

NON-UNILINEAL KINSHIP ON MAFIA ISLAND, TANZANIA.

Ann Patricia Caplan

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
University of London, 1968.

ProQuest Number: 10731137

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731137

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ABSTRACT

This thesis considers a system of non-unilineal kinship in a village called Kanga on Mafia Island, off the coast of East Africa. The aim of the thesis is to see how individuals manipulate their membership of cognatic descent groups to maximize their advantages in various social contexts.

Chapter I provides a theoretical introduction, considering some of the problems arising from a study of non-unilineal societies. Chapter II presents background on the oecology, population and economy of the Island and the village.

In the third Chapter, the framework of the descent groups is discussed; they are shown to be cognatic, unrestricted and corporate. The next Chapter examines factors which condition residence choices. In Chapter V, people are seen to affiliate with a number of descent groups over a period of time in order to obtain cultivable land; their decisions in this context are not necessarily affected by where they reside.

In Chapter VI, it is stressed that in many contexts, the individual does not only choose between affiliation with one descent group or another, but between using his descent links and using his network of kin, affines, neighbours and friends.

Chapters VII and VIII discuss the relationship between descent groups, and status and power. High status is seen to be associated with groups whose members are thought to be particularly pious Muslims, while those groups whose members practise spirit possession are accorded low status.

Finally, the thesis concludes that those descent groups which control important channels of power, such as political and religious offices, including spirit possession guilds, are the most corporate, in the sense that their members tend to affiliate with them in most social contexts. In such groups, people tend to intra-marry to a greater extent than in less corporate groups, in order to keep the control of channels of power in the hands of a few people.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page.

ABSTRACT	2
PREFACE	8
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTORY	10
II OECOLOGY, POPULATION AND ECONOMY	20
History and population	
The administrative structure	
The economy of the Island	
Kanga Village	
Economy of the Village	
Sources of cash income	
Economic opportunities	
Consumption	
III THE STRUCTURE OF THE DESCENT GROUPS	40
Marriage	
IV RESIDENCE PATTERNS.	55
Ward land and non-ward land	
Choice of ward land	
Factors involved in residence decisions	
The household	
The cluster	
Summary	
V LAND TENURE	81
Categories of cultivable land	
Bush land	
How bush land is allocated	
Non-primary holders of land	
Meadow land	
Allocation of meadow land	
Descent, residence and cultivation patterns	
VI THE FUNCTIONING OF EGO-CENTRED GROUPINGS .	111
The economics of marriage	
The role of the <u>jamaa</u> in marriage	
Conclusion	

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER VII RELIGION AND POLITICS	123
Islam	
Universal Islamic practices	
General Islamic practices	
Special Islamic practices	
Summary	
Politics	
Principal office holders	
Factors in political power	
Political change	
Marriage strategies	
Conclusion	
VIII SPIRIT POSSESSION	161
Land spirits	
Relations between land spirits and humans	
Cults and guilds	
Activities of guilds	
Possession and descent group membership	
Sea spirits	
Relations between sea spirits and humans	
Cults and guilds	
Activities of guilds	
Spirit possession: discussion	
IX CONCLUSION	191
NOTES	203
BIBLIOGRAPHY	209

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Chapter II</u>	
Table 2:1	Population categories in Kanga 29
2:2	Ownership of coconut trees and income per annum 32
2:3	Total cash incomes (men) 37
2:4	Annual cash needs. 38
<u>Chapter III</u>	
3:1	Descent group membership 46
3:2	Kin marriage 47
3:3	Comparison of rates of divorce in first marriages as between kin and non-kin 49
3:4	Number of descent groups in which membership is claimed 53

LIST OF TABLES (contd.)

	<u>Page</u>
<u>Chapter IV</u>	
4:1 Choice of residence	56
4:2 Ownership of coconut trees	57
4:3 Methods of obtaining coconut trees in Kanga	60
4:4 Location of coconut trees	61
4:5 Residence and coconut trees	66
4:6 Household composition	67
4:7 Cluster composition	71
4:8 Number of members residing with each descent group	80
<u>Chapter V</u>	
5:1 Distribution of bush land	83
5:2 Bush land cultivated in 1966	85
5:3 How land rights were obtained 1965-6	98
5:4 Distribution of meadow land among descent groups	99
5:5 How meadow fields were obtained, 1965-6	102
5:6 Descent groups and cultivation choices	106
5:7 Cultivation choices with reference to residence in a ward	108
5:8 Proportion of descent group members cultivating descent group land	109
<u>Chapter VI</u>	
6:1 Groom's marriage expenses	116
<u>Chapter VII</u>	
7:1 Socio-religious hierarchy	126
7:2 Descent group membership and affiliation to <u>tarika</u> societies	137
7:3 Friday mosque attendance and descent group membership	138
7:4 Descent group membership, mosque attendance, and political office	143
<u>Chapter VIII</u>	
8:1 <u>Kitanga</u> guilds: size, and status of members	167
8:2 <u>Mkobero</u> guilds: size, and status of members	177
<u>Chapter IX</u>	
9:1 Descent group affiliation	194
9:2 Descent links and frequency of affiliation	196
9:3 Frequency of affiliation	197

LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
<u>Chapter II</u>	
Fig. 2:1 Mafia Island	19
2:2 Sketch map of Kanga village	28
<u>Chapter III</u>	
3:1(A) Kin marriage and descent group membership	50
(B) Non-kin marriage and descent group membership	50
3:2 Inter-village marriage	52
<u>Chapter IV</u>	
4:1 Composition of a cluster (example)	71
4:2 Composition and formation of clusters: Binti M. and her children	76
<u>Chapter V</u>	
5:1 Changwa descent group: segments and sections	87
5:2 Dispute over a bush field: relationship between Guardian and disputants	91
5:3 People cultivating a Changwa section, 1966: obtaining land through affinal links	96
5:4 People cultivating a Karibuni section, 1966: obtaining land through kinship links	97
<u>Chapter VI</u>	
6:1 Kinship terminology	112
6:2 The <u>jamaa</u> of the Imam	119
<u>Chapter VII</u>	
7:1 Dispute between the Sheikhs	135
7:2 Karibuni descent group: religious and political office holders	139
7:3 Dispute between the Imam and the Sheikh	156
<u>Chapter VIII</u>	
8:1 Kitotoni descent group: <u>mkobero</u> guild members and <u>tarika</u> society office holders	179

LIST OF CASES

	<u>Page</u>
<u>Chapter IV</u>	
<u>Case 4:1</u> Selling land to strangers	62
4:2 Selling trees to an affine	62
4:3 The residence patterns of Binti M. and her children	74
<u>Chapter V</u>	
5:1 Dispute over fields	88
5:2 Dispute over a Kidakuli field	90
5:3 Dispute over rights to a field	94
5:4 Cultivation choices and tertiary rights	97
5:5 Dispute over rights to a meadow field	100
5:6 Ahmed's cultivation choices	107
<u>Chapter VII</u>	
7:1 The dispute of the Sheikhs	134
7:2 Dispute between the Imam and the Sheikh	155
<u>Chapter VIII</u>	
8:1 A field spirit punishes quarrelsome women	170
8:2 Sickness of a small boy	174
8:3 Different approaches to sickness	175
8:4 A young wife is unhappy, and sea-spirit possession is diagnosed	180

PREFACE.

Field-work on the Island of Mafia was carried out between September 1965 and March 1967. It was financed by a Travelling Studentship from the University of London, and by a supplementary grant from the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths. The University of London also financed the subsequent writing-up period. I am extremely grateful to these two bodies for their assistance.

During my time in Tanzania, I was attached to the University College, Dar es Salaam, and I should like to thank members of the administrative and academic staff, particularly the Registrar, Chief Kunambi, and Professor Wilfred Whiteley, who acted as my temporary supervisor.

I am very much indebted to the Government of the Republic of Tanzania, first of all for permission to work on Mafia, and secondly, for facilitating my work in every possible way. In particular, I should like to thank my good friend Mr. Njopeka, who was the Island's Area Commissioner at the time, and the members of his staff, especially Mr. Malkello.

Much practical help with problems of accommodation, transport, and other matters was given by many people. In particular I should like to thank Mr. Pyrali Kassam, Mr. H. Stanley, Mr. and Mrs. P. Green, and Mr. and Mrs. d'Sousa. Many other people on the Island made my stay pleasant and rewarding, and I should like to express my appreciation to Mzee Jumanne Yusufu, 'Sheikh' Msabah Rashid, and the Chairmen of the Village Development Councils of Banja and Baleni villages. To my cook and helper, Salum Ali Yesu, I am more grateful than I can say for his unfailing good humour and good sense.

Most of all, I must thank the people whom this work concerns, the villagers of Kanga. The great kindness and patience of people too numerous to mention made my stay among them a most enriching experience.

Tukijaliwa, tutaonana tena.

Finally, thanks are due to my supervisor, Professor P.H. Gulliver, for his unfailing interest and much-needed encouragement, and to other members of the Department of Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies, for helpful criticisms when preparing this thesis.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Kinship studies in Africa have, by and large, been concerned with unilineal systems. The result is that 'African systems' has become a synonym for 'unilineal systems'. Thus Barnes (1962), while cautioning against attempts to discuss New Guinea society in terms suitable for the Nuer or Tallensi, nevertheless calls his article 'African Models in the New Guinea Highlands', and the 'African models' are, of course, unilineal ones.

Barnes' warning came some years after Ottenberg (1960) had noted that "anthropologists from all countries are now taking the concepts of descent evolved in African studies mainly by the British, and applying them to societies in India, South America, New Guinea and elsewhere". This has resulted in a tendency to stamp most societies in the unilineal mould. Various writers have noted that non-unilineal systems are rare. Murdock (1960) found that only one-third of documented world societies are non-unilineal. It might, of course, be argued that anthropologists were not looking for such systems, so they did not find them. Thus Solien (1959), referring to studies in the Caribbean and Central America states: "it seems possible that the existence of the non-unilineal descent group has been overlooked by workers in this part of the world, due to unfamiliarity with the concept" (p. 582).

It is equally possible that the existence of non-unilineal descent systems has been overlooked in Africa - where Murdock's figure (1957) for such systems is as low as 5% - although a recent article by Lloyd (1966) on the Yoruba suggests that this state of affairs may at last be changing. This thesis too deals with a non-unilineal system in Africa - on Mafia Island off the coast of Tanzania in East Africa.

Radcliffe-Brown (1950) has explained the virtual absence of non-unilineal groups in these terms: "Cognatic systems are rare, not only in Africa but in the world at large. The reasons have already been indicated: it is difficult to establish and maintain a wide-ranging system on a purely cognatic basis; it is only a unilineal system that will permit the division of society into separate organised kin-groups." (p. 82).

However, some anthropologists, working outside Africa, found systems which could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be fitted into the unilineal model. As early as 1929, Firth, working among the New Zealand Maori, pointed out that the Maori hapu "contravened the then generally accepted principle of unilineal transmission of membership of a descent group". (1957, p.4.). Firth referred to the hapu as 'ambilateral' in type. Other anthropologists, particularly Americans working on Polynesian societies, were perhaps readier than many British writers to concede that non-unilineal systems were a theoretical and practical possibility, and as early as 1940, Murdock pointed out that the majority of Malayo-Polynesian societies were characterized by the absence of unilinear kin groups.

Much of the confusion on this subject had arisen through the use of the word 'kindred'. Goodenough, (1955) in a major article on non-unilineal kinship systems, pointed out that people had meant two entirely different types of grouping - the kindred as an ego-focussed category of kin, which is usually bi-lateral, and as an ancestor-focussed descent group. Goodenough restricted the term 'kindred' to the former meaning, and proposed to call the latter a non-unilinear descent group. This distinction between the ego-focussed category, and the ancestor-focussed group is extremely important for an understanding of kinship and descent, and the types of groupings that can be formed from them.

A controversy has arisen as to whether or not descent groups can be formed on non-unilineal principles. Some writers have said that descent is by definition unilineal, and have thus rejected Malayo-Polynesian groupings as a category of descent units. Thus Leach (1962) criticises Davenport for comparing non-unilineal kin groupings with unilineal descent groups: "To be pedantically accurate, one might perhaps say that, in such situations, the potentiality of kin-group membership is based on an ideology of descent, but since descent does not in itself specify who is or who is not a member of any particular group, it is here misleading to describe the operative corporations as 'descent groups'. For in such groups, not only is it the case

that membership derives from choices rather than from descent, but membership is at all times ambiguous." (p.132).

What Leach meant was that if descent groups recruit their members on the basis of cognatic descent, then the society will consist of a series of over-lapping groups, which means that the individual constantly has to be making choices. They thus argue that such groupings are not feasible. Firth, for example, states that "bi-laterality is a feasible operational procedure; consistent, complete bi-lineality is not". (1957, p.6.). Most of the ethnographic evidence seems to support such an argument. The characteristic of many Malayo-Polynesian systems is that they are 'closed', that is, membership of a group is restricted. While in most African societies, restriction is through the unilineal principle, in many of the non-unilineal societies of Polynesia, the closing principle is residence. In other words, a man chooses to affiliate with only one of his potential descent groups, and drops his ties with the rest.

Can such groupings be called descent groups? Leach and Fortes would say not, but Goodenough, Davenport, Firth, Fox and Scheffler would disagree with them. Thus Firth: "but if the group under discussion is of a continuative, corporate type, comprising persons organised and united primarily on a consanguineal kin basis, with a collective name transmitted from one generation to another; if it is a significant structural unit of the society, performing multiple social tasks, then there seems no good reason to deny it the character of a descent group". (1963, p.36). Scheffler too (1966) would agree with this viewpoint: "It should be obvious then that the Maori hapu and some of those Oceanic social units described as 'non-unilinear descent groups' by Goodenough (1955) may be called descent groups. They are descent groups because, first and foremost, they are, as localized and major economic, political and religious factions, groups, and because their members conceive of themselves as sharing common ancestry and as being variously obligated to one another by virtue of that fact." (1966, p.546). Similarly Fox (1967) places these groups in the category of descent groups.

For the purposes of this thesis, I want to align myself firmly with the latter viewpoint. It seems to me that any group which recruits primarily on

the basis of descent, should be termed a descent group. But there is another point here - not all non-unilineal groups are restricted by residence or some other factor; there are unrestricted non-unilineal descent groups, as Goodenough, Fox and Davenport have pointed out. However, it might be argued, by those who confine 'descent' to unilineal groups, that there is still a problem of choice; as Leach (1962) puts it: "the analysis of any kind of cognatic kinship structure invariably ends by throwing the emphasis upon mechanisms of personal choice." (p.132). Thus, in any one context, the personnel affiliating with a descent group may vary.

I think that many writers have tended to forget that a unilineal system also allows for a certain amount of choice. They have concentrated on the structural framework of the segmentary lineage system, and ignored the local organisation. Thus Fried (1957) points out that with the possible exception of the Nayar, there are no (known) societies in which the unilineal descent group is the community. The oft-quoted Nuer, for example, do not always live with their agnatic kin in their lineage home, but this does not mean that they forget or lose membership of their natal lineage. Why then, should it be assumed that non-unilineal descent groups must be 'restricted' by residence?

In many unilineal societies, the individual has a certain amount of choice about affiliation, because in practice, the unilineal principle is not the sole method of recruitment, even though it may be in theory. Thus Forde (1963a) shows how among the Yakö, the yepun and yajima groups are based on a unilineal principle, but that first of all, some people do not exercise their potential rights, and eventually lose them, and that secondly, people become members of groups by using different types of links. Forde concludes that "Ultimately, all affiliation to groups depends on the currently effective 'ideology', i.e. on the values which determine the actions of both the new and the pre-existing members." (1963b, p.12.). Murdock would agree with this view: "Unilineal descent", he writes, "does not even invariably exclude an optative element, since not a few unilineal societies permit full affiliation through complementary filiation under special circumstances". (1960, p.11). In short then, choice is not found

in unilineal societies alone.

Because writers like Leach and Fortes have looked mainly at restricted non-unilineal groups, they have argued that the structural principles are totally different from those of unilineal groups. I think it is important to distinguish here between the formal structure of the group (which in any case may not be so different in the case of unilineal and non-unilineal groups) and the way in which it actually operates. As Firth (1963) puts it: "an attempt to create a typology of bi-lateral descent groups is difficult if it is based only upon a formal set of theoretical criteria, without regard to the operational significance of those criteria." (p.30). He goes on: "rarely are all the members of a corporate descent group actually gathered together in one place. They are often simply represented by some of their numbers; moreover, these are commonly diluted by the presence of wives and other affinal kin.... In anthropological analysis, the corporate descent group is an ideational concept; it is an abstract unit in relation to units of the same type." (pp.23-4).

Fox too has pointed out that it is important to consider the 'ideology of the system'. He draws a comparison between the Mac-Enga and the Maori, and concludes that "a survey may well show that the composition of local groups is more or less identical between the two societies, yet one is 'patrilineal' and the other 'cognatic'." (1967, p.154). Sahlins too has made almost exactly the same point: "In major territorial descent groups, there is no particular relation between the descent ideology and the group composition." (1965). It is thus not sufficient to look merely at what Leach (1961) has called 'statistical norms'; kinship systems need to be classified on the basis of 'jural rules' as well. As Sahlins (1965) has shown, "a serious objection is in order to the popular tactic of perceiving structural principles (i.e. 'jural rules') as the outcome of how people are associated on the ground and in fact." (p.106). So that in discussing descent systems of any kind, one has to take into account both the ideology (or jural rules) and the way in which the system actually works (i.e. the statistical norm), before making any sort of classification.

Why is it that in some societies there are groups organised on the basis of descent, while in others, there are none? Radcliffe-Brown (1952) has suggested that a society which recognises rights in rem over persons "will normally... make some provision for the joint exercise of such rights. This implies the existence of corporations of some kind, since a corporation is here defined as a collection of persons who jointly exercise some right or rights." (p.45). Why then a group or a 'corporation' based on descent?

Various theories have been put forward about why unilineal groups come into being. Forde (1947) has suggested that poverty of habitat and of productive technique tend to inhibit the development of unilineal descent groups by limiting the scale and stability of settlement. Murdock (1948) remarks that unilineal descent groups are not of much significance among peoples who live in small groups, have little durable property, and a poor technology. On the other hand, as Fortes (1952) points out, unilineal groups break down when a modern economic framework is introduced, leading him to conclude that these groups are most in evidence "in the middle range of relatively homogenous pre-capitalistic economies in which there is some degree of technological sophistication and value is attached to rights in durable property." (p. 171).

The segmentary type of lineage organisation has been discussed by Sahlins (1961) who suggests that such a system develops in a tribe that "intrudes into an already occupied habitat rather than a tribe that expands into an uncontested domain." (p.342). For this reason, he calls the segmentary lineage, as exemplified by the Nuer and the Tiv, "an organisation of predatory expansion."

These are all explanations which see the type of descent group as determined by the ecology and economic system.

Similar kinds of explanation have been advanced for the emergence of non-unilineal types of descent groups. Some writers, such as Fox and Goodenough, have suggested that, because non-unilineal systems allow for a great degree of flexibility, they are likely to arise in situations where there is a land shortage, so that an individual has several options about where he can

cultivate, and no one group acquires a disproportionate amount of land in relation to the size of its membership. It is for this reason, it has been suggested, that non-unilineal systems are often found in small island communities, such as in Polynesia. Fox points out that "given the transferability of skills, and a subsistence agriculture economy with a pressure on land, then a system of cognatic descent groups would provide a reasonable solution in that it allowed for a re-distribution of population among the scarce plots." (1967, p.162).

However, other writers have advanced exactly the opposite argument. Lane (1961) discussing the Banks and Barabot societies claims that bi-lateral systems are found only among small unstable populations, particularly where there has been a considerable population decrease, and thus suggests that the present non-unilineal system in these societies is a change-over from a former matrilineal system. He states: "The point I am making here is that de-population rather than contact with a bi-lateral system may be the key factor." He goes on to extend this argument to cover all Polynesian societies, and thus suggests that formerly Polynesian and Melanesian societies were of the same type, and not divergent as they are today.

While Lane has suggested that cognatic systems are associated with a diminishing population and, presumably, with an abundance of land, Meggitt (1965) finds that where population pressures became acute, a unilineal principle (patrilineal in the case of the Mac-Enga of New Guinea) became much more strictly adhered to. "It is clear that for some time now, population pressures and limitation on the amount of arable land available have effectively prevented most individuals from experimenting freely with alternative modes of recruiting and locating groupsPossibly the society was once loosely structured, like some in adjacent districts; then as the growing population took up all the available land, men had fewer opportunities or inducements to change residence and group membership." (p.263).

It is thus very difficult to explain a system purely in terms of adaptation to the oecology. As Fox points out: "it is possible, with suitable adjustments, for unilineal systems to survive in much the same circumstances as seem to breed cognatic systems." (1967, p.162). Murdock (1960) makes

a similar point: "It seems clear, therefore, that modes of subsistence, technological attainments, elaboration of status distinctions, and levels of political integration exert little differentiating influence." (p.7.).

In studying a non-unilineal kinship system, what then are the main problems? I think that, first of all, the problem of terminology must be cleared up. An analysis of the works already cited reveals a frightening plethora of terms. Goodenough (1955) uses the apparently neutral term 'non-unilineal descent group', but as Murdock (1960) points out, this is not only clumsy but negative, and could be applied to a group which recruits its members on any principle other than unilineality. I have followed Goodenough's usage thus far, in order to avoid complicated definitions.

Other anthropologists have not been content with such terminology. Thus Davenport (1959) speaks of 'septs', and 'multilineal', 'bilateral' and 'ambilateral descent groups', as well as 'sibs' and 'lineages'. Firth (1957, 1963) uses even more terms - ambilateral, bilateral, ambilineal, bilineal, multi-lineal, cognatic, utrolateral are some of the adjectives he applies to descent groups, in addition to the term 'ramage'.

Since nearly every writer has given his own meaning to these terms, it is impossible to find a consensus. I shall therefore henceforward follow Murdock and Fox, who have used the term "cognatic" to describe these non-unilineal systems. Thus a cognatic descent group is one which recruits through both sexes. It may be 'restricted', usually by a potential member choosing to affiliate with only one group, or 'unrestricted' in which case all the descendants of a common ancestor, both male and female, are members of the group.

However, the main problem in studying any type of system is one of choice. A unilineal system can offer a certain amount of choice to the individual, but this may mean doing something different from the 'ideological norm', or using some type of fiction. With a cognatic system, a certain amount of choice is 'built in' to the system itself. If the system in question is an unrestricted one, then the individual would appear to be continually in a position to make choices about where he lives, cultivates, etc. Even if it is a restricted cognatic system, at least the individual has an initial choice about affiliation.

However, is it really feasible for an individual to activate membership in several groups at the same time? Some writers would say not. Thus Murdock (1960): "Wherever kin group affiliation is non-exclusive, an individual's plural membership almost invariably becomes segregated into one primary membership, which is strongly activated by residence, and one or more secondary memberships in which participation is only partial or occasional.." (p.11.). In other words, it is argued that a man with membership of more than one group will tend to affiliate with one more than with others. The logical consequence of this is that over a period of time, some ties will be dropped altogether.

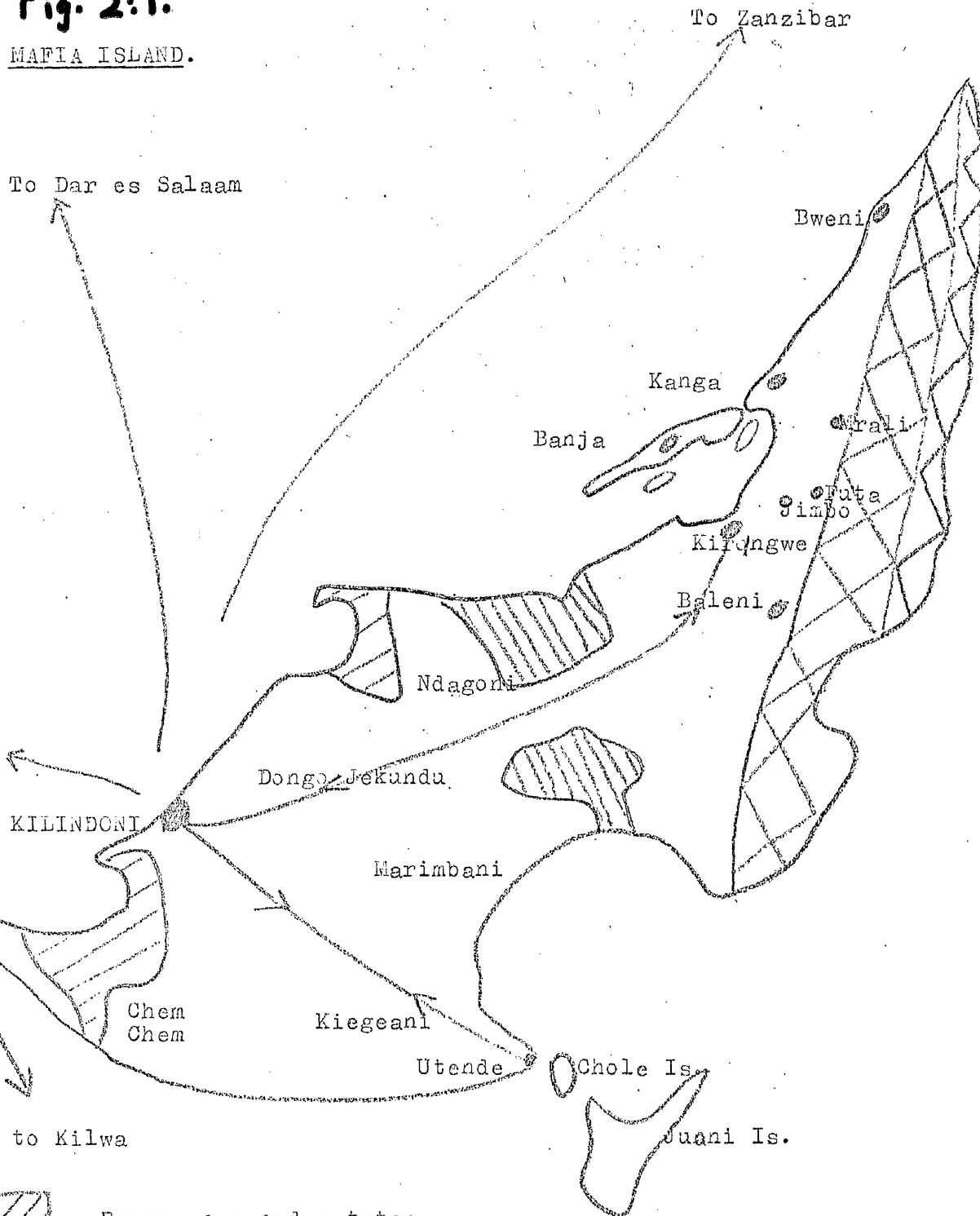
The descent groups found among the Swahili-speaking peoples on Mafia Island, are similar to those found in many parts of Polynesia, (such as the Gilbert Islands), and, more rarely, in Melanesia (as among the Molima of Fergusson Island). These are groups in which membership is conferred by birth, and is not lost as long as the genealogical connection is remembered. This is the 'ideology' of the system, and it is this which leads me to classify these groups as 'unrestricted cognatic descent groups'.






The cognatic descent groups on Mafia are not only important as land-holding units, but also, as will be shown, are associated with particular kinds of religious and ritual activities, in the fields of both orthodox Islam and spirit possession. Since membership of more than one group is possible, individuals have a certain amount of choice about affiliation with any particular group. One question which will be examined in this thesis is the extent to which individuals actually utilise their membership of several groups, and the extent to which, alternatively, they restrict themselves to a single group.

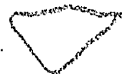
Before describing the system of descent groups, I outline the relevant oecological, social and economic background of Mafia Island, and the village of Kanga, on which this study is based.

Fig. 2:1.

MAFIA ISLAND.



-  European owned estates
-  Indian owned estates
-  sandy soil
-  clay fertile soil
-  coral rock

 Jibondo Is.

CHAPTER II.

