in the modern sector of society.

the older generation might easily have obtained good jobs with a similar level of education. Educated people of the respondents' generation, however, may find it more difficult to find themselves a suitable position; and this is reflected in the creation of a special class for them.
Model I: with unemployed or school leavers class and thieves class.

Mr I is a library assistant in Bo town. His father, a Mende, Muslim petty trader also lives in Bo. His father has never been to school, but his mother reached Star. Mr I's ambition is to become a lawyer, and eventually enter politics.

He first mentions tribe, but spontaneously goes on to the "English pattern" of stratification by class. He gives a five class model consisting of upper, middle and lower classes, but adds two extra classes for people who are not fully integrated into the system. The top class or aristocrats are those who have the means to live luxurious lives, such as permanent secretaries, the establishment secretary, doctors and lawyers. The middle class is made up of executive officers and chief clerks; while the third class consists of lower grade civil servants, e.g. grade II and III clerks, labourers, etc. His fourth class is the unemployed class or school leavers' class, members of which are either seeking employment, or have learnt jobs and lost them. Because of their large numbers they must be treated as a separate class, and they are found in every village. The last class is made up of thieves, who roam the streets at night, but who you cannot identify in daylight.

To reach the top class is a matter of education. People lower down aspire to climb up, but there are many difficulties. Only thieves cannot move up, however, for they would rather have free lodgings in jail. The class system is natural and fair, for God did not make everyone equal - if everyone were equal, who would do the lower work? And all aspire to join a higher class. The class system used to be connected with tribes, the Creoles feeling themselves to be aristocrats, but this has been challenged of late, which has led to the present wave of tribalism. Class is more important than tribe, for people get respect for being in the top class; and people will look at anyone in the top class who has a car to try to identify him.

He places himself in the lower [third] class; and also says that his parents are average, though he does not think they can really be classified according to this scheme, for they have not been to school. Most of his friends are in the class above him, but some of his friends are in the same class; and he also pretends to be friends with some people lower down on the scale, so as to protect himself against thieving. His girl friend is in the lower class like himself, but her eventual position will depend on that of her husband. Teachers may be either in the second or third classes, and farmers in the third or fourth class, depending on salary and output respectively. Though an illiterate diamond dealer would be lost in the face of
education, he can still be in the top class. Paramount chiefs, if educated, may be in the top class, but otherwise they will be in the lower class, especially if they are without money. His grandfather was an aristocrat through politics, though later he came down; and he himself hopes to reach the upper class, either through education or politics.

The identification of classes of thieves and vagabonds may have a similar significance to the evaluation of individuals and classes in terms of personal morality, which is sometimes found in class images in industrialized societies.

Summary and conclusions.

Five main conclusions may be drawn from the data presented in this chapter. Firstly, there is a high degree of class or status awareness among the sub-elite in Sierra Leone. That class was a meaningful concept to the respondents was demonstrated by the facts that: (a) about a third of respondents volunteered class models of society; (b) nearly all respondents could talk meaningfully about the class structure of their own society when specifically asked about it; and (c) there was a fair amount of standardization in the terminology and actual content of their class models. In addition, most respondents believed that stratification in terms of class was important for the society, and for the individuals who make it up: for example, about two thirds of respondents believed that differentiation in terms of class was more important than in terms of tribe, compared with only about a quarter who held the contrary view. In particular, it was believed that a person's class position determines the material and other rewards he receives from society; and also influences both his
behaviour and the behaviour of others towards him.

These results do suggest a higher degree of class awareness than has been found in previous studies of the topic in Africa, such as those by Clement (1956), Lloyd (1973, pp. 122-3), and Hahlo (1968). This may result from the concentration of the present study on the sub-elite, confirming the suggestion in the introductory chapter that class awareness is particularly likely to develop among them. As an intermediate stratum, with strong mobility orientations, but facing a considerable "threshold" between themselves and the upper strata, they may be particularly aware of the division of society into socio-economic strata; and this awareness may be heightened by their education and contact with Western ideas.

It is not possible from the present results to predict the extent or nature of class awareness among other strata in Sierra Leone; and there is certainly no reason to assume that it will coincide with that found among the sub-elite. Studies in industrialized societies have suggested that class awareness varies between different socio-economic strata; and such variations are likely to be even more marked in a developing society such as Sierra Leone, where a new status system is only in the process of emerging.

An attempt was made to discover whether there were any significant variations in the class awareness of respondents of differing socio-economic backgrounds, as a possible indication of such variations in the wider society, or even of the likely

796.
trend in class awareness in the future. There did appear to be some tendency for those of higher status, as measured by their tribal affiliation, their fathers' levels of education, and their own levels of income, to have a higher degree of class awareness than those of lower status: for example, compared with the latter, the former were more likely to volunteer class models, and they offered more sophisticated and "purer" models of class, in terms of basic criteria of stratification, numbers of classes, and abstraction from other forms of social differentiation, such as tribe; but these variations were not always consistent or significant. On the whole it was the homogeneity of the class models of the respondents which was remarkable, reflecting as it does their similar structural positions within society. A study of class awareness in a wider cross-section of the community would be of interest, for it would probably show that in Sierra Leone, as in industrialized societies, perceptions of the nature of society vary quite widely between individuals in different structural positions in that society.

The second major conclusion of this chapter concerns the nature of the class models held by respondents: the majority of class models — at least 70% — are solidly based on economic criteria, such as occupation, income and wealth; and thus they are quite similar in nature to the class models found in industrialized societies. In particular, it was noted that in Sierra Leone the bureaucratic hierarchy is a pervasive feature of the modern social structure; and this fact was recognised in many of the models, particularly insofar as they were based on the bureaucratic
ranking of occupations, and sometimes confined themselves to the modern sector of society, where the new system of stratification was believed to be first emerging. Education was also seen to be a primary factor of stratification by some respondents; but the majority believed that its most important role lay in allocating individuals within the occupational structure, and in such cases it was a secondary factor of stratification in models which were essentially based on economic differentiation.

Thirdly, however, the models also contained some aspects which are less familiar in class models in industrialized societies, namely stratification in terms of tribal affiliation and levels of civilization. Although these were the primary factors of stratification in only a small number of models, mainly offered by less sophisticated respondents, they appeared as secondary aspects in many others. In particular, the difference between Creoles and provincials has been an important factor in the development of stratification in Sierra Leone; and it may be one of the main factors accounting for the high degree of class awareness in Sierra Leone, for such ethnic stratification provides a proto-type model of stratification on which class models can be based. In fact, it appears that particularly in the past, tribal identity was seen as such an important index of social status that the socially mobile provincial would find it necessary to "turn Creole" to confirm his rise in status in the eyes of the community. This appears to be no longer necessary, however, and it seems that generally both tribal and religious identity are of declining significance as factors in status evaluation, this decline allowing occupation, in-
come and wealth to be recognised as the most significant factors in social stratification. As shown in Chapter 2, however, there are still some objective differences in the socio-economic positions of the various tribes in Sierra Leone, and particularly between Creoles and provincials; and such ethnic stratification was recognised in the class models offered by the respondents.

"Civilization" was also seen as an important aspect of stratification in a number of models: sometimes this was seen in terms of the upper strata being more Westernized or sophisticated than those lower down; but more often it was just suggested that members of the upper strata had a higher standard of conduct, while those lower down indulged in excessive drinking, rowdyism, fighting and stealing. Sometimes special classes of "thieves, vagabonds or street fellows" were identified. Such evaluation of individuals in terms of their standard of behaviour is probably equivalent to the moralistic overtones found in some models of stratification offered in industrial societies; but it is particularly pronounced because of the association of good behaviour with the "civilization" introduced by Western education.

Fourthly, the stratification models often suggested that there was a relationship between stratification and patterns of primary relationships, for the various classes were seen to be socially exclusive in such relationships. In particular, it was believed that members of the upper strata preferred to keep company with others of similar status, while members of the lower strata would be too shy, embarrassed, or even afraid to mix with others of higher status. Such separation of the classes would
be encouraged by differences in their spending powers, lack of common interests, and the fear among members of the upper groups that they would lose status if they associated too freely with those from the lower classes. This social separation of classes is supported by the analysis presented in Chapter 9 of the objective characteristics of respondents' best friends; and also by their expressed attitudes on interaction with members of other socio-economic groups. Thus in both objective and subjective aspects, the relationship between non-kinship primary relationships and social stratification in Sierra Leone appears rather similar to that found in industrialized societies.

The beliefs that educated people are more "social" were also noted; and were associated with the change from the particularistically-based relationships of the traditional village situation to the achieved, universalistic relationships of the modern urban environment. It was suggested that the "spiralist" everywhere, because of his geographical and social mobility, has to develop skills in being social with strangers; but that in West Africa this is especially highly evaluated as an integral part of the "civilized" way of life.

Finally, we may note that, although class awareness appears to be widespread, there seems to be relatively little development of class consciousness of a political nature. Most respondents saw stratification in Sierra Leone as an economically-based status hierarchy, made up of categories which were sometimes seen as functionally interdependent, and between which mobility was believed to be relatively easy. Thus they did not see society in terms of Osow-
ski's alternative model, in which the constituent groups are related to each other mainly through conflict (Ossowski, 1963). On the whole, respondents accepted the existing system as inevitable, though not necessarily fair; and they expected to be able to improve their own socio-economic positions by working within it rather than by overthrowing it by revolutionary means. Apart from rich illiterates, whose position was sometimes resented, respondents felt that most of those in top positions in society deserved their high level of rewards, for they had reached the top through "struggle" and "suffering" in the educational system; and the respondents had ambitions to follow their examples. Thus the evidence in this chapter appears to support that presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 which suggested that the lack of discontent among secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone may be attributed to their strong beliefs that in the future they will find it possible to be socially mobile to higher, better rewarded positions in society. The respondents' beliefs in the possibilities for social mobility and their class models are interdependent parts of their perceptions of society; and, as was seen in Chapters 2 and 4, they are supported by real possibilities for such mobility within Sierra Leonean society. They suggest that the structure of the society is fair insofar as it offers adequate opportunities for social mobility; and this precludes the emergence of class consciousness of a political variety, advocating the necessity of the overthrow of the present socio-economic system by violent means in order to achieve a just society. But, as was seen in Chapter 2, equality of opportunity by no means exists in Sierra Leone; and it seems likely that in the future
there may well be a decrease in opportunities for social mobility into the elite. If this should happen, and if the fact is recognised by members of the sub-elite, there might be a rising tide of discontent among them, and hence the emergence of a more radical kind of class consciousness.
PART 7

CONCLUSIONS
CHAPTER 12: Conclusions: classes in Africa.

In the first chapter it was stated that this thesis has two main aims: firstly, to examine the socio-economic position of secondary school leavers in Sierra Leone; and secondly, to assess the extent to which it is legitimate to talk of the existence of classes in Africa. As information on the socio-economic position of secondary school leavers has been summarised in the conclusions of each chapter, we may confine ourselves here to the task of bringing together the evidence relevant to the debate on the existence of classes in Africa. For the purposes of the present study, social class was defined very loosely in the first chapter as the type of stratification system found in industrialized societies (particularly of the Western type), and six main ways in which stratification systems in African societies appear to differ from those in industrialized societies were outlined. We may now look again at each of these objections to the use of class terminology in the African situation; and in the light of additional evidence, both from the present study and from other sources, reassess the extent to which they actually represent radical differences between the stratification systems of African societies and industrialized societies, for it is on these differences that the objections to the use of class terminology appear to rest. Of course the data in the present thesis can provide evidence on only some of these issues, particularly in the areas of social mobility, primary relationships, 

1 It was defined in this way because it appeared that most of the objections to the use of class terminology in Africa were based on implicit comparisons with the stratification systems in industrialized societies, and the identification of areas of difference between the two situations.
and class awareness, and even in these areas it is of necessity of a relatively restricted nature; but in most cases it has been possible to supplement these primary data with additional data from a number of other sources.

1. Economic differentiation.

It must first be admitted that, as pointed out in Chapter 1, only a small proportion of the population in West Africa has as yet been incorporated into the modern sector of the economy - i.e. the sector in which class formation can be assumed to be most marked. But as Plotnicov points out, class formation must start somewhere, for a class system cannot just crystallise as a ready-made entity. Thus Plotnicov suggests that the elite may emerge as a class before the rest of society is stratified in class terms - i.e. a single class can exist without the whole society necessarily constituting a class system (Tuden and Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 18-19; Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 298-300). 1 Following the logic of this argument, it seems probable that other classes will emerge through interaction with, and probably exclusion from, this new elite. If it is possible and useful to think of a class or classes existing in a society without a class system, it would presumably also be justified to suggest that some parts of society may be organised in class terms while other parts remain outside the class system. In particular, it is being suggested that though it is not usually possible to apply class concepts to an African society as a whole, such concepts may be relevant to at least part of the population.

1 A similar point of view, though in a different context, is taken by E.E. Bergell (1962, p. 15).
for example workers in modern occupations, particularly in the urban areas. And of course, such workers are an ever-increasing proportion of the population.¹

Certainly occupations in the modern sector of the economy are ranked in such a way as to encourage the development of classes. For example, as shown in Chapter 1, there are high pay differentials in the bureaucratic sector in Sierra Leone, and a similar situation is found in Ghana: thus in Ghana in 1974, a principal secretary started on around 6,000 cedis per year, a university lecturer on 3,400, a graduate teacher on 1,800, a Certificate-A teacher on about 800, a pupil teacher, clerk or police constable on between 400 and 500, and the unskilled labourer on under 300 cedis per year; while outside the bureaucratic sector differences may be even greater between some of the rich businessmen, contractors and professional men, and the annual farm labourer, who may receive as little as 30 cedis per year plus his keep.² Income tax does little to reduce the scale of inequality; and hence these differential pay scales provide a substantial basis for the development of strata with very different standards of living or life styles. As shown in Chapters 3, 4 and 11 of this thesis, such differences are reflected in the ranking of these occupations by members of the population themselves, with occupations such as the professions and senior civil service being given a consistent-

¹ Of course, from another point of view, the "peasants" can also be seen to constitute a class or a number of classes; but as the present study is mainly interested in a comparison of classes in Africa with those in industrialized societies, this interpretation has not been followed.

² The Rate of exchange was between 2.5 and 3 to the pound.
ly high rank, clerical workers and teachers an intermediate rank, and unskilled workers a low rank; and this may be supported by the results of previous studies of occupational evaluation in Africa, such as those of Mitchell and Epstein (1959), Foster (1965), and Peil (1972).¹

It has sometimes been argued that the extent of beliefs in the possibilities for social mobility, as indicated by the high occupational aspirations of African school children, irrespective of their socio-economic backgrounds, is much greater than would be expected in a classical class system, such as that found in Britain, in which aspirations are normally related to socio-economic background. It may be noted, however, that the present study indicates that the actual processes of occupational selection and adaptation in Africa may not be too dissimilar to those found in industrialized societies. Though most respondents had high occupational aspirations, particularly while at school, they usually had to be satisfied with lower status jobs, and on the whole it appears that they were able to make a satisfactory adjustment to such jobs, as indicated by their relatively high levels of occupational satisfaction. In addition, it appears that the system appears to work in a rather similar way to those of industrialized societies, insofar as there was some tendency for those from more privileged backgrounds to have a better chance of obtaining the most desirable jobs than those of lower status backgrounds.

Sterling. For another discussion of the ranking of occupations, and salary differentials in Sierra Leone, see above, pp. 12-15.¹

¹ But for rather different ranking of occupations, see Butcher (1964), Gamble (1966), and B. Lloyd (1966, p. 172).
It may be noted, however, that as well as having high aspirations while still at school, irrespective of their social backgrounds, many respondents retained such aspirations even after entering employment at a much lower level; and this persistence of beliefs in opportunities for educational, occupational and social mobility is probably on a much greater scale than would normally be expected in an industrialized society. This difference may be attributed to a number of causes. Firstly, it should be recognised that the secondary school leavers who formed the sample in the present study, and to an even greater extent the secondary school pupils who have formed the respondents in previous studies, are far from representative of the total population of young people in West Africa — on the contrary, they are already highly select, in educational terms at least. Although they may be drawn from diverse social backgrounds, and although many of them may later be thwarted in their educational and occupational ambitions, they are all at least on the margins of the educational elite from which the occupational and social elite will be drawn. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that they should aim for the highest positions in society; and, especially while they remain in school, their optimism seems reasonably justified.\(^1\) Even if they are forced to leave school, they may blame this on lack of adequate financial resources, rather than lack of academic ability; and thus preserve the belief that if they were able to find a source of financial backing, they would still be able to achieve further social mobility through education.

\(^1\) It goes without saying that the occupational aspirations of illiterates or primary school leavers would in most cases be very different from those who had completed secondary school.
Secondly, the persistence of beliefs in the openness of society is encouraged by real opportunities for such mobility, as shown in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Many of those in high status positions in West Africa have been drawn from humble backgrounds; and even after they have entered employment many young Africans still have opportunities for further social mobility by rejoining the educational escalator, as indicated by the many students at institutions of further education who have previously been in full-time employment.

Finally, it appears that the persistence of beliefs in the existence of opportunities for social mobility is encouraged by the very high levels of differentials in the rewards offered to individuals at different levels in the socio-economic system; and thus the great improvement which may be made in their positions by individuals who are successful in achieving occupational and social mobility. In industrialized societies the differentials in pay scales between various grades of workers tend to be much lower than in Africa; and hence low and intermediate level workers in the former societies are less motivated to achieve social mobility than are their counterparts in Africa. Thus there appear to be differences between industrialized societies and African societies in their actual structures and in the opportunities which these offer for social mobility, as well as in beliefs about the opportunities which they offer for social mobility.

---

1 For a discussion of this from the point of view of economics, see Chenery, Dulroy, et. al. (1974).

2 Of course to establish these points would require a much larger study on a comparative basis than is possible here. It would also involve many difficulties (See, e.g. Miller, 1960; Fox and Miller, 1967).
It may be noted, however, that as Foster himself points out, beliefs in the openness of the social structure, and the lack of connection between aspirations and socio-economic background, have some parallels with the system of social stratification found in the United States, if not with the British system; and surely America offers a prime example of a class system (Foster, 1965, pp. 301-302)?

2. Social mobility.

As indicated above, it appears that rates of mobility, particularly into the elite, are much higher than would normally be expected in a class system. Thus in the present study it was seen that 46% of all respondents in a sample of the younger members of the sub-elite in Sierra Leone (and 53% of the male respondents) had illiterate fathers; while Lloyd, in a study of the university-educated elite in Ibadan, showed that two fifths of them had illiterate fathers and two thirds had illiterate mothers (Lloyd, 1967a, p.135). Other studies of the socio-economic backgrounds of students in universities and secondary schools in West Africa - i.e. potential members of the elite - also indicate that many of them have been socially mobile from relatively humble homes.¹

On first sight the high rate of mobility may seem a rather odd objection to the use of class terminology in Africa, for the filling of roles through achievement rather than ascription, with the implication of a rather high rate of occupational mobility between generations, is often part of the definition of a class system,

1 See, for example, Jahoda (1954), Peil (1965), Foster (1965), and Clignet and Foster (1966).
especially when, as in the present study, it is seen primarily as the form of stratification most typical of industrialized societies with capitalistic modes of production. It was noted in Chapter 1, however, that rates of mobility in industrialized societies tend in fact to be of an intermediate level; and if they are very high they tend to upset some of the other assumptions about the nature of a class system, such as the containment of primary relationships within the same social class, and the development of class awareness.

As noted in Chapter 2, however, it would be quite wrong to create the impression that rates of mobility are generally high in African societies, and that this indicates that they have much more open social structures than are found in industrialized societies.

Four main factors may be mentioned here which should dispel such an impression. Firstly, although as just shown, rates of mobility into the elite in African societies are very high, there is also considerable social selectivity, with the children of elite and sub-elite parents having considerable advantages over lower status children in gaining the qualifications for obtaining higher status roles. Thus in the present study it was found that 54% of the fathers of sub-elite members in Sierra Leone had attended school, while Harrell-Bond found that 79% of the fathers of elite members had attended school, although only 6% of the total male population aged over 35 years had been to school (Harrell-Bond, 1972, p. 84). Similarly, Hurd and Johnson show that although only 7% of the male working population in Ghana were in high status occupations, such as professional, administrative, higher technical, and clerical work, 46% of the students at the University of Ghana (Legon)
had fathers in such occupations; and only 38% of the fathers were farmers, compared with 63% of the working population. The most underprivileged group of children, however, appeared to be the offspring of unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers (Hurd and Johnson, 1967, pp. 69-77; see also Foster, 1965, pp. 240-243). Thus despite the apparently high rate of mobility into the elite and sub-elite, there also appear to be considerable variations in opportunities for obtaining higher education between individuals from differing socio-economic backgrounds; and in this the situation in West Africa appears to be similar to that existing in most industrialized societies.

Secondly, it may be noted that, although rates of mobility into the upper socio-economic strata may appear high, this is only one of the many ways of measuring social mobility in a society; and examination of other measures of mobility in West Africa suggests that in general, the overall rates of mobility are rather low. Because of the small size of the elite in most African societies, the movement of a relatively small number of individuals might create a high rate of mobility into the elite, though representing only a very low rate of out-mobility from the masses. This may be illustrated from a hypothetical society in which 10% of the population constitutes an elite, and the other 90% the masses: if in this society 5% of the total population were to be socially mobile from the masses into the elite, this would represent a mobility rate of 50% (5/10) into the elite, but only about 5.6% (5/90) out of the masses. Thus although the rates of mobility into the elites in West African societies may look high, it cannot be said that
their overall rates of mobility are high; and, in particular, the opportunities for those from the lower socio-economic strata to be upwardly mobile are rather restricted, if only because there are so few higher status roles into which they can move (see Foster, 1965, especially pp. 248 and 258).

Thirdly, it may be noted that most of the mobility into the elite is due to rather special circumstances: it is what is usually called "forced mobility", resulting from the expansion of elite roles (e.g. in the above hypothetical model, from 10% to 15% of all positions in society) which allows children from non-elite homes to be drawn into the elite, without necessarily displacing the children of elite parents. In other words, there is room in the expanding elite not only for most children from elite homes, but also for a proportion of those from humbler backgrounds. The "forced" nature of this mobility explains why, despite the relatively high rate of mobility into the elite, the rate of downward mobility out of the elite appears to be quite low. In fact, as Fox and Miller suggest, the rate of downward mobility is the best indication of "exchange or balanced mobility", and it is this type of mobility rather than forced mobility which characterises a really open kind of social structure. Hence the low rates of downward mobility in most African societies suggest that most mobility within them is of a forced rather than an exchange variety; and it does not indicate, therefore, that their social structures are of an intrinsically open nature (Fox and Miller, 1967, p. 575).
Finally, it seems likely that rates of mobility in West African societies, and especially those into the elite, will decline even further in the future. If, as suggested above, the high rate of mobility into the elite depends on rather special circumstances, particularly the small size and rapid rate of expansion of the elite, then it seems likely to decrease if these circumstances disappear, as they surely must in the future. In other words, the real test for the openness of the social structure will come when the expansion of the elite slows up - it will then be seen if the children of the elite will be forced down in "exchange mobility", as children from the lower strata continue to rise up into the elite, or whether the elite will be able to monopolise upper status positions for their own children, thus restricting opportunities for upward mobility for those from below. Unless there are drastic political changes in West African societies, it seems that the latter will be the most likely alternative, for it seems likely that under the existing political systems, elite members will continue to be able to secure the positions of their children, and by preventing their downward mobility they will restrict opportunities for those from below to rise up through exchange mobility. Some writers suggest that there are already decreasing opportunities for lower status children to reach the most coveted positions, due to decreasing rates of expansion of the elite and increasing inequalities in the educational systems (Hurd}
and Johnson, 1967, pp. 77-79; Lloyd, 1966, p. 57). The evidence from a study conducted by the present author on the changing characteristics of university students in Ghana also suggests that those from lower status homes may have decreasing opportunities relative to those from more privileged backgrounds of reaching the highest educational and hence occupational positions in society (Sinclair, 1975). Thus the conclusions of this section are that overall rates of social mobility in West African societies are in general already lower, and thus more similar to those in industrialized societies, than is often assumed; and, other things being equal, they are likely to decrease even further in the future, thus leading to the more rapid crystallisation of social classes.

3. Cultural differentiation.

The present study has offered little evidence on the extent of cultural differentiation between different socio-economic strata in Sierra Leone; but some comments may be made here on the evidence available on this topic from other sources. It must be admitted immediately that in many contemporary African societies there do exist more than one set of cultural values – particularly a traditional and a Western set – and that these may be at least partially in conflict. This complicates the emergence of a class system based on differential adherence to a more or less commonly accepted set of cultural values. It may be noted, however, that there is a common tendency for Western culture to be more highly valued than indigenous culture, and even for distinctions in levels of civilization.

For an explanation of this, see Chapter 1, especially pp. 20-1.
ation to become important elements in the emergent systems of social stratification. Thus both Mitchell and Schwab point out how in Central Africa, "European" occupations, material goods and patterns of behaviour can confer prestige because of their association with the dominant stratum — indeed Schwab writes: "To my knowledge, there is no symbol that is African in origin that confers prestige in Gwelo" (Southern Rhodesia)\(^1\) — and Little and Fraenkel, writing of Sierra Leone and Liberia respectively, suggest that social status tends to be measured in terms of levels of "Western civilisation" (Mitchell, 1956; Mitchell, 1970, pp. 327-333; Schwab, 1961, pp. 139-141; Little, 1951, pp. 254-272; Fraenkal, 1964, pp. 196-229). It was shown in Chapter 11 of the present study that the distinction between "civilised" and "non-civilised" was an important part of the perceptions of social stratification among many of the respondents, though it was usually considered as a less important factor than economic differentiation; but it may be a more central part of their perceptions of stratification among the less sophisticated sections of the population. In French West Africa, where explicit policies of assimilation have been pursued, the classification of Africans into Evolues and Non-Evolues has had particularly important status implications. According to Hellman, a similar situation appears to be emerging in the urban areas of South Africa. As she writes:

---

\(^1\) Schwab continues: "This is coupled with an almost indiscriminate acceptance of all accessible European symbols by all groups of Africans" (Schwab, 1961, p. 141). Of course such indiscriminate acceptance of all aspects of European life may be a stage of development; and it is possible that at a later stage there may be a re-emergence of African consciousness, and a sense of cultural pride in what is seen to be the African cultural heritage.
"A stratification on the lines of class is emerging. And different ways of life are associated with different classes. The African middle class is approximating ever more nearly to Western standards in respect of dress, food habits and etiquette, housing and interior furnishings, entertainment, education" (Hallman, 1956, p. 740).