OECOLOGY, POPULATION AND ECONOMY.

Mafia is a large island, lying off the southern coast of Tanzania, near to the Rufiji Delta. It is 30 miles long, (from north to south), and up to ten miles in width; its total area is approximately 180 square miles, that is rather more than half the area of Zanzibar Island further to the north. Like Zanzibar, Mafia is a raised portion of the continental shelf, not a coral island. The soil of Mafia is mostly sandy, and the terrain very flat. There is a ridge forming a backbone to the northern end, but at its highest point it does not exceed 200 feet above sea level. Along this ridge, there is firm and fertile soil, and cultivation of annual crops is possible. On the eastern shores there is some coral rock, and here nothing can be grown, and there is no habitation.

The climate of Mafia is of the typical coastal type, except that it has an annual rainfall of 76", which is somewhat higher than the mainland. Most of the rain falls between March and June. There is a tendency for there to be rather less rain in the north of the island, where there are fewer trees. It has been suggested that the densely planted coconut trees in the south act as a kind of 'rain forest'; the trees also make it somewhat cooler in the south. The temperature is usually around 80°F. for most of the year, and rarely rises above 90° in the hot season, between December and March.

History and Population.

The population of Mafia is mixed, and reflects its chequered history about which little is known.¹ Mafia appears never to have produced an independent culture. In mediaeval times, it was known only as an appendage of Kilwa², and later, it came under the rule of the Busaidi Sultans in Zanzibar. In 1890, during the colonial period, Mafia became a part of German East Africa, i.e. Tanganyika. During the First World War, British troops took control, and Mafia subsequently became a part of the League of Nations Trustee Territory of Tanganyika. Since 1964, it has constituted part of the United Republic of Tanzania, which was formed by the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar after the revolution in the latter island.

While Zanzibar was ruling Mafia in the 19th century, many Arabs settled, acquired land, and planted coconut trees, which are more suited to the sandy soil of Mafia than the cloves which the Arabs cultivated in Zanzibar. The Arabs ran their plantations with slave labour imported from the African

mainland. As the Arabs planted more and more trees in the southern half of Mafia, the original inhabitants of the Island, the ~~Mb~~wera, were pushed further north.

Later, Germans and British established large plantations in the south. These became more prosperous than the Arab plantations, which fell into decline, after the freeing of the slaves in 1922. Many Arabs mortgaged their land to Indians, who had come to the Island during the 19th century, or else sold it outright. Whereas in 1911 it was estimated that the Arabs owned over 60% of all the trees on the Island, by 1935, they only owned 30%. It is likely that they own an even smaller proportion of the trees now, although no recent figures are available.

As a result of these historical circumstances outlined above, six categories may be distinguished in the population of Mafia today.

- a) Europeans. These are either concerned with the two remaining European-owned estates, or with the big-game fishing club at Utende, which attracts European tourists from all over East Africa. At the time of the 1957 census, there were 35 Europeans on the Island; during the period of study, the number had dropped to only one, the manager of a plantation, and he has subsequently left the Island.
- b) Indians. Most of these live in the administrative capital of the Island, the small town of Kilindoni. They run the twenty or so shops there, and engage in other businesses, including two large coconut plantations. The majority are Ismaili Muslims. The 1957 census gave their numbers as 200.
- c) Arabs. This is a category less easy to define. As with the rest of the East African coast, changing political circumstances have tended to be reflected in the numbers of people claiming Arab descent. Most Mafia Arabs are descended from male immigrants who married African wives, and many of them are physically indistinguishable from Africans. The majority call themselves Shatiri or El-Kanaan. There are also some more recent immigrants who retain contact with their homeland, and still speak Arabic, instead of Swahili. There were 663 people claiming to be Arabs at the time of the 1957 census.

The Arabs have always constituted an elite on the coast. They were the richest people, the most religious, and generally they had the most political power. Since the culture of the coast is 'Arab orientated', it is prestigious to be as much like an Arab as possible, in dress, speech, and manners.

d) Mbwera⁴ Africans. These were settled on Mafia before the Arabs came. They probably crossed over from the mainland⁵ over a long period of time. They are not a tribe in any accepted sense. Their highest concentration is in the northern part of the Island; few are to be found south of Baleni village. (c.f. Fig. 2:1). They identify themselves with the Shirazii, who are found all along the coast, and claim to be the descendants of Persian immigrants to East Africa in the 10th century A.D.

There are sub-categories of Mbwera. Apart from the Mbwera 'proper', or Shirazii, there are also people calling themselves Pokomo who claim to have come to Mafia more recently than the other Mbwera. Some of them say that they were brought to the Island by the Portuguese from their original home in Kenya. Pokomo are only to be found in the northern villages of Kanga, Futa, Jimbo and Mrali.

In the northernmost village of Bweni there are also people called Bweni and Hunzi, and they regard themselves as being somewhat different from the other two sub-categories of Mbwera.

e) Africans of slave descent (Watumwa). There are very few of these in the north, but south of Baleni, they constitute a large proportion of the population. Unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain figures of their numbers as in the census charts, they, like the Mbwera, are subsumed under the general heading of 'Africans'. Very few of them will admit to being of slave descent, as this means admitting that they are inferior to the 'free born' (Waungwana). Women of slave descent have been married by Mbwera and also by Arabs, but it is still almost impossible for a male of slave status to marry a free-born woman. However, the descendants of slaves live side by side with the Mbwera, and it is difficult to distinguish them. All are Muslims, and speak the same dialect of Swahili.

f) Mainland Africans. Most of these immigrants work on the large Indian- and European-owned plantations. Many have been assimilated into the Muslim culture of the coast, and have taken local wives. However, there remain others, notably Makonde refugees from Mozambique, who are totally different from all the other Africans on the Island. They dress quite differently, are Christians, and usually speak poor Swahili; they are despised by the other inhabitants of the Island. Even those mainlanders who are Muslims are regarded by the Arabs and

Mbwera as being of only slightly superior status to slaves, and it is unlikely that a mainland immigrant could marry a free-born woman.

There are also some immigrants from other parts of the coast, Kilwa, Zanzibar and Pemba, Lamu and the Comoro Islands. These are easily absorbed by the Mbwera, who treat them as equals. The immigrants from Lamu (Gunya) have a somewhat higher status than other immigrants; they themselves claim to be Arabs, although the other Mafian Arabs do not recognise this claim.

According to the 1957 census, there were 11,307 Africans on the Island, giving a total population of 12,229. There seems little doubt that this underestimates the real population figures. Government officials who were consulted estimated, on the basis of tax returns, that the present population is nearer 14,000. Thus the population density is around 78 persons to the square mile.

The Administrative Structure.

Mafia constitutes an independent District of the Coastal Region of Tanzania. The Island is also a single Parliamentary constituency, represented in the national Parliament by a local Indian. Mafia is divided for administrative purposes into two Divisions based on Kirongwe and Utende villages (cf map). Formerly these Divisions had greater importance than they do today, when officials were based in both areas. Today each Division is administered by a Divisional Executive Officer, appointed by the District Council.

The Island is further sub-divided into 17 administrative villages, each of which is represented on the Mafia District Council. The Council representatives, called Diwani, are elected by the villagers from among their own ranks. The Council has responsibility for education, village dispensaries, upkeep of roads, and various other matters. It is financed by money from the central government, and from the annual taxes paid by every male (30/-)⁶. Apart from the elected representatives, other Council members are co-opted.

Village Executive Officers (VEOs) are posted in seven villages. Their job is to keep the peace, encourage 'progress' schemes etc. Unlike the Council representative, the VEO is a salaried official; he is chosen directly by the Council, and is responsible to the Divisional Executive Officer, in either Kirongwe or Utende. Most of the VEOs are southerners with a few years of primary schooling.

Each village also elects its own council, called the Village Development Committee (henceforth referred to as the VDC). This body meets to discuss matters of interest to the village, and to settle minor disputes. Apart from the councillors, meetings are also attended by 'heads of ten house units' (majumbe). These men are responsible for the good behaviour of the people in their units, for their payment of taxes, etc. Each jumbe is supposed to try and settle quarrels in his unit, but if he does not succeed, these are referred to the VDC.

It is extremely difficult in practice to separate party from local and central government. VDC meetings are also in theory TANU⁷ branch meetings, and are held in village TANU offices. The minutes are supposed to be taken by the TANU secretary, who is also elected by the villagers. In 1966, salaried TANU secretaries were appointed to each village for the first time. Like the VEOs, these men were mostly southerners with a few years of schooling. Officially their job was to explain the function of TANU to the villagers, and make sure that people joined the party and paid their subscriptions, a task in which the local elected TANU secretaries had failed. However, the new TANU secretaries also helped in administrative work.

The same kind of situation exists at the higher levels as well. Despite the existence of three structures - the Boma (central government office), the District Council and TANU - each housed separately in Kilindoni, the Tanzanian government deliberately blurs the distinction between them. Thus the Area Commissioner (formerly called the District Commissioner), who is head of the Boma, is also Secretary of the Mafia branch of TANU. And in 1967, the two posts of Chairman of TANU, and Chairman of the Mafia District Council were amalgamated.

The Economy of the Island.

The south of the Island, as I have already suggested, is much richer than the north. The soil in the south is sandy, and peculiarly suited to the growing of coconut trees. For this reason, the majority of Arabs settled there, and established their plantations. With the growth of the plantation economy, a network of roads was constructed. In addition, the administrative capital always lay in the south. Under the Germans, the capital was at Chole Island, later it was moved to its present site at Kilindoni.

Under German rule, it was compulsory for every able-bodied male to plant at least 50 coconut trees. This pressure, combined with the growth of the copra trade, and a need for cash to pay taxes, forced even the Mbwera in the north, previously dependent upon rice and other annual crops, cattle and fishing, to begin to plant trees. Nevertheless, there is still plenty of land in the northern areas, but very little in the south where it has all been planted up with trees. Generally, people in the south depend more upon income from copra and cashew nuts for their livelihood; in the north, they are dependent primarily upon cultivation of annual crops.

For the last fifty years at least, copra has provided the principal means of obtaining cash for the majority of Mafians. Recently, however, with a slump in world copra prices, cashewnuts have assumed greater importance, and the production of nuts has increased four-fold in the sixties, to 1,124 tons in 1966. This is still only about a third of the copra tonnage, but the cashewnuts fetch a higher price (1/- per kilo) than do coconuts (70c per kilo). Cashewnut trees flourish on sandy soil - they are thus mainly found in the south, and only a few grow north of Kirongwe village, notably in Banja and Kanga villages.

Both copra and cashewnuts are marketed through the two local co-operatives in Kirongwe and Kilindoni. These are government sponsored, and were initiated in 1964. Prior to this date, all copra and cashewnuts were bought up by the local Indian traders. The co-operatives have run into various difficulties, which have tended to make them unpopular with the mass of the people. First of all, their establishment coincided with a slump in world market prices. This meant not only that the prices fell locally, but also that the copra which was accepted by the co-operatives had to be of a high quality. Much unripe 'dirty'⁸ copra has to be rejected. A second difficulty is that the co-operatives are continually running out of cash with which to pay the local farmers. This means that the latter are left with copra on their hands, and its worth decreases with storage.

Apart from the cultivation of these two cash crops, opportunities for obtaining a cash income are very limited. Educationally, the Mafians are very backward, with only a handful of children receiving a secondary education on the mainland. However, a few of the children who have attended local

primary schools, and then failed to get one of the few places available in a secondary school, have been absorbed into government service in Mafia, as clerks, TANU secretaries, or VEOs in the villages.

It is only in the south of the Island that a few men have been able to improve their economic status by becoming drivers or owners of vehicles for transporting cash crops to the collecting centres. Indeed, it is only in the south that there are any motorable roads; in the north, people transport their goods by donkey. In the south, there are to be found all the large dhows (majchazi) which carry goods and passengers between Mafia and the mainland. In the north, by contrast, there are only a handful of the smaller type of dhow (mashua).

Apart from the growing of cash crops, fishing is the most important source of income for the majority of people. Some men own fish traps (wando) which can net up to 2,000 fish at one tide. Much of the fish is sold in the markets at Kirongwe and Kilindoni and some is exported to Dar es Salaam. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give figures for the total exports of fish from the Island, as no records are kept.

Summary.

In this section, I have given a brief background to the history, population, administration, and economy of the Island. In so doing, I have emphasized the differences between the north and south of the Island. In addition to the fact that the southern population is more heterogeneous and richer, there are striking differences in settlement patterns, land rights, and kinship. The north may be conveniently said to begin after Kirongwe, and indeed, the northerners themselves frequently refer to the Six Towns (Miji Sita) of Bweni, Banja (which includes its daughter village of Jojo), Futa, Mrali, Kanga and Jimbo. All of these villages are discrete units, unlike all the villages to the south, which are spread out, and indeed, can hardly be called villages at all except in the administrative sense.

Kanga Village.

The village which is the focus of this study is situated on the north-west coast of Mafia, lying at the centre of the northern complex of six villages. It is one of the largest villages on the Island, with a total population of nearly 1,000 people. Of the other northern villages, only Bweni and Banja approach Kanga in size; each of these has about 800 persons. The other northern villages are much smaller, and their combined population probably does not amount to more than about 1,000 persons. Thus the total population of the north is around 4,000 people.

With the sole exception of Banja, the northern villages are fairly homogeneous in population. Most of the villagers may be classed as 'African'.

In the village of Kanga there is one Arab family. The husband is a first generation immigrant from the Hadhramaut, and his wife is the daughter of Shatiri Arabs who have been settled in the south of the Island for several generations. There are also a small number of Gunya, who claim Arab status, indeed one man and his sister claim to be Sharifs⁹. The Kanga Gunya are the children or grandchildren of the original immigrants. Unlike Gunya in other parts of Mafia, they have not retained any contact with their homeland.

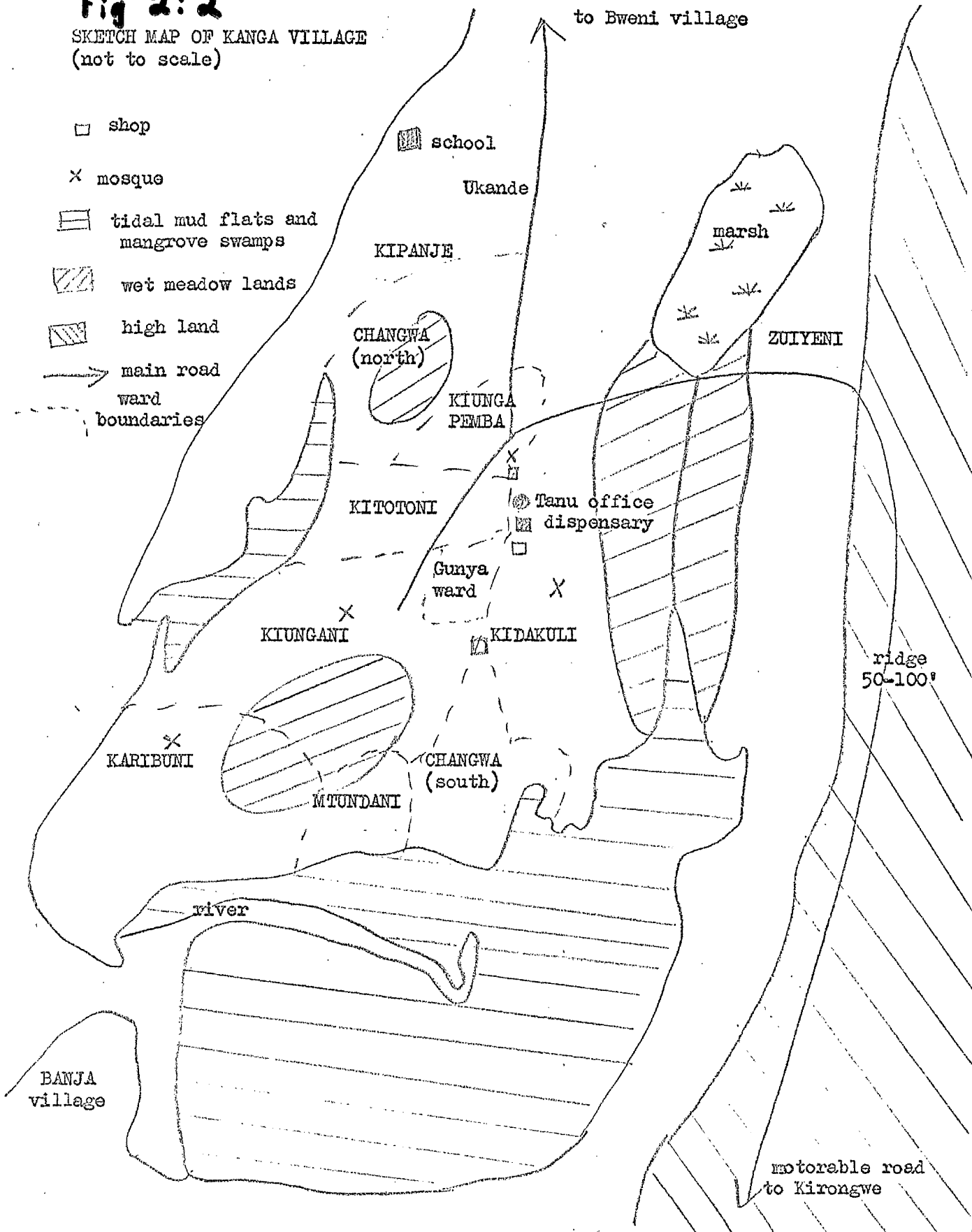
The 'Africans' in the village may be divided into three categories: Mbwera, Pokomo and descendants of slaves (watumwa). There are also a few immigrants from the mainland, and from other parts of the coast. The categories of Mbwera and Pokomo are not exclusive, as they are heavily inter-married, and people claim different status on different occasions. Together they total 897 persons.

The descendants of slaves form a single exclusive category, since slave status is inherited only through the father. Twenty people in the village fall into this category. There are also many more who had slave mothers, but this does not affect their status.

Finally, the immigrants; those from the coast have all inter-married with the Mbwera and Pokomo. A handful who claim to be from the Zaramo tribe are thought privately by others to be really of slave status, and they inter-marry with slaves.

Fig 2:2

SKETCH MAP OF KANGA VILLAGE
(not to scale)



The population categories in the village are given in Table 2:1.

Table 2:1. Population Categories in Kanga.

<u>Category.</u>	<u>Men.</u>	<u>Women.</u>	<u>Children.</u>	<u>Total.</u>	<u>Percentage.</u>
Mbwera & Pokomo	189	260	420	869	93.4
Gunya	6	4	6	16	1.7
Slaves	9	6	5	20	2
Arabs	1	1	6	8	.8
Zaramo	2	2	7	11	1
Other mainland	2	1	0	3	.3
Coast (Zanzibar &c.)	1	2	0	3	.3
Total	210	276	444	930	99.5

Economy of the Village.

(1) Agriculture.

The economy of Kanga village is based on rice and cassava cultivation, with coconuts as the main cash crop. Cattle, fishing and trading provide secondary sources of income.

The most important food crop grown in the village is rice. This is cultivated on two types of land: wet meadow land within the village (dawe), which can be cultivated for a number of years in succession, and bush land (pori), which lies on a belt around the village, and is cultivated on a shifting pattern.

The agricultural season begins in early November, when the men cut down and fire the bush. Then the women begin to plant rice in December. Planting begins a little later on the wet lands, and since it is only necessary to weed the ground before planting, women can and do frequently cultivate this type of land alone. Planting methods are extremely primitive, as indeed are all the agricultural techniques in this area. Small hand hoes are used to scratch the surface of the soil.

As soon as the rice begins to sprout, in January or February, a constant watch has to be kept on the fields, in order to ensure that the entire crop is not lost to birds, monkeys, pigs and hippos. Women and children spend all day in the fields, often sitting in small wooden watch towers, and scaring off the smaller pests with slings and stones. The men meanwhile build fences to

encircle the fields, to ensure that wild animals such as hippo do not get in at night. The fences are generally built around a whole cultivated area, which includes several fields, and the men in any one area work together to build the fence. In spite of all these efforts, however, much of the crop is lost.

In February, people who are cultivating a bush field, and some of those cultivating a wet field, move out to small huts they have built among their crops, and leave their houses in the village. Some people stay as long as five months in the fields, from the first sprouting of the rice, until it has all been harvested.

As would be expected with such a simple technology, the amount of land which can be cultivated is small. Acreages vary considerably according to age, marital status, and sheer capacity for hard work. On average, a young couple can cultivate around $2\frac{1}{2}$ - 3 acres of bush field, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres of wet land. Old women cultivating alone manage $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of bush land, and perhaps slightly more wet land.

Yields vary tremendously, not only according to the skill of the cultivator, but also with the rainfall, whether or not much of the crop is destroyed by pests (birds, animals, insects) and the type of land being cultivated. Wet land produces more rice per acre than bush, but only rice can be grown there. Bush land, on the other hand, also produces corn, millet, beans etc., and some bush land which is very stony, and produces little rice, does yield a good crop of sim-sim, which can be sold and the proceeds used to buy rice or other foods. Much of the harvest is consumed while people are living out in the fields, and it is very difficult to obtain accurate figures of yields of any type of crop.

The second staple is cassava, which is grown mainly in an area of bush set aside for this purpose by the Government Agricultural Officer. Most men have a cassava as well as a rice field. Cassava has the advantage of being a hardy crop, needing little attention once it is planted, and villagers do not need to guard cassava fields.

Most people thus have a fairly varied diet. In January, those cultivating bush fields live on beans, which is the first crop to be harvested. By March, everyone is eating rice and pumpkins. A lot of rice is consumed between March and May, when the villagers return to their houses. After

May, people eat the remainder of their rice, as well as corn, millet, etc. In addition, they also eat cassava, and those families which have a good harvest are able to vary their diet by eating cassava at mid-day, and rice only in the evening. In this way, some people manage to make their rice supplies last until October or November. Rice is considered the best kind of food, and is always used for feasts, thus those people who have to give a feast themselves, or contribute to that of a relative, will find that most of their rice is finished by September.

Another food is sweet potatoes, which are grown in the wet fields after the rice has been harvested. As only a small amount of land is needed for this, those people who cultivated bush fields, and have returned to the village by June, go to kinsmen, affines and others, and use part of their wet fields in order to cultivate the potatoes, which form a substantial part of the diet in July, August and September.

The main point to be noted is that hardly anyone produces sufficient food for their needs. By September, the village shops are selling flour, rice, beans etc. and continue to do so until January, or February. On the whole, people produce enough for 7-8 months of the year; food for the remaining 4-5 months has to be bought. In order to buy food, people have to obtain a cash income.

(2) Sources of cash income.

a) Copra.

The income to be derived from coconut trees in a normal year is difficult to estimate, because the years during which the study was made were also years in which the income was abnormally small. Two factors account for this. The first is the fall in the price of copra, and the general difficulties of marketing, due to the teething troubles at the inception of the Co-operatives. The second is the poor rainfall in 1965 and 1966; 45" of rain fell in the latter year, and even less in the former. The normal average is 76".

Prior to 1966, in a good year, a man owning 100 coconut trees could expect to fell 4,000 nuts, giving a gross income of 800/- (£40), and a net¹⁰ income of approximately £31. However, in 1966, with the drop in

yields, due to lack of rain, only 2,750 nuts could be sold, and at a lower price, thus giving the same man a gross income for the year of only 385/–, or 200/– net (£10).¹¹ This meant a drop in income of more than 50%.

Table 2:4.

Ownership of Coconut trees and Income per annum.

Number of trees	0	1-50	50-100	1-200	2-500	500 +
Income p.a.	–	0-100/–	1-200/–	2-400/–	4-800/–	800/– +
Male owners	53	43	44	35	16	3
Female owners	170	76	15	11	2	0
All owners	213	129	59	46	18	3

Note: These figures are based on my own observations of yields, where possible, and information given by villagers. However, they are only approximate, as yields tended to fluctuate somewhat according to area, age of tree etc.

b) Cattle.

Coconut trees apart, the most important form of capital in Kanga is cattle, of which there are 450 head in the village. They are distributed among 117 owners, giving an average of just under 4 cattle per owner. However, two men, both spirit shamans, own more than 50 head each, so that if they are omitted from the reckoning, the average number per owner is three.

The cattle produce very little milk, perhaps half a pint a day in the short wet season. Their chief value is as a source of meat. Cattle are slaughtered at marriages, puberty ceremonies, funerals, spirit possession dances, and some Islamic rituals. On average, one animal per fortnight is slaughtered for these purposes. It is rare for a man to slaughter a beast just to sell the meat, as this bring in very little money, and is only resorted to when an animal has injured itself. Selling an animal for a feast, however, fetches between 150-250/– in cash.

Cattle are herded by men who do this work almost full time, and usually look after the animals of several owners. They are paid an agreed proportion of the calves born, and also dispose of the milk. Herding cattle is considered to be rather a menial occupation, fit only for youths and the simple-minded.

There are also 28 donkeys in the village; most of these are owned singly. Unlike cattle, which are given out to herdsmen, donkeys are usually looked after by their owners, who also take them to Kirongwe carry-

ing copra, and returning with goods for the village shops. A donkey owner can make 6/- - 10/- on a single trip, which takes up half a day; these animals are thus more profitable and valuable than cattle, and they sell for a minimum of 300/- (£15).

There are also a few goats in the village, which are occasionally slaughtered at small feasts, and in connection with a certain type of spirit possession dance. They fetch 50/- - 100/-.

c) Boats and Fishing.

Another form of capital is boats. However, as has already been mentioned, no large dhows (majahazi) are owned by northerners, and in Kanga village there are not even any of the smaller dhows (mashua). Kanga people have to rely on Sweni dhows for transport to the mainland. However, many Kanga fishermen own outrigger canoes (ngalawa), which are useful for fishing in the coastal waters.

Some 79 men, or 38% of the male adult population, are regularly engaged in fishing in some form. The most profitable type of fishing is that done with large traps (wando) which require a team of 4 - 5 men, and can net up to 2,000 fish at one tide. The season during which these can be used is short, only about 6 months, and a trap rarely lasts for more than one season. However, the profits are relatively large, around £45 - £60, and are shared between the trap owner, who receives half, and his team, who share the remainder equally among themselves. The traps are expensive, costing around £30, and in 1966, only two Kanga men managed to raise the necessary cash.

The fish caught are dried or smoked, and sold to Kanga traders, who take them to sell in Dar es Salaam.

Other men fish on a somewhat smaller scale with nets (nailoni, or nyavu). There were three large nets operating in the village, and most of these were bought with loans. All of these required a team of two or three men. Other men owned smaller nets which they used themselves. Sometimes the large nets bring in sufficient fish to sell to traders, but most of the fish caught in this way are sold in the village.

Finally, other men fish alone with basket traps, or lines, but rarely catch even enough to sell; they generally consume whatever they catch themselves.

e) Trading.

This provides another important source of cash income. Some 48 men (23%) travel regularly to Dar es Salaam to sell fish, mats, chickens etc. or to Zanzibar to sell dried grass (ukindu), used in the making of mats. Even more people benefit indirectly from this trade, as they supply the traders with their goods. Apart from the 48 men already mentioned, nearly all men at some time in their lives manage to raise the capital to buy a stock of goods, and make a trading trip with them. Thus, most men in the village had visited Zanzibar, and many had also been to Dar es Salaam.

Traders return to the village with a miscellaneous selection of goods, including dates, salt, clothes and jewellery.

In the village, there are three shops, two owned by local men, and one belonging to an Arab who now lives in Kirongwe. The shops stock a small range of goods - flour, tea, sugar, beans, kerosene, soap, and a few miscellaneous articles like combs, exercise books, mirrors etc. Nearly all of these goods are obtained from Kirongwe, thus the profit margin is very slight. Most goods bought in Kanga are very expensive, as they are first transported from Dar es Salaam to Kilindoni, then sold to shopkeepers in Kirongwe, and finally to Kanga shopkeepers. At each stage, in addition to the middleman's profit, there are considerable transport costs. The shopkeepers are among the wealthier of the villagers.

e) Paid Labour.