Mitchell and Schwab especially have suggested by adapting Western culture, Africans are deliberately trying to gain status by identifying with the European elite; but other writers disagree. They argue that Western culture is not valued mainly because it is European, but because a Western pattern of living is more convenient and comfortable for Africans as well as Europeans, or because an outwardly Westernised African may have some advantages in dealing with the European elite — he can tackle them on their own terms.¹ This suggests that the process of enculturation may be selective rather than total (Goldthorpe, 1961, pp. 156-157; Jones, 1962, p. 40; Banton, 1957, pp. 217-221).

It may be noted that those societies in which enculturation pressures appear to be strongest are those in which there is a sizeable and dominant non-indigenous elite — e.g. Europeans in Central and Southern Africa, and French West Africa, Creoles in Sierra Leone, and Americo-Liberians in Liberia. The fact that an elite with an alien culture controls the commanding heights of the social, economic and political systems encourages rapid enculturation — in this case Westernisation — among ambitious members of the indigenous population.² In other colonial situations, how-

¹ It may of course also give him some advantage in dealing with other members of his own race.
² It may be noted, however, that even in the most extreme of these situations — that of South Africa — not all members of the community will be equally willing or able to be enculturated. The
ever, such as Ghana, Nigeria and possibly Uganda, the alien elite played a less dominant role, and in this case the pressures on Africans to Westernise were less acute (Goldthorpe, 1961, p.157; Fallers, 1965, pp. 42-44). It is particularly in such societies that traditional and Western values survive as competing and contrasting status systems. Even in these cases, however, ultimate recognition may be given to the Western system. Thus Goldthorpe suggests that although there is often a division between the Western-orientated, educated elite and the more traditional business elite, this gap may disappear in the next generation, as both groups strive to give their children the best education, often at the same schools (Goldthorpe, 1961, p. 153). And similarly, it seems that the wealthy cocoa farmer in Ghana, rather than encouraging his son to follow him in farming, may try to send him to school and university so that he can seek a high status job in the modern sector of the economy (Fortes, Steel and Ady, 1947, p. 165; Foster, 1965, pp. 153-155; Hurd and Johnson, 1967, pp. 71-3). This suggests that in the final analysis, "Western" occupations and values are most highly regarded.

Certainly Western material goods are highly valued by all sections of the population. Though there may be some differences of emphasis, as when members of the educated elite may compete for status by wearing suit, collar and tie, while rich illiterates may prefer native dress of the highest quality, most people — whether elite or non-elite, traditionalist or Westernised — agree on the classical example in the anthropological literature on Africa of a group who refused to be Westernised are perhaps the "Red people" among the Xhosa of South Africa. See Mayer (1961).
desirability of owning luxurious houses, household furnishings, domestic equipment, cars, etc. For example, Mitchell describes a prosperous Central African "witchdoctor", who, apart from his profession, is thoroughly Westernised. He not only lives in a house comfortably furnished in Western style, and regularly eats European foodstuffs, but he also conducts his business along Western lines - he goes to work in a suit, dons a white coat when he gets there, and has his "surgery" equipped with typewriter, filing cabinet and the other paraphernalia of a modern office. Despite first reactions, there appears little contradiction between the practice of a traditional occupation and the appreciation of Western conveniences and status symbols (Mitchell, 1960).

Constraints on the adoption of Western material culture are usually financial rather than ideological; and hence we find a greater diffusion of such material culture among the elite - both traditional and modern - than among the non-elite. As already indicated, there is a very wide range of incomes in most West African societies, and this allows the development of very marked stratification in terms of standards of living, and particularly in the possession of material goods. Allowing for the materialistic nature of many West Africans, there would be a case for arguing that we can distinguish as the elite those people who can afford air-conditioned houses, Mercedes-Benz cars and imported Scotch Whisky - and this can include individuals who adhere to either traditional or modern values.

As Fallers points out, differences between socio-economic strata in the possession of material goods may lead to further
differences between them in non-material culture connected with these goods, as, for example, possession of a car usually leads to a knowledge of driving (Quoted in Goldthorpe, 1961, p. 150). The close inter-relationship of income, material culture, non-material culture and patterns of social relationships was well illustrated by the passage from Nigerian novelist, Achebe, quoted above (p. 38). Some of the same points are brought out by a quotation from Little on the West African elite:

"... the top ranks of the political and social hierarchy ... may include men who are important in either local or national politics or who hold considerable posts in the mercantile firms; the senior civil service; and the headmasters of local secondary schools, as well as the professional classes ....... Male and female members of the elite meet regularly at public functions and clubs and visit each others' homes occasionally for cocktails or dinner. To the extent to which they observe a common way of life and share a common set of business, professional and other interests, this group constitutes a separate social class and even a community on its own" (Little, 1959, p. 10).

A similar situation is also reported by Southall for Uganda, but in this case there is an added tribal dimension:

"During the present century the landed class of Ganda have developed a distinctive civilized way of life of their own. They live in large houses of many rooms, constructed in permanent materials. They own cars. They dress in public in the best modern European clothes. They send their children to expensive boarding schools. They drink European liquors. This way of life tends to constitute a social barrier between them and those who cannot afford it, and there are extremely few Africans of other tribes in Kampala who can do so." (Southall, 1956, p. 577).

It may be noted that when compared with material culture, there is less uniformity of non-material culture between the traditional and intellectual elites. For the latter, the know-
ledge and experience which they obtained in educational institutions form a crucial part of their development, which separates them from others in their societies; and the knowledge and interest of the globe-trotting "been-to" in such questions as world travel and international politics are probably equally alien to members of the traditionalist elite and their lower status countrymen. Such differentiation of the elite in terms of non-material culture, however, is certainly not unknown in Western societies. And, on the whole, it appears that the differentiation between the elite — particularly the educated elite — and the non-elite in terms of both material and non-material culture is not too dissimilar to that found in industrialized societies.

4. Social separation.

The present thesis makes a more direct contribution to the assessment of the extent to which there is social separation between strata in African societies in terms of primary relationships of both kinship and non-kinship varieties. We may look at the latter first. It was shown in Chapter 9 that members of the sub-elite in Sierra Leone usually draw their best friends from among others of a very similar socio-economic status: Thus nine tenths of the best friends of respondents had also attended secondary school, usually to about the same form; and they were also often found in similar occupations. This was attributed partly to the "socio-ecology" of the system, which often tends to promote the most frequent interaction between individuals of similar socio-economic status — for example, because of the social homogeneity of many of the institutions, such as voluntary associations, rel-

820.
igious organisations and even occupational structures, in which they participate. Such socio-economic homogeneity in friendships was also a result of deliberate choices, however, for many respondents expressed strong preferences for associating mainly with friends of a similar social level; and a sense of classes tending to be exclusive in primary relationships was also included in a number of the class models.

These results on the relationship between friendship patterns and social status appear to support the findings of previous studies. Thus in a study of the Ibadan elite, Lloyd found that "the close friends of the elite are, almost without exception, persons of similar age, occupation, education and income - in other words - co-members of our defined elite"; while Schwab reports of a sample of mainly unskilled workers in Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, that "64% of the people have closest friends in the same occupational category while virtually all closest friends have had the same education" (Lloyd, 1967a, p. 146; Schwab, 1961, p. 138). Clement also found similar results in the Stanleyville social survey (Clement, 1956, pp. 440-442, 452-453, 468-469).

More interesting than such results of social surveys, however, are a number of case studies, based on more anthropological techniques, which show how social segregation in friendship networks may actually emerge. Jacobson lucidly examines the dynamics of this process in Mbale, a medium-sized town in Uganda (Jacobson, 1968, 1970). Previous writers on Uganda had talked of the separation between the elite and non-elite: for example, Goldthorpe noted "a liking for the company of other educated Africans" among
a sample of ex-students from Makerere College (Goldthorpe, 1955, p. 42); and Fallers writes that among the Civil Service Chiefs there was a "tendency ....... to see themselves as a solidary group and to form cliques for the purpose of sociability" (Fallers, 1965, p. 245). Southall suggests that the wealth and luxurious life of the Ganda elite forms a social barrier between them and other, less well-off Africans (Southall, 1956, p. 557). Jacobson paints an interesting picture of the process of social stratification in Uganda, with particular reference to senior bureaucrats. He isolates two main factors in this process, which he refers to as situational and social respectively. Situational factors are those in the external environment which tend to throw elite members together, while at the same time separating them from the non-elite - or what have been called "socio-ecological factors" in the present thesis. Particularly important in this respect are the close contacts forced on elite members in educational and occupational institutions, which give them the opportunity to strike up close friendships. But of course there is also an element of choice in this - in writing of social factors, Jacobson is referring to this area of choice open to individuals in the selection of their friends, and in particular he is interested in how such choice is guided by the social values of the people concerned. Apparently the elite have a preference for friendships with social equals. As Jacobson writes:

"Within the range of possible social contacts mediated by situational factors, friendship choices are based on social factors consistent with the elite's ideology of friendship with social equals. The division between the elite and the non-elite is manifest in the lack of friendship ties
between them. No elite man chose, either verbally or in interaction, a non-elite person as a friend" (Jacobson, 1968, p. 130).

The motivation behind such limitation on interaction is interestingly manifest in drinking behaviour, drinking being an important leisure time activity among elite males. According to Jacobson, the elite are committed to a norm of reciprocity in buying drinks - i.e. they only drink with others who are willing and able to buy their own round. In buying drinks, however, they must not impoverish their own families, for this would break another elite norm, which stresses responsible behaviour. The effect of these norms is that most drinking groups are made up of social equals, and hence elite members spend most of their leisure time with others of their own class. They reject familiarity with lower status individuals, who are thus turned back on themselves for friendship, but who in turn may reject social advances from even lower groups. As Plotnicov remarks, there is a "threshold" in social relationships between the elite and Non-elite (Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 292-293).1

A sense of social exclusiveness is also exhibited in some African voluntary associations; and this is well illustrated by Plotnicov's description of club life in Jos, Nigeria (Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 293-296). In the early 1920's an African club was founded in Jos by Literate Africans, who at that time were mainly from Southern Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Ghana. This was then the elite institution of Jos. However, as a result of certain social and economic changes, standards fell, and an increasing proportion of individuals of an inferior status were admitted to functions at

823.
the club. The traditional members found this uncongenial, and in the mid-1950's some of them broke away to form a new club - the Plateau International Club - which allowed them to reassert their social superiority by again excluding lower status individuals. As Plotnicov writes:

"If one now compares the membership lists of the two clubs for educational attainment, prestigious occupations, and wealth, there is a marked status difference between them, with the African Club having an inferior position. Membership in one of the clubs, or intimate association with the members of one of the clubs, now serves as a status marker" (Plotnicov, 1970, p. 295).

Clement also found that in Stanleyville certain clubs were for the exclusive use of members who had some degree of "'civilization,' education or 'advancement'" (Clement, 1956, p. 473). This social distance function of elite associations may explain the popularity of such exclusive associations as the Masonic lodges, Oddfellows, etc. in certain African countries. For example, Cohen estimates that about one third of all Creole men in Freetown are associated with Masonic lodges, and he attributes this to an attempt on their part to preserve their social and political superiority in society (Cohen, 1971, p. 433). According to Banton, even the voluntary associations with mainly illiterate membership in Freetown are ranked according to prestige, and the higher status ones set relatively strict rules, and carefully select new members (Banton, 1956, pp. 214-218; 1957, pp. 191-192; 1965, pp. 143-144). As he says:

"... incipient stratification is apparent in the differential prestige attached to membership in the various companies" (Banton, 1965, p. 144).

1 In a study of friendship cliques among Ugandan railwaymen, Grillo shows how they tend to be homogeneous in socio-economic terms, and how they tend to break-up if their members are promoted at different rates (Grillo, 1973, chapters 5 and 6).
Thus, though certain voluntary associations, particularly tribal unions, may cut across incipient class lines, many others are fairly homogeneous in the socio-economic composition of their membership, and are actually important mechanisms for defining the new class boundaries.

Patterns of marriage also seem to indicate some hardening of class lines. It was previously suggested that class endogamy is not found in Africa, but, though men are usually a bit more educated than their wives, most evidence does not support this. For example, in his study of the Ibadan elite, Lloyd found that about half of all the university-educated men had wives with some form of post-secondary education, and only one tenth had wives with no more than primary education (Lloyd, 1967a, pp. 135-136). Harrell-Bond's figures for the elite in Sierra Leone show an even higher degree of endogamy, with two thirds of wives having some form of higher education, and only 5% having primary or less (Harrell-Bond, 1972, pp. 101-102). In the present study, it appeared that over four fifths of respondents had partners who also had secondary education, while less than one tenth had illiterate partners; but it may also be noted that the partners of females generally had more education than themselves, while the partners of males generally had less education. The fact that wives are usually of a slightly lower standard than their husbands results partly from the lower average educational level of women - it still means that the best educated men are marrying the best educated women - and partly from the preference of men for wives who are educated, but not up to their own standard (see, for example, Omari, 1963). In
short, this pattern seems rather similar to that found in Western societies.

Finally, we may turn to the relationship between kinship and social stratification. As was indicated in Chapter 1, it is often suggested that because of high rates of mobility into the elite, many elite members are drawn from humble homes, and thus have important relationships of kinship with individuals of lower socio-economic strata. Such relationships, being ascribed rather than achieved, tend to be rather inflexible, and thus persist as bridges between the various socio-economic strata, thus preventing their social separation, as in a normal class system. Of course such inter-class kinship relations must be found in any stratification system which allows social mobility between strata; but it is argued that they are much more frequent in African societies than in most industrialized societies.

Although there may be much truth in this argument, five main reservations may be noted, based mainly on evidence from the present thesis. Firstly, as seen in Chapter 2, rates of social mobility are often much lower than is generally assumed. Thus many members of the elite and sub-elite have actually been drawn from these strata, and, as a result, have many of their important kinship relations confined within them. Secondly, as seen in Chapter 6, many of the individuals who were socially mobile from lower strata were fostered with higher status relatives (or sometimes non-relatives) during the course of their education. One result of this was probably to decrease the significance of their
relationships with their lower status parents, while at the same time increasing the importance of their relationships with their higher status foster-parents. Thus relationships with relatives of more similar social status may be emphasised at the expense of those with relatives of less similar social status.¹ Thirdly, as seen in Chapters 7 and 8, most of those who are socially mobile, particularly from rural backgrounds, tend to be "spiralists" - that is, they are geographically mobile at the same time as they are socially mobile - and this geographical mobility tends to lead to a decline in the frequency of their interaction with their lower status relatives. In particular, the educated children of farmers are likely to see less of their parents than the children of educated parents for they will have to migrate to town to find employment, while the parents of the latter are probably also working in town, which may allow their children to find work near them. Fourthly, the children of the urban proletariat are probably best placed to be socially mobile without also having to move geographically to find employment; but, as suggested in Chapter 2, they are probably the group who in fact have least chance of achieving such upward mobility. Finally, socially mobile individuals may prefer to interact less frequently with their lower status relatives, and may take deliberate measures to increase the social and geographical distance between them. Thus a majority of Harrell-Bond's elite informants in Sierra Leone told her that they preferred to live far enough away from their relatives that the frequency

¹ This point is discussed further in an article by the present author on the relationship between fostering and social stratification in Sierra Leone. See Sinclair (1972).
of their visits would be limited (Harrell-Bond, 1972, pp. 129
and 343).¹ This does not necessarily mean that they want to cut
themselves off completely from their lower status kin, but probably
that they hope to be in a position which allows them to control
the nature and frequency of the interaction.

The present study provides some evidence that socially
mobile individuals have a decreasing frequency of interaction with
their lower status kin. Thus respondents from lower status back¬
grounds were much less likely to live with their parents, or to
see them frequently than those from more privileged backgrounds;
and this variation was mainly attributed to the differences in
their migration histories. Lloyd also gives an example which
suggests that interaction between relatives of similar socio-econ¬
omic status may be higher than that between relatives of widely
differing statuses: thus he notes that in a Yoruba sibling group,
a prominent businessman, a judge and a professor interacted much
more frequently with each other than they did with their other
lower status siblings (Lloyd, 1967a, p. 144; 1974, p. 121; n.d.
p. 17). Though this may be partly due to propinquity, with the
higher status siblings being more likely to live close to one
another in town, it is difficult not to believe that it is also
partly because the elite relatives have more in common on which
to build a satisfying relationship, and that they therefore choose
a closer relationship with each other than with less educated rel¬
atives. It thus appears that the African extended family is a

¹ For a quotation from Harrell-Bond on this point, see above,
p. 537.
fairly flexible institution; and insofar as this flexibility allows relationships between relatives of similar socio-economic status to be emphasised at the expense of those between relatives of differing socio-economic status, then it will facilitate the emergence of social classes.¹

Thus closer examination of the facts suggests that there is considerable social segregation of "classes" in terms of kinship, friendship, marriage and residence.² In terms of kinship, stress may be placed on what Jacobson calls "situational factors" (or "socio-ecological factors"), for geographical mobility tends to separate parents and children of different status levels, but it was suggested that "social factors" are also important, for elite members will choose to associate more with relatives of the same status than with lower status relatives. In the case of friendship, marriage and residence, preferences for association with people of similar status level – i.e "social factors" – were probably more important. Perhaps one of the most significant observations from this respect has been made by Barbara Lloyd when she noted that the children of some elite Yoruba families

¹ Lukhero gives a number of particularly dramatic examples of kinship relationships being transformed by status factors in Southern Rhodesia. For example he notes some cases of elite families in which illiterate relatives (the husband's mother in one case, and the wife's brother in another) were made to wait in the kitchen while the rest of the family were eating in the living room (Lukhero, 1966, pp. 133-135).

² Despite the impression that rich and poor live in close proximity, it seems that residential segregation is also spreading – one only has to look at the existence of graded company and government quarters, and the growth of high class suburbs, on the one hand, and shanty towns on the other. See, for example, Banton, (1965, p. 146); and Lukhero (1966, pp. 129-132).
were only allowed to have playmates who came from "good homes". If class discrimination is thus incorporated into the socialisation process, then it is likely to become a permanent feature in the society (E. Lloyd, 1966, pp. 166-167).

5. **Class awareness.**

As indicated above, previous studies have shown that Africans are well aware of the ranking of occupations in their societies, and to that extent hold partial class models; but there has been little evidence of a fuller development of class consciousness or class awareness in Africa. Indeed, some previous studies have suggested that many Africans do not recognise the existence of classes in their societies (e.g. Clement, 1956; Hahlo, 1968; Lloyd, 1973; Lloyd, 1974). From the present study, however, it appears that at least among the sub-elite in Sierra Leone there is a well developed sense of class awareness. Most respondents in the present survey could meaningfully divide their society into classes, considered class as an important principle of social differentiation, and offered fairly standardized models of class. In particular, they perceived social stratification as based mainly on economic factors, such as occupation, income and wealth; and in this their class models corresponded quite closely to those most commonly found in industrialized societies.

Of course this high degree of class awareness among respondents may be attributed partly to their particular characteristics as a fairly sophisticated section of the population, and one in the kind of intermediate level or structural position in...\textcopyright 830.
society which would be especially likely to raise their level of class awareness. It is thus not possible to predict from the results obtained from the sub-elite the likely extent and nature of class awareness in other socio-economic strata; but it seems probable that the less sophisticated sections of the population would manifest a lower degree of class awareness. But the present evidence indicates that the basic conditions necessary for the development of class awareness are present in the African situation.

Another factor which may promote the development of class awareness in Sierra Leone is the distinction between Creoles and provincials, which may act as a proto-type in the construction of class models. At first sight the importance attached to tribal differentiation in many class models in Sierra Leone may appear to make them rather different from their counterparts in industrialized societies; but this tribal dimension may promote the development of "purer" class models, and may also have some parallels with the type of ethnic stratification found in some industrialized societies, most notably the United States.

Another apparent difference from the situation in many industrialized societies is the lack of class consciousness of a political variety. Most respondents in the present survey, for example, saw society as essentially composed of a status hierarchy or ladder, with relatively easy mobility up and down between the strata, rather than of politically conflicting groups with contradictory interests concerning the nature of society or the share out of the national cake. In particular, most respondents felt
that their own opportunities for mobility within the present social structure were adequate, and thus that no radical restructuring of society was necessary. On the whole, political conflict is believed to be between tribal or regional groupings, rather than between social classes. Although the separation between political consciousness and class awareness may seem rather extreme in the African situation, the view of society as a status hierarchy, offering plenty of opportunities for upward mobility, is in fact rather similar to class models commonly found in industrialized societies, especially among individuals in middle level positions, similar to those of the respondents in the present survey.¹

6. Corporate activity.

As might be expected from the relative lack of class consciousness, socio-economic strata in Africa seldom act as corporate groups in political contexts, but a number of examples may be cited from the literature.² Some writers see independence movements as manifestations of class action; and particularly of action by the African "middle class". Kilson, for example, notes that in West Africa the rise of independence movements followed the emergence of an African elite or middle class, and the struggle, first against racial discrimination, and later for complete independence, was largely in their hands. Leadership of independence

¹ Lloyd found a rather similar view on the "open" nature of society among the Yoruba (Lloyd, 1975, pp. 122-123; 1974).
² Again the data in the present thesis provide no direct evidence on this topic.
movements fell naturally to the elite, not only because they had learnt from the West the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity which they now turned back against their colonial masters, and had greater sophistication than the masses in the political skills needed to achieve these ends, but also because they were the section of the population with most to gain from independence - after all, it was members of the African "middle class", not proletarians or peasants, who would fill the elite political and economic positions vacated by their departing colonial masters (Kilson, 1958; see also Plotnicov, 1970, pp. 290-291). It may also be argued, however, that though these leaders belonged to the elite, they do not represent a narrow class interest, but are the spearhead of the total African population in their struggle against imperialism and racial oppression.

Perhaps a clearer indication of the class struggle in Africa can be seen in Nkrumah's Ghana. The party formed by Nkrumah, the Convention People's Party, launched its attack not only against the colonial government, but also against the United Gold Coast Convention, a political party led by the intellectual and business elites. The C.P.P. was known particularly as the party of the less well educated sections of the population, for example the Standard 7 leavers - sometimes referred to as the "veranda boys" because of their previous exclusion from positions of power and influence - but it also represented the masses as a whole in their struggle against the elite, both indigenous and foreign, black as well as white (de Graft Johnson, 1966, pp. 111-113; see also Apter, 1963; and Austin, 1964).
More sporadic class action by lower status groups has also been manifest on occasions, but due to lack of organisation it has usually only taken the form of riots, and has led to no permanent political parties representing the underprivileged sections of the population. For example, in Uganda in 1945 and 1949 and in Sierra Leone in 1955 there were riots in which the main targets for attack were chiefs, politicians, other wealthy Africans, and, at least in Sierra Leone, anyone wearing a collar and tie (Goldthorpe, 1955, p. 43; Banton, 1957, p. 120). A particularly noticeable feature of the riots in Sierra Leone was the destruction of the property which was the sign of the affluence of these members of the upper strata, and which had often been accumulated through the exploitation of those of lower status. With reference to these riots, the newspaper West Africa asked the question:

"Had these attacks any political significance? Were we seeing the first signs in West Africa of a revolt of manual workers against domination by clerks, or against the comfortable classes in government service who do not have to strike for more pay" (quoted in Banton, 1957, p.120).

Perhaps these questions are still open today. Class action does not seem to be a permanent feature of African political systems, but it does arise on occasions; and it seems likely that it may be of increasing importance in the future.

---

1 Of course this looks at only one aspect or dimension of the pattern of differential support for political parties in Ghana at that time. The different parties also drew support differentially from different tribes, and also from different factions in local level politics; and the C.P.P. also drew some support from all sections of the community.

2 For description and analysis of these riots in Sierra Leone, see Kilson (1966), Dorjahn (1960), and the Sierra Leone Governments'
Class action may also be manifest in more limited contexts, such as industrial relations. But although trade unions exist in most African countries, they are usually of an administrative rather than a political character, or are subservient to either employers or government. In fact they are usually only allowed to take on a political aspect if they are an integrated part of the governmental structure in a one party state. On occasions, however, we see a political struggle emerging in the context of industrial relations. For example, the 1955 riots in Sierra Leone grew out of a strike. Similarly in Ghana in 1961, workers in Sekondi-Takoradi struck as a result of budgetary measures which undermined workers' wages - this "class action", however, brought down on them the wrath not only of Nkrumah's government, but also of the official (C.P.P.) trade union movement (Worsley, 1964, p. 196). Epstein, in his study of trade unionism on the Copper Belt of Zambia, shows how tribalism tends to disappear in the industrial situation, as all Black workers unite in their common opposition to the mainly European management (Epstein, 1958). In Gluckman's phrase: "An African townsman is a townsman, an African miner is a miner" - i.e. whether a miner is working in Britain, the United States or Zambia, he is in a similar structural position of conflict relative to management, and such opposition will be expressed in similar ways in each case, particularly through trade union agitation (Gluckman, 1961, pp. 69-70). Epstein also shows that though the leadership of the African Mine Workers Union was first

---


835.
in the hands of white collar and skilled workers, there was increasing divergence between the interests of these leaders and those of the rank and file of unskilled workers. Eventually the latter, forming the majority of the labour force, voted their own men into office, and the white collar workers then split off to form their own union or association — the African Salaried Staff association. These examples perhaps illustrate that not only are class interests important in the industrial situation, but also that there is increasing differentiation in these class interests, and increasing specialization in their representation (Epstein, 1958; Gluckman, 1961, pp. 72-74).

As was mentioned previously, racial and tribal divisions are often believed to cut across and overshadow those of class. While it is true that such ethnic cleavages are usually the most pronounced in African societies, it should be noted that these cleavages often coincide with class divisions, and what at first sight appears to be a racial or tribal conflict may actually have a class basis. This may again be illustrated from Epstein's Copper Belt study. In some situations the struggle between workers and management may appear as a racial conflict between Africans (the workers) and Europeans (the management); while disputes within the union between the white collar and skilled workers, on the one hand, and unskilled workers on the other, may be put in tribal terms, for most of the higher grades of employees are Nyasalanders or Lozi, while the labourers are mainly Bemba. Though in union elections the candidates may appeal to voters on a tribal basis, it would appear that the real conflict between them results
from differences of economic interest - i.e. it has a class basis (Epstein, 1958, especially pp. 235-236; Menzies, 1962, pp. 126).