As I have already said, there is little opportunity for people to earn money outside the village, as there is no job market even in the south of the island. Within the village some younger men make a little money by acting as coconut fellers, or breakers of nuts; occasionally there is a demand for porters to carry goods from the village down to the shore.

In addition to casual labour, there is a demand for specialist work in the village; there is a carpenter, several tailors, and ritual specialists, such as Koran teachers, or spirit shamans, whose roles are discussed in Chapters VII and VIII. There are also a handful of people receiving a government salary. These include the VEO, the TANU secretary, the dresser and his assistant at the dispensary, and the three school-teachers, who in fact live between Bweni and Kanga. At the time of study, only the VEO and the dresser's assistant were Kanga men; the others were mainly from southern Mafia. (The latter are not included in the census already given, as they did not participate in any village activities).

Each year between 20 and 30 men from the village are employed by the government for 2 - 4 weeks to repair the motorable track which runs from Kirongwe through Kanga to Bweni. Priority is given to those who have not paid their taxes (Local Rate, or ushuru of 30/- annually).

f) Migration.

Opportunities for emigration are somewhat limited. A few men in the village have migrated to Dar es Salaam, and work as petty traders. One of the richest men in Kanga is mostly resident in the capital, where he sells mats which he buys at home. He invests most of his money in Kanga, mainly in the form of coconut trees, and has also built a fine large house. His wife and children remain in the village, and he himself plans to retire there.

Many more people migrate to Zanzibar for varying periods. The commonest pattern is for young men aged between 16 and 20 to spend a year or so in Zanzibar town. They say that they go to 'see the world', and their elders say that they 'have a fling' before returning to marry in the village, and settle down to sober lives. Before the Zanzibar revolution, some men would go annually to pick cloves, but this is no longer possible. However, hardly any of these youths manage to bring back any money; often their parents said that they had to send them their return fares!

A few men stay for longer periods, and either take their wives with them, or even marry local Zanzibari girls. However, the majority of them do eventually return. The main reason for this is that they inherit property in the village, and can always obtain land there. In Zanzibar, on the other hand,

once they are past working age, they have no security. Very few of them manage to make enough money to buy their own houses, or trees, in Zanzibar. The few that do succeed usually stay there permanently and cease to be Kangans.

Emigrants to Zanzibar keep in close contact with their relatives. Letters are frequent, usually delivered by the Kanga traders who visit Zanzibar town regularly, and are thus able to take first-hand news back and forth. Youths who go to Zanzibar to work for a few months or years always go to stay with relatives who are already there.

Emigration thus does provide an alternative to staying in the village, and earning an income by farming or fishing. However, since most of the emigrants work as labourers for very low wages, they are not able to save any money, or send remittances back home. Most of them eventually return no richer than when they left the village.

(3) Economic opportunities.

The main type of new economic opportunity being created in the village is through loans. These were originally made by the District Council, and are now channelled through the Co-operative societies. However, the amount of money available for loans is very limited, and the lenders have to be fairly sure that they will be repaid. Accordingly, the recipients of loans fall into two categories - those who are already wealthy, with capital such as coconut trees or cattle, which could be taken in lieu of repayment, or else holders of political office, such as the Chairmen of Diwans. Since the latter tend to be in any case among the richer members of the community, the loan system to a large extent maintains the status quo. However, it does allow for the employment of other men, e.g. as fishermen in the wando teams.

It may be noted that within the village itself, there is no-one who lends money on a semi-commercial basis. The shopkeepers give some credit, and wealthy men will occasionally lend small sums to close relatives, but most people wishing to obtain a loan would have to look outside the village.

A few men have managed to increase their wealth by being successful traders. Of course, this requires some initial capital to buy up goods, but some men, starting from small beginnings, have succeeded in making this practically a full-time occupation.

The only other method of becoming wealthy without capital is to plant coconut trees. However, this is not always possible, as it is a long-term project. Trees do not mature for around 7 years, and in the meanwhile, they have to be guarded; otherwise they will be lost to pests. This leaves little time for other cash-producing activities, so that few trees are planted by young men, who are busy fishing or performing labouring jobs. It is rather the older man who already has a certain amount of capital which yields him an income, who can decide to plant on a large scale, and thus increase his wealth.

Three points may be added to the foregoing discussion. The first is that, on the whole, wealth is concentrated in the hands of middle-aged or older men and women, and that more men than women own more property. Secondly, opportunities for economic improvement are extremely limited, and as far as could be gauged, property tends to remain in the hands of the same people. Only a minority manage to build up wealth through their own efforts and raise their economic status in a lifetime. Finally, as one man remarked "There are no rich men in Kanga". Even by the standards of Mafia, Kanga villagers are poor. Not a single person in the village, apart from the old and crippled, did not depend for his food largely on his own efforts as a cultivator. However, there are considerable differences in the cash incomes of villagers. Over a third of the male population has an annual cash income of less than £12/10/-, while only 3% have an income in excess of £100 per annum, as the following table shows :

Table 2:3. Total cash incomes¹² (men).

Income per annum	% of adult male population
0 - 250/-	37
250 - 500/-	22
500/- - 1000/-	25
1000/- - 2000/-	13
2000/- - 8000/-	3
Total	100

(4) Consumption.

People need cash for a variety of reasons. First of all, as has already been mentioned, most of them do not grow enough food to support themselves, thus they need to buy staples, such as rice, beans etc. for part of the year. Secondly, all men have to pay taxes - 30/- per annum (45/- if payment is delayed beyond a certain date). But apart from these there are certain daily expenses which can only be met by cash. Among these are foods which are not grown, but bought in the shops. These include sugar, tea and cakes which are eaten for breakfast by those households which can afford them. Then, unless the household head is a fisherman, fish needs to be bought daily. (Chicken or meat are not eaten daily, only at feasts). In addition, most men in the village smoke, and cigarettes are purchased from the village shops.

Thus the average daily cash needs for a nuclear family of husband, wife and two children, would be a minimum of 1/- during the period when they are eating their harvest, and about 3/- during the 'hungry months' when the harvest has finished.

Apart from daily needs, money is spent over a period of a year on new clothes, school¹² fees for the children, and licences for radios (3 in the village), bicycles (2, both belonging to the dispensers) and shops.

Annual cash needs may thus be shown as follows :

Table 2:4 Annual cash needs.

Man	Woman	Child	
80/-	110/-	45/-	Clothes
30/-	-	10/-	Taxes and school fees
390/-	140/-	55/-	Food
500/-	250/-	100/-	Total expenditure

* The figure is much lower for a woman, because some items are bought for the household as a whole, e.g. sugar, tea, fish, and are thus entered in the husband's column. Households of which women are the head, however, would have a larger amount of expenditure in the woman's column.

The composition of households is discussed in a later chapter. However, it may be said at this point, that as the basic production and consumption unit in the village is the household, then certain conclusions about household viability may be drawn on the basis of the figures given above. 'Viability' is difficult to define. I have used the term to mean what the

villagers would mean - enough to buy extra food, pay taxes, and perhaps one new set of clothes for each member of the family. This is the absolute minimum in their eyes. However, mainly because of the poor copra yields and prices in 1966, few households achieved even this minimum. Around 67% of all households in the village fell below, 20% just about maintained it, and a further 13% had a surplus, and would be able to afford more clothes, and a slightly better standard of food. In a good year, rather more households would be living at a better standard, and these figures would have to be somewhat revised. However, they emphasize again that there are considerable variations from household to household. Of course, some of the men who had a high cash income would still not be living in households which are in the 'surplus' category, because of the large size of the families and vice versa.

I have based the above figures on an assessment of the earnings of labourers, fishermen, traders, shop-keepers; and on annual income from coconut trees, cattle, donkeys etc. It will be noted that these are primarily male-dominated occupations. Women have very little opportunity for earning money, except by plaiting mats. All women do this, and can expect to earn around 50/- per annum. Most of them spend it on clothes for themselves or their children. Some women also have an income from their coconut trees. However, it should be noted that under Islamic law husbands are obliged to provide their wives and children with food and clothes, and any income the wife has is hers to spend as she pleases. A few wives, who are in a position to do so, contribute to the household expenses, and in that case, a few more households may be lifted out of the 'non-viable' into the 'viable' category.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUCTURE OF THE DESCENT GROUPS.

In many areas of social activity the villagers in Kanga act as members of corporate, unrestricted cognatic descent groups. This Chapter describes the formal structure of these groups, showing how members are recruited, and new groups are formed, and discusses the contexts in which they function as social units. This involves a consideration of marriage, particularly preferential kin marriage, and divorce, which have an important effect on the operation of the descent groups. Finally, some of the questions which the remainder of the thesis seeks to answer, are raised, particularly that of the range of choice afforded to individuals by cognatic systems.

In the contexts of land-holding, residence, marriage and spirit possession, Kanga people see themselves as being divided into six cognatic descent groups (vikao, sing. kikao) called Kidakuli, Kitotoni, Karibuni, Mtundani, Kiungani and Changwa. For some purposes the Gunya in the village also form, in effect, a separate descent group.

The cognatic descent groups in Kanga are so termed because they are 'ancestor-focussed', rather than being 'ego-focussed'. The method of recruitment is by birth, and all the descendants of a common ancestor, through both men and women, are members of the group. Furthermore, membership is on the basis of ascription only; it is not necessary to reside with the group, or interact with it in some other way in order to claim membership. In this respect, the descent groups in Kanga differ from some of those in Polynesia, where membership is often conferred by birth and residence, e.g. the kainga of the Gilbertese Islanders, as described by Goodenough (1955), and to a lesser extent, the New Zealand Maori (Firth 1957, 1963). The Kanga descent groups are thus 'unrestricted' in terms of residence or other methods of affiliation; they are also unrestricted by sex, since membership is traced through both men and women.

Descent groups in Kanga may be defined as corporate according to most of the available definitions, e.g. continuity and the exercise of common rights, (Maine 1888); the regulation of the group by administrative authority, (Weber 1957); control of collective property, the existence of authoritative

representation, and the occasional meeting of the group (Radcliffe-Brown 1950); the collective exercise of a set of rights and the acceptance of a set of duties (Firth 1959). The only possible argument against the corporateness of the groups is that they are not discrete; thus they do not conform to one of Weber's criteria, that corporate groups must be exclusive.

A descent group can be shown on a single genealogy since all of its members are descended from a single ancestor¹. Inevitably, not all of the members can trace their relationship to one another since some of the descent groups are very large. The largest, Kidakuli, has a depth of some 10 generations; Mtundani has eight generations, Kitotoni six, and the remainder (Karibuni, Kiungani and Changwa) seven each. Kinship is usually recognised to the third and fourth generations above ego, and people will then be able to trace their relationship fairly exactly. Of people with whom there is a more distant connection, they will say 'we are connected', (ndugu) but have to turn to the Elders of the descent groups in order to find out the exact nature of the relationship. However, as long as a man can find an Elder who will validate his claim to be descended from a founder of the descent group, he retains his rights therein. Only if the genealogical link has been forgotten by all the keepers of genealogical records, will his claim be denied. It should be noted that not all old men are automatically Elders and thus considered to be repositories of genealogical information. Of course, older people know more about such matters than younger ones. But the fact remains that in each descent group there are a small handful of older men whom I propose to call 'Elders' who are referred to as the 'wazee' (old men) or 'wakubwa' (important men), because they know the genealogy of the descent group, having been themselves taught by a former Elder. These men tend to act as informal 'leaders' and representatives of the descent groups on certain occasions.

What are the functions of the descent groups? One of the most important is that they hold land, both residential and cultivable. The word for a descent group is kikao, and this is derived from the Swahili word kukaa, meaning 'to live' (in a place). Kanga people themselves emphasize the close relationship between residential land and descent groups in explaining the

existence of the six groups in their village today. They say that originally the six descent groups were separate hamlets scattered around the present village site. The members of each hamlet recognised themselves as descendants of a single ancestor or ancestress, who had established rights over the land of the hamlet. Other people might have come to live in the hamlet on sufferance, and possibly marry a hamlet member. In such a case, the children would have had full rights as members of the hamlet. The villagers say today that when the descent groups lived separately they were almost entirely endogamous units, and did not inter-marry.

To some extent, this explanation is substantiated by the little historical evidence available, chiefly, the map drawn by Baumann (1896) which shows five hamlet names grouped around the present village site. All of these names are in use today, but most of the sites are no longer inhabited; they are merely used for the cultivation of annual crops. Three of Baumann's hamlet names coincide with the names of present-day descent groups in Kanga; Changwa, Kidakuli and Karibuni (or Ukande), and the land shown on the map to be associated with these groups is still claimed by them. However, only the Changwa descent group is still living on the site of the old hamlet. The area once occupied by the Karibuni (Ukande) people, in the north of the village, was taken over by some German settlers, and the former inhabitants went to live in the south of the present village. The Kidakuli people, who are shown as living on a ridge to the east of the present village, now live within the village itself, and only return to their original home to cultivate land. Graves and wells on the ridge testify to their former occupation. The Kidakuli people say that they came down into the present village because the Germans insisted that every man should plant at least 50 coconut trees, and the soil was not suitable on the ridge. This indeed may be the reason why the hamlets moved closer together to form a single village, since the sandy soil in and around the village is so much more suitable than that further afield.

The names of the remaining three descent groups do not appear on Baumann's map. One of them, Kitotoni, was formed recently by the hiving off of a segment of the Karibuni descent group. The areas occupied by the remaining two descent groups were probably subsumed under what Baumann called 'Kanga'.

Today, the village is divided into named wards, each one of which is associated with a descent group (cf. map of village). The majority of the people living in a ward are members of the descent group concerned, or else are married into it (cf Chapter IV). The majority of the bush lands surrounding the village are likewise divided up between the descent groups, and rights to this land are obtained through descent group membership. This is discussed in detail in Chapter V.

Apart from functioning as land-holding units, descent groups act corporately on certain occasions. Thus, for example, when kinship rituals, such as marriages, funerals and puberty rites are held, the cooking is carried out by women grouped according to descent. Each woman is affiliated with a cooking group after her marriage, and usually cooks with this same group for the rest of her life. The cooking group is one of the descent groups of her father or mother.

Another occasion on which the descent groups regularly act as social units is an annual communal ritual involving the circumambulation of the village for which contributions of money and food are collected by the leaders of the descent groups.

In addition to such regular occasions as those mentioned above, the descent groups can function as social units on other occasions. Thus, for example, I was told that during the war rations were distributed according to descent group membership; furthermore, if any compulsory labour was required by the government, men worked in gangs composed of members of descent groups.

Descent groups are also associated with different kinds of ritual activity, and because of this, with political power, and social status. Thus certain descent groups, notably those whose members are thought to be particularly pious Muslims are considered to be of high status and therefore are able to command most of the political power in the village, while others, and the Kidakuli group in particular, are considered to be inferior socially because of their lack of orthodox 'piety', and adherence to spirit possession cults.

The descent groups are internally differentiated into segments known variously as matumbo, mlango, and makoo. (sing. tumbo, mlango and koo). The word 'tumbo', which literally means 'stomach' or 'womb', would seem to be fairly simple to define, as the children of one mother. However, although this use is common in other parts of the coast, in Mafia it can equally well mean the children of one father, and can be applied to a unit several generations in depth. It is in fact through his membership of a tumbo that a man is a member of a descent group, and many of his rights and duties are defined by tumbo membership, rather than by membership of the kikao as a whole. Thus for example, the large named fields which are held by the vikao are in fact allocated on the basis of tumbo membership; a man can only obtain land through his tumbo, he cannot go anywhere on the land of the kikao. Similarly with spirit possession; men and women are possessed by the same spirits as possessed their ancestors, so that although all the mediums are Kidakuli people, a particular Kidakuli man or woman can only be possessed by the spirit which is associated with his or her particular tumbo.

A tumbo, then, may be defined as the descendants of one man or woman; it can vary in depth from two to ten generations, and its meaning is only clear in context. Much the same definition applies to the makoo and mlango. In some parts of the coast², koo like tumbo, has the connotation of femaleness, but on Mafia it is used to refer to the descendants of both men and women. It is used in Kanga synonymously with tumbo and occasionally it is also a synonym for kikao. mlango, which literally means 'door', again is used with the same meaning as tumbo and koo. As one old man said to me, "Koo and tumbo and mlango are just diferent words; they have the same meaning." In this thesis, I do not propose to make any distinction between them.

One important distinction between the descent group (kikao) and the segment (tumbo), apart from the different functions described above, is that members of the former cannot all trace their relationship to one another. Members of the segment, on the other hand, generally know how they are related. Thus members of a man's tumbo are also part of his kinship universe (cf. Chapter VI); whereas many of the members of his descent group are outside this category.

Segments occasionally break off from the parent group and form an independent descent group, as has already happened in the case of Kitotoni. It is difficult to obtain information about when and why these descent groups segmented in this way. In the case of Kitotoni, it seems likely that a group left the Karibuni ward, and settled in the present Kitotoni ward. The break between them seems to have coincided with the introduction of a new Islamic ritual, and the division of the village between two rival societies concerned with this ritual. Karibuni supported the leader (Sheikh) of one society, while Kitotoni supported the other, and, in fact, assumed leadership of it (cf. Chapter VII). Thus it may have been that the two segments were no longer able to function as a single unit.

Even now the Karibuni descent group appears to be in the process of splitting yet again, with a group resident in the Kiunga Pemba ward (cf. map Fig.2:2), asserting its independence of the parent group. On occasion, I have heard people refer to this as a descent group, and claim that there are seven, not six, vikao in Kanga. Kiunga Pemba and Karibuni still interact in a number of important contexts, however, notably inter-marriage, land-holding, and most Islamic practices, although they now use separate daily mosques. The Kitotoni descent group, on the other hand, does not interact in these ways with its parent Karibuni group.

Another group which appears to be in the process of splitting is Changwa. One segment still remains in the northern part of the village, where Baumann placed it 70 years ago, but another segment has moved to the south. This segment identifies itself and interacts with the neighbouring Karibuni group. However, members of both segments still call themselves Changwa people, and hold cultivable land in common.

Since descent groups are no longer, if indeed they ever were (as the Kanga people claim) endogamous, it is obvious that a man or woman whose parents were members of different vikao, can claim membership of as many descent groups as could his parents. As this is a cumulative process, it might be expected that over a period of time most people would be able to claim member-

ship in all the descent groups in the village, and several outside it as well.

In fact this is not the case, as the following figures show :

Table 3:1.

Descent Group Membership.

<u>Name of descent group.</u>	<u>No. of members (male & female)</u>	<u>Percentage of adult population.</u>
Kidakuli	222	46
Kitotoni	84	17
Changwa	125	26
Kiungani	106	22
Mtundani	58	12
Karibuni	77	16

These numbers include adult men and women who are living in the village; there are many others, particularly women, who are descent group members but live outside Kanga.

One of the principal methods of reducing the number of descent group members is by preferential kin marriage, usually between cousins. Since any two people who are kin share membership of at least one descent group, it follows that their children are members of fewer descent groups than if their parents had been unrelated. Another factor is the high rate of marriage with non-Kanga people, i.e. inter-village marriage. This means that although the children of such unions will have rights in the descent groups of other villages, the number of Kanga descent groups in which they can claim membership is lessened. Marriage, and the way in which it affects the structure of the descent groups, is discussed below.

Marriage.

Marriage in Kanga is conducted according to Islamic law (sharia) and in particular, according to the tenets of the Shafe'i school. It is considered a normal and desirable state, and almost every girl marries soon after puberty, while few boys delay taking a wife beyond their very early twenties. The only adults in Kanga who have never been married are two men who had spent long periods in Zanzibar, and had returned to the village without wives, and two young girls who are blind. Even in cases of quite severe handicaps, a spouse is normally found.

Under Islamic law, men may marry up to four wives at any one time, but only a minority of men in Kanga are polygynously married; 22, or 10% of the adult male population have two wives, and one man has three wives. However, divorce, which is discussed later in this Chapter, is extremely frequent, and serial polygamy is the norm for both men and women.

The most prestigious form of marriage is with a young girl, who is expected to be a virgin. Normally, such girls are married to youths also marrying for the first time. The first marriages of both girls and youths are arranged by parents and/or grandparents. These marriages are attended by the greatest celebrations, with both parties incurring great expense. Subsequent marriages, when the couples please themselves as to choice of partner, are smaller affairs.

It is normally first marriages which take place between close kin. The commonest form of preferential kin marriage is between cross-cousins (binamu): they have a joking relationship, and if a girl does not marry one of her cross-cousins he then has the right to claim a small sum of money (ugongo) from her groom. Patrilineal parallel cousin marriage is almost as frequent (cf Table 3:2), but matrilineal parallel cousin marriage is very rare, except among the Arabs, and those who associate themselves with them. Kin marriage is not restricted to members of the same generation, and there are numerous instances of men marrying their classificatory mothers, daughters, and even grand-daughters.

Table 3:2.

Kin Marriage.

<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Number.</u>
a) with a patrilineal parallel cousin	21
b) with a patrilineal cross-cousin	23
c) with a matrilineal cross-cousin	20
d) with a matrilineal parallelcousin	6
e) with a classificatory daughter	8
f) with a classificatory mother	1
g) with a distant relative	41
h) with an unrelated person	260
	<hr/>
Total marriages	380 (100%)
	<hr/>

Note: These figures are for all, i.e. first and subsequent marriages.

Out of a total of 380 marriages, 120 (31%) are between kin who can trace their relationship, and of these, no fewer than 80 (21%) are between close kin (i.e. those with a common ancestor not more than three generations back). Another 10% are between kin who are more distantly related, but nonetheless can trace their relationship. If the figures are restricted to first marriages only, 36% are between close kin (as already defined) and a further 9% between distant kin. Thus, in the case of first marriages, 45% take place between kin who are close enough to trace their relationship.

What are the reasons for and effects of this type of preferential marriage? The majority of people in Kanga would say that marriage with kin is a good thing for three reasons: a) the families concerned know each other well; b) any marital quarrels can be settled within the family, and c) such marriages are more stable than those between non-kin.

The first reason is obviously valid up to a point. The parties do at least know something about each other's ancestry, and so can avoid marrying off a child to someone who is concealing slave status or any other undesirable facts. However, if the families live in different villages, they may not know each other well, and the young couple may never have set eyes on one another. But such marriages between geographically distant kin have the advantage of renewing a kinship link which is in danger of becoming defunct.

The second point would also seem to be valid. At least six cases of disputes between husband and wife who were unrelated came before the Village Development Council during my stay in Kanga, but only one case between a husband and wife who were kin, and even this was rather exceptional. Marital quarrels between spouses who were related prior to marriage are usually settled by an informal meeting of their relatives.

Obviously, kin are not always successful in settling disputes, and quite a high proportion of kin marriages do end in divorce. However, it is true that fewer kin marriages than non-kin marriages end in divorce, as the following table shows:

Table 3:3. .

Comparison of rates of divorce in first marriages as between kin and non-kin.

<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Divorced.</u>	<u>Deceased.</u>	<u>Surviving.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Kin	23 (23%)	7 (7%)	70 (70%)	100 (100%)
Non-kin	40 (37%)	13 (11%)	55 (51%)	108 (100%)

Only 23% of first marriages between kin end in divorce, compared with 37% of first marriages between previously unrelated persons..

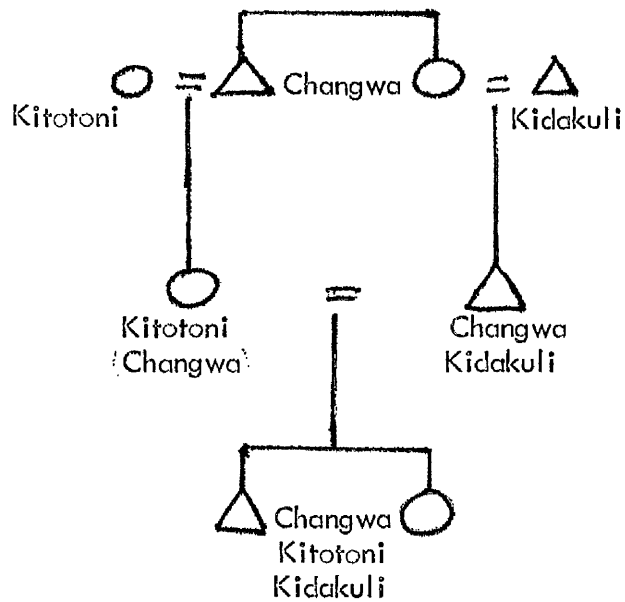
Three effects of kin marriage may be distinguished. First of all, it prevents the fragmentation of property on inheritance; secondly, it reduces the size of descent groups, by reducing the number of groups in which any individual can claim membership, thus restricting his choice; thirdly, if practised intensively, it creates a small circle of intra-marrying kin, who may in fact use this strategy to preserve their status (cf. Chapters VII and VIII).

Property, such as trees, catile, goods etc., is inherited under Islamic law, and passes through both men and women. Normally, however, women receive only half of a man's portion. Occasionally women receive an equal amount, either by agreement with their brothers, or else because a dying parent has requested this. Obviously, the effect of kin marriage is to keep property, mainly coconut trees, in the hands of a smaller range of kin than might otherwise happen. This does not mean that an individual necessarily receives a larger holding, but that his holding is less fragmented, i.e. it is concentrated in a single area rather than being scattered all over the village, or among several villages. An important aspect of this is that the intra-marrying group has its trees in the same area, and thus is likely to reside together. This is more fully discussed in the following Chapter.

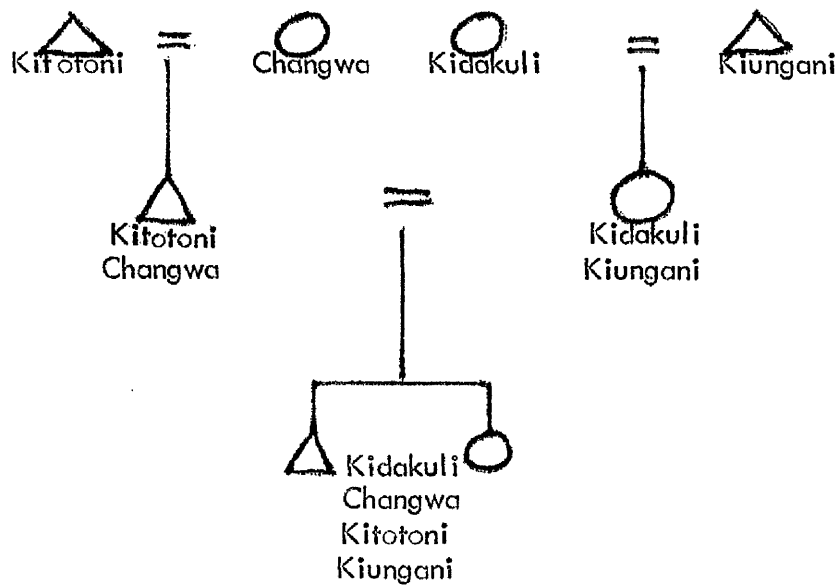
The second effect of kin marriage, as already mentioned, is that it reduces the size of the descent group in which it is practised. It also means that the offspring of such marriages have claims to membership of fewer descent groups.

The following diagram illustrates this point :

Fig. 3:1. A Kin marriage and descent group membership.



B. Non-kin marriage and descent group membership.



In spite of the fact that the majority of such marriages are said to take place 'between kin', rather than within the descent group, the fact remains that they have an effect on the descent group itself. Furthermore, apart from the 45% of first marriages which take place between kin who can trace a relationship, a further 15% take place between people who cannot say how they are related, but nonetheless are members of the same descent group. This means that a total of 60% of first marriages takes place within a descent group, which obviously reduces considerably the number of people who can claim membership in different groups.

However, this is somewhat mitigated in its effects by the high divorce and re-marriage rate, which means that men, during their lifetime have an average of 2.75 wives per head, and women 2.1 husbands. Divorce, particularly for men, is extremely easy to obtain, as they only need to use the Islamic formula of repudiation. Women can usually find a pretext to sue for divorce in the courts by claiming that their husbands are not maintaining them adequately, or else they can 'persuade' their husbands to divorce them.