Such "ethnic stratification" is a common feature of African societies; and many political conflicts which at first sight appear tribal may also have an important socio-economic dimension. Thus it was noted that in Sierra Leone there is a correlation between tribal identity and socio-economic status, and this may exacerbate the difference between tribes in political and other contexts. There is a particularly marked difference between Creoles and Provinceals: it was suggested, for example, that the social separation of Creoles and Provinceals in primary relationships of friendship and marriage was more a result of status than of ethnic factors; and it seems likely that the political divisions between them should also be explained mainly in terms of their differing socio-economic interests. The importance of the ethnic factor in African politics may at first sight appear to differentiate the African situation from that found in most industrialized societies; but it should be remembered that there are also other industrialized societies in which ethnic and religious factors, either as independent variables, or - more likely - as part of a system of ethnic stratification, play a similarly important role, as in the United States, Belgium or Northern Ireland.
Thus, from the evidence which has been presented here, it appears that the new stratification systems which are emerging in Africa have much in common with their counterparts in Western industrialized societies, or, in other words, with class systems of the classical type. Of course this does not mean that African stratification systems are identical in every respect with those found in industrialized societies; but this would not be expected of institutional complexes located in different geographical and cultural environments. Indeed even the stratification systems of industrialized societies do not form a homogeneous category, but rather a range of differing types; and it is being suggested here that the systems of social stratification found in African societies have enough in common with those in industrialized societies to be considered as part of this range. Thus it is being argued that the use of class terminology is justifiable in the context of contemporary African societies.

The present argument, however, is not concerned solely or even primarily with the question of terminology - as Shakespeare commented: "What's in a name?" From a scientific sociological point of view, the application of terms and concepts in particular societies must ultimately be justified in terms of their analytical usefulness in interpreting or understanding either the structure of these societies as wholes, or actual social situations within them. Thus in the present case, the debate on the appropriateness of using class terminology in African situations should not be seen as an end in itself, but rather as a technique for elucidating the nature of social stratification in African societies. By drawing attention to both their similarities to and differences from the class systems of industrialized societies, it should be possible to arrive at a clearer
picture of the nature of stratification systems in contemporary African societies; and it is on the basis of this, rather than on the narrower terminological issue, that the success of the present exercise should be judged.

Having concluded that classes exist in contemporary African societies, however, two final reservations may be noted. Firstly, the process of class formation has not proceeded at a uniform rate in all sectors of society, for classes similar to those found in Western industrialized societies have developed most fully in the modern sector of society, particularly in the urban areas, while the rural areas have retained much of their traditional social structures. In other words, the development of social classes is a consequence of modernization; and hence is most obvious in those sectors of society where modernization has proceeded furthest. Secondly, at least according to the definition used here, class is a multi-dimensional phenomenon; and in the African situation some of these dimensions have developed more rapidly than others. Thus in the present study it has been suggested that the emergence of classes is most clearly manifest in the medium rates of social mobility; the stratification of occupations; the cultural differentiation and social separation of classes; and in the development of class awareness. In other words, these factors mark the emergence of social classes. The emergence of political classes, on the other hand, is much less obvious, for there appears to be very little class consciousness or corporate political activity by socio-economic strata; and, on the whole, political conflict in African states has tended to centre on ethnic rather than class cleavages, though, as pointed out above, there is often some degree of association between the two.

1 To use Marxist terminology, they may already be "classes-in-themselves", but they have not yet become "classes-for-themselves".
Thus classes in Africa are essentially situational phenomena — i.e. class responses arise in some situations, but not in others — and in this respect the nature of classes in the contemporary African situation is similar to that of tribes. For example, in Epstein's study of industrial relations on the Copper Belt of Zambia, it was noted that, though tribe is of diminishing importance in the industrial situation, it retains its importance in other contexts, such as domestic and informal (categorical) relations (Epstein, 1958; see also Mitchell, 1956). Banton also notes that in Freetown, the significance of tribe may vary between different situations. As he writes:

"It would.... be dangerous to assume that urbanization necessarily leads to the weakening of tribal ties and to the substitution of ties of social class. The immigrant to Freetown is involved in a series of oppositions, African versus European, tribesman versus Creole, Temne versus, say, Mende. The identity he adopts at any moment depends upon how he defines the situation in which he is involved" (Banton, 1965 pp. 145).

Similarly, the significance of class identity may vary in different situations. For example, as suggested above, class responses may manifest themselves in the choice of friends and marriage partners before they emerge in the political context. And even within different situations of social interaction, the importance attached to socio-economic factors may vary greatly. Thus in his intimate friendships, a person may prefer to associate with others of similar socio-economic status, but he may be less concerned with socio-economic equality in his relationships with kinsmen or potential political supporters.¹

¹ Plotnicov gives an interesting example of the situational variability of social status within a Yoruba household. In his example, a rich but illiterate Yoruba trader demands the traditional deference from his children when they are in the house, insisting that even the educated ones prostrate themselves before him each morning. But he also recognises the status which their education gives them in the
At first sight this situational nature of classes in African societies may appear to make them rather different from their counterparts in Western industrialized societies, where class responses are usually assumed to have more general relevance; but some reflection suggests that the difference in this respect may be more quantitative than qualitative, or in other words, that classes in industrialized societies may also have a situational aspect. If this is so, then it would suggest that the type of analysis attempted here may have another function which has not so far been considered: the comparison of the stratification systems of African societies with those of industrialized societies may not only elucidate the nature of stratification in African societies, but may also throw new light on some aspects of the class systems of industrialized societies themselves. Indeed, as Miner has argued, the experimental application of sociological concepts in new situations may help sociologists abstract the essential features of these concepts which have previously been obscured by the concrete reality of the industrialized societies to which they have usually been applied; and in the present case it seems possible that the concept of class could itself be refined in this way. Thus it may be possible to move beyond the cultural definition of class, as outlined in Chapter 1, to a more successful structural definition with more generalized applicability.

Although the present research has implications for this, however, it is not possible to take the point further at this stage.

---

1 Miner originally argued this point with reference to his application of the concept of "urbanism" to the "primitive city of Timbuctoo" (see Miner, 1953).

2 See above, pp. 19 - 22
PART 8

APPENDIXES
APPENDIX I

Form of the questions as used in the final version of the Questionnaire.

INTRODUCTION:

First, let me explain what this is all about, --- my name is John Sinclair, and I am a research student attached to Fourah Bay College. I am doing a study of people who have recently left secondary schools, and who have either entered employment, or are still looking for jobs. As part of my research I need to interview some people like this, and ask them some questions about their education, their jobs, and their general social position. I have recently been interviewing employees of --- (teachers, unemployed people), and I was given your name as someone who might be willing to help me with this. Would you be willing to answer some questions about your education, your work, etc.,?

The interview should take about one hour. (We could do it now, or would you rather arrange to do it another time?)

Are you sure you would not mind doing this?

As I say, the interview is purely for the purposes of research, and so what you tell me is quite private. When I come to write anything on this, I will never say that Mr --- said this to me, or said that. Rather most of my results will appear in the form of statistics, i.e. 60% of the people I interviewed said this, and 40% said that.

BASIC DATA:

Now firstly, let me get a few basic facts about yourself.

(A 2. Sex?)

A 3. Firstly, how old are you?

A 9. Which tribe do you belong to?

A 10. Are you single or married?

(A 11. What kind of marriage ceremony did you have?)

A 12. So, do you have any children?
   (How many? ...... Are they boys or girls?)

A 14. Are you a Christian or a Muslim?

A 15. How often do you attend Church/Mosque?
   When was the last time?

A 16. Are you a member of any clubs or associations?
   How many are you a member of?
   What are they? ...... e.g. religious, ...... social, ......?

(A 21. How often do you attend a meeting of these?
   When was the last time you attended a meeting?)
A 17. Do you hold any office in any of these. e.g. secretary, president?
(Did you hold any office in the past?)

A 16. Are you a member of a traditional society of any kind? e.g. Poró (indigenous tribes), Hunters (Creoles)?

A 18. Are you a member of a trade union?

A 19. What do you think of trade unions? e.g. are they a good thing or a bad thing? What do they do?

(A 20. Do you take any active part in the trade union? e.g. go to meetings?)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION - HOME, RELATIVES, AND EDUCATION:

Now I would like to go on to ask something about your background, i.e. about your home and relatives.

B 1. Firstly, where abouts were you born?

B 2. When you were a small boy/girl, before you even started to go to school, whose house did you live in then? (e.g. your father's?)

B 3. Who also lived there? If you are to think of the general standard of living in Freetown/your home village, how did your own home compare with this? Was it just average? ......or was it a bit richer than average? ......or a bit poorer? Was your father a chief at all? Or in a Chief's family? What kind of house did you live in? ......A mud house ...... A zinc house ...... A stone house ...... A wooden house?

B 4. Now, could you tell me a bit more about your father? Is he still alive? Can you tell me (roughly) how old he will be now? What tribe is he? What is his religion? What is his occupation? Did he go to school at all? / How far did he get in school? And where abouts was he born?

B 5. And what about your mother? (As above for father)
6. What kind of marriage did your parents have? Were they married in the native way/in Church/in the Mosque? How many wives did your father have? Was your mother the first of these, ......or the last? Did your father ever do any different work apart from?-----?

7. Now, when you came to go to school, was there any other relative who was particularly important in helping you? (.... or was it only your parents who were responsible for you?) (What relative was this?) What did he do for you? Can you tell me a bit more about him? (As for parents).)

8. How many brothers and sisters do you have? How many boys/girls are older than you, and how many younger? Starting with the oldest, how far did each go in school; and What is his/her present occupation? Which are by the same father and mother/father only/mother only? (Why did some get a longer education than others?)

9. Now, about your own education, where abouts did you first go to primary school? Did you attend any other primary schools? Where?

17. While attending primary school, who did you live with?

10. And which secondary school(s) did you attend? Which forms did you attend (at each)?

17. And who did you live with while at secondary school?

18. Who paid your fees? Did you ever have a scholarship?

17. How old were you when you first lived away from your parents? (How were you treated in this person's house? e.g. fairly or unfairly? Were you given enough food? ...... Made to work too hard?)

11. How old were you when you first went to secondary school?

12. And how old when you finally left?

14. Which stream were you in? (e.g. arts or science? A or B?) What was your normal position in class? Out of how many in class? Did you ever have to repeat a form in secondary school? (Which?)

15. Why would you say that you finally left secondary school at the time you did? (Did you complete the course or was there any other reason?)

16. Before you left school, did you gain any qualifications? (e.g. G.C.E., W.A.S.C.) (How many passes and how many credits did you get?)

844.
B 19. What would you say your family's general attitude to education was? Were they interested in it? Which person did most to encourage you with your education? What was the form of this encouragement?

B 22. How many people altogether would you say had helped you to get your education, ......either through fees, accommodation, or in any other way? Who were they?

B 21. What would you say are the main advantages - the main benefits - of getting a good level of education? What are the main benefits you yourself have had since leaving school?

B 30. Since leaving school, have you done anything to try and continue your education? What is this? Who paid for this?

B 31. Have you gained any additional qualifications? What are these?

B 32. Do you have any plans for future education? What are these?

B 33. How good would you say your chances of doing this are? Do you have a good chance or not a good chance?

B 34. What would you say is your main difficulty in continuing your education?

OCCUPATION:

Now, I would like to go on and ask a few things about work - your own job, and jobs in general.

D 1. While you were still attending secondary school, what was it your ambition to do then? Why did you want to do this?

D 3. Well, when you left secondary school, what kind of jobs did you then apply for? Where? What happened when you applied for these jobs?

D 4. What was the first job you obtained? How did you come to get it?

D 3. How long was there between the time you left school, and the time you obtained this first job?

D 4. When you got the job first, were you pleased with it? (How long did you have the job? How did you come to leave it?)
D 6. What other jobs did you have before you took your present one?
  How long were you in each?
  Where were you working?
  What was your reason for leaving?)

D 7. So, what is your present job?

A 4. How did you come to get it?

A 5. How much does this pay you every week/fortnight/month?
  Do you get any overtime?
  Do you have any other sources of income?
  What deductions are made? ......for tax? ......union? ......pension?

A 7. So how much money did you actually make last week/fortnight/month?
  Is this normal/more than normal/less than normal?

A 8. How long have you been in this job?
  After being in this job ----months/years, how do you like it?
  What are the things you like about it?
  What are the things you dislike about it?
  (What about the pay? ......management?)

D 9. If you were able to change your job tomorrow, considering your present qualifications, is there any job you would rather have?
  What would this be?
  How good do you think your chances would be to get it?
  Would you have a good chance or not a good chance?

D 12. Now thinking about jobs in general, what would you say are the top jobs - the best jobs - in Sierra Leone today?
  Why do you pick these out as the best jobs?
  Which jobs do you think get paid most money?
  And which get most prestige - most respect from people?

D 13. Is there any job which you would say is the worst one in Sierra Leone today?
  (What is that?)

D 14. Now, how do you think people manage to get good jobs?
  Is there anything else that is important?
  What about having friends or relatives in high positions?
  What about paying a dash? How important is this?
  Did you ever see this happen yourself?

D 17. Now if you were to stay in this company (the Civil Service/teaching) how good do you think your chances of promotion will be?
  Will you have a good chance? ...... or not a good chance?

D 18. Well, what in fact do you expect to be doing after five years?

846.
PRESENT LIFE ; AND FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS:

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your present life.

E (a) Firstly, in whose house do you live now? Or do you rent for yourself?

E (b) Who also lives there?

E (c) Who cooks your food for you? And who washes your clothes?

E (d) Now, if you were ever out of work, or if you were in some kind of financial difficulty, who would be the first person you would turn to for help?

Now, if I can, I would like to work out a rough budget of how you spend your money in a month.

E' (a) Firstly, do you pay any rent?
(b) Do you give anything to the person who cooks your food?
(c) Do you give anything to any other relatives?
   How often? How much?
   Do you pay school fees for anyone?
(d) Do you give anything to friends? ....... e.g. small dashes?
   How much might these add up to in a month?
(e) Or give an allowance to a girl friend?
(g) Do you manage to save anything in the month?
(f) What are your other monthly expenditures?
   e.g. transport, provisions, smoking, entertainment, .......?
   Can you think of any other major expenditure which you have which we have not discussed?
(h) Does anyone give you money?

E'' How would you say you spend most of your leisure time, ....... your free-time, ....... after work, ....... at the week-ends .......?
   (Is there anything special you did last week?)

E'' (a) Who would you say you spend most of your free-time with?
   e.g. with brothers and sisters, by self, with other relatives, with friends, .........?
   And what about your friends generally - how would they best be described ....... are they mainly ex-school friends, workmates, neighbours, people from the same home area, or what?
   Are they mainly the same tribe as you, or are they different tribes?

(b) Do you have someone who is your best friend?
   Can you tell me a little about him/her?
   e.g. Maximum level of schooling, occupation, tribe, religion, place of birth, father's occupation, father's maximum level of schooling.

Now, what do you think it is about your friend that makes the two of you particularly close friends?
Do you have a special girl friend/boy friend? Could you tell me the same kind of thing about her/him? (As above for best friend.)

CONCEPTIONS OF SOCIETY:

(a) Now the last few questions that I want to ask you are about how you could classify the different sorts of people who live in Sierra Leone. If you are first to think of the total population of the country, and then think that within this total population there are some different kinds of people, what I want to know is how, in your opinion, could you best classify these people, or could you best divide them up into a small number of groups, each group containing people of the same kind?

(Well, you know that if you walk in the streets of Freetown you will see different kinds of people, and you can say that this man belongs to this group of people, while that man is different and so belongs to another group. What different groups of people are there in Sierra Leone?)

Can you think of any other kinds of differences?

(b) (Prompt)

(The kind of difference between people that I am really interested in are what I would call differences of "class". I don't know whether you have ever heard people talking of "upper class" people or "lower class" people. Do you know what they mean by this?)

Well, how many different classes would you say there are in Sierra Leone? Are there just the two classes, ......or are there more?

What would you call each class?

What sort of people are in each class?

What sort of jobs do people in each class do?

What is their way of life like?

(d) i. What is the main factor which makes one person belong to the upper class, and leaves another in the lower class?

ii. If you meet a person for the first time how can you tell which class he belongs to?

(e) i. To which class do you belong? Why?

(f) ii. To which class do your parents belong? Do you have any other relatives in any other class?

iii. To which class do most of your friends belong? Do you have any friends in the upper class/lower class?

iv. To which class does your girl/boy friend belong? Why?

(g) If you yourself belong to the lower class, is there any particular difficulty in having friends in the upper class? Why is this?
(o) i. To which class does the ordinary school teacher belong?
   
   ii. To which class does a diamond dealer belong, supposing he has never been to school, and so he can't read or write, but he has made a lot of money?
   
   iii. What about a paramount chief?
   
   iv. And what about the ordinary farmer in Sierra Leone?
   
(p) Now, do you think there is any particular connection between differences of tribe and differences of class; i.e. do you think some tribes belong mainly to the upper class, and others belong mainly to the lower class? How does this happen?
   
(q) In a person's everyday life, which do you think is more important to them - is it the class to which they belong or is it their tribe?
   
(h) Do you think you will remain in the same class for the rest of your life?
   Which class will you be in?
   How will you manage this?
   
(m) Now, what do you actually think of these differences of class -
   Do you think they are fair?
   Is it fair that some people should be in the upper class, while others are in the lower class?
   Why do you think that it is fair/unfair?
   Do you think that it can possibly be any different?
   
(j) i. What sort of person would you particularly admire and respect in Sierra Leone to-day?
   
   ii. And what do you think makes a person a "big man"?
   
(n) Now if you are just to guess what you may be doing after, say, 20 years, when you are perhaps 40 years old or 45 years, what do you think you will be doing then?
   What kind of work do you expect to be doing?
   Do you expect to be working for the government, ...... for a commercial firm, ...... for yourself, ......?
   Where abouts do you think you will be working?
   
MIGRATION:
   
C (a) At present, if you could choose the place you would most like to live and work in Sierra Leone, where would that be?
   Why?
   
(b) Why are you not there now?
(For those from the Provinces only.)

(c) When was the last time you visited your home village? When was the last time you saw your father?........ Your mother?

(d) Will you ever go back to visit your home village or town? Under what circumstances would you do this? When you have retired from work, will you build a house there and settle down?

(For those from Freetown only.)

Have you ever visited the Provinces? Whereabouts have you been? What were you doing there? How did you like the Provinces? Would you ever like to work there?

Well, thank you very much! I think those are all my questions. Is there anything you would now like to ask me, now that I have asked you so many questions?

(These questions are not necessarily numbered consecutively because the numbers are based on the first version of the Questionnaires).
APPENDIX II

Perceptions of the Benefits of Education
(See Table 5.1 in the Text)

The most striking feature of the respondents' perceptions of the benefits of education is their predominantly instrumental orientation towards it, for they mainly stress the occupational and financial advantages which education confers. Over three quarters of all respondents gave such answers as among either the general or personal benefits of education. As explained in Chapter 5, there is often the implication that the cost of education is an investment from which a generous financial return can be expected in the course of time. Interviewees rightly pointed out that without a secondary education, they could not have secured their present jobs as clerks, teachers, and so on. Thus, for them, the main advantage of their education was that they were able to get good jobs with relatively good salaries. Education was a prerequisite for these types of jobs, and before they had been employed their employers had asked to see testimonials from their headmasters and school certificates, and had made them sit written tests to verify their educational standards. If they had higher qualifications, such as the G.C.E., then they would be started at higher salaries, and perhaps get more rapid promotion. Such use of paper qualifications in gaining employment is of course typical of recruitment patterns in bureaucratic organizations; and it was in such organizations that most of the respondents were seeking employment. These bureaucratic organizations dominate the modern sectors of the economy in most West African nations, resulting in a close correlation between educational and occupational levels.

A number of respondents pointed out that if they had not been to school they would have been limited to jobs as farmers or labourers,
or perhaps would have no jobs at all. For example, a Mende machine operator told me: "Education is the most important thing in the world - without education you are nobody. But with education, you are respected and highly ranked. If you were working (in this factory) without education, you must become a labourer, and they will not recognize you for promotion." A laboratory assistant at the Brewery told me that without education he could not hold his present job in the firm, but would only be a bottle-washer. A number of respondents told me that without education they would be at home in the villages working on the farm. By education they were released from the necessity of hard physical work and communal labour, and their lives became decent ones compared with their brothers struggling at home without jobs. It was often mentioned that their work was less arduous than that of a farmer - "the educated man does not have to strain." If you are educated, "you do not have to work too hard, but can enjoy life" - "It is easy for you to go through the world." It is believed that the educated man has an easy life, firstly because his work is less arduous than that of a farmer or labourer, and secondly because he can earn a higher salary.

Apart from helping him to gain a job in the first place, his education is also seen as helping him in the performance of his duties. An obvious example of this is the accounts clerk who said that school maths helped him deal with figures at work. Less obvious, perhaps, are the advantages for a tractor driver, but one told me that it used to take six months to train an illiterate tractor driver, but that he learnt the job much more quickly. So his education had helped him get a job and so feed his brothers. A bulldozer driver also claimed that his education helped him to think deeply, and hence he realizes the dangers of working round deep ditches. Another driver told me that his
education had enabled him to learn a trade - he had done a three year course as a motor mechanic at the Technical Institute in Kenema, and the company were now paying for a correspondence course. A Mandingo bulldozer driver said that in the caterpillar section of S.L.S.T., those who had been to school were hated by the illiterates. The level of civilization in the country was improving, but the old people are not educated, and the young ones are. In the caterpillar section, the old (illiterate) men are sometimes afraid to approach the (European) plant engineers for their rights but the young people are not afraid. So they say that the young people are proud, but this is not true.¹

The importance attached to the occupational advantages of education is confirmed by those interviewees who felt that they had received no personal benefit from their education. While not denying that education was beneficial in general, 15% of the respondents claimed that they had not yet received any rewards from their own schooling. Particularly the unemployed were likely to say this, explaining it by the fact that they had not yet worked for an income, as also were those who believed that one had to go further in education than they had done before reaping any benefits. A Mende machine operator, who had only reached

---

¹ S.L.S.T. had initiated a policy of employing fifth form leavers as drivers of heavy earth-moving equipment, particularly the big D.8 bulldozers, because they had been dissatisfied with the performance of illiterate drivers, who were said to cause costly damage to their machines by failing to heed warning signs from their various gauges. The management felt that it might save money in the long run to bring in expatriate drivers, but they decided to try fifth form leavers, perhaps because it seemed unlikely that the government would have granted work permits for Europeans. I found these fifth form drivers to be a particularly discontented section of the S.L.S.T. work force.
form II and then gone on to a course at the Kissy Trade Centre, told me that he had not benefited much from his education because he did not have enough of it. When he started work he only made 80 cents per day, and though he should be able to keep a family, and was in fact planning to get married, the money he earned was still too little to afford to run a household, pay school fees, and so on. A Temne teacher, who thought the occupational advantages of education were the most important, believed that the secondary school leaver was "rather out of it, now that graduates are so many"; and a Mende clerk also mentioned that, with the rising educational standards, the less educated will find it more difficult to secure good employment. Despite his £25 per month Civil Service job, he felt that he had not yet benefited from his education, and was struggling to go further.

So it seems likely that children are sent to school — particularly secondary school — primarily in anticipation of them acquiring highly paid jobs in the Western sector of the economy. Education is most directly rewarded in the bureaucratic structures of government and commerce, and in fact is mainly seen as a specific training for such occupations. So it seems natural to both the educated youth and their parents that they should look for such occupational opportunities; and if they do not achieve this goal, it is a source of disappointment to all. One Mende boy working in the central Civil Service offices in Freetown told me that he did not particularly want his present job, but that his father — an illiterate farmer — had arranged it, and forced him to go. It was a source of pride to the old man to have his son working in such a place. Parents do not make sacrifices to educate their children for nothing, but to see them achieve some occupational
position superior to farming. Such sets of expectations must be taken into account when one considers such social problems as the drift of educated youth to the towns, unemployment among educated youth, and the difficulty of attracting these school leavers into farming.

But it is not only in the sphere of work that the young, educated person is reorientated away from the traditional way of life. As well as having a job in the modern sector of the economy, he is expected to participate fully in the cultural and social life of the educated community. The social position of the educated person is also improved insofar as he gains prestige, either directly or indirectly, from his education. Changes in social and cultural life resulting from education were mentioned as among the benefits of education by about one third of respondents.

Perhaps most obviously, the school is seen to socialize its pupils in Western culture - or to make them "civilized". Thus a Fula clerk told me that because of his education, he knows about civilization: that is living together happily, peacefully and pleasantly. An unemployed Mende youth said that education gives one the light of civilization - he had learnt civilization from the Europeans, and, as well as being literate, he knows about the citizens of other countries and the history of his own. A Limba clerk told me that because of his education, he was able to try and enlighten his family. He could teach his parents to stop some of the things they had been doing, correct them in religion (Islam), and show them how to behave nicely and intelligently. He had learnt to behave better himself: he knows how to talk to elders and young

1. Fortes makes the point that even in Ghana, where some cocoa farmers are reputed to be very rich, the wealthy cocoa farmers, rather than encouraging their sons to follow them in farming, will send them to school and university so that they can seek jobs in the modern sector of the economy (Fortes, Steel and Ady, 1947, p. 165). See also Foster (1965, pp. 153-155); and Hurd and Johnson (1966, pp. 71-73).
ones, and he knows his rank. He tries to get comfortable things (in the house), such as fine beds, chairs, and a dining table; but those who are not educated do not care.

The culture of the "civilized" person is of national or even international scope, as contrasted with the local or tribal culture of the illiterate. And similarly, the educated person has more social contacts than the illiterate in the wider community. It is believed that whereas the illiterate is "shy" of strangers, preferring to confine his social relationships to particularistic ties with kinsmen, fellow villagers and other people of the same tribe, the educated man mixes freely with different kinds of people, knowing how to behave towards friends and strangers as well as kinsmen. Thus a Sierra Leone Yoruba told me that education promotes social activities, and teaches you how to meet and talk to people. It helps him in the way he handles people, and in how he receives them when they come to visit him. And a Temne told me that now he is educated he does not feel shy in public anymore, but equal with anyone else. A Koranko driver said that education teaches you "socialism", or how to become social in groups, and how to co-operate and help others. It is good morally, for it changes your attitude to your fellow men, so that educated men do not behave violently towards others. It was generally said that educated people were popular, were easier to make friends with or get to know, had many friends, and so on. Also it was felt to be easier for educated individuals to make friends with important people, for they could generally mix freely with people of a higher class. Several respondents mentioned that if they had not been to school, they would have been "left behind" by their more educated friends, which would seem to indicate an incipient class
orientation. School was also an important source of new educated friends. "Civilization" and increased sociability tend to be inter-dependent variables. For example, civilization decreases suspicion of strangers, and is also a prerequisite for acceptability in the higher levels of society. Altogether, about a quarter of all respondents mentioned that as a result of their education they had become more sociable or civilized.