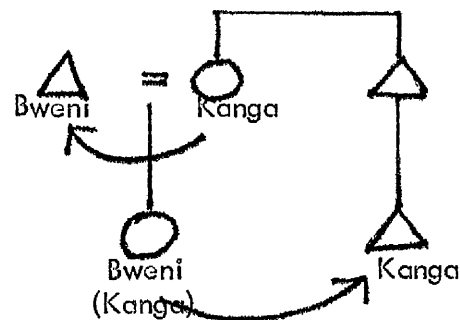
This high divorce and re-marriage rate means that a woman's closest ties are with her mother and/or brothers, and it is to them that she returns after divorce. Her own mother may not by this time be living with her father. Since children normally remain with their mothers, they often grow up among their maternal rather than paternal kin, and this has an effect on residence patterns. It balances the bias towards patriliney which the patrilocal norm of residence after marriage might cause. Most important of all for the purposes of this Chapter is that it mitigates the effects of kin marriages. Since many first marriages between kin end in divorce and since subsequent marriages are not necessarily between kin, many women bear children by men to whom they are not related, and such children will have membership of a larger number of descent groups than those who are the children of kin marriages.

Another type of marriage which has a limiting effect on the size of the descent groups is inter-village marriage. Of course, this can be both between kinsmen or strangers. A large number of marriages take place between people in Kanga, and villagers of Bweni, Futa, Jimbo and Mrali; a smaller

proportion marry people from Banja and Kirongwe villages, and a minority marry members of villages south of Kirongwe, notably Baleni. Within Kanga, some 36% of the total female adult population have married in from other villages, and approximately the same number of Kanga women are married outside their village.

It should, however, be pointed out that women from other villages may in fact be the daughters of Kanga women married out in the previous generation. Thus some of these women already have kinship ties in Kanga and can claim membership of descent groups there. This is shown in the following diagram :

Fig. 3:2. Inter-village marriage.



The result of this type of marriage is that a large number of men and women in Kanga have ties with other villages, and membership of descent groups there. These ties remain important, and in many cases are used to obtain residential and cultivation rights, or to continue the pattern of inter-marriage. However, within the village the effects of such a large amount of inter-village marriage is to reduce the number of Kanga descent groups in which any person can claim membership. Membership of descent groups is spread over a number of villages. Conversely, it reduces the size of Kanga descent groups because people who might have been members, had their parents both been Kanga

people, can claim only half-Kanga descent, and hold membership of the remainder of their descent groups in other villages.

To sum up, because the descent groups in Kanga are unrestricted, many people can claim membership of more than one group. However, the likelihood that anyone will be able to claim membership of all groups is small, because kin marriage (and intra-descent group marriage), as well as inter-village marriage, reduce the number of Kanga descent groups in which an individual can claim rights. This is seen in the following table :

Table 3:4.

Numbers of descent groups in which membership is claimed.

	<u>1 d/g</u>	<u>2 d/g</u>	<u>3 d/g</u>	<u>4 d/g</u>	<u>5 d/g</u>	<u>Total.</u>
Men	84 (45%)	71 (38%)	28 (15%)	3 (1.5%)	1 (.5%)	187 (100%)
Women	89 (46%)	73 (38%)	24 (12%)	6 (3.0%)	1 (.5%)	193 (100%)

This table deals only with those persons in Kanga who are members of the six descent groups in the village. Arabs, descendants of slaves, Gunya, and immigrants from other areas are not included. Some 23 men (11% of the total male population), and 81 women (30% of the total female population) do not have claims to membership of any of the Kanga descent groups. (The reason for the much higher proportion of women with no descent group membership is that most of them are married in from other villages).

Leaving aside such people, the table demonstrates that very nearly the same proportions of men and women can claim membership of one, two, three, four or five descent groups in the village. It means too that more than half of the men and women in the village have some choice about affiliation. There are two possibilities open to people with membership of more than one descent group; one is to affiliate solely with one of their groups, and drop all effective ties with the rest. This may be carried to the extent of marrying off one's children within that group, thus effectively giving grandchildren a more limited choice, and ensuring that they mainly act within the chosen group. As will be seen, this is mainly done for status reasons (cf. Chapters VII and VIII). The second possibility is to exercise rights in some or all of the descent

groups of which one is a member; to claim membership in different groups at different times and in different contexts. These contexts will be examined in the following Chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

RESIDENCE PATTERNS.

Ward land and non-ward land.

Kanga village consists of a large area of thickly planted coconut trees, among which houses are built, and with occasional stretches of meadow land, the whole surrounded on three sides by bush, and on the western side by the sea.

Land may be categorised into three main types.

(i) Residential ward land in the centre of the village, which consists of coconut fields, and meadow land. This kind of land is held by descent groups.

(ii) Non-ward land - (1) to the north and east of the village; i.e. Kipanje and Zuiyeni, (cf. map Fig.2:2), which is used both for cultivation and residence, but which is not associated with descent groups, and (2) near the sea, on which trees were first planted fifty years ago, but which is not suitable for residence.

(iii) Bush land, used solely for the cultivation of annual crops.

In this Chapter, I shall be dealing only with land on which people reside. The problem to be considered concerns the factors governing residence decisions.

So far I have used the Swahili term kikao to mean a descent group. Etymologically, it is derived from the verb kukaa, meaning 'to live in a place'. The noun kikao is also used to refer to the part of the village associated with a particular descent group, that is the lands on which members of the descent group have a right to reside. I have translated kikao in this sense by the term 'ward'.

Some descent groups hold more than one ward; in such cases it is a large segment (tumbo) of the descent group which is associated with the ward. This applies to the Karibuni, Kiungani and Changwa descent groups, each of which holds two wards. The areas associated with these descent groups are shown on the map of the village on Page 28.

As Table 3:3 in Chapter III showed, a large proportion of the people in Kanga are members of more than one descent group. However, a person cannot live in more than one ward at a time. The main problem then to be

examined in this Chapter is what factors cause a man or woman to reside in a particular ward?

Choice of Ward Land.

Since virilocality is the norm of residence after marriage, it might be expected that all men would be brought up in their fathers' ward, and so choose to live there, thus causing a bias towards patrilineality. In fact this is not the case. Almost as many men live in wards associated with their mothers' descent groups, as with their fathers', and a considerable number live in wards associated with both parents, (i.e. they are the children of an intra-descent group marriage), as the following table shows :

Table 4:1.

Choice of residence. *

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage.</u>
Men residing in fathers' wards	55	29
" " " mothers' wards	42	22
" " " fathers' and mothers' wards	38	20
" " elsewhere		
Totals	187	100

Note: * This table considers only those men (187 out of 210) who have membership of a Kanga descent group. Others will be considered in a later section.

** This last figure includes men residing on non-ward land, and a few residing on ward land where they are not members. The latter category will be discussed later.

Coconut trees as a factor in residence choices.

People have the right to reside where they own coconut trees, and this right is recognised by the government, and by the villagers themselves.

There are over 20,000 coconut trees in Kanga owned by 486 men and women, giving an average of 87 trees per owner.

Table 4:2.

Ownership of coconut trees.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Number of trees	0	1-50	50-100	100-200	200-500	500 plus
Male owners	53	43	44	35	16	3
Female owners	170	76	15	11	2	0
All owners	213	129	59	46	18	3

Two points stand out in this table. The first is that there are many women, and even men, who do not own trees at all. The majority in this category are young people whose parents are still alive, and so have not yet acquired trees by inheritance. There are more men than women in this category for two reasons. Firstly, because in any case, women own fewer trees than men, and fewer women are tree owners; secondly, because many of the women in Kanga village, perhaps a third of the total female population, are married in from other villages, and may well have the prospect of owning, or indeed, already be owners of coconut trees there. On this latter point, I have no information.

The second point is that men own more trees than women. The most important reason for this is that because of the Islamic law on inheritance, a woman receives only half of a man's portion. Husbands and wives can also inherit from each other, but while a husband gets a quarter of his deceased wife's property, a wife gets only one eighth of her husband's. However, women do have one extra source of trees, and that is through the marriage payment (mahari) made to them by their husbands either at the time of marriage, or when the marriage is dissolved by divorce or death. Another point is that on the whole, women live longer than men, and so tend to inherit trees from their husbands, rather than vice versa.

Apart from inheritance, the chief methods of acquiring trees are through planting or buying. It is not often possible for a woman to do this; the latter method is difficult because few women can obtain cash with which to buy trees, and although women do plant trees in conjunction with their husbands, the number is small. It is mostly younger couples who plant trees together, often moving out of the village on to non-ward land, lying on the

outskirts, where anyone can settle. Most of the land within the wards is already completely planted up. However, living on non-ward land has its drawbacks; it is isolated from the social life of the village, and women particularly tend to dislike living there. Furthermore, it involves men in full-time agricultural work - cultivating annual crops, cassava, and planting coconut trees all in the same area, and usually this leaves little time for other activities, such as fishing, or casual labouring work, which brings in a small cash income. It takes at least seven years before a coconut tree begins to bear, and during the early years, the young trees have to be carefully watched, lest they be damaged by wild pigs. In short then, planting coconut trees is a long-term project, and few young men can afford to wait seven years for cash returns for their efforts. The fact remains, however, that of the people residing on non-ward land, the majority are young men, who will probably remain living there until their fathers and/or mothers die, leaving them some trees in the village. During the period of study, the majority of cases of moving house were those of young men moving from the village to non-ward land, or vice versa.

Buying trees is also a possibility for some men. Generally, it is older men who are in a position to do this - either men who already own trees, and have a source of income, not all of which is consumed by household expenses, or else who are successful traders. Young men are very rarely in a position to buy trees, as a single tree costs at least 20/-. It is a little difficult to generalise about the frequency with which trees change hands, because, as already remarked, the years of study were very dry, and the trees were bearing very little, so that few people had spare cash with which to buy trees, and in any case, since there was so little profit to be made from them, it was hardly worth while. However, some trees were bought and sold, and there appeared to be two motives for selling. One was sheer lack of cash; several people sold a few trees here and there to make ends meet. Generally this is condemned by everyone, as it is realised that a man who does this rarely has the means of buying them back. Several elderly men in the village were pointed out as dire warnings to the younger;

they were said to have owned plenty of trees at one time, but then to have gradually sold them off. The second motive for selling is a more positive one, and this is to try and get one's trees all in the same place. If a man inherits trees in more than one area, and perhaps acquires trees by other methods such as planting, then he may well sell some of the trees, and buy others in the area in which he is actually living.

Inheritance, buying and planting apart, a few people do acquire trees by other means, such as gift, or renting. The most common recipient of a gift is a daughter, particularly if she has no brothers. This is because under Islamic law, daughters may not inherit all their parents' property, and if a parent dies without sons, some of the property has to pass to the nearest male heir, usually a brother's sons. So some parents give gifts to their daughters before they die to mitigate this. Another method of ensuring that daughters get a larger share of property than is usual is by declaring property wakf, which means that it becomes an endowment which cannot be sold or divided. A wakf¹ may be made in favour of one or several persons, and if the latter, then the profits must be shared equally. Of course, this device also prevents feckless sons from selling off their inheritance, and leaving themselves without any capital. Another method of helping daughters to receive an equal proportion of property is for a parent, usually on his death bed, to ask his sons and daughters to keep the property as shirika. This institution is not recognised by Islamic law, but it means that the property remains undivided, and the profits are shared equally by sons and daughters. However, unlike wakf, which in theory at any rate, is a perpetual endowment, shirika only lasts for a generation, and on the death of one of the holders, has to be divided up.

The only other method of obtaining trees is by renting. This is rarely done in Kanga, although it happens more frequently in the southern villages. In Kanga, a few women lease their trees to men; they may find it convenient to do this if they are married away from the village, and have no male relatives to look after their interests. Women on the whole are more loth to sell trees than men, because since divorce is so frequent, ownership

provides them with some security when they are no longer supported by a husband.

The following table shows how trees were obtained in Kanga :

Table 4.3 . Methods of obtaining coconut trees in Kanga.

	I <u>Bought.</u>	II <u>Inherited.</u>	III <u>Planted</u>	IV <u>Other.</u>	V <u>Total.</u>
Men	4,023	7,613	3,719	1,086	16,441
Women	182	3,192	300	128	3,802
Total	4,205	10,805	4,019	1,214	20,243

Notes:

Column II (inherited). Women owners average 30 trees inherited, while men average 45. This is a higher proportion than might be expected at the 2.1 rate of inheritance, and is explained by the greater reluctance of women to part with their trees; the fact that women inherit more often from their husbands than the other way round; and finally, that women receive mahari from their husbands; (this is included as inheritance).

Column III (planted). Women own probably more of the planted trees than these figures indicate. When a husband and wife plant a field together, the trees are usually in the husband's name, and it is only after his death that the wife claims her share.

Column IV (other). This column includes trees acquired by gift, renting, and those trees held under wakf or shirika.

To what extent then do people own trees in the wards of their descent groups? The following table shows how many men own coconut trees on (A) ward land associated with a descent group of which they can claim membership; (B) ward land not associated with one of their descent groups (i.e. of which they are not members); and (C) non-ward land, i.e. land not associated with any descent group.

Table 4:4. Location of Coconut Trees.

<u>Kind of land.</u>	<u>No. of men owning trees.</u>	<u>Percentage.</u>
A	66	31
A + C	32	15
B	17	8
C	15	7
B + C	11	5
A + B	10	5
A + B + C	6	3
Own no trees	53	25
Total male population	210	100
Total men owning trees on	(A) land	114 (54%)
" " " " "	(B) land	44 (21%)
" " " " "	(C) land	64 (30.5%)

From the above table, it can be seen that approximately one third of the adult men own coconut trees only on ward land associated with descent groups of which they are members (A). An additional 15% own trees both in their own ward land and on new (i.e. non-ward) land (A + C), and another 7% on non-ward land only (C).

However, a total of 44 men, or 21% do own trees in wards where they do not have descent group membership (B type land). There are three important questions which must be asked about these men - firstly, who are they? Secondly, how did they acquire this land? And finally, do they actually reside on ward land where they own coconut trees, but which ward belongs to a descent group of which they are not members?

Fifteen of these 44 men are not members of any descent group in Kanga. Some of them are immigrants to Kanga from other villages, and others are descendants of slaves. The remainder are Kanga men who have membership of descent groups in the village.

How did these people acquire this land? As I have already pointed out, there are three principal ways of acquiring trees - inheritance, purchase and planting. Most people who have trees outside their own ward lands have purchased them. The oft-stated ideal in Kanga is that if a man must sell some of his coconut trees, a thing which is in itself highly undesirable, he must give pre-emptive rights to his neighbours, who are normally his close

kinsmen, and then to other kinsmen. To sell land to non-kin is frowned on, as the following case shows.

Case 4:1. Selling land to strangers.

S.A. was an only child when his father died, leaving him 66 coconut trees. The property was administered by the government office in Kilindoni, and leased to the boy's father's brother, who paid the rent into a trust fund in the government office. On coming of age, the boy was to take possession of his trees, and of the rent which had accrued during the years of his minority.

In 1966, four years after his father's death, S.A. was fifteen years old, and under Islamic law, this meant that he had attained his majority, although it seems unlikely that this would have been recognised by the government officials administering his estate. S.A. was a shiftless youth, with no occupation, and he decided to sell all his trees in order to buy a bicycle. He did this without consulting any of his relatives. The buyer was not a kinsman, and in fact was a Banja villager. He bought the trees for only 650/-, when they were worth at least 2,000/- at the current market price.

S.A.'s father's brother's son, acting on behalf of the father's brother who had rented the trees, went to Kilindoni to petition that the sale was illegal on two counts. The first was that the boy was simple, and although theoretically an adult (at least under Islamic law) incapable of handling his own affairs. The second point was that the sale was void because neighbours had not been offered pre-emptive rights.

The case had not been decided before I left the field, as the boy had meanwhile been arrested and sentenced to a two-year term in prison for stealing.

This case illustrates the concern with which people view the sale of trees to non-kin. Almost all other cases of sale that I heard about during my stay in the village were between kinsmen and/or neighbours. One exception is the following case, in which a man did sell coconut trees to an affine who was not a kinsman.

Case 4:2. Selling trees to an affine.

A.J. sold a few coconut trees in a large field which he owned to an affine, his daughter's husband, who was a Bweni man. Shortly afterwards, the son-in-law wished to sell these trees in order to raise some cash, as he was in the process of purchasing a large field elsewhere. He offered to sell back the trees to A.J., who unfortunately had no money at the time. However, he went round to all his relatives, saying what a terrible thing it would be if the trees were sold to strangers... In the end he managed to raise the necessary cash and buy the trees back.

A.J. managed to 'save' his trees by borrowing money from his relatives. Similarly, in the previous case, S.A.'s relatives emphasized that if it had been proved that the boy had a right to sell the trees, which they themselves doubted, then they would have taken steps to buy them themselves.

However, there are exceptions to the above ideal. Firstly, affines may be able to get hold of coconut trees as in case 4:2. Secondly, sometimes a man sells to a kinsman who is not a member of the descent group associated with the ward in which the trees are located. Finally, it may be that a man desperate for money, and with no close kin to put pressure on him, or to help him financially, may sell to someone who is not a kinsman, but has ready cash. Thus it is quite possible for people to get trees on land not associated with one of their own descent groups.

In a few cases, people acquire trees on such land by gift, and their children then inherit. Apparently, it was common formerly when freeing a slave to give him some coconut trees, and this may be how descendants of slaves came to acquire trees on ward land.

Our third question about these 44 men was to what extent they utilise their ownership of coconut trees, and actually reside on ward land not associated with their own descent groups. Only half of the 44 men who own coconut trees on B type land (i.e. ward land associated with descent groups of which they are not members) actually use their rights for residential purposes. Eight of these men are, in any case, not members of Kanga descent groups. This means that out of the total male population of 210 men, only 14 are residing in conflict with the norm that residential rights are obtained through ownership of coconut trees and descent group membership, which is obviously a very small proportion. Furthermore, a few of these men reside in the western part of the Kidakuli ward. This area was settled by the Kidakuli people later than the rest of the ward, and a few non-Kidakuli people had already planted trees and settled there.

. In addition to these 22 men, an additional 14 men reside on ward land to which they do not have rights derived either through descent or ownership of coconut trees. Many of these are living uxorilocally, either because they are polygynously married (in which case it is the norm for the second wife to remain in her natal ward) or else because these men are strangers who have married into the village.

On the whole, however, residence is fairly consistent with descent group membership. A large minority of men own trees on B and C type land, but they do not reside there; because B type land is not associated with one of their descent groups, and because C type land is either near the sea, where there is no settlement, or else involves living in isolation on the fringes of the village. A small proportion of men do live on B type land - but they are nearly all men without membership of any descent group, such as descendants of slaves, or of immigrants from other villages or else they are living uxorilocally. A few men also live on C type land - many of these are young men, who usually move back into the main residential area when the trees they have planted are safely established, or else when they inherit trees from their parents.

Factors involved in residence decisions.

Taking the ownership of coconut trees, and membership in a descent group as the criteria for conferring residence rights in a ward, it may be asked to what extent people have a choice about where to reside. As Table 3:4 in Chap.III showed, many men in the village are members of more than one descent group. But how many of these actually own trees in more than one ward? The number is in fact very small - only ten men own trees in more than one ward associated with descent groups of which they are members.

What are the factors which contribute to this state of affairs? One explanation is that if a sibling group inherits trees in a number of wards, it may split up, with each brother taking trees in different areas. This had happened to two men who inherited trees from their father on Kiungani and Kitotoni land. They split up, and each took a field in a different ward.

Another possibility is that often husbands and wives own trees in the same ward so that their children inherit trees in one ward only. This may be either because of the high rate of intra-descent group marriage, or it may be because a couple planted trees together in the same ward.

Finally, it must be remembered that some women never acquire any trees at all, hence children inherit only from their fathers. Or, if a husband dies first, his wife inherits along with their children, and then her share eventually passes to them.

Another explanation of why men tend to own trees in only one ward is that they may well sell trees if they inherit them in several areas. Generally, people like to reside near to their trees, so that they can keep an eye on them; and of course, it is easier to fell the nuts in a single field, than in several scattered holdings.

Generally speaking, however, men only own trees in one of their wards. Now the main method of acquiring trees, as I have already shown, is through inheritance. Since men obviously own more trees than women, it might be expected that men would tend to inherit more from their fathers than their mothers, and thus be more likely to settle in the wards of the former. At first sight, this would seem to be the case; men do inherit trees more often and in greater quantities from their fathers than from their mothers (cf Table 4:5). Furthermore, for those men who do not own trees, it is necessary, should they live on ward land, to live with a relative who does own trees, and the most obvious choice of relative is the father, as the following table shows :

Table 4:5. Residence and Coconut Trees.

	<u>No. of men.</u>	
Resident on coconut fields inherited from: -		
Father	49	(23%)
Mother	19	(9%)
Father and mother	11	(5%)
Other	6	(3%)
Resident on coconut fields owned by :-		
Father	23	(11%)
Mother	13	(6%)
Other relative	5	(2%)
Affines (including wife)	9	(4%)
Other and unknown	17	(9%)
Resident on coconut fields acquired by :-		
Buying	34	(16%)
Planting	24	(11%)
Total	210	(100%)

If we return to Table 4:1 of this Chapter, we see that residential affiliation to a descent group is almost equally divided between mothers' and fathers' groups. Yet the above Table 4:5 shows that a far higher proportion of men reside on land they have inherited from their fathers than from their mothers, and also more reside on coconut fields owned by their fathers than their mothers. The only explanation which reconciles the two tables, is that many men acquire trees in their mothers' wards by buying and planting.

The question that then arises is why men desire to live in their mothers' wards, even to the extent of going to the trouble of buying and planting trees there. In order to fully understand why men reside as they do, it is necessary to consider the composition of smaller units within the ward - households and clusters.

The Household.

The household is defined as the primary unit of production and consumption, and it may be composed of one or more houses. The great majority of households are made up of a husband and wife, and their

young children, but a few are extended by the addition of an elderly relative, or a divorced or widowed younger woman with her children. Although polygyny is permitted under Islamic law, only a minority of men in Kanga (10%) have more than one wife, and all of these men keep their wives in separate households.

The following table gives the composition of households in Kanga:

Table 4:6. Household composition.

Nuclear family	181	(67%)
" " + aged relative	6	(2%)
" " + relatives' children	15	(5%)
" " + grandchildren	24	(9%)
Men living alone	13	(5%)
Women living alone	5	(2%)
" " with own children	6	(2%)
" " " sisters	3	(1%)
" " " mothers	5	(2%)
" " " relatives' children	13	(5%)
Total households	271	(100%)

As the foregoing table shows, there is a total of 271 households in Kanga, and thus the average size of a household is 3.5 persons.

It is noticeable that only a few aged parents are living with their children. Normally, old people remain independent for as long as possible, and continue to cultivate their own fields, and cook for themselves. It is only when a man or woman is left alone, and not always then, that he or she decides to go and live with a child. Even so, a separate house is always built, and an attempt made to cultivate a separate field, right up to the time of chronic sickness, senility or death.

The Table also draws attention to the number of households (nearly 20%) which are extended by the addition of children other than those of the husband or wife. This is because of a system of 'fostering' (ulezi), whereby a child is sent, either temporarily or permanently, to be brought up by a relative, usually a grandparent, or the sibling of one of its parents. Approximately 25% of the children in Kanga are being fostered.

There are various reasons for this custom. One of the most important is economic. Even in a good year, as already pointed out in Chapter II, it is probable that many households in Kanga are living below what the people themselves consider is a decent standard. Those with large numbers of children may be glad to foster some of them out. Normally such children are taken by grandparents, who no longer have any children living at home, or by childless couples, of whom there are a number in Kanga. Such people are better able to look after a child or two, than a young couple already burdened with several children of their own. The couple who undertake the fostering of the child are economically responsible for its food and clothing for as long as it is under their roof, although occasionally the parents may send a small gift, if they can afford to do so.

Grandparents say that they are lonely when all their children have grown up and left home, and they are impatient for their children to produce grandchildren. Sometimes, grandparents give the impression that they have more rights over a child than its parents. Some women are even obliged to part with all their children; one woman told me that her eldest child was taken by her mother, who lived far away, and then her second child by a sister. She said "I sat and cried all the time, until my husband went to fetch one of the children back. But they refused to let the child go. I went myself, but when I saw that it was happy and well cared for, I left it there". This woman in turn now has her grandchildren living with her.

There are several reasons for the claims of grandparents over their grandchildren. A child is normally named after a grandparent, who then has a special relationship with it, both while living and after death. One child fell off my Land Rover, and cut his mouth. I went to the parents, but they refused to discuss the matter, saying that I must go and speak to his 'somo', the grandfather after whom he was named. On another occasion, I asked one man jokingly if I could take his son back to England with me. He replied quite seriously that this was a matter for the grandfather, and not for him.

However, the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is not an authoritarian one - on the contrary, they have a formalised joking relationship (utani). This indeed may be one reason why grandparents welcome their grandchildren to bring up - they do not need to maintain a formal relationship with them as they did with their own children. In addition, having brought up a family of their own, they are less worried about the children, and the relationship is characterised by easy familiarity, and frequent teasing.

It should be noted that women are married as soon as they reach puberty. Hence many of them become mothers when very young. People say that they know nothing; certainly they are incapable of bringing up children, since they are still children themselves. Thus it is better that children should be in the hands of someone experienced. Mothers themselves may agree - one girl said to me "When I had my first baby I was 15, and I didn't even know how to carry it on my back !". Some girls quickly become pregnant again, and are glad to hand over the care of their first child to their mothers.

Another reason why it is often necessary to hand over a child to a relative is divorce, which has already been shown to be common in Kanga. Divorced women often find it impossible to maintain themselves and their children, as their ex-husbands pay them no maintenance. A young woman is unlikely to have any source of income, except from the field she cultivates, and perhaps from plaiting a few mats. Her mother, on the other hand, as an older woman, will usually own a few coconut trees, which she has inherited either from parents or husbands, and in addition, if she has been widowed or divorced more than once, she will have received several marriage payments (mahari). Thus her economic position will be much stronger than that of her divorced daughter, and this is the reason even older women living alone are able to afford the burden of caring for the children of relatives.

Sometimes children go to live with another relative temporarily. Thus a divorced woman may hand over her children to her mother from the time of her divorce, until she is re-married and settled in her new home. Other children go to stay with a relative merely to 'visit' (matembezi). One old woman in the village never had the same children in her household two weeks running - she was constantly invaded by her different grandchildren.

Children thus serve as a link between relatives who are otherwise dispersed, although not all of the relatives with whom children are fostered out necessarily live far away; they may even be neighbours of the child's parents. When a child stays for a long time away from his parents, he is visited by them, and of course he knows that they are his parents. He retains all the rights of a child, particularly with regard to inheritance, and the parents likewise retain the duty to see that he or she has a proper puberty ceremony, and is married off to a suitable person.

Children, then, may grow up in a number of households, even in a number of villages. Although most of their rights are vested with their parents, long residence in childhood with another relative may influence a man in his choice of where to reside, so that he settles near to this relative, rather than near to his parents.

The Cluster.

A cluster is a group of houses in close proximity, separated from other neighbouring houses, whose occupants are close kin. There are forty-two such clusters in Kanga, and half of the houses in the village form part of a cluster. The average number of households per cluster is three. Clusters may be categorised into several types, but usually there is a focal household having a male at its head. Other households are grouped around this focal unit. A few clusters consist of polygynously married men and their wives, although many such men prefer to keep their wives in separate clusters. Other clusters contain divorced sisters, daughters and even mothers of focal household heads; unmarried women rarely live alone, as in many contexts, women need a man's help.

It is rather difficult to give statistics of cluster composition, as the number of permutations is much greater than for households. However, the following table gives some idea of the frequency with which certain combinations of relatives occur :-

Table 4:7.

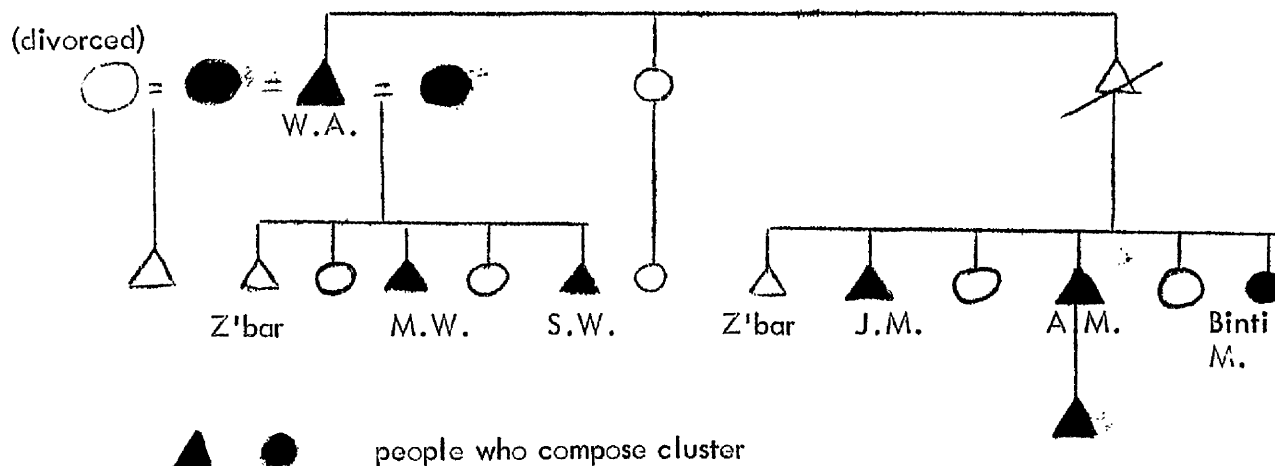
Cluster Composition.	No.	Percentage.
Male siblings	16	38%
Father and sons	19	45%
Fathers and (divorced) daughters	7	17%
Brothers and (divorced) sisters	5	12%
Mothers (divorced) and sons	10	24%
Other	11	26%

Note: These categories are not exclusive - some clusters contain more than one combination of relatives.

As can be seen, the commonest combination of kinsmen is fathers and sons, closely followed by male siblings. However, it should be noted that male siblings rarely stay together after the death of their father, or in some instances, father's brother. In other words, normally men accept the leadership of a cluster head provided that he is of an older generation.

The following genealogy illustrates the composition of a cluster which contains both a father and his sons, and a pair of male siblings who are the FBS of the cluster head, and their married sister.

Fig. 4:1. Composition of a cluster (example)



This cluster consists of seven households - W.A.'s two wives each have a separate household. All except the household of A.M. consist of one house only; A.M.'s son, a boy of about 12 years, has recently moved out of his parents' house and has built a hut alongside.

The cluster is thus part of a small segment (tumbo). However, the segment is not complete. W.A.'s eldest son, by a woman he divorced some time ago, lives in Ndagoni village in central Mafiq. He is not on good terms with his father, probably because of his mother's divorce. W.A.'s second son, and one of his brother's sons live in Zenzibar, and have been there for a number of years. The remaining women are all married out of the cluster.

Why do these people live in the same cluster? There are three sorts of reasons which can be distinguished. The first is that people in a cluster may all have their coconut trees there, and this gives them residential rights. Or, if they have no trees, they are forced to live with a kinsman who does. Not only do coconut trees confer residential rights, but for practical reasons, people like to be near trees which they can use daily - to fell nuts for cooking, to obtain palm fronds for firewood, and for repairing roofs, making baskets etc. In W.A.'s cluster, his two sons live near to him because they have no trees of their own, and their only alternative is to live on non-ward land.

A second reason is that men are attracted by the cluster leader, particularly if he has wealth, and prestige. In this instance, W.A. is a wealthy man, by Kanga standards; he is also a spirit shaman. His two sons depend upon him for a little economic help occasionally; in fact one of them is tubercular, and cannot cultivate very much. All the men of the younger generation defer to W.A., thus for example, when W.A. quarrelled with a near kinsman of them all, they followed him in refusing a reconciliation, even though one of them privately told me that they thought the quarrel was about a trifling matter.

A third factor is that clusters are held together by their common interest in the grave sites attached to them. More than anything else, the grave site symbolises the fact that this is 'home' (kwetu); if a man's father or mother are buried in a particular cluster, then a child too has a right to be buried there. Furthermore, a number of kinship rituals are focussed on the graves of ancestors. In the fifth month of the Islamic calendar, graves are swept, and a Koranic reading is held to ask forgiveness for their sins, (kuarehemu wazee). In addition, many men and women hold special Koranic readings on the anniversary of a parent's death (hitima ya mwanasha).

If the father and mother are buried in different clusters, then both will be 'home' in this ritual sense for their children, and will be equally attended for ritual purposes. Thus even for those who do not reside in a particular cluster, there still remain emotional ties, and the cluster serves as a focus for the dispersed ritual unit. As a ritual unit, a cluster need not even consist of more than one household - sometimes, at a particular stage in the 'development cycle' of a cluster, as for example the death of a father, and dispersion of children, only one remains in the cluster. But the other children still look to the cluster as a focus, and refer to it as 'our place' (mji wetu). This is true in the case of W.A.'s cluster; the remainder of his children, and the children of his brother return to this cluster on ritual occasions.

Another factor which may be added to the foregoing, is that of inertia. In W.A.'s cluster, J.M. and his brother A.M. have no need to stay living with W.A. since they both own coconut fields elsewhere in the village, and in Banja village too. However, their parents both lived in this cluster, and were buried there, and both the brothers grew up there. J.M. may have a more positive reason for staying, since he often acts as the cluster representative since W.A. is now very old. Perhaps he hopes to take over leadership of the cluster, and indeed, since J.M. is a successful trader, and is much respected for his piety and learning, this is quite possible. At least he is certain that his younger brother A.M. will remain with him, since the latter has six children, and is very poor, while J.M. has no children, and frequently helps his brother economically.

Finally, a factor which operates in some cases, is that in addition to holding coconut trees in a particular place, a man also owns a fairly substantial house there. There are two main types of houses in Kanga - huts built of palm thatch, which can be quickly erected, and houses built of mangrove poles and mud. The latter can vary considerably in size, but a large and wellbuilt one will last for many years. If a man inherits a house of this type, he is likely to move into it. Similarly, if he himself manages to build a good house, he is unlikely to want to move away and leave it. Most older men aim at acquiring a fairly large house, which means that they are not very mobile, while most younger men live in more flimsy structures, which can easily be abandoned. Thus J.M. in W.A.'s cluster is building himself a large house, which really means that he has made his residential decision, and is unlikely to move from this cluster and ward.

W.A.'s cluster, like many others, is focussed on a male head. However, it should be noted that one woman has remained with her kin, instead of living with her husband's kin. It is quite likely that her sons, when they become adult, will choose to continue to live in this cluster, which means that they will be living in their mother's ward. This is not an isolated instance, as the following case history shows:

Case 4.3.

The Residence Patterns of Binti M. and her children.

Binti M. is about 60 years of age. She was born in Bweni where her mother's mother was living at the time. After the birth (for which, as is customary, Binti M.'s mother returned to her own mother), Binti M.'s mother returned to her husband, Binti M.'s father, in Baleni village. Binti M. remained in Baleni village with her mother and father until they divorced, and she then went with her mother back to Bweni.

At puberty, Binti M. was married off to a Kanga man, and she bore him one son before she was divorced, and returned to her mother in Bweni. This son, when he grew up, lived with his father in cluster 1 (cf. Fig. 4:2).

Binti M. re-married to another Kanga man, and she bore him four sons before his death.

Her third marriage was also to a Kanga man, although by this time she was past the age of child bearing. She was living with this husband in his cluster (IV) at the time of the study (1966), but he died soon afterwards. Binti M. is now unlikely to re-marry, so that her choice of residence is not affected by where her husband is living, but rather by the whereabouts of her children.

Binti M.'s five sons live as follows:

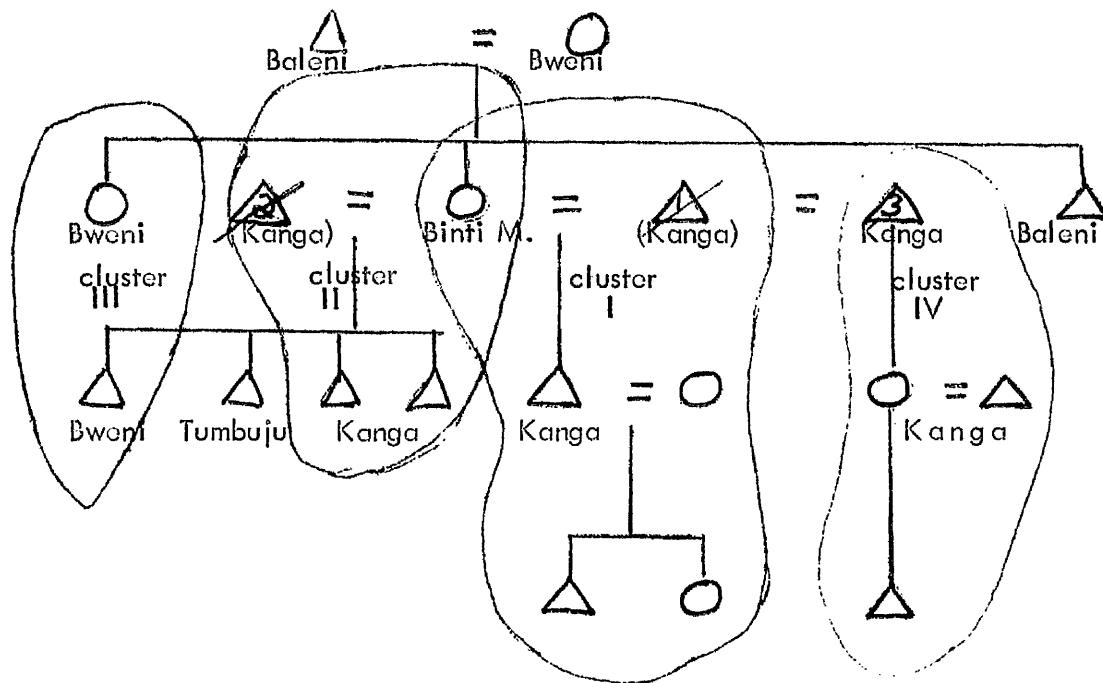
The eldest, by her first husband, lives in Kanga in the cluster where his father lived (cluster 1). This son inherited trees there. He died in 1966, and was buried in this cluster. His eldest son, who was already married and living with his two wives in the same cluster as his father and grandfather, then assumed leadership of the cluster. His widowed mother, and a divorced sister continued to live in this same cluster (1).

Binti M.'s second son (by her second marriage) lives in Tumbuju village, an area in central Mafia which is newly opened up, and immigrants from many parts of the island, and even from the mainland, have settled there in order to plant coconut trees, since there is a large amount of land available, and the soil is suited to coconut trees. This man originally lived in cluster II, where his father had also lived, and in fact he still has a house and some coconut trees there.

The third son lives in Bweni village, in his mother's mother's cluster (III). He was brought up there, and his mother's sister lives in the same cluster. Since his mother owns coconut trees there, he is likely to acquire trees by inheritance from her, but in any case, he has already been able to acquire trees there by buying or planting. If he decides to live in this cluster permanently, he may well exchange some of his Kanga trees with his brothers for their share of the Bweni inheritance, so that all his trees will be in this one cluster in Bweni. On the other hand, he may decide to retain his Kanga trees, as this gives him the right to go and live in Kanga any time.

The fourth and fifth sons both live in Kanga in the same cluster (II) as their father had lived. However, the younger of the two brothers has recently purchased coconut trees on the outskirts of the village, and talks of moving there as soon as possible. This would leave only one son in his father's cluster.

Fig. 4:2. Composition and Formation of Clusters:
Binti M. and her children.



Thus, after the death of her third husband, Binti M. has the following possibilities open to her :

- to live in the cluster (II) of her sons in Kanga,
- to live in the cluster of her son's son (I),
- to live in the cluster of her elder sister, and son in Bwenti where she herself owns coconut trees (III),
- to remain in the cluster (IV) where she was living with her last husband. Although she will inherit trees there, she is unlikely to do this, since the other cluster IV members are a daughter of her late husband by a previous marriage, and this woman's son.
- to go and live with her elder brother in Baleni. In this particular case, this is extremely unlikely, as she quarrelled with him many years ago over her allocation of their inheritance in Baleni, and she has been unable to establish claims over any coconut trees there.

The main factors in such a choice are first of all, the emotional pull of 'home', which in this case is the Bwenti cluster where she spent her girlhood (i.e. cluster III), secondly the fact that she has lived nearly all her adult life in Kanga, thirdly

the whereabouts of her near relatives, particularly sons and siblings, and finally, the whereabouts of her coconut trees.

Binti M. finally went to live in cluster II where her two youngest sons were living.

This case history illustrates likely residence patterns of both men and women. For the latter, choice is mainly dictated by the man they marry, although when divorced or widowed, women do have a choice about where they will live. Usually even then their choice is limited by the fact that they should reside with a male relative, since under Islamic law, an unmarried woman is always under the guardianship of either her father, brother, or even son. In purely practical terms, most single women are forced to live with a male relative, since if they are young and own no coconut trees, they need some kind of economic help, and even if they do own trees, they need a man's help in arranging for the nuts to be sold and marketed. Those women who do not have any rights in meadow fields, also need a man's help in cultivating a bush field. Thus the great majority of those women shown in Table 4:6 as living alone or with children, are nearly all living in the same cluster, although not the same household, as a male relative.

Men's residence, on the other hand, is rarely affected by marriage, since only a handful live uxori locally. The ownership of coconut trees is an important factor, but not the sole deciding factor. Thus Binti M.'s third son lives in his mother's mother's cluster in Bweni, largely because he spent much of his childhood there. Whether or not brothers remain together living in a cluster depends to a large extent upon there being a focus, i.e. a cluster leader. Thus the cluster formerly made up of the three sons of Binti M. is breaking up, because none of the brothers is sufficiently wealthy or prestigious to attract the others to accept his leadership.

It may well be that soon there will only be one household left in this cluster, and strictly speaking will no longer be a cluster. However, this household will still serve as a focus for the dispersed sibling group since they will have an interest in trees and graves there, and a new cluster may form around the remaining son when his own children are adult. Had there been any sisters in this sibling group, they might have returned to live in their brother's cluster and perhaps their children would also choose to live there when adult. Thus cluster formation has to be viewed over a period of time. An examination of those households which form part of a cluster, and those which do not, often reveals that they are at different stages in their development cycle.

Summary.

Residence choices are thus based on a variety of considerations. Men prefer to reside near their coconut trees, both for practical reasons (daily use of nuts, foliage etc., and also to protect their crop), and because the ownership of trees gives residential rights. Most men own trees on the ward land associated with a descent group of which they are members. Only a minority manage to acquire trees on ward land not associated with one of their own descent groups, and even then, they rarely use their ownership as a basis for claiming residential rights. The few who do are generally people who in any case have no descent group membership in Kanga.

The economic facts of inheritance, that men receive more from their fathers than their mothers, and that they get more than women, coupled with the norm of patrilocal residence after marriage, would appear to determine very largely an individual's choice about residence. An additional factor is that few young men own coconut trees, and are thus dependent upon relatives for residential rights; it might be expected that they would remain with their fathers.

However, various other factors militate against complete patrilocality. One of the most important of these is the high divorce rate, which means that many women spend much of their time living with male relatives. Either for this reason, or because of the custom of 'fostering', many children grow up with their mother's kin, and not their father's, and may choose to remain with the former, when they are adult. They acquire trees by planting or buying; a few also inherit from their mothers, or may even be given gifts of trees by maternal kin.

Another factor to be taken into account is cluster formation. Rich and respected men are able to hold their sons near to them, and may even be able to retain some married daughters, as well as divorced ones. In addition, men call their mother's cluster 'home', particularly if she is buried there, and it is a ritual focus for them.

These then, are some of the reasons why people live with both paternal and maternal kin. The situation is not, in fact, much different from what we might expect in a unilineal society; the majority living with paternal kin, but a sizeable minority living with maternal relatives. However, the 'ideology' of this society states that a man has equal rights in the descent groups of both his parents, and that he thus has a right to reside with these descent groups. However, the 'ideal' is somewhat dependent upon economic factors, such as the ownership of coconut trees.

But the fact remains that many men have a choice about residence, which is not conditioned purely by where they inherit coconut trees. Some men prefer to sell the trees they inherit from their fathers, in order to be able to acquire trees in their mother's wards.

The question that remains is whether by choosing to affiliate with a particular descent group in the matter of residence, a man is thereby stressing his membership of this group? This question will be discussed again during the course of this thesis, when it will become possible to compare affiliation in the context of residence, and in various other contexts. One way of looking at the problem now is to ask which descent groups tend to have a majority of members residing on their land? The following Table attempts to answer this question :

Table 4:8.

Number of members residing with each descent group.

<u>Name of descent group.</u>	<u>% male members residing.</u>
Kitotoni	55
Karibuni	61
Kiungani	36
Changwa	31
Mtundani	18
Kidakuli	66

Three descent groups have a majority of their male members residing in their wards - Kidakuli, Karibuni and Kitotoni. The remaining three descent groups appear to attract a smaller proportion of members in this context of affiliation. One of the questions to be examined in the rest of this thesis is whether these proportions remain constant in other contexts. And if they do, can it then be argued that choice of residence thus influences choices in other contexts, even that residence in effect 'closes' membership of other groups?

CHAPTER V.

LAND TENURE.

Categories of cultivable land.

The two most important types of cultivable land in Kanga are bush land (pori) which lies outside the village, mainly on higher ground, and which supports a variety of crops besides rice, including corn, millett, beans and pumpkins, and meadow land (dawe)², which lies within the village wards, is low-lying and therefore flooded during the wet season, and on which only rice and sweet potatoes are grown, and coconut trees planted. While bush land can only be cultivated for a short period, and then must lie fallow, meadows can be cultivated on a semi-permanent basis. Bush land is cultivated on a five-year cycle; after a year's cultivation, it is left fallow for four years. Rights to bush and meadow land are obtained through descent group membership, but each type of land is associated with a somewhat different system of holding, and the two will therefore be dealt with separately in this Chapter.¹

In addition to bush and meadow land, there is also a large area of fertile land set aside for the growing of cassava. This is a recent development, encouraged by the agriculture department in Kilindoni. The government was anxious for cultivation on a communal basis, but the villagers strongly resisted the idea, and eventually the land was divided into individual fields. Rights to this land are not obtained through descent group membership; any member of the village can come and obtain a piece of land, and there is plenty of room for expansion. By 1967, nearly 100 fields were being cultivated in this area.

The cassava area is not discussed in any detail, as rights to it are not concerned with kinship. However, it does highlight the variance between the government's attitude to land, and that of the villagers. Originally, the cassava area was part of the bush associated with descent

groups. Only members had rights to this land; other people had to ask permission. However, the government does not recognise that land may be held by descent groups or individuals. The right of freehold has been abolished in Tanzania, and all lands declared government property. Any individual may take up a piece of unused land and cultivate it. Thus the Agricultural Officer, having decided that the soil was suitable in this area, encouraged the planting of cassava on a large scale, regardless of the fact that this land was claimed by members of a descent group.

The only type of land which the government recognises as capable of being held by an individual or a group is that on which certain trees - principally coconut, cashewnut and mango trees - are growing. The trees on such land may be bought, sold, inherited, leased, given as a gift etc. But in the eyes of the government, the only method of acquiring any sort of rights over other types of land is to cultivate crops, which confers only temporary rights, or to plant trees, which confers permanent rights.

This conflict between village custom and government law which can be enforced in the courts, and is usually enforced by the Village Development Council (VDC), is deplored by most of the villagers. However, a small number of villagers are beginning to use government law as an excuse for obtaining land which was previously not attainable for them; as will be seen, most disputes over land arise out of this conflict.

Bush Land.

Bush land may be subdivided into two types - that which is and is not associated with descent groups. Some mention of the latter was made in the last Chapter when discussing the 'new areas' (i.e. non-ward land) on the outskirts of the village, particularly to the north and east, where people cultivate annual crops, and in addition, are planting coconut trees and establishing permanent rights. This type of bush,

where anyone may use the land as he wishes, is only a small part of the total bush area.

Most of the bush land, as has already been stated, is held by descent groups, and there is no 'virgin bush', as there is on the mainland, and in some other parts of Mafia. Thus most men have to obtain rights by virtue of their membership of a descent group. Some Kanga men are also able to obtain Bweni and Mrali land which borders Kanga land, because their mothers or wives are members of descent groups in these villages.

Bush land is plentiful in Kanga. However, not all descent groups have the same amount of bush at their disposal. Mtundani descent group has no bush land at all, while Kidakuli descent group holds nearly 70% of all bush land associated with descent groups. This means that often non-Kidakuli people who wish to cultivate bush land have to get Kidakuli land through other ties, as will be shown.

Both men and women have equal rights to the land of their descent groups. Only one field is usually cultivated by a married couple in any one year, thus the couple can choose whether to obtain their rights through the husband's descent group, or the wife's, or by some other means. The following Table shows the amount of bush land available in any one year, and its distribution among the descent groups.

Table 5:1. Distribution of Bush land. *

<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>
<u>Descent group.</u>	<u>No. of members** able to claim land in 1 year.</u>	<u>No. of bush fields avail- able in 1 year***.</u>	<u>Approx. ratio members to fields.</u>
Kitotoni	42	21 (11.5%)	2:1
Kiungani	53	15 (9%)	3:1
Changwa	62	18 (10%)	4:1
Kidakuli.	111	127 (69%)	1:1
Mtundani	29	0	
Karibuni	38	5 (3%)	7:1

* These figures were obtained mainly from informants, chiefly the Elders of the descent groups concerned, or the Kidakuli Guardians. It was quite impossible to count or measure all the fields, which cover some 20 square miles. Informants said how many fields were available in any particular area, and by a 'field', they said they meant what a couple usually cultivated - that is between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 acres (cf. Chapter II).

** For the purposes of this table, I have halved the total number of members of each descent group, since it would have included both men and women, and thus given an entirely unrealistic ratio. Fields are normally cultivated by a married couple, and it is rare for them to cultivate more than one field, certainly never more than one bush field (except for polygynously married men) in a single year. Thus rights are obtained through either the husband or the wife in any one year.

*** After obtaining the estimate of the total number of fields (as defined above) from informants, I then divided this by five, to give the number available in any one year. Inevitably, this is something of an over-simplification, because slightly more fields may be available in one year than another; thus the figures in column III represent an average.

A total of 183 bush fields are thus available in any one year, in addition to those in the new areas not included in the above Table. Since, however, there are some 276 women and 210 men in the village, it is obvious that not all of them can cultivate a bush field. Many do not wish to do so, particularly single men or women, and older people, because the work is much harder than cultivating meadow land. On the whole, younger couples prefer bush land, because they can obtain such a wide variety of crops. Some people also prefer bush fields because the crops ripen earlier. Thus, in 1966, a total of 145 bush fields were cultivated - not as many as were available. Not all of these fields are associated with Kanga descent groups; seventeen of them in fact belong to Bweni and Mrali villages, and a further 21 are on the non-ward land (cf. Chapter IV). Thus only 107 bush fields associated with descent groups, out of the 183 available, were actually used in 1966, as the following Table shows :-

Table 5:2. Bush land cultivated in 1966.

I	II	III
Descent group with which land associated.	No. of fields cultivated.	No. of fields available.
Kitotoni	8	21
Kiungani	8	15
Changwa	7	18
Kidakuli	76	127
Mtundani	0	0
Karibuni	8	5 *

Note: * The discrepancy between the Karibuni figures is explained by the fact that the number of fields given as available for one year is an average; in any case, in 1966, two of the Karibuni fields were being cultivated by elderly, single people, who could only manage very small areas of land.

In the case of every descent group except Karibuni, which appeared to cultivate all the bush land it had available, and Mtundani, which in any case possesses no bush land, all the descent groups cultivated less land than was available. The main reason for this is, of course, that many of the people who are entitled to claim bush land do not do so, as they prefer to cultivate meadow land. For this reason people say "a man should have as much (bush) land as he can cultivate."

How bush land is allocated - primary right holders.

Three types of holders of bush land can be distinguished - primary, secondary and tertiary³. They are defined in the course of this section.

Bush land, as has already been stated, is associated with descent groups. However, the large named areas held by the descent groups are subdivided into smaller sections, known as mavumvu, which are held by segments (matumbo) of the descent groups. Kanga people explain this by saying that a man or woman some time in the past acquired primary rights over this section of bush, either by clearing it, or buying it (as was formerly possible), or else by being made a gift of it. These rights were

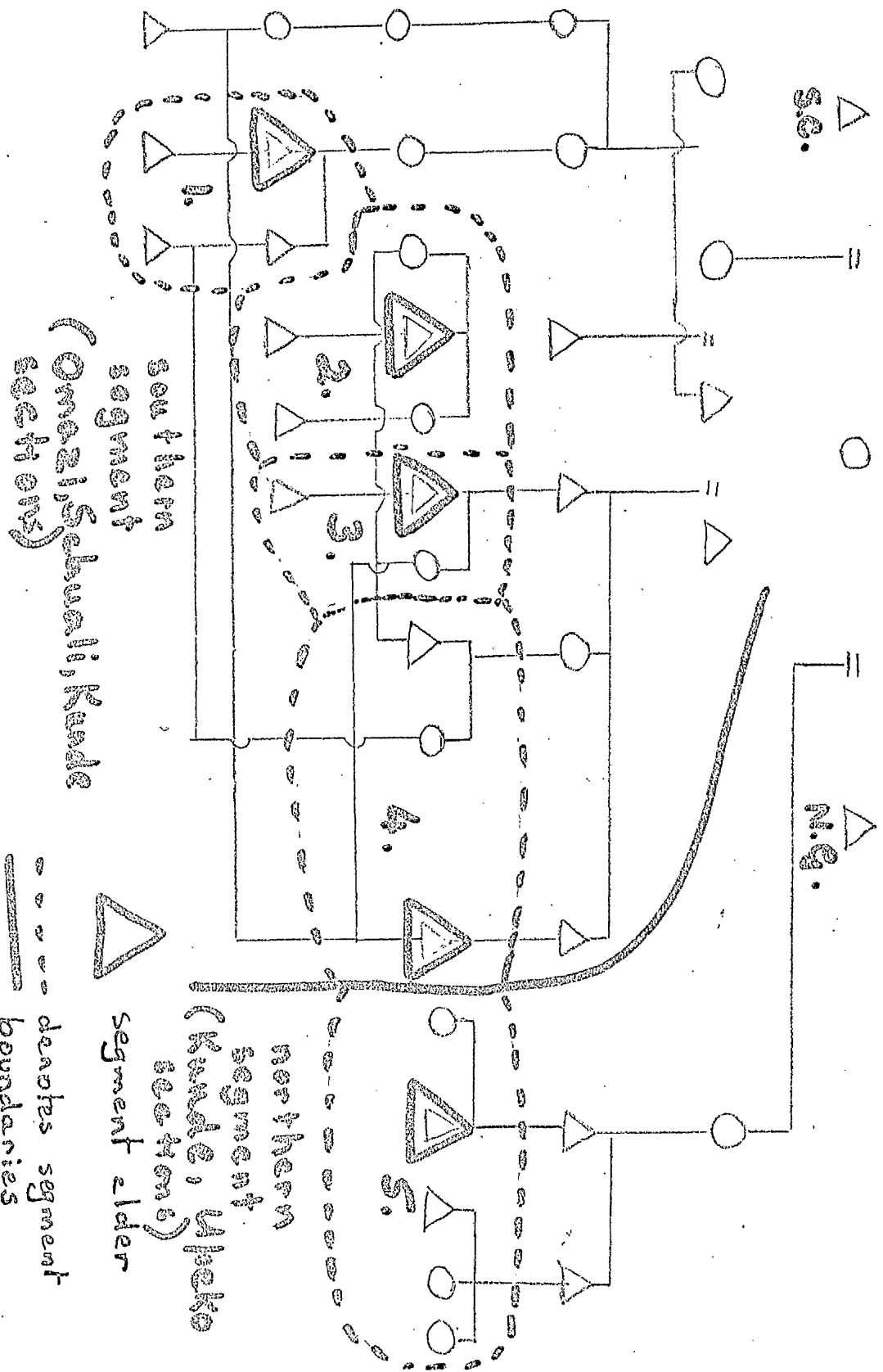
inherited by his or her descendants, both male and female.