But education not only changes a person's relationships with others in the wider community - it also changes his position relative to members of his own kin group. This is particularly because of the improved financial position of the educated worker, which has two complementary results. On the one hand, with a secure, well-paid job, the educated worker can live independently of his extended family, or "stand on his own legs", as some respondents put it. Thus a Mende library assistant said that the main benefit he had from his education was that he was able to manage all his own (financial) affairs, as well as to help his family; a Creole remarked that he was able to earn money for himself without depending on his parents; and a Temne clerk said that he could now live on his own. Such answers imply not only financial independence, but also escape, at least to a limited extent, from the tight social control of the extended family, which might conflict with the new civilized way of life.

On the other hand, the educated person cannot escape entirely from the tentacles of the extended family, even if he wanted to. His improved financial position places an obligation on him to help other members of his family, and most respondents seemed keen to do this if they were able. Particularly they mentioned giving their families
financial aid in educating their children, paying their school fees, and so on; but others, particularly teachers, talked of helping others by imparting knowledge and civilization. A Temne clerk told me that the only benefit he had from his education was that he was able to assist his younger sisters with their education; and an unemployed Mende youth said: "You try to do things for your parents and friends to show that you are well qualified - otherwise you do not feel good." This is interesting, for, whereas most of the other educational benefits were seen to involve a change from traditional to modern values, in this case education is being used to fulfil a traditional value, namely mutual aid within the extended family. But the form of help is very often a modern one - payment of school fees for the children of relatives.

About 10% of respondents mentioned that education allows people to live independently of their families while about 18% said, that it put them in a position to help their families. It is interesting to compare this latter figure with the much smaller number (about 8%, included in the other category in Table 5.1) who mentioned the national benefits of education - the greater contribution their education would allow them to make to the national good, or their enhanced qualities as citizens. Very often national and personal benefits of education were mentioned together: "There is nothing more valuable to any man than education. It allows you to place yourself in a (good) position, to help yourself, your family and others. It develops the community": "Education is something (good). When you are educated you help yourself and the nation. For example, doctors help the nation, their families, and themselves: and so do ministers, civil servants and teachers."
Education is also believed to give prestige, but, as with the national benefits of education, this is a factor which is surprisingly seldom mentioned, especially if we think of the educated African, as he is sometimes presented, as a diligent status seeker. About 12% of the sample said that education gave social prestige, but only 3% of them actually claimed that their own status had been raised. However, an increase in status was often implied in answers classified elsewhere. Thus getting a better job, or becoming civilized presumably also involves an increase of status, but they have not been included in this category. Instead the category has been confined to those answers in which it is said that educated people are highly respected, are raised to the rank of "V.I.P.", will be accepted by the upper classes, and so on. Thus a Creole from Hastings village explained that with education you are counted as paramount in any society, but without it you are nobody. It helps you to work in a good office and to mix with good company and people of intelligence. You are given priority - treated like a lord - especially in the villages where few people have good education. You are placed on committees, and made a representative. Thus when the village of Hastings sent delegates to congratulate the Prime Minister on his appointment (in 1968), he was one of those chosen to go. But in Freetown, because many people are educated, education does not bring so much respect. A Mende told me that because of his education he was made the social secretary of his club, and also Master of Ceremonies at dances. A Creole girl said that education allows you to distinguish yourself from the illiterate masses, and be able to express yourself in public.

The last major category used in classifying the perceived benefits
of education includes a variety of more strictly educational advantages of education; and responses which could be so classified were given by about a quarter of all the respondents. About 10% of respondents, particularly provincials, said that an important benefit of their education was that it allowed them to understand the world. A Limba clerk told me that education teaches you to tell good from bad, which he considered especially important in Sierra Leone at that time; and a Fula said that his education allows him to understand the present trends in the country, for it is only by education that one can judge whether various developments are right or wrong. Some respondents, for example an unemployed Mende, said that because of their education they were able to defend themselves, and no-one could fool them, implying that illiterates were at a disadvantage when mixing in the wider community which they did not fully understand. It would be easy for someone to take advantage of an illiterate, but not of an educated person. The latter knows the rules of the game, and can stand up for himself in the modern world. One youth told me that, because of his education, if boys were rude to him in the street, he could swear at them effectively in English. Others mentioned the role of education in dispersing superstitions - the educated person is no longer afraid of witches.

Interviewees also mentioned more narrowly defined educational benefits of education. For example, 17% talked about benefits accruing directly from skills they had learnt at school, particularly in the fields of literacy and language training. They could write their own letters without help, they could read newspapers and books, and hence keep up with current affairs, they could speak English, and hence
converse freely with foreigners and people of other tribes, and so on. Again, 12% of respondents thought that the possibility of proceeding for further studies was one of the main benefits of going to school; and 6% mentioned that they had already benefited in this way themselves, while others hoped to do so. In this way they hoped to intensify the effects of the other educational benefits — and in particular to improve their occupational and financial standing with which they were not as yet satisfied. So this brings us back to the mainly instrumental orientation of much of the demand for education, to the wish to use education to achieve a highly-rewarded occupational position.

On the whole, types of answers given on the main benefits of education did not vary much between different social groups. However, there was a slight tendency for Creoles to be more likely than provincials to mention occupational and financial benefits of education, while provincials put relatively more emphasis on helping relatives, independence, understanding the world, and personal literacy. Creoles, using as a reference their own, fairly homogenous Creole community, are likely to take some of these things for granted, whereas the provincials, comparing themselves with illiterate relatives and fellow tribesmen, are impressed with the change that has come over their position.
APPENDIX III

SIERRA LEONEANS WRITE ABOUT THEMSELVES

The African Schoolboy: A Self Portrait

And so to school. At the cost only of having to do without my help in the house and yard (we paid no school fees), my parents started me off that day on the long, endless road of schooling; a road on which, for me, every milestone was to be a signpost pointing ahead, and every step of the way a sharpener of the intellectual appetite. It was in that dusty school compound, amongst the hibiscus and mangoes, and in the cool of the schoolroom, straining to catch the meaning of the words spoken by the smiling white lady, that I first caught a glimpse of a prospect that was almost intolerably exciting and attractive. I know now that it was attractive only because it was then entirely strange, and largely misunderstood by us all, not least by our teachers.

Most of us learned very quickly. We forced ourselves to speak English whenever possible. We memorised avidly the spelling and meaning of every word in the small hymnbooks which were at first our sole and highly prized schoolbooks. We would stay on for hours after school testing each other at the blackboard on the letters of the alphabet, on numerals, on spelling, and later on grammar.

The months between my arrival in Sagresa and my sitting the entrance examination to my secondary school were ones of unremitting hard work. I was coached intensively for the examination in a manner which would thoroughly disgust the modern educational theorist. Ill-advised or not, the coaching was certainly effective, and I passed the examination easily enough. When my father received my message informing him of my success, he sent me a letter which I have always treasured, not only as the first letter I ever received, but also as something which for many years afterward served as a spur to my ambitions and a strengthener of my determination to make good. Written in the small, careful hand of a teacher at my old school who doubled as our village letter-writer, the letter first brought me the congratulations of my father and all my family on my success. Then my father went on to remind me that I had now started to climb a palm tree which was high and difficult to climb; that many were watching my progress, and much ripe fruit was awaiting me on the successful conclusion of my climb. He ended with the warning that if I failed to reach the top, those watching me, both living and dead, would curse me for failing them. On the other hand, if I reached the top in order simply to gorge myself with fruit, I would surely become sick and fall to the ground and die. But if I returned to my people to share with them the fruit of my labours, then all would sing to my praise and thank me and honour those who had brought me to life.

... ... ...
Back to school from Lokko and Dapo, and to four more years of single-minded study. I found now that time was racing by fleet-footed, and the School Certificate Examination which, to every secondary school child in British Africa, appeared then the supreme challenge to human endeavour drew quickly nearer. During my last year in school I worked at my books at least ten hours a day. The picture I kept in my mind's eye was the one my father's first letter to me had evoked. I was making progress up my palm tree. The anxious eyes were watching me from below, the patient prize awaited me above - to be shared, not gorged. If I looked elsewhere than at what I was doing the disaster which would result would be widespread. So I gave myself completely to the task in hand. When my parents sent me pocket money, I would save as much as I could to pay for extra coaching in the subjects in which I was weakest. I mixed with as many pupils from other secondary schools as I could, not for the sake of their company, but in order to discover from them who were the best teachers in their schools. Then, unbeknown to my own teachers, I would make private arrangements for such coaching as I felt I needed. This all meant extra homework and added strain, but I learned to gauge nicely each day just how far my brain could be driven, and to stop work in good time. My sole recreation during this period was walking in the hills and swimming at the beaches; and I trained myself to relax completely and banish from my mind all thoughts connected with my studies whilst I was away from my books. I had many friends now, and could always find company for my outings when I wanted it.

The truth was that, far from my being alone in my obsession with preparing for this examination, almost every other candidate for it was devoting a similar amount of time and energy to such preparation. It is impossible for anyone who has not been a pupil in a secondary school in Africa to visualise just what the School Certificate Examination means to us. If you pass it, not only will you be able to secure relatively well-paid employment almost immediately in business or the civil service, but you will be admitted to the select ranks of the 'educated minority', the 'intelligentsia', who are the pride and joy of their relatives and friends and the despair of the Colonel Blimps of British imperialism. We were all fully conscious of this, and the determination to satisfy the exacting requirements of the examining bodies of the University of Cambridge became an all-consuming passion. In spite of all the advice we received to the contrary from teachers and parents, most of us burned a large volume of midnight oil at our studies. Our hurricane lamps became amongst our most prized possessions, secreted away during the day in all kinds of odd corners against discovery by house-masters, parents or guardians. I have often wondered since how we escaped doing permanent injury to our eyesight by this practice, particularly as so much of our 'studying' consisted in reading over and over again sentences and formulae until we had committed them to memory.

Conversion and enculturation: the Creole point of View

There were always a number of foster children in our home. They were either relatives whose parents lived in other parts of the country or elsewhere in West Africa, or children of friends who stayed with us in order to attend school in Freetown. There were foster children from my mother's native village of Regent and the neighbouring mountain villages, or else boys, and occasionally a girl, from the indigenous tribes of the interior. These last were illiterate when they came to us, but all were sent to school, and in time they became baptised Christians, and adopted our family name.

Of one such native family five brothers passed successively through our hands as foster brothers. The eldest was Morlai; the others in turn were Yankoo, Shenkoo (who was baptised Philip), Santigi (baptised James), and Kabba (Edward). They were of the Timne tribe, and their mother was a small determined woman, who was ambitious for her children. They all made good. Shenkoo, as Philip S. Cole, moved in later years to Nigeria, and his daughter by a Nigerian mother recently was chosen as Miss Western Nigeria in the Beauty Competitions held in that country.

Christianity was the central force of our home. But though a strict disciplinarian, father was not a bigot. Those foster children who were not Christians he left alone. They were not forced to attend family prayers nor to attend church. And when one after the other they asked to join us, and to go to church with us, he sent for their parents, and discussed the matter fully with them; and it was only after the latter had given their consent that he took steps to have them instructed in Christianity, and prepared for baptism. I can remember one of them, who at the time would be in his late teens, being baptised at the same ceremony as one of my baby brothers.


Conversion and enculturation: the Provincial point of View

Take the case of old Father Davis, of the Roman Catholic School at Mbekor, the Poor man! Not that I really liked him or the Headmaster at the time. In fact if anything, I think I hated them both, though I must confess that theirs was a difficult task. How I would have liked to see them carry out their threats. I wonder whoever gave these two the brilliant idea of compelling Muslims to go to church on Sundays or, failing this, to give them half-a-dozen lashes every Monday morning? Of course it seemed then a clever solution (a very easy and pleasant one for the African Headmaster, who could be seen every Monday morning with a list of absentees from Sunday School, and holding in his left hand, TERROR, his long whip) to the problem of the propagation of Christianity in the middle of the Dark Continent.

864.
I don't suppose the blame was one-sided. My parents too should share some of it. I do not think that I should have become a Christian if Dad had let me go to church on Sundays. He would have probably allowed me to go, but I don't believe some of the other members of the family would have approved of this. However, not satisfied with the six lashes they gave us every Monday morning, our two friends hit upon a more brilliant idea. I am almost certain this was the Headmaster's idea: all Muslims were going to be dismissed from the school, and none would be admitted in future unless they became converts!

In Freetown

By the age of eighteen, a school-friend and I practically knew the contents of the prospectuses of all the Universities in Great Britain and most of the Negro Universities in America. He was more interested in the latter, as he held radical views and felt America gave more in the way of resourcefulness; he had also a practical reason, his mother was a widow and he had to depend on his own savings for further education and so the prospect of working one's way through College which was possible in the States and not in Britain was very appealing. I much preferred the idea of Britain. I had secretly read the diary kept by my father when he was in London and prosaic names like Dulwich, Westminster Abbey, and St. Pancras were shot through for me with unutterable romance.

My brother and I were in the Civil Service but he had been transferred to another town. So in the evening I would stroll down the road to my friend and converse about entrance requirements, degree courses, and the colours of hoods. Over lemonade, in the black-out of the early years of the war, we discussed Universities with the eagerness of men discussing horses and women.

The courses we wanted to do were not taken in the small local College and in any case we wanted to get away. Sometimes I wandered down to the harbour and looked far into the horizon in the direction in which Britain lay. There in that country they said you could actually meet the people who wrote books, actually hear them speak, touch them ...