An example of the way in which bush land is divided up between segments of a descent group is given in Fig. 5:1. This is a much simplified genealogy of the Changwa descent group. Sections of land are held by large segments, in this particular case, by the segments which also hold the two Changwa wards. The segment holding the northern ward is the primary holder of a section called Kundo, while the segment which resides in the southern ward cultivates Omazi and Schuali land. Both of these segments however (that is, all Changwa descent group members) can cultivate Upeko section land. The smaller segments shown on the genealogy are not as significant in land holding, although the Elder of each of the smaller segments has a say in the allocation of the land of the larger segment to which he belongs.

Primary right holders, then, are members of a segment holding a section of bush land. All members of the segment have a right to some land of their section. The process of allocation is quite informal, unless there is a localised shortage. Normally, every year, just before the opening of the cultivation season in November, the men of the village are to be seen sitting round in little groups, and the main topic of conversation is where each will cultivate the following season. Each primary right holder states his preferences, and mentions them to other members of the segment holding the section he wants to cultivate. Provided that no-one else says that they themselves were hoping for that particular piece of land, he then goes off to the field he has chosen, and makes some cuts on some of the trees growing there. This is a symbolic gesture, signifying his intention to cut down the bush in that field, and cultivate it. After this is done, no man should interfere with that field.

This was a norm accepted by all the villagers until very recently. However, as the following case shows, it is no longer accepted by the VDC, and some villagers can use the 'government' law to justify their cultivation of land which has already been 'spoken for'.

Fig. 5:1
Changwa descent group
Segments and sections



Case 5:1. Dispute over fields.

Athman, an old man of the Kidakuli descent group, wished to obtain three fields in the 1966-7 season, one to cultivate himself, another for his son, and a third for his daughter's husband.

During the discussions in October 1966, he stated which three fields he wanted to take. However, when he went to one of the fields (field A), he found that another man of his segment, Seleman, had already started to cultivate there. Athman was annoyed, but decided to let the matter drop, as he had not in fact marked the field by blazing some trees.

He went off and marked two other fields (B and C), and told his son-in-law that he would have to look elsewhere. Soon afterwards, however, the same man who had taken his field A, also came and started to cultivate in field B, claiming that he needed two fields, one for himself and his wife, and one for his divorced sister.

Athman decided that he had a case against Seleman, and took him before the VDC. However, the Council maintained that under 'government law', it could do nothing, as Athman had not actually started to cultivate the field. The VDC suggested a compromise measure whereby field B should be divided equally between the disputants.

Athman felt, as did my informant on this case (it happened after I had left Kanga village for another), that the second man had no right to take land which had already been marked by another man⁴. The VDC, on the other hand, adhered to its interpretation of 'government law', which says that any man may cultivate unused bush, regardless of his status.

Athman's case was strengthened by the fact that the other people for whom he was obtaining the land were people with primary rights. His own son was, of course, a segment member, and so was his daughter. Daughters retain full rights over their segment land, even when they are married away. Normally, however, a son-in-law will come and ask his wife's father for permission to cultivate, rather than assume that he has a right. Single daughters are quite entitled to land of their segments. If, however, Athman had wanted to take land for other relatives or affines who did not have such a strong claim as his son or his daughter's

husband, then the other man would have been quite justified in opposing him, and claiming that he had a better right to the land. In other words, primary right-holders have first claim on land.

This case shows that disputes do sometimes arise, because of localised shortages of land. One man explained it in this way - "Perhaps our section (vumvu) only takes five people, and there are seven of us (wanting to get land there). Either we will agree to take smaller fields that year, or else two of us won't get land (in that section) and will go elsewhere. Another year those people will have priority, because they missed out before." Such matters can usually be settled quite amicably, because nearly everyone has several options about where he can cultivate.

When disputes do become serious, there are two courses open to the contenders - one is to take the case before the VDC, as Athman did; the other is to consult one of the Elders of a descent group (each one of whom is normally a segment leader), or in the case of Kidakuli land, to consult a Guardian (their roles are discussed below). As already mentioned in Chapter III, Elderhood is not a formal office, but certain old men (wazoo) are recognised as repositories of genealogical knowledge, and hence are in a position to say who may and may not cultivate land. (Elders of the Changwa descent group are shown on the genealogy).

Elders make it their business to know who proposes to cultivate where in any particular season, so that they will know whether or not there is land to spare for non-primary right holders. In the case of primary right-holders, they will recall which of the members of the segment had priority the previous year and make sure that someone else gets a turn. One man said to me in 1966: "I wanted to cultivate the land of my Kiungani segment again this year but the Elder of my segment said to me 'you cultivated last year with us; this year you must get land elsewhere'. So I didn't get land with that segment, but cultivated with my wife's Kiungani segment."

On Kidakuli land, the situation is somewhat different. The Elders have little say in the allocation of land. Instead, there are Guardians of spirit shrines, which are scattered over the Kidakuli bush. The spirits (mizimu) are said to own and guard the land; indeed they are usually referred to as the "Wazee" (elders) as a term of respect, denoting their rights over the Kidakuli land. (It should be noted that spirits are not associated with the land of other descent groups). The Guardians, who are spirit shamans (cf. Chap. VIII) lead the propitiatory rites which are held at three crucial stages in the agricultural cycle - when the bush is cut down, at the beginning of the harvest, and at the very end when all the cultivators have moved back to their houses in the village and abandoned their fields.

The Guardians, and not the Elders, have the power to allocate nearly all the Kidakuli land. There are four shrines, and four Guardians. A small part of Kidakuli land, however, is not considered to be ruled over by a spirit, and no rites are held on this land. Even there, however, two of the Guardians have the power to allocate land.

People often validate their rights to land not so much in terms of descent as of kinship to a particular person. This may be the Elder of a segment, or one of the Kidakuli Guardians, as in the following case :

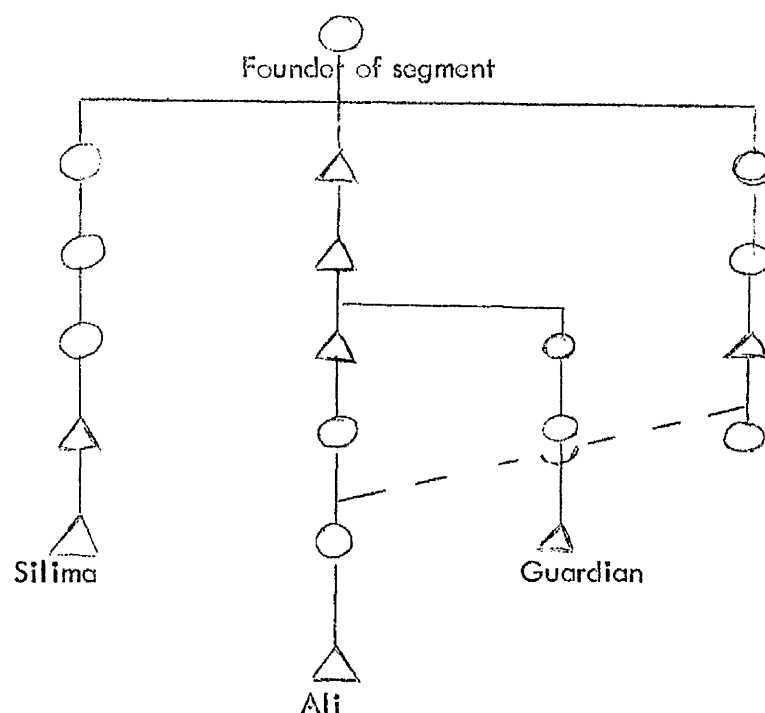
Case 5:2. Dispute over a Kidakuli field.

Silima and Ali both wanted to cultivate the same field in Kidakuli. They were both members of the same segment. They went to an Elder of the descent group, and asked him which had the better right. He replied that Silima had, because he was more closely related to one of the Guardians.

The Elder went on to add that no-one who was not related to a Guardian could get Kidakuli land.

Genealogical enquiry proved that in fact Ali had the better right, since he was much more closely related to the Guardian in question, as this genealogy shows :

Fig. 5:2. Dispute over a Kidakuli field;
Relationship between Guardian and Disputants.



This case also illustrates the power that Elders can wield, because of their genealogical knowledge – they can, and do, in fact, manipulate genealogies. The Elder in this case may have had specific reasons for wishing to favour Silima, since they were both members of the same spirit possession guild.

The Guardians of Kidakuli land have more power than the Elders of the other descent groups, because they act as intermediaries with the spirits. While people are living out in the Kidakuli fields, for four to five months, they have to observe certain strict rules of personal behaviour, and in particular, to maintain a high standard of personal hygiene. It is thought that the spirits most dislike 'dirt' and quarrelling. Thus the man who fails to wash after intercourse with his wife, or who has an argument with his neighbour, will incur the wrath of the spirit who is the ruler of his field, and is likely to become very sick. The

Guardians can use the threat of mystical retribution to oblige people to behave properly, and not to quarrel over land.

All people who cultivate Kidakuli fields contribute to the offerings made to the spirit of the field, regardless of whether or not they are themselves Kidakuli people, or non-Kidakuli who have obtained the land by other links (i.e. tertiary right-holders, who are discussed below). Thus even the Imam of the mosque, who, after the Sheikh, is considered to be the most pious person in the village, on several occasions has cultivated Kidakuli land, and contributed to the offerings to the spirits, even though this is quite unlawful (haramu). It is considered that the spirits will not guard the fields of those who do not make the requisite offerings.

Occasionally, it is argued that a Kidakuli spirit may extend its protection to a neighbouring field belonging to a different descent group. One man who cultivated a Kiungani field, to which he had no right, made offerings to the spirit of the neighbouring Kidakuli field, along with other Kidakuli people. Later a large baobab tree fell down and destroyed part of his crop. I asked one informant if it would be considered that the Kiungani people who opposed his cultivating this field had caused this to happen to punish him for taking the field without permission. My informant replied that there was no possibility of anyone practising witchcraft in that field, since the cultivator had placed it under the protection of a spirit (cf. Case 5:3).

Non-primary holders of land.

I have thus far been discussing people with primary rights to land, i.e. rights over a section of bush land associated with the descent group segment of which they are members. Secondary rights holders are people who are members of different segments of the same descent group, who obtain land from a segment other than their own. Thus in the Changwa case, if a member of the northern segment were to take land in Omazi section, he would only be a secondary right-holder (cf. Fig.5:1).

It is usually very difficult to distinguish between secondary and primary right-holders. The former will often justify their claims to land in terms of their descent group, and not their segment membership. Sometimes, however, a man will admit he is a secondary right-holder, and not a primary right-holder. One Kitotoni man told me that he had asked a relative of his for permission to cultivate a particular piece of bush land. I was puzzled, since both were Kitotoni men, and I had been told that this area of land was Kitotoni land. Only later did I realise that the two men were from different segments of the descent group, and thus one of them had first to ask permission before he could cultivate.

People do not normally differentiate between primary and secondary right-holders in any but their own descent group. Thus if I had asked a non-Kitotoni man why the two men mentioned above were cultivating those particular fields, he would have replied that this was a Kitotoni area, and they were both members of the Kitotoni descent group.

Secondary right-holders obtain land through asking permission of their kin, who are fellow descent group members. Other kinsmen of segment members may be related through different descent groups; these I have called tertiary right-holders. The latter also include non-kinsmen, and people who obtain land through other means, such as affinity, friendship, or merely by asking permission; in short, anyone who is not a member of the descent group associated with the land.

Secondary and tertiary right-holders can only obtain land with the consent of all members of the segment. Otherwise, as has been stated, a man with primary rights can come along, and in theory at least, turn a secondary or tertiary right-holder off the land. Normally, then, these people apply to the Elder of the segment for permission to cultivate the land. In the case of Kidakuli land they may do this, or else they may apply to one of the Guardians. The latter have power to allocate any Kidakuli land, even, according to one Guardian, land outside their own segments. They themselves usually cultivate near to the spirit shrines.

If a man who is not a primary right-holder takes a field belonging to another descent group without permission, he can be turned off the land, or at least he could until very recently. The following case concerns a dispute between a man who under traditional custom had no right to the land he was cultivating and members of the segment which held the land.

Case 5:3. Dispute over rights to a field.

When the cultivation season opened in October 1965, M.A. wanted to cultivate an area of bush which belongs to the Kiungani people. Without consulting any of the Elders of Kiungani, he went and started to cut the bush.

Kiungani people who were primary right-holders of this field, led by the segment Elder, disputed his right to this field, and said that he was not a member of their descent group, much less of their segment. M.A. claimed that he had some right through his mother's mother. The Kiungani people challenged him to bring forward any Elder who would substantiate his claim, but M.A. was unable to do this.

The dispute reached the ears of the Village Executive Officer, at the time a youth from southern Mafia (cf. Chapter VII), who went to look at the land, and pronounced it to be 'government land', since it had no coconut trees on it. He was thus saying that M.A. had a right to cultivate this land.

The Kiungani people thereupon brought the matter before the VDC, which offered to divide the field in half, as a compromise measure. M.A. refused to accept this, and the disputants all but came to blows.

M.A. was now fairly sure of his ground, and went off to the court in Kilindoni where the judge (Hakimu) told him to continue cultivating, as this was 'government' land. Needless to say, M.A. did not tell the judge that he claimed this land through an ancestor, but that he, as a citizen, was cultivating government land.

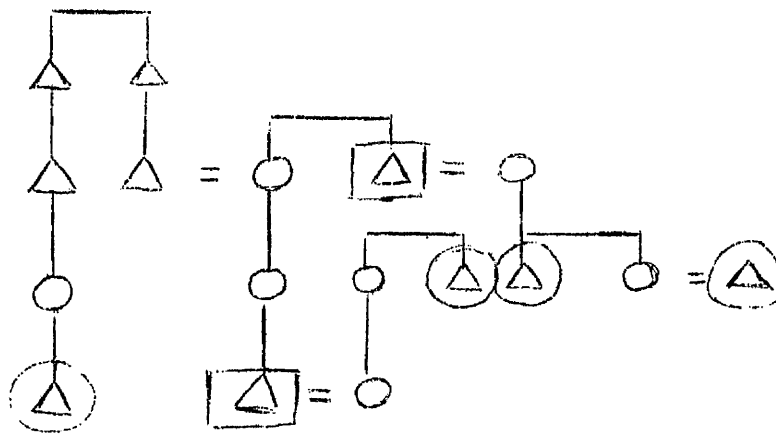
The Kiungani men despaired of their case, and finally gave up in disgust, and M.A. cultivated the field.

M.A. later contributed during the course of the agricultural cycle to the offerings made to the Kidakuli spirits. It may well be that by so doing, not only was he ensuring the protection of his field, but also trying to act once again within the framework of village custom. The Guardians of Kidakuli accepted his contributions, and indeed, his active participation in the various rites, as if this were actually a Kidakuli field. This was M.A.'s intention. The field in question lay on the border between a Kidakuli and Kiungani area, and thus it was easier for M.A. to begin claiming that in fact this was a Kidakuli field, and that since he himself is a Kidakuli man, he was quite entitled to cultivate there.

He thus took three different lines of action at different stages of the dispute. In the first place, he maintained that he was a primary right-holder. When it became obvious that this was impossible to prove, he rejected the village customs, and said that this was 'government land'. In this he was supported by the Village Executive Officer, and rather half-heartedly by the VDC, and then by the judge in the Kilindoni court. In behaving this way, M.A. made himself very unpopular. He tried to redress matters by maintaining that the field in question was in fact a Kidakuli field, and he, as a Kidakuli man, had a perfect right to cultivate there. This he did by making offerings to the spirit, along with the neighbouring Kidakuli peoples. At the same time he ensured that the field was protected against the witchcraft of his enemies.

However, had M.A. asked to cultivate the land as a tertiary right-holder, it is unlikely that he would have been refused, for it is not uncommon to find tertiary and secondary right-holders out-numbering primary right-holders. This may be illustrated with reference to the Changwa genealogy (Fig. 5:1). The section in question, called Omazi, can be cultivated by all the people marked in black on the genealogy, as these are the primary right-holders. However, only two of them actually did so in 1966, and the remaining four people in this field obtained their rights through affinal ties, as follows :-

Fig. 5.3. People cultivating a Changwa section. 1966 - obtaining land through affinal links.



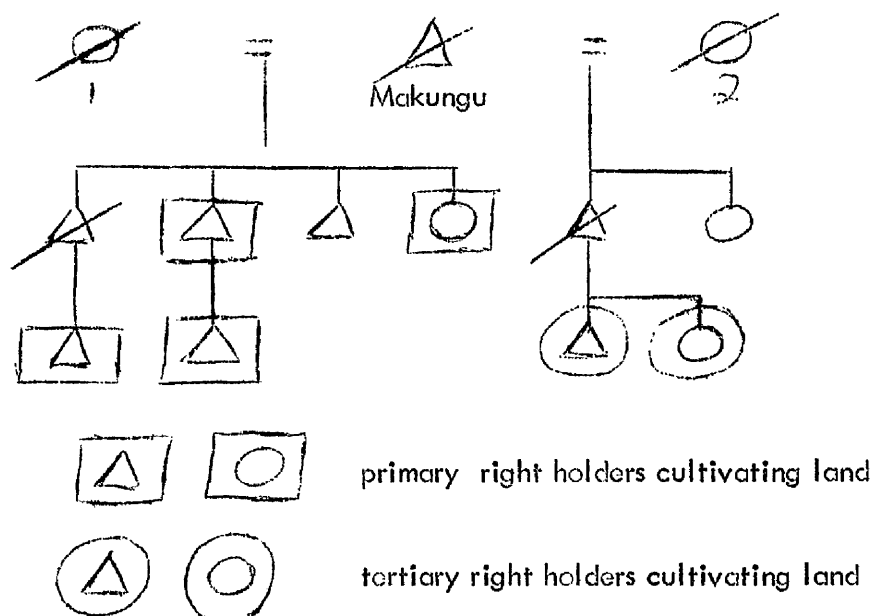
tertiary right holder cultivating land



primary right holder cultivating land

People may equally well use kinship links, as the following genealogy shows. This is a Karibuni bush field, and the people marked in black are primary right-holders. They inherited Karibuni membership through Makungu's first wife. The children of Makungu's second wife are not Karibuni people, and they have used their kinship links through Makungu to obtain land, as tertiary holders.

Fig. 5:4. People cultivating a Karibuni section, 1966 -
obtaining land through kinship links.



Generally, it is not difficult for people without primary rights to obtain land, as the following case history shows.

Case 5:4. Cultivation choices and tertiary rights.

Masiku is aged about 32. He has cultivated land for 11 years. His FF, mF, and mm all have Bweni descent. His Fm was a Kidakuli woman, and accordingly he has membership of this descent group through her.

His wife's ancestors were mainly from Banja, but through her FF she is a member of the Mtundani descent group. However, this group has no bush land. Thus in Kanga he can only obtain Kidakuli bush land.

Masiku cultivated Kidakuli land four times, and he cultivated meadow near to his coconut trees once. The remaining six years he has cultivated land which he obtained through other links. He says that he does not like to cultivate Kidakuli land, as it is far from the village, and he is a fisherman.

Thus most of the time, Masiku did not cultivate land over which he had primary or even secondary rights.

Even those descent groups which hold little bush land admit outsiders, and a total of 20% of the men cultivating bush land associated with descent groups in 1966 were tertiary right-holders, who obtained land through their personal network links, as the following table shows :-

Table 5:3. How rights to bush land were obtained 1965-6.

Name of d/g.	Through husband.	Through wife.	Tertiary holders.	Total cultivating bush land.
Kidakuli	47	11	15	73
Changwa	3	1	3	7
Karibuni	6	0	1	7
Kiungani	5	1	2	8
Kitotoni	7	1	0	8
Totals	68* (67%)	14** (13%)	21 (20%)	103 (100%)

* In addition, there were four single women who obtained rights through their own descent group membership.

** Because of the high rate of kin marriage, many husbands and wives have at least one descent group in common. Thus in many cases, both husband and wife were primary or secondary right-holders but usually they would say that they had obtained the land through the husband. Thus the above table does not reflect the number of wives who are in fact primary or secondary right-holders themselves.

Meadow land.

Most meadow land, like bush land, is associated with descent groups. Meadow fields are to be found in the village itself, and are part of the wards discussed in the last Chapter. The distribution of meadow land is shown on the map of the village (cf Fig. 2:2). Some meadow areas are separated from each other by coconut trees and houses, although much of the meadow land in the south of the village, which is held by Kiungani, Karibuni and Mtundani descent groups, stretches in a continuous belt, with each descent group holding a separate portion; the meadow land of Kitotoni and Kidakuli, on the other hand, is not divided up between the two groups⁵.

The situation with regard to meadow land is exactly the reverse of that of bush land. Nearly all the meadow land in the village is held by Kiungani, Changwa, Karibuni and Mtundani, while the two descent groups which hold the largest amount of bush land – Kitotoni and Kidakuli – hold relatively little meadow land. Meadow land is cultivated in the main by three categories of people. First of all, by old people and single women, who prefer meadow to bush land because the work is less demanding. Secondly, married women sometimes cultivate a small meadow field as a supplement to the main bush field. The third category is composed of those who find it inconvenient to be far away from the village. These include highly religious people, those who are politically very active, and fishermen. As is shown in Chapter VII, the majority of people active in religion and politics are members of the Karibuni, Changwa and Kiungani descent groups, those very groups with the most meadow land.

It is not possible to give an estimate of the amount of meadow land available for each descent group, as was done for the bush fields. However, it is possible to say how many people cultivated with each descent group in 1966.

Table 5:4. Distribution of meadow land among descent groups.

<u>Descent group.</u>	<u>No. of fields cultivated.</u>	<u>% of total cultivated.</u>
No descent group	5	4
Kidakuli & Kitotoni	56	43
Kiungani	23	18
Changwa	26	20
Karibuni	20	15
Mtundani	1	1
Total	131	100

As the table shows, more people cultivated with Kidakuli and Kitotoni than with the other descent groups. However, it should be remembered that these are two of the largest descent groups, and furthermore that all their land was cultivated, whereas much of the

meadow land of the other descent groups lay fallow.

Allocation of meadow land.

How do people obtain meadow land? To answer this question, it is convenient to divide meadow land into three different types. The first is land attached to coconut trees. This land is usually considered to be a part of the coconut fields, and thus can be sold, inherited etc. Even the government recognises the permanent rights of an individual over such land, as the following case illustrates.

Case 5:5. Dispute over rights to a meadow field.

Athman owned coconut trees bordering a meadow field associated with the Changwa descent group, of which he himself is a member. However, since he is also a Kidakuli man, he usually cultivated bush land, and allowed his classificatory grand-daughter to cultivate the meadow, along with her husband.

In 1965, the couple had a number of rows with accusations of infidelity on the part of the husband, and counter-accusations by the wife that her husband beat her unjustly. Finally, both parties went to Kilindoni Court, and the husband, Hatibu, agreed to a divorce.

The following year, both parties were re-married. Athman's grand-daughter was cultivating bush land with her new husband. Hatibu wished to continue to cultivate the meadow land with his new wife. They started to hoe the ground and sow seed.

Athman disputed their right to cultivate there, saying that this was his land, and he had not given them permission. Hatibu however replied that he was cultivating 'government land' and he had a perfect right to do so.

The matter was taken before the VDC, who were very puzzled about what to do in this case. Eventually, they referred the matter to the judge of the sub-court in Kilindoni. The judgement was that the land belonged to Athman, since the trees were his (he even had German documents giving him title to the trees). However, Hatibu was to be allowed to cultivate the land until he had harvested his crop, since he had already begun to cultivate. This was agreed to by all the parties, although Athman was angry that Hatibu should remain even for a short time on his land.

The following year, Athman's own daughter went to cultivate this field. Hatibu protested, and said that this was his field, and he had cultivated there for a number of years. The matter again went before the VDC, but Hatibu, realising that he had been defeated, failed to turn up at the hearing. The VDC members told Athman's daughter to continue cultivating the field.

This whole question of whether or not trees give a man rights to the adjacent land is a very difficult one. The case does not often arise in Kanga⁶, and in fact, it seems probable that the bad feelings caused by the divorce were a major factor in the dispute. Most villagers in Kanga recognise that meadow land, if it is bordered by coconut trees, is the property of the man who owns the trees.

The second type of meadow land is that which does not have trees attached to it, but which is nevertheless held by an individual or a small group, like the first category, and is also cultivated on a permanent basis. This land is also inherited, and the heirs may hold it in common, with each taking it in turns to cultivate it, or if it is a large piece of land, they may divide it between them. It is very common for this type of land to be held by women, and for a woman to give it to her daughter before her death. Since there are no trees on it, the government would not recognise permanent rights to such land.

As I have already mentioned, women use meadow land as a security against divorce or widowhood, and they will seek to retain their rights in a piece of land by continuing to cultivate even when they live quite far away.

The third type of meadow land is not cultivated on a permanent basis, nor are rights to it held by an individual or a sibling group. Rights to this type of land are more like rights to bush land; members of a descent group, or a segment, are primary holders. People who cultivate this type of land normally only do so for a year or so at a time, and their rights lapse after they have left it for more than a year.

The three types of meadow land are convertible. If a man cultivating the third category stays there for a long time, builds a fence, and uses fertiliser (cow dung) on the field, he establishes permanent rights over it, and the field may be inherited by his heirs; in other words, it becomes land of the second category. Similarly, if a man with category two land plants a few trees upon it, he establishes a completely inalienable right. Of course, the opposite may apply. In some cases, men have sold their trees, but stipulated that they should retain the meadow land adjacent to it. Similarly, if a man with category two land abandons it, it will become land of category three. This is unlikely to happen however, as it would probably be taken over by one of his or her relatives.

The terms primary, secondary and tertiary right holders may also be applied to meadow land, but they need to be defined rather differently. Primary holders are those people holding land of the first two categories, that is land permanently cultivated, which can be inherited, given away, and in the case of the first category, sold. Secondary holders are those holding land of the third type, that is people cultivating because they are members of a descent group. And tertiary holders are people who ask permission of the primary or secondary holders to use their land.

Meadow land, then, is obtained through ownership of coconut trees; through inheriting, being given, or creating permanent rights over a piece of land; through being a member of a descent group; or through asking permission.

The following Table shows how meadow land rights were obtained in 1966 :-

Table 5:5. How meadow fields were obtained, 1965-6.

Name of d/g.	Primary rights.		Secondary rights (i.e. through d/g member- ship.)	Tertiary rights.	Total.
	Ownership of trees.	Permanent field.			
No d/g	5				5
Kidakuli & Kitotoni	33	3	4	11	56
Kiungani	7	7	1	3	23
Changwa	12	5	2	7	26
Karibuni & Mrundani	10	6	1	4	21
Total	67 (51%)	26 (20%)	8 (6%)	30(23%)	131(100%)

The above table demonstrates the paramount importance of primary rights in the holding of meadow land. 51% of the land is held by people who also own coconut trees on or adjacent to their field, and a further 20% hold land which they cultivate permanently. It is only 6% of people cultivating meadow land who are secondary right holders, that is, who obtained their land through descent group membership alone, although there is a great deal more land of category three which lies fallow. However, as with bush fields, a sizeable minority (23%) are tertiary holders. It is very noticeable that the majority of tertiary holders are close kinsmen of the primary holder, rather than just neighbours or friends; it is in fact much less easy to get permission to use someone else's meadow land, than to get bush land. The main reason for this is that people are afraid that outsiders will try to establish permanent rights, as Makungu did in case 5:4.

It may be helpful at this point to summarise the differences between meadow and bush land, in order to see what factors lead a man, or a married couple, to cultivate one type of land rather than the other. Only a tiny minority, it should be remembered, cultivate both types in any one year, as a bush field requires the cultivator to live on it during the ripening of the harvest, in order to protect it against pigs, birds, monkeys, etc.

Those few couples who manage to cultivate a field of each generally have a main bush field, and a small area of meadow land; the latter is next to that of a kinsman, who agrees to watch over it for them.

The first, and perhaps the most important difference between the two types of land is that on bush land a man has a right to some land, enough for him to cultivate and feed his family. With meadow land, on the other hand, except for category three, a man or woman has a right to a particular piece of land.

The second difference between meadow and bush land is that they are cultivated by different categories of people. On the whole young and middle-aged couples cultivate bush land. The reason for this is that they are better able to cope with the hard work involved (cutting bush, building fences etc.) than older people. Bush land also tends to be cultivated by poorer households, because the crops ripen earlier, thus obviating sooner the necessity to buy staples for cash. Meadow land is also cultivated by people who are involved in Islamic religious activities, and village politics, and who prefer to remain in the village all the year round, rather than spending five months out in the fields, as those cultivating bush land do.

Of course, descent group membership to some extent influences the choice between bush and meadow land - Kidakuli people tend to cultivate bush land more often than members of other descent groups, largely because most Kidakuli land is bush land; another factor is that few Kidakuli people are involved in political or religious activity, and thus it does not matter to them that they are away from the village. However, all in all, approximately the same number of bush and meadow fields are cultivated each year.

Methods of allocation in bush and meadow land differ. As rights to meadow land are nearly all obtained through ownership of coconut trees, or permanent rights over a piece of land, Elders play no part in allocating the land, although like any other primary holder, they may allow someone to use their land. Likewise, because no spirits, or

spirit shrines are associated with meadow land, there are no Guardians, nor are any rituals carried out in meadow fields during the agricultural season.

Another important difference is that the government recognises permanent rights to meadow land, or at least those rights which can be validated by ownership of coconut trees. No such recognition is given to bush land, as cases 5:1 and 5:3 demonstrate.

Rights to both types of land are essentially concerned with descent group membership. Most people obtain their coconut trees in the wards of their descent groups, hence the majority also hold their meadow fields in the same place. However, since meadow land can be sold, and in a minority of cases, is sold to non-descent group members, it is possible for a primary right holder on meadow land not to be a member of the descent group associated with that land. This situation could not occur with bush land; a primary right holder must be a member of the descent group associated with the land.

Descent, Residence, and Cultivation Patterns.

The purpose of this section is to show how people choose to cultivate over a period of time. The question to be answered is whether people always cultivate with the same descent group each year, or whether they utilise all the descent groups in which they can claim membership, in order to obtain land rights. It will then be possible to see to what extent residence influences cultivation choices.

Of course, all men have a certain amount of choice about where they shall cultivate. They can choose between cultivating with their descent group(s), their wives' descent group(s), and between cultivating descent group land, and non-descent group land. They can choose between cultivating bush land or meadow land. However, not all men belong to more than one descent group, so their choice is limited in this respect, although they can always become tertiary right holders on the land of other descent groups.

The people I am examining in this section are those who can claim membership in more than one descent group. As Table 3:3 in Chapter III showed, a large proportion of the total male population in Kanga claims membership in more than one descent group. In the following Table a sample of fifty men is examined for the way in which they made their cultivation choices over a period of six years, from 1961-7.

Table 5:6. Descent groups and cultivation choices, 1961-7.

<u>Number of descent groups of which a member :-</u>							Nos. of descent group members cultivating with
<u>0 d/g.</u>	<u>1 d/g.</u>	<u>2 d/g.</u>	<u>3 d/g.</u>	<u>4 d/g.</u>	<u>5 d/g.</u>	<u>Total.</u>	
3	4	1	—	—	—	8	0 d/g.
—	15	8	3	1	—	27	1 d/g.
—	—	7	3	2	1	13	2 d/g.
—	—	—	1	—	1	2	3 d/g.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 d/g.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5 d/g.
3	19	16	7	3	2	50	Totals.

The above Table shows that 28 men (56% of the sample) had membership of more than one descent group. A majority of these (15) had actually used their membership of more than one descent group in order to obtain land rights during that period. This is important because it shows that descent group membership is not 'closed' in regard to cultivation choices. Membership is determined by birth, and if a man is a member of more than one group, he can, and does, utilise his rights in several groups in order to obtain land.

The conclusions to be drawn from the Table are born out by the following case history. It concerns a man in his early thirties, who can remember fairly accurately where he has cultivated every year since he was old enough to have his own field.

Case 5:6 Ahmed's cultivation choices.

Descent group membership	- Kidakuli (through FF) Changwa (through Fm, mm - his mF was an immigrant from the mainland)
Wife's descent groups	- Kidakuli only.
Period of cultivation	- 1952 - 67.
Patterns of cultivation choices:	Kidakuli - 10 times Changwa - 4 times. tertiary holder - once.

Ahmed resides in the Kidakuli ward. He has cultivated Kidakuli land more frequently than any other. This, however, is to be expected, in view of the fact that it is much more plentiful than Changwa land. Even so, he has cultivated Changwa land 4 times out of a possible 15. And he has utilised the two descent group options open to him; in other words he has taken up rights in both the descent groups in which he claims membership.

Ahmed claims to prefer Kidakuli land, because he says that it is always protected by a spirit, and there is no danger of fields being bewitched. However, it may be that for some reason he fails to get the Kidakuli land he wants, and so has to go elsewhere. This happened in the 1966-7 season, when the land allocated to him through his father-in-law was taken by another man (cf Case 5:1), and he had to go elsewhere. On the other hand, it may be noted that in Case 5:3, Masiku said that he preferred not to use Kidakuli land, because it was far from the village, and he was a fisherman.

To what extent does choice of residence affect cultivation choices? Let us examine first of all those men who are actually residing on ward land associated with a descent group of which they are members. For someone who is a member of more than one descent group, the following possibilities are available: (A) to cultivate only with the descent group with which he is residing, (B) to cultivate with this descent group and with others of which he is a member, (C) to cultivate only with the descent group(s) of which he is a member, but with which he is not residing,

finally (D) to be a tertiary holder of land.

Table 5:7. Cultivation choices with reference to residence in a ward. (1960-66).

Cultivation choice.	Descent group of residence :							Totals.
	KIU	KID	KAR	MTU	GUN	CHA	KIT	
A	2	0	1	0	0	1	4	8
B	0	5	0	0	1	1	7	14
C	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	5
D	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Totals	3	5	1	2	1	2	14	28

Of our sample of fifty men, only 28 fill both criteria of being a member of more than one descent group, and living in a ward associated with one of their descent groups. Only eight of the twenty-eight men cultivated only with the descent group with which they reside, and no other. This means that they ignored their potential choices. However, fourteen men cultivated both with their group of residence, and with other groups of which they are members. Some men did not cultivate with the group with which they were residing, and one man ignored his rights through all his descent groups, and preferred to cultivate the land of other descent groups.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that choice of residence does not necessarily affect choice of cultivation. Half of the men who had a choice cultivated not only with the descent group with which they were residing, but also with other groups of which they were members. In other words, having made a choice in regard to residence, a man is not thereby confined in his choice with regard to cultivation.

Table 5:7 dealt only with the men in the sample who are members of more than one descent group. Fourteen of the remainder of the sample are members of one group only, and the majority of them (11) cultivated exclusively with that group; a minority (3) obtained their land through other links e.g. affinity etc. Three other men in the sample had no descent group membership at all, but they were living on ward land;

they tended to obtain their land from the descent group of the ward in which they resided. Finally, the remaining category of five men includes some living on non-ward land, and some living in wards where they did not have descent group membership. However, all these people were members of at least one descent group in the village, and they used their descent group links to obtain land. In other words, the fact that a man might not be residing with one of his descent groups did not mean that he could not obtain land rights through descent. Nor did it mean that if a man resided with a descent group of which he was not a member he would also obtain land through the same group: normally he obtained land through his own groups. Only those men who had no descent group membership resided and cultivated with the same descent group. Normally they had obtained these rights through affinal links.

Finally, if we look at the question of cultivation choices from the point of view of each descent group, do we find that most members use the descent group land? In the following table, the choices of all the male members of each descent group have been examined over a period of five years. It is then possible to see what proportion of members took up their rights to land during this period.

Table 5:8. Proportion of descent group members cultivating descent group land. (1960-6).

Name of descent group.	Proportion of male members using land.
Kitotoni	70%
Karibuni	70%
Kiungani	70%
Changwa	58%
Mtundani	18%
Kidakuli	82%

It will be remembered that Kitotoni and Kidakuli own the largest amount of bush land (cf Table 5:1). Conversely, Karibuni and Kiungani hold the largest stretches of meadow land. It is thus to be expected that the majority of their members would cultivate with these groups fairly often, even if not every year. Changwa members appear to use their

land less often, and one of the reasons is that there is less available. Mrundani, as has already been remarked, possesses no bush land, and only a little meadow land, so that it is not surprising that most of its members look to other descent groups in order to obtain land.

However, it is interesting to compare this Table (5:3) with Table 4:7 at the end of the last Chapter, and to note that the three descent groups in which a majority of members affiliate for residence purposes are also the three groups in which the highest proportion of members affiliate for cultivation purposes. Similarly, those groups with only a minority of members residing in their wards, have fewer members cultivating their land. However, the fact that Kiungani descent group has a minority of members residing in its ward, while a large proportion cultivate its land, suggests that there is not always a direct correlation. People who are not residing on Kiungani land nevertheless cultivate there; this emphasises my earlier point that residence choices do not determine cultivation choices.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUNCTIONING OF EGO-CENTRED GROUPINGS

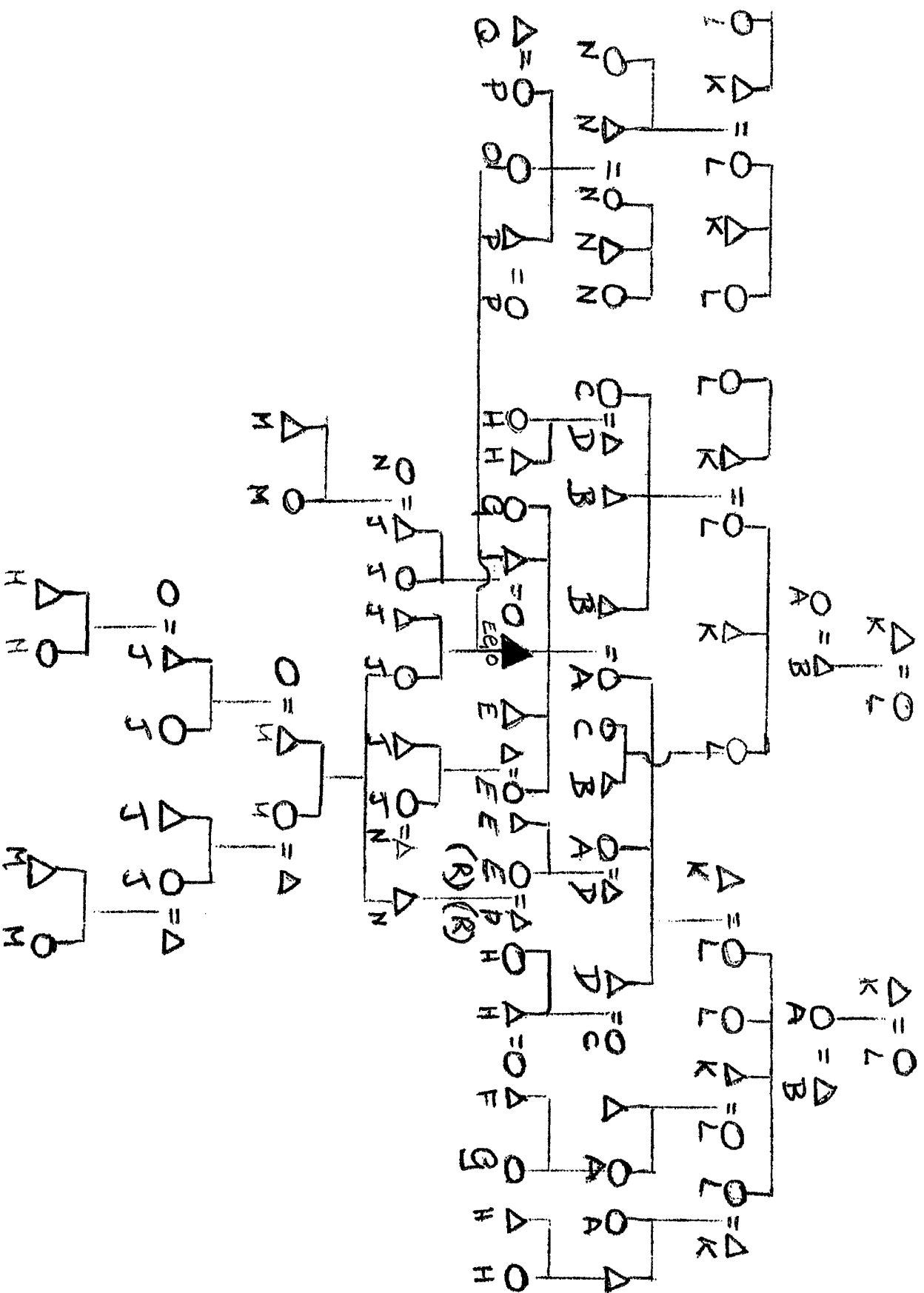
Thus far in the thesis, emphasis has been laid on the workings of the six cognatic descent groups. As has been shown, rights to residential land and cultivable land are obtained through membership of these groups. However, it has also become apparent that not all choices are determined by descent group membership. Decisions about residence and cultivation may be taken outside the descent framework, and in such cases, the individual utilises his ties to a variety of kinsmen, affines, friends and neighbours, who may or may not be a part of his descent segment or group.

The links with which a man is surrounded are called his jamaa. This is a difficult word to translate, since it can mean different things in varying contexts, but basically it means an ego-centred grouping. At its widest, it may mean all the people with whom ego has ties of kinship, affinity, neighbourhood, or friendship; in short, everyone with whom ego interacts.

Secondly, it may refer more specifically to ego's kinship universe¹, that is, to all the people with whom he traces a genealogical relationship. In most cases, an ego's kinship universe is completely bi-lateral. This is true in most societies (although not all)², but it is to be expected that in a cognatic society, fairly equal importance should be attached to a range of paternal and maternal kin. This is emphasised in the kinship terminology (cf Fig.6:1), which makes no distinction between paternal and maternal kin. The important distinctions are between generations, and to a lesser extent between juniors and seniors within a generation.

The kinship universe normally includes the members of a man's descent group segments (matumbo) but not all members of his descent groups, since he cannot always trace kinship with fellow members of descent groups. The jamaa in this sense (jamaa wanaohusiana, or 'the jamaa who are related', as people sometimes refer to it) thus cuts across the boundaries of

KINSHIP TECHNOLOGY Fig. 6:1



Key to Kinship terminology.

<u>Letter</u>	<u>Swahili term (reference)</u>	<u>Translation.</u>
A	mama	mother
B	baba	father
C	shangazi	father's sister
D	mjomba	mother's brother
E	ndugu	younger sibling
F	kaka	elder brother
G	dada	elder sister
H	binamu	cross cousin
I	mwana	child
J	mpwa	sibling's child
K	babu	grandfather
L	bibi	grandmother
M	mjikuu	grandchild
N	mkwe	parent-in-law
O	mke	wife
P	shimeji	affine of same gen.
Q	mgosi	affine's spouse
R	muhili	child's spouse's parent
S	mkosano	child's spouse

the descent groups, giving ego the opportunity for using links other than descent to obtain land or residence rights, as has been shown.

Thirdly, an individual may also speak of his jamaa on a specific occasion, such as a wedding or a funeral, and by this he means the action set³ which he has brought together for a particular purpose.

All types of jamaa are bounded categories, but the boundaries vary with time. An older person is likely to have a larger personal network than a younger. This is largely because the size of the individual's kinship universe tends to increase over time. There are two reasons for this; the first is that as a man grows older, he has children and grandchildren of his own, who then form a part of his kinship universe. Secondly, his kinship universe is likely to be collaterally wider; the reason for this is that men learn more of their genealogies, through participation in rituals, being taught by their elders, etc. as they grow older, and so will come to know of ancestors who are removed from them by four or five generations, and thus in turn recognise their descendants as kin. One older man gave me his personal genealogy; this was four generations above himself, and three below (four counting small children). Undoubtedly, he could call up an action set which would involve most of these people, even though some of them lived outside Mafia. But another informant, a young man of around thirty years of age, knew only his grandparents, and their descendants. If he wished to activate an action set, say for the circumcision of his son, it would in fact probably be his parents who would call on their wider kinship network, and undertake most of the arrangements.

Age is not the only factor; status is also important. Thus an old and respected man, of high status, such as a religious leader, or the Elder of a descent group, is likely to have a larger personal network and be able to activate larger action sets than a man of the same age who is of little account in the village. The point is, of course, that the boundaries do not depend entirely on whom ego recognises as members of his personal network, but also on the people who agree to be included, and in so doing,

also include ego in their personal networks.

The size of an action set also depends upon context. A small kinship ritual, such as a Koranic reading for a dead parent, brings a much smaller action set into being than a larger ritual for a wedding or a puberty ceremony. The former type of ritual would include people referred to as jamaa sana (close jamaa), whereas for the latter type, a man would try to include as much of his kinship universe as possible.

In order further to clarify the workings of the jamaa, I propose to analyse one kind of kinship ritual - marriage - and to show, through an examination of the economics of marriage, how an individual manipulates his personal network. The discussion will also show how the descent group and its segments are for some purposes contained within the individual's network.

The Economics of Marriage.

The marriage of a virgin involves considerable expense, which is borne by both the bride's and groom's families. However, if the groom is marrying for the second or subsequent time, he usually has to find most of the payments himself. This is probably one of the main reasons why men seeking second or subsequent wives tend not to marry virgins, as it is very difficult for them to find all the necessary payments without the help of kin.

The groom's payments consist firstly of those required by Islamic law, that is the mahari, paid to the bride herself, or at least promised her at the time of the wedding. Usually this is around 50/- - 200/-, although occasionally it may be as low as 100/-, particularly in the case of a divorced or widowed woman. The groom also has to provide the bride with a complete trousseau (sanduku), which can hardly cost less than several hundred shillings, for a virgin bride.

In addition to the money spent on the bride, there are four other people to whom the groom has to make payments. First is the bride's father to whom a payment of around 100/-, known as 'turban' (kilemba)⁴

is made. Prior to this, at the time of betrothal, the groom has to pay the father 'letter' money, i.e. he encloses 10/- or 20/- in the formal letter proposing marriage. Between the betrothal and marriage, he makes frequent visits to his fiancée's parents, and takes gifts of food etc. Secondly, he has to give the bride's mother 'belt' (mkaja)⁵ which may be between 50/- and 100/-. Thirdly, he has to pay the go-between (mposaji) for all his efforts in bringing the match to a successful conclusion. Finally, before he is allowed to enter the bridal chamber and consummate the marriage, he has to pay the girl's mkunga (sexual instructress) money known as kipa mkono, which must be a minimum of 30/- and may be much higher.

The total costs for a groom are shown below:-

Table 6:1. Groom's marriage expenses.

<u>Mahari</u> (only half paid)	100
<u>Sanduku</u> (trousseau)	250
Letter money	10
Food, gifts between betrothal and marriage	50
<u>Kilemba</u> to father	100
<u>Mkaja</u> to mother	75
<u>Kipa mkono</u> to <u>mkunga</u>	50
Payment to go-between	50
Total costs	685/- (£34/5/-)

When it is remembered that the average annual cash income for men is rarely more than 200/- - 300/- per annum (cf Chapter II), it can be seen that marriage needs a considerable outlay, and indeed, would not be possible at all except for the help of kin.

The bride's family also have heavy expenses to bear. Normally, her parents provide a complete set of household furniture and utensils, including the marital double bed, an ornate and expensive item. In addition, they have to bear the cost of the marriage feast. The mkunga may provide a separate set of household utensils, or she may contribute to those bought by the bride's parents. She also has to cook at least one pot of rice and meat at the marriage feast for the groom and his party. However, both the parents and mkunga know that they will receive money

from the groom and they do not have to find all the costs themselves. Even so, this is not sufficient, and they too will have to call on the help of relatives.

The role of the jamaa in marriage.

The kinship universe surrounding a bride or groom is seen by people in Kanga as consisting of four categories. The first category is known as the wenyewe (lit. 'themselves'); these are some of the very close kin. They are invited to discuss proposals, and they thus constitute an action set from the start. The wenyewe have a say in all decisions made, and in planning the wedding itself. Normally the wenyewe would include the parents, parents' siblings, parents' parents and their siblings, of the bride (or groom), and perhaps other close relatives.

The second category consists of the close kin and affines of the wenyewe themselves. These are invited to the 'drying of the rice' a few days before the wedding. This invitation means that a contribution of money and/or food is expected. This category is referred to as jamaa sana - close jamaa - and these people generally remain in or around the house where the wedding is being held for two or three days before the ceremony takes place.

On the day after the 'drying of the rice' is held, another task, the 'pounding of the rice' is performed. Again, people are invited by the wenyewe, rather than by the father or mother of the bride, but these are still people who are included in the kinship universe of the latter. They are referred to as jamaa wanaohusiana - 'the jamaa who are related'; they do not necessarily make any kind of contribution, and if they do, it is usually a small one.

The final category consists of the extended jamaa of each of the wenyewe. In other words, the wenyewe invite to the wedding their distant kin, affines, neighbours and friends - their personal network. These people attend only the wedding ceremony itself, and the feast, and they do not make any sort of contribution.

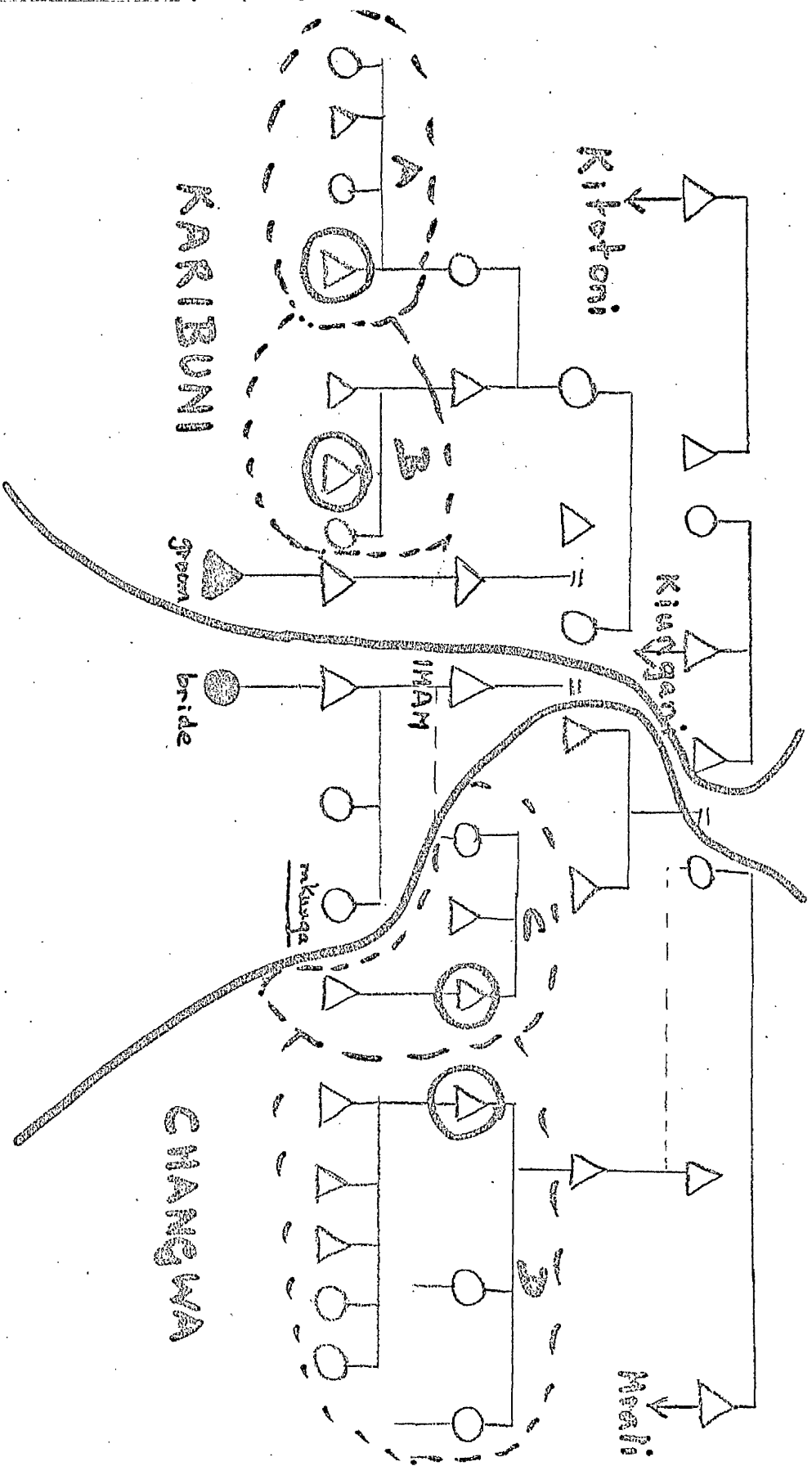
Contributions, whether of money or food are rarely made direct to the givers of the ritual. Normally, invitations are issued to the wenyewe, who are representatives (usually Elders) of descent group segments. They in turn collect from their children, grandchildren, affines, etc. The usual form of request is "I have a wedding (funeral, puberty ceremony etc.), so please help me". Note that the stress is on 'my' wedding, and the person is being asked to help the mwenyewe, and not necessarily the person holding the ritual.

Each of the people approached by the mwenyewe will also approach members of his or her jamaa for help. The rule is that the more distant the relationship between the mwenyewe and those approached, the less given. People who are not closely related usually give in larger groups than those who are. As one informant put it: "There are those who contribute through their (small) segments, and there are those who put their contributions all together." He meant that the first were people closely related, while the second category were more distantly related.

The informant was the Imam of the Friday mosque, and one of the most important men in Kanga. In 1966, he married off his son's daughter to the grandson of his half-brother. The groom and his family had long been settled in Kwale, an island lying between Mafia and the mainland. Thus contact between the two families was minimal, because of geographical distance. However, contact had been maintained, and was thus being renewed through a new marriage link.

The number of people who attended this wedding was extraordinarily large, and the feasting and dancing lasted several days, instead of the usual 24 hours. A great deal of money was spent on both sides. The Imam said that he had first of all issued invitations to the wenyewe (marked on the genealogy Fig. 6:2), and each one had then asked members of his tumbo (delineated on the genealogy) to contribute. In addition, people who were more distantly related to the Imam came to the wedding. They were members of Kitotoni and Kiungani descent groups, and of a descent group in Mrali village, and each group made a contribution en masse.

Fig. 6:2. The 'amaa of the Innam.



The Imam expressed this in terms of descent group membership. He himself is a member of Changwa, Karibuni and Kiungani descent groups. He pointed out that his closest ties are with the Changwa and Karibuni descent groups since he has more than one link (i.e. through several ancestors) with these groups, but only one link with Kiungani. Thus the majority of his closest kin are members of Changwa and Karibuni descent groups, and they gave 'segment by segment' (*tumbo kwa tumbo*), while members of the Kiungani descent group gave 'as a whole'. Of course, this does not mean that everybody in the Kiungani descent group contributed, merely that those contributing saw themselves doing so as 'Kiungani people'. It might be noted that the Kitotoni people also contributed as a whole; as was explained earlier (cf Chapter III), Kitotoni was originally a breakaway segment from the Karibuni descent group, of which the Imam is an Elder, and they were thus recognising the relationship between the two groups.

It should perhaps be pointed out at this stage that the extent of contributions are determined not only by genealogical proximity and status, but also by geography. Kin who live at a distance drop their ties sooner than those living in the same village. When the Imam married off his own daughter, some twenty years ago, he was able to invite relatives from Koma, another island between Mafia and the mainland. People remarked on the fact that they not only came, but actually made a contribution; this demonstrated clearly the large action-set which a person as important as the Imam could call up. However, these people did not come to the marriage of the Imam's grand-daughter in 1966, and he admitted regretfully that the link had become rather weak by this time. However, had these people been living in Mafia, this would not have happened.