Every mail boat day some of us rushed to the bookshop with saved-up salaries or pocket money and bought Penguins, Pelicans and cheap editions of books, read through them during the day in between typing and filing letters at the office, or teaching at School, and in the evenings after finishing our Correspondence Course lessons.

In London

We always complained at home that some of (the British) behaved worse when they were abroad than when they were in Britain. Why should we do the same? Why should I go out with a waitress or shop-girl in England when I do not normally do so in West Africa? I try to behave well in Cambridge and they behave well in return too.
One day, after a discussion group at the Royal Commonwealth Society, a distinguished looking couple came up to me and asked me to visit them. I was struck by their utter and complete courtesy and friendliness. I agreed and discovered them to be the Earl and Countess of Clarendon. He was in his closing years as Lord Chamberlain.

Through them, whether in their quiet small dinner parties at Ambassadors' Court, St. James's, and later Chelsea Square; or in the glittering diplomatic levees at which he was host in the Throne Room at St. James's Palace, I met royalty and the aristocracy. But these were only part of their gifts to me. I learnt a lot whilst visiting or staying with them and meeting their family and friends. It soon became clear to me that consideration for others, fairness, dignity and a great sense of responsibility and service were more typical of this class than the hauteur and snobbery which was often attributed to them.

I found it difficult to get to know on terms of intimacy any of the working class or lower middle class in the South of England; except when they were relatives of friends who had made good and risen up the social scale but had possessed the courage to keep in touch with their origins. The lower social classes were much more resistant to invasion than the others. Only in the North of England was it possible for one to be friendly with everyone.

Since my obvious foreign-ness allowed me social mobility, I was amazed and disturbed to find how very uncomfortable people in Britain were outside their particular social class.

Frustrated scholars, and pressures for the lowering of Educational standards.

Dear Editor..... Need for more qualified accountants.

I was deeply impressed to read from your article dated January 21 in which you are appealing to the scholarship committee of the Ministry of Education to give maximum support to accountancy students, who are the cardinal instruments for the efficient running of commercial houses and administrative departments.

I absolutely support your views, especially for the need for more qualified accountants in Sierra Leone.

Sierra Leone presently has a government with high aspirations, it can only reap the benefits of its hard work by means of specialisations. The need for specialisation in this particular field of study is of vital importance, since without qualified Auditors, Accountants and Book-keepers the government will be in a precarious position to see clearly how its financial position stands.

Moreover the need for Africanisation in Industrial Enterprises should now be considered. This is one of the ways that we can reduce the rate of unemployment in Sierra Leone, which is presently one of the most difficult problems.

When we have your qualified Sierra Leoneans in these posts now occupied by foreigners, we shall start to solve our unemployment problems.

There is sufficient proof indicating that we as accountancy students have very little opportunity to develop ourselves as people of our field. During the last Commonwealth Fellowship and Government awards, we were all turned down. There were some of us who even had the necessary qualifications but were looked on with neglect.

A gentleman who has gained four passes at the General Certificate of Education and has already passed the intermediate examination of the Institute of Book-keepers in London in four subjects was not successful in the last interview. Some have already passed the stage three examinations, but their appearances at the interview were just as if they were playing Hamlet without the prince.

I think the basic qualification for the granting of scholarships to Accountancy students should be relaxed. I must stress emphatically that it will take us ages to pass the intermediate examination of this profession if we are to study for it at home.

I as a victim of this situation will greatly appreciate the Government's efforts in giving adequate consideration to this our burning problem. We as young ambitious citizens of our country should be given the opportunity to develop ourselves for this very important profession as we are considered to be the future assets of our beloved Sierra Leone.

Jeffrey I. Williams
Freetown.
(Daily Mail, January 30, 1969)
Dear Editor, ............. Why all these certificates?

Permit me space in your valuable journal to express my opinion about general certificate of education as a passport to University studies in Sierra Leone.

A country so super-underdeveloped as Sierra Leone is at present practising the British system of education.

GCE 'O' level and 'Z' level to gain a university ticket, or so-and-so certificate to secure a job in government service.

This is literally suicide, devised by our former colonial bosses.

The British have planned their own educational system to suit their own needs, like the American, the Russian and the German.

Why cannot Sierra Leone, with its long tradition and experience in education steer an independent course?

We need so many technical men that we cannot wait for all Sierraleonians to pass Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics to pursue a course in Engineering.

Like in Guinea, where all the basic qualifications for any course is on national standing, Sierra Leone can do the same.

The name of the certificate alone, the General Certificate of Education, suggests that one needs only acquire a general knowledge on the subjects he has chosen, and not a general certificate based only on British question papers.

How long would one expect Sorie who has failed his examination to wait until the next sitting?

Especially when he could not be admitted in his previous school and could not secure a job because of no GCE "climax level".

Perhaps during this lapse of time he will get himself involved in preganating a girl.

Responsibility starts to accumulate.

Sorie has lost his educational appetite and what next?

Down the quay as tally clerk.

How long are we going to take to realise our mistakes?

Abu B. Maculey
Freetown
(Unity, Saturday, February 23, 1969).

Editor's Note: Freedon of speech, Yes- but vulgar is the extreme. Where do we establish standards? Must we be pampered all the time? Or does survival of the fittest have no meaning?
Educational Success

Edward Akar becomes a Barrister.

Mr. Edward Joseph Akar, son of Mr. and Mrs. J.P. Akar of Rotifunk in the Moyamba District, and younger brother of Mr. John Akar, Secretary of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Secretariat in London, was called to the bar in the Middle Temple Inn of Court on Tuesday, November 26th.

Mr. Akar had his primary education at the E.U.B. School, Rotifunk, and later attended the Prince of Wales School. After leaving school in 1954 he worked as a storekeeper in Messrs. J. Milhem and sons, and then joined the Shell Company of Sierra Leone as a Sales Representative in 1958. He was admitted to the Middle Temple Inn of Court in August 1965.

Mr. Akar is a keen footballer. He captained Blackpool team for several years, and played for Sierra Leone in International matches.

Mr. Akar is married and has two children.

(Daily Mail, December 3, 1968)
PART 9

BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

C. Achebe (1960), No Longer at Ease, Heinemann.


D. Austin (1964), Politics in Ghana: 1946-1960, Oxford University Press, for the Royal Institute of International Affairs.


E.E. Bergel (1962), Social Stratification, McGraw Hill Book Co. Ltd.


E. Bott (1957), Family and Social Network, Tavistock Publications Limited.

D.G. Burns (1965), African Education an introductory survey of education in commonwealth countries, Oxford University Press.

K.A. Busia (1950), Social Survey of Sekondi-Takoradi, Crown Agents for the Colonies, for the Government of the Gold Coast.


J.C. Caldwell (1968), Population growth and family change in Africa: the new urban elite in Ghana, Australian National University Press.


R. Centers (1961), The Psychology of social class a study of class consciousness, Russell and Russell.


J.H. Dulroy et al.

E. Clarke (1957), My Mother who Fathered Me, Allen and Unwin.

J.I. Clarke (1966), Sierra Leone in Maps, University of London Press.

P. Clement (1956), "Social patterns of urban life" (Section C of V.G. Pons, N. Xydias and P. Clement, "Social effects of urbanization in Stanleyville, Belgium Congo").


G. Cohen (1971), "Recruitment to the professional class in Sierra Leone", paper presented at the Sierra Leone Symposium, University of Western Ontario, Canada.


M.A. Cox-George (1961), Finance and Development in West Africa: the Sierra Leone experience, Dennis Dobson.


K. Davies (1949), Human Society, Macmillan.


W. Elkan (1956), Migrants and Proletarians, Oxford University Press.

A.L. Epstein (1958), Politics in an urban African community, Manchester University Press, for the Institute of Social Research, University of Zambia.


R.H. Finnegan (1965), Survey of the Limba People of Northern Sierra Leone, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.


M. Fortes (1946), The dynamics of clanship among the Tallensi, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.

M. Fortes (1949a), "Time and social structure: Ashanti case study", in M. Fortes (ed.), Social Structure, Oxford University Press.


C. Fyfe (1962), History of Sierra Leone, Oxford University Press.

C. Fyfe (1964), Sierra Leone Inheritance, Oxford University Press.

C. Fyfe and E. Jones (eds.) (1968), Freetown: a symposium, Sierra Leone University Press.


P. Gervis (1952), Sierra Leone Story, Cassell and Co. Ltd.


J.E. Goldthorpe (1968), An Introduction to Sociology, Cambridge University Press.


G.W. Harley (1941), "Notes on the Poro in Liberia", Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.
E. Harrell-Bond (n.d), "Let us break bread together"
Unpublished paper presented at the University of Manchester.

E. Harrell-Bond (1971), "The status of children born out of wedlock",
paper presented at the Sierra Leone Symposium, University of
Western Ontario, Canada.

B. Harrell-Bond (1972), Marriage among the professional group
in Sierra Leone, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of
Oxford.

P. Hatt (1950), "Occupation and social stratification", American

E. Hellmann (1956), "The development of social groupings among urban
Africans in the Union of South Africa", in UNESCO,
Social implications of industrialization and urbanization
in Africa South of the Sahara, pp. 724-743.

P. Hiller (1975a), "The nature and social location of everyday

P. Hiller (1975b), "Continuités and variations in everyday
conceptual components of class", Sociology, Vol. 9, No. 2,
pp. 255-287.

E. Hirst (1957), "At attempt at reconstruction of the history of the
Loko people from about 1790 to the present day", Sierra Leone

T. Hodgkin (1956), "The African middle class", Corona, Vol. 8, No. 3,
pp. 85-86.

A.B. Hollingshead (1949), Elmstown Youth, Wiley and Sons.

L. Holy (1968), "Social stratification in Rwanda", in
L. Holy and M. Stuchlik (eds.), Social Stratification in
Africa, pp. 67-96.

L. Holy and M. Stuchlik (eds.) (1968), Social Stratification in
Africa, Academia (the publishing house for the
Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences).


INCIDI (International Institute of Differing Civilisations) (1956), Development of a Middle Class in Tropical and Sub-tropical Countries, Brussels.


* * *


E. Leach (ed.)  (1960),  Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon, and North West Pakistan, Cambridge University Press, for the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology.

E. Leach  (1960),  "Introduction", in E. Leach (ed.), Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon, and North West Pakistan, pp. 1-10.


S.M. Lipset and R. Bendix  (1959),  Social Mobility in Industrial Societies, University of California Press.


F.M. Martin (1954), "Some subjective aspects of social stratification", in D. Glass (ed.), *Social Mobility in Britain*, pp.51-75.

M.G. Marwick, (1965), *Sorcery in its Social Setting: a study of the Northern Rhodesia Cawa*, Manchester University Press.

M. McCulloch (1950), Peoples of Sierra Leone (Ethnographic Survey of Africa: Western Africa, Part II), International African Institute.


M. Mead (1968), Coming of Age in Samoa, Dell Publishing Co. Ltd.


F. W. H. Migeod (1926), A View of Sierra Leone, Kegan Paul.


D. C. Miller and W. H. Form (1951), Industrial Sociology, Harper and Brothers.


J.C. Mitchell (1960), *Tribalism and the Plural Society*, Inaugural lecture, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Oxford University Press.


A. Nicol (1960), "Always the Best", in T.O'Keeffe (ed.), *Alienation*. 888
A. Nicol (1965), The Truly Married Woman and Other Stories, A Three Crown Book, Oxford University Press.


P.T. Omari (1963), "Role expectations in the courtship situation in Ghana", Social forces, Vol. 42, pp. 147-156.


J. Peterson (1969), Province of Freedom: a history of Sierra Leone, 1787-1870, Faber and Faber.

L. Plotnicov (1967), Strangers to the city: urban man in Jos, Nigeria, University of Pittsburg Press.


M. Read (1959), Children of their Fathers, Methuen and Co.


I. Schapera (1956), Government and Politics in Tribal Societies, C.A. Watta and Co. Ltd.


J.S. Sinclair (1971), "Perceptions of social stratification among the sub-elite of Sierra Leone", Paper presented at the Sierra Leone Symposium, University of Western Ontario, Canada.


J.S. Sinclair (1975), "Some characteristics of the student population in the University of Cape Coast" (with additional data on students at the Universities of Legon and Kumasi), The Oquaa Educator, (Journal of the Faculty of Education, University of Cape Coast), Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 4-15.


W. Soyinka (1963), The Lion and the Jewel, Oxford University Press.

W. Soyinka (1965), The Interpreters, A Deutsch.


W.I. Thomas (1951), Social Behavior and Personality, New York, Social Science Research Council.


H.L. Van der Laan (1965), The Sierra Leone Diamonds: an economic study covering the years 1952-61, Oxford University Press for F.B.C.


E. Wallerstein (1966), Social Change: the colonial situation, Wiley and Sons Inc.


W. Watson (1964), "Social mobility and social class in industrial communities", in M. Gluckman and E. Devons (eds.), Open Minds and Closed systems, Oliver and Boyd.


W.H. Whyte (1956), The Organization Man, Simon and Schuster.


P. Worsley (1964), The Third World, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.


*Sierra Leone Government Reports, etc.*


*Education and Economic Development in Sierra Leone* (1961),
printed and published by the Government Printer, Freetown.

*National Accounts of Sierra Leone 1963-64 to 1966-67* (1969),
Central Statistics Office, Freetown.

*The Development Programme in Education for Sierra Leone, 1964-70*
Printed and published by the Government Printing Department, Freetown.


*Population Census of Sierra Leone, 1963* (3 volumes),
Central Statistics Office, Freetown.