Another factor which affects the way in which individuals make use of their kinship universe is personal likes and dislikes. Thus the head of segment C on the Imam's genealogy was not able to call on his sister's children, because of a quarrel between the Imam and their father's brother. In this particular instance, it is possible that the quarrel will either be made

up, or else will die with these two old men, rather than that the link will be broken. However, if a more distant link is broken even on only one occasion, then it is usually broken for good. So that a man knows that if he does not contribute to a relative's marriage, or on some other occasion, he will not be able to call on that relative for help in the future. They will say of each other: "We don't help each other any more." However, a link which is in danger of being dropped may be deliberately resuscitated, as in the case of the marriage of the Imam's grand-daughter to a man from a place as distant as Kwale.

In this context, the segment is a unity, and yet it is also split in the sense that each member is regarded as belonging to various jamaa which may, on any particular occasion, make competing demands for his help. Thus when the grand-daughter of the Imam married, the groom's party called on him, as the classificatory father of the groom's father (cf genealogy) to contribute to the payment of kupa mkono. The Imam borrowed the money and handed it over to his 'son'. However, a further 10/- was still required to make up the amount. The Imam obtained it from his own son, who was also the bride's father, and from two of his daughters, one of whom was the mkunga herself. The latter was thereby contributing to her own payment!

The Imam also had to contribute on the same occasion to a number of people who formed the jamaa of the bride's father, mother and others. For example, he had to help his own daughter, who, as mkunga, bought household utensils. He also had to contribute to his classificatory grand-daughter, the mother of the groom, who bought a second trousseau for the bride.

Conclusion.

The concept of jamaa, in its various senses, helps us to understand how an individual sees his place in society. For certain purposes, he engages only that part of his jamaa which coincides with the descent group segments of which he is a member. Thus rights to reside in a ward, or to cultivate land, or the obligation to contribute to the expenses of a marriage,

may be obtained through membership of a descent group segment. On the other hand, the individual may wish to secure objectives which do not accrue from descent group membership, but only from the rights and obligations between himself and persons in his wider jamaa. In other words, the descent groups do not provide the sole framework of social activity in Kanga. But at the same time, the utilisation of ties outside the descent groups in no way diminishes the rights of descent group membership. Thus for most individuals, the range of social choice is wide.

In the following Chapters, I will examine the conditions under which certain sections of Kanga society deliberately set out to narrow the range of their ties.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION AND POLITICS.

In the preceding Chapters, I have talked about Kanga society as being divided into six non-unilineal descent groups, each of which has a similar structure. In this Chapter, and the following one, another division in Kanga society becomes important, the categorisation of the population into 'tribes'. In fact, these are not 'tribes' in any accepted sense, nor do they form part of any larger tribal grouping, but they use the Swahili word kabila, which is generally translated as tribe, and I shall use this term for lack of any other.

In Kanga, the majority of the population call themselves Mbwera and/or Pokomo. The latter are supposed to have arrived more recently, and until a generation ago, to have lived separately from the Mbwera. In Kanga, members of the Kidakuli descent group are Pokomo, together with a few immigrants from other northern villages where Pokomo are also to be found - these include Jimbo, Futa, Mrali and Bweni. Members of the remaining five descent groups - Karibuni, Kitotoni, Mtundani, Changwa and Kiungani - form the category of Mbwera. In addition, the Gunya classify themselves as a 'tribe'. Apart from these, most descendants of slaves in Kanga claim to be members of inland tribes - the Zaramo, Yao, Nyasa etc. These 'tribal' affiliations are not of much significance, but they are remembered, especially during feasts, in the custom of formalised joking relations. As already mentioned, joking relations (utani) exist between cross-cousins, and between grandparents and grandchildren. In addition, there are joking relations of the same kind between tribes. At rites of passage, compensation (ugongo) is paid to members of tribes with whom ego has a joking relationship; similarly, joking relations can be called upon to perform certain tasks, such as digging the grave at a funeral. Another service which can be demanded of a joking relation, whether 'tribal' or kin, is to help obtain land. Thus one man, a Pokomo, obtained his land by asking the permission of a Gunya, who owned trees there. Since the Gunya and the Pokomo have a joking relationship,

the latter could not refuse.

This 'tribal' joking relationship is not of much significance in Kanga, but in the southern villages, where there is a far higher proportion of ex-slaves, and immigrants from the mainland, it is an important part of every rite of passage. At the same time, of course, it serves to demarcate the freeborn from the slaves. The act of claiming 'tribal' affiliation in this way makes public one's superior or inferior social status.

In Kanga, the most important of these 'tribal' groupings are the Pokomo and the Mbwera, and this division between the two assumes greatest importance in the context of orthodox Islamic activity, politics and spirit possession. The two former fields which are monopolised by the Mbwera in general, and the Karibuni descent group in particular, are discussed in this Chapter, while spirit possession, almost entirely the preserve of the Pokomo, is discussed in Chapter VIII.

In order to understand fully the workings of the political system, and the means of obtaining and wielding power in Kanga, it is necessary to be aware of the marked forms of social differentiation to be found in this society. On the east coast of Africa as a whole, there may be said to be a three-tier system of social stratification - Arabs, freeborn and (descendants of) slaves. Variations on the same theme appear all over the coast. The categories are even less clear-cut than formerly, because of the growth of African nationalism, and the desirability of aligning oneself, in public at any rate, with "Africanness". However, in Kanga, the basic values remain the same - Arabs are superior, and everything with which they are associated - dress, way of speech, manners, orthodox Islamic practices - is 'good', and to be emulated. The very word for 'civilised' in Swahili (ustaarabu) is derived from an Arabic word, meaning 'Arabness'.

Kanga, like most coastal villages, has marked status differentiation although not conforming exactly to the model given above. To begin with, there are only two adult Arabs in Kanga, a man and his wife, and there

are only approximately twenty adult descendants of slaves, so that the vast majority would thus just fall into the category of 'freeborn'. Within this category however there are marked differences in status. Status is of two types, which are in fact virtually indistinguishable except at certain levels: social status, determined by birth (which is always ascribed and thus connected with descent group membership) and religious status (which may be achieved or ascribed). The people of highest status in Kanga, apart from the Arabs, are the Gunya Sharifs. Only two people fall into this category - the Village Chairman and his sister. Sharifs are said to be descendants of the Prophet, and as such, to have the favour of God, and to be able to pass on baraka (blessing) to people who touch them. In some parts of the coast, Sharifs have their hands kissed in greeting, but this is not done in Kanga. Nonetheless, the Sharifs are highly esteemed, and people go to pray at the Sharifs' graves in preference to the graves of their own ancestors. Sharifs in Kanga enjoy high religious status, even though they do not participate actively in any of the orthodox Islamic activities.

The Sharifs, as already mentioned, are Gunya, and the rest of the Gunya also enjoy high status. They claim to be 'almost Arabs' in descent, and this claim is accepted by the rest of the population. Along with the Gunya, immigrants from Zanzibar, which is thought to be much more 'civilised' than Kanga, enjoy high social status. The Zanzibari immigrants are represented in Kanga by the family of a Zanzibari Sheikh who settled in the village, and married into the Karibuni descent group. His son, whose mother was a Karibuni woman, is at present the Sheikh of Kanga. The Karibuni people as a whole enjoy high status, because the majority of them are extremely pious, partly because of the influence of the Sheikh, and partly because they have traditionally been so.

The Karibuni people, like members of the Kiungani, Kitotoni, Mtundani and Changwa descent groups, are Mbweru. They consider themselves to be superior to the Pokomo for several reasons. First of all, they have been in the village for a longer time; members of these descent

groups often refer to themselves as 'true Kangans' in opposition to the Kidakuli Pokomo who are more recent arrivals. Secondly, it is from the ranks of the Mbwera that the majority of pious and learned men in the village are drawn. Finally, they despise the Pokomo not only because they neglect orthodox Islamic activities, but also because the latter engage in spirit possession cults which are antithetical to Islam.

At this level it is possible to distinguish between social and religious status. Socially, the Pokomo fall into the category of the 'free-born' and are therefore superior to the ex-slaves. However, it seems to be easier for a slave, who is not involved in spirit possession cults, to achieve high religious status, e.g. become a Koranic teacher, and thereby to improve his social status, as will be shown. Some slaves, particularly those who are diligent in Islamic observance, may be described as being of higher religious status than many Pokomo, particularly those highly involved in spirit possession cults, even though slaves are of lower social status, since they are not among the 'free-born'.

But, despite the partial dissociation of religious and social status, by and large there is a single hierarchy of socio-religious status recognised in Kanga. It may be summarised as follows :

Table 7:1. Socio-religious hierarchy.

Arabs
Sharifs
Gunya
Zanzibar immigrants/Karibuni descent group members
Pious Mbwera of other descent groups
Mbwera in general
Pokomo
Slaves

This hierarchy is important in the political sphere. Power has been traditionally wielded by religious leaders in the village and this is still true today. A combination of high social status, and piety are the essential pre-requisites for office. This value system is accepted by everyone in the population; 'good' is equated with high socio-religious status, and 'bad' with low status, and particularly with spirit possession.

In this Chapter, I propose to examine first of all different Islamic practices and ritual, and then to discuss the formal political structure. In the final section, I discuss the mechanisms by which a small minority retains control of Islamic and political institutions; the most important means of doing this is through discriminatory marriage policies.

Section A. Islam.

Islam is the universal religion in Kanga village. With the sole exception of the Arab, who is an Ibadhi, the population adheres to the Shafe'i school of the Sunnis. This means that certain ritual practices are carried out by everyone in the village. Apart from these universal rituals, there are also 'general' rituals which are carried out by many people, although not by everyone, and finally there are ritual practices which only the minority of very pious perform. I shall discuss these three categories of ritual practice separately.

a) Universal Islamic Practices.

Two types of ritual may be categorised as 'universal' in Kanga. They are the life crisis rituals - at birth, puberty, marriage and death, and the annual communal rituals involving the whole village - the fast of Ramadhan, the Maulid (celebration of the Prophet's birthday), and the circumambulation and blessing of the village (kuzingua mji).

The rituals surrounding birth, marriage and death are carried out according to Islamic law, although in the case of marriage particularly, there are many embellishments. The presence of a mwaliim to lead the prayers and conduct the ritual is necessary on all of these occasions. In the case of marriages and funerals, which are the two most important life crisis rituals, the Karibuni Sheikh is always called upon. In this context, he is 'our Sheikh', i.e. the Sheikh of the whole village, and not just the 'Karibuni' Sheikh. In 1966, the government declared that a Kadhi should be appointed in each village, and the VDC members chose the Karibuni Sheikh, so that his position is now official, and no-one else may officiate over marriages in the village.

Although the whole population carries out the same type of ritual for births, marriages and deaths, the same is not true of puberty rituals, that is, circumcision for boys, and ear-piercing, and later, ritual washing at first menstruation for girls. It is noticeable that the most pious members of the village have been the first to take advantage of the facilities offered for circumcising boys in Kilindoni hospital, and they then return to the village to hold a 'coming-out' feast, usually with a Koranic reading (hitima), or else a Maulid reading. Other people in the village have their sons circumcised by a local 'expert', who also conducts a long and complicated ceremony, full of dancing and singing, most of whose symbolism is sexual in content.

The same applies to rites held for girls. Ear-piercing, while it is considered essential, is a minor rite, and is always held on the day when a feast is given for newly circumcised boys. However, when a girl menstruates for the first time, she has to be ritually washed by her sexual instructress (mkunga), and taught how to wear her menstrual cloth, and to wash carefully. She is then formally secluded inside her parents' house until her marriage has been arranged. The daughters of people of high socio-religious status are merely washed, and usually a few prayers recited by the woman present. However, in families of low socio-religious status, a ceremony called unyago is arranged - this involves calling in a female 'expert' who, by song, dance and mime, teaches the girl what will be expected of her in her role as wife.

In short then, it is usually members of the Karibuni descent group and others of high socio-religious status who practise the more 'Islamic' form of puberty ceremonies while other people generally prefer to hold the long and complicated rites involving sexual instruction.

The three communal rituals, held annually, involve the whole village, and emphasise that it is a ritual unit. While the main impetus tends to come from people of high socio-religious status, people of all categories in the village - Arabs, slaves, Gunya, Mbweru and Pokomo -

participate in the arrangements, and attend the feasts connected with the rituals. Contributions to the feasts at the Maulid and the blessing of the village are made through descent groups; on this occasion men and women contribute to only one of their descent groups, and not to all of which they are members. However, cooking for the feasts is not carried out by the descent groups, as is the case with life crisis rituals, but by the whole village as a unit. Although these annual rituals are usually carried out by all categories in the village, as I have said, the 'religious' aspect is usually dominated by people of high socio-religious status. Thus for instance although everyone fasts during Ramadhan, it is mainly Karibuni people who attend mosque in the evening, and who also fast the extra seven days at the end of the month of Ramadhan. Similarly, it is the Karibuni people who lead the Maulid reading¹ which lasts all night before the feast is held; they also lead the procession of men who spend three days circumambulating the village, reading the Koran, to 'cast out evil', before the cow, to the purchase of which all have contributed, is slaughtered and the meat cooked².

b) General Islamic Practices.

Three types of practices fall into this category - kinship rituals to remember the ancestors, and ask forgiveness for sins, the Koranic education of children; and the rituals of the tarika societies.

The first type has already been discussed in connection with the cluster, in Chapter IV. These are usually held on ancestral graves, and involve a complete reading of the Koran (hitima), and the naming of all the ancestors who can be remembered by those present. Hitima may be held in connection with a life crisis ritual, but they are also held during the Islamic seventh month, when the graves are cleared. In addition, some people institute a special type of hitima, known as Mwanasha, on the anniversary of a parent's death. People of all categories hold hitima of this type, although the wealthier ones also hold a small feast. Normally, this custom is not continued after the death of the children, so that no-one holds a hitima of this type for an ancestor further removed

than a parent.

The second item of general Islamic observance is that of the education of children in Koran schools. There are four such in Kanga with a total of 67 children, which is rather less than half of the children of an age to attend, i.e. over six or seven years. They are taught to read the Koran in Arabic, although they do not understand what they read, and they learn to write Swahili in Arabic script.

Two of the teachers who hold Koran classes are Karibuni men, and reside in Karibuni wards, one in the Karibuni ward proper, and one in the Kiunga Pemba segment's ward. A third teacher is a member of the Kiungani descent group, who is renowned for his piety. The fourth teacher is a Kidakuli man; he is among the small minority of learned men (walim) in the village who condone spirit possession, and help occasionally in certain of the less reprehensible rituals (cf next Chapter).

Not unnaturally, the teachers draw most of their pupils from the children of their relatives, particularly those living nearby. On the whole, the children of the Karibuni descent group, together with the Gunya and Arab children are taught by Karibuni teachers, while the Kiungani teacher takes children from Kiungani and Kitotoni descent groups, and the Kidakuli teacher from members of his own group and the northern Changwa segment.

Most of the children sent to a Koran school are those of parents who were themselves educated in this way. It may seem surprising at first sight that quite a high proportion of the children are those of Kidakuli parents some of whom are highly involved in spirit possession cults. However, the ability to read the Koran confers considerable prestige; at a ritual where a Koranic reading is called for, literate men always sit in the place of honour, and are served first with the best food. Apart from these considerations, a Koranic education was, until recently, the sole means of acquiring literacy. However, comparatively few Kidakuli people are literate compared with members of the Karibuni descent group, and others of high socio-religious status. In the latter category, almost all men,

and many women, are able to read the Koran, and write in Arabic script.

Nowadays, there is a government school between Bweni and Kanga and all the children are supposed to attend. However, there has been considerable apathy, and indeed opposition to a secular education (identified in the villagers' minds with a 'mission', or Christian education) and particularly about sending girls to school, and keeping them there after puberty, instead of secluding them in preparation for marriage. It is significant that most of this opposition has come not from the most pious parents of high socio-religious status but from parents of lower social status. The former have been the first to send their children, particularly girls, to government schools, while still insisting that the children spend their evenings and weekends reading the Koran. One of the reasons for this is that such people respect 'knowledge' (elimu), and they realise too that 'knowledge is power'. The 'power' that educating their children brings is a result of government approval in conforming to progressive ideals. As will be seen in the second part of this Chapter this is important in maintaining their political position. Parents of low socio-religious status, on the other hand, tend to claim that the children should read the Koran all day and every day, and that government school interferes with this.

The most important rituals in this general category are those of the tarika societies. In Arabic, tariq means 'way, road, or path', but it has come to have a mystical connotation, meaning "the whole system of rites for spiritual training laid down for communal life in the various Muslim religious orders".³ In Kanga, people are devotees of the Qadiriyya tarika, said to have been started by Seyyid Abd al-Qadir of Baghdad, and introduced into East Africa via Somalia and Zanzibar⁴. The most important tarika ritual, indeed the only one generally performed by the devotees in Mafia, is the celebration of the founder's anniversary (ziara), which may be held on an Islamic feast day.

Tarika rituals are characterised by the use of dhikiri, which may be defined as "the remembrance of God by the repetition of His name and attributes; co-ordinated, when recited in congregation, with breathing techniques and physical movements."⁵ It is thought that spiritual effects can be achieved through the rhythmical swaying and jumping, together with constant repetition of 'Allah, Allah'. One woman claimed that after practising dhikiri for a long time, if she closed her eyes, she could see the Prophet Mohammd. In addition to the congregational recitation of the dhikiri, singing of kasida and rishad (which are rather like hymns), in both Swahili and Arabic, is led by the officials of the tarika society.

Branches of the tarika societies are generally to be found in all the villages of Mafia. Each society has allegiance to a Sheikh, and sometimes there is considerable rivalry between the Sheikhs and their societies. The organisation of all tarika societies, however, is basically the same. The Sheikh appoints officials in each village branch of the society; they are either chosen directly by him, or else on the advice of other officials in that branch, if he is not familiar with the village. Most men and women succeed near relatives, usually a parent, and indeed, in Kanga, the tarika societies are dominated by a number of close kinsmen belonging to the Karibuni and Kitofoni descent groups.

Rituals involve a great deal of organisation, as followers of the same Sheikh come together from a number of villages and have to be fed on arrival in early evening, and again the following morning. Frequently ziara attract around five hundred people. Money and rice are provided by the members of the host branch, and they also pay the Sheikh's travelling expenses if he is coming from another village. The largest contributions are made by the society officials, who give between 10/- and 20/-, while ordinary members give 2/- each.

Preparations take at least a week, although plans are laid long before this. Women married outside the village return to help in the preparations (women retain the membership of the branch they joined as girls, and do not change on marriage). The specially appointed site of the ziara (known as zawiya) has to be cleared of the weeds which have sprung up since the previous year, and any fences, and shelters which have become broken down, are repaired. In addition, the cooking preparations involve an army of helpers, and most of the officials, and ordinary members of the host society are kept busy for the whole week preceding the ziara.

Undoubtedly one of the reasons for the large attendance at the ziara is the opportunity to meet old friends and dispersed relatives, wear new clothes, and be admired by members of the opposite sex. In spite of the segregation of men and women in the ritual, it is easy to slip away to a rendez-vous in the darkness. One young man remarked cynically "A ziara is just a picnic" (using the English word).

In Kanga there are two tarika societies, one of which is led by the Karibuni Sheikh, and the other by a Sheikh who lives in Mrora village, near to Baleni. The latter only visits Kanga once a year on the occasion of his ziara. Almost everyone in Kanga is a member of one of the two societies. People are usually recruited when they are quite young, and taken along by a relative to the Sheikh, who gives them sweetened water (ijazi) and recites prayers with them, after they have stated their wish to become a member of the society and a follower of the Sheikh.

The larger of the two Kanga societies is that which is centred on the Kitotoni ward, and which is dominated by Kitotoni and Kidakuli descent group members; these are the followers of the Mrora Sheikh. The smaller society is led by the Karibuni Sheikh, and the zawiya is in the Karibuni ward.

An account of the emergence of two tarika societies in Kanga, both adhering to the Qadiriyya rites, throws some light on both kinship and political processes in the village.

Case 7:1. The Dispute of the Sheikhs.

The tarika orders were only introduced into Kanga about forty years ago, by Sheikhs coming from Zanzibar. Three of these Sheikhs settled in the northern Mafian villages of Kanga, Bweni and Banja. The Bweni and Banja Sheikhs were linked by the fact that they had been the pupils of the same Sheikh in Zanzibar. Each Sheikh formed a society, and gathered followers about themselves, drawn not only from the villages in which they were living, but also from other villages.

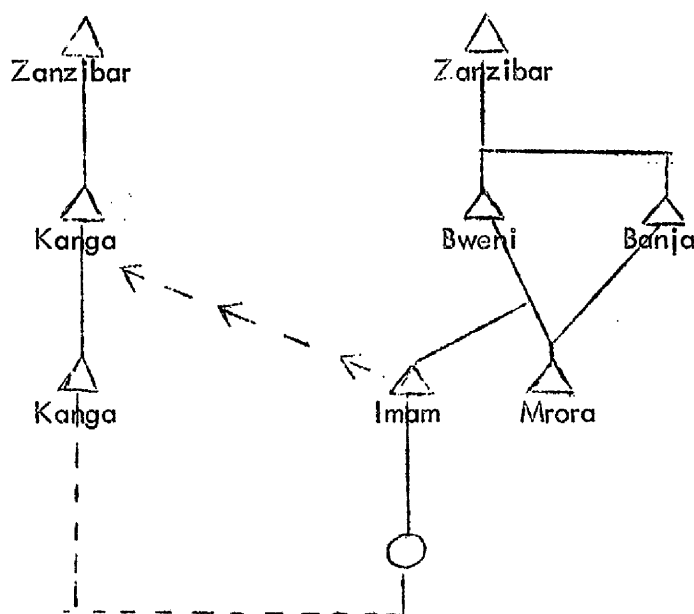
A new mosque was built in the village of Jimbo, and the three Sheikhs were invited to the consecration. However, the Banja Sheikh was late in arriving, and the other two had decided to start without him. When he finally arrived, he was very angry, and severed relations with the other two Sheikhs. After this, each tarika society held its rituals without inviting members of the other societies. Later, however, the Bweni and Banja Sheikhs made up their quarrel, but the Banja and Kanga Sheikhs remained estranged. The quarrel was further exacerbated by a dispute over a woman whom both Sheikhs wished to marry.

After some time, the Banja Sheikh moved to Mrora village (near to Baleni), and his successor still lives there today. The Bweni Sheikh died without a successor, and his society merged with that of the Banja Sheikh. But the rift between the Kanga (Karibuni) Sheikh and the Mrora Sheikh persists until this day. On the whole, each Sheikh draws his supporters from different villages, but in a few villages, notably Kanga and Kirongwe, there are followers of both Sheikhs.

Because the Sheikhs had quarrelled, people had to take sides, and support the Sheikh who led the society of which they were members. At one time, it seems that affiliation to a particular Sheikh was not organised along descent group lines, as it is today. The Imam of the Kanga mosque, a Karibuni man, was formerly a member of the Mrora (then Banja) Sheikh's society, and he held the highest post - that of halifa, or Sheikh's deputy. However, the Kanga Sheikh had married his classificatory sister, and after the dispute between the Sheikhs, he allowed himself to be persuaded to attend the ziara of the Kanga Sheikh. Senior members of the Banja society discovered this, and arraigned him in public, forcing him to leave their society. He then joined forces with his brother-in-law the Kanga Sheikh, and later the

son of the latter (who is now the Kanga Sheikh) married his daughter. The process of the dispute is shown in the diagram below :

Diagram 7:1. The dispute between the Sheikhs, and the Imam's change in affiliation.



By changing sides in this way, the Imam was able to gain considerable advantage for himself. He became halifa of the Kanga Sheikh's ziara, and subsequently Imam of the Friday mosque. As will be shown, he and his kin (including the Kanga Sheikh) dominate the political and religious life of the village. The Kanga Sheikh likewise consolidated his position, having gained the support of one of the most influential men in the village.

Affiliation to the two societies in Kanga is now decided almost exclusively along descent group lines. As already mentioned, the headquarters of the two Kanga branches are in the Karibuni and Kitotoni wards. It is likely that there was a specific reason for this cleavage between Kitotoni and Karibuni. As already mentioned in Chapter III, the Kitotoni descent

group was formed by a segment of the Karibuni descent group, (whose members wished to establish themselves as an independent group) hiving off to the centre of the village, and setting up a separate ward. It is possible that they seized on the tarika societies as a method of demonstrating their independence, and rejecting the dominance of the parent Karibuni group.

The way in which segmentation of descent groups can be reflected in tarika loyalties is also shown by the present affiliations of the members of the Changwa descent group. The segment which has remained in the northern ward (cf Chapter III) has affiliated itself to the Mrora Sheikh, and participates in the Kitotoni ziara. That segment which now resides in the south, on the other hand, affiliates with the Karibuni tarika society, and this is one aspect of its members' attempts to raise their social status, symbolised also by their rejection of spirit possession cults, by their diligence in mosque attendance, and greater discrimination in marriage policies.

Tarika affiliation thus reflects an important cleavage in Kanga society. The Karibuni descent group members are followers of the Karibuni Sheikh, but most of the rest of the population are followers of the Mrora Sheikh, and attend the ziara held in Kitotoni. It is over the issue of spirit possession that the split becomes most apparent. The Karibuni Sheikh does not accept as followers those people who practise land spirit possession (cf next Chapter). The Mrora Sheikh, on the other hand, makes no such condition. Indeed, the members of the Kitotoni branch of his tarika society include those who practise the 'worst' forms of spirit possession, and are not at all diligent in orthodox Islamic observance. Five of the officials of this branch are extremely active members of spirit possession guilds, as are many of the rank and file members.

By contrast, members of the Karibuni descent group, and the few other Mbwera who are followers of the Karibuni Sheikh, are considered to be the most pious people in the village, and occupy a position at the top of the socio-religious hierarchy. They do not participate in land spirit possession activities. More than half the posts in this tarika society are held by Karibuni descent group members, and the rest by pious Kiungani, Changwa and Mtundani members.

Because of the restrictions on joining, the society of the Kanga Sheikh is much smaller than that of the Mrora Sheikh; the latter has fifteen branches in villages all over Mafia, whereas the society of the Kanga Sheikh has only eight branches, and in some villages, such as Kanga, their numbers are much smaller than those of the rival society.

The following Table shows the affiliations of the various descent groups :

Table 7:2. Descent Group membership and affiliation to tarika societies.

Descent group	Karibuni tarika society (Kanga Sheikh)	Kitotoni tarika society (Mrora Sheikh)
Kitotoni	5%	95%
Karibuni	80%	20%
Kiungani	30%	70%
Changwa	48%	52%
Mtundani	53%	47%
Kidakuli	14%	86%
Total male ⁶ population	38%	62%

c) Special Islamic Practices.

This category of Islamic observances is carried out only by the most pious people in the village, i.e. those of the highest status. It includes mosque attendance on Fridays and holy days, daily prayers, and the pursuit of higher Koranic learning.

There are four mosques in Kanga, all in different wards - those of Kidakuli, Kiungani, and the two Karibuni wards (cf map of village). The second Karibuni mosque was opened in 1965, and it emphasises still further the split between the main descent group with its ward in the south of the village, and the segment living in the Kiunga Pemba ward in the centre of the village. The Kidakuli mosque, and the two Karibuni mosques are used daily for prayers at the set hours, both by the people of the ward, and also by anyone passing who wishes to use them; thus Karibuni people will pray in the Kidakuli mosque, if they happen to be in that area at the time of prayer.

The Friday mosque is the one in the Kiungani ward, halfway between the Karibuni and Kidakuli wards (cf map of village). This mosque is attended by about 24% of the male adult population on a regular basis, i.e. on Fridays and holy days. However, there is a considerable difference in the numbers attending from the various descent groups, as the following Table shows :

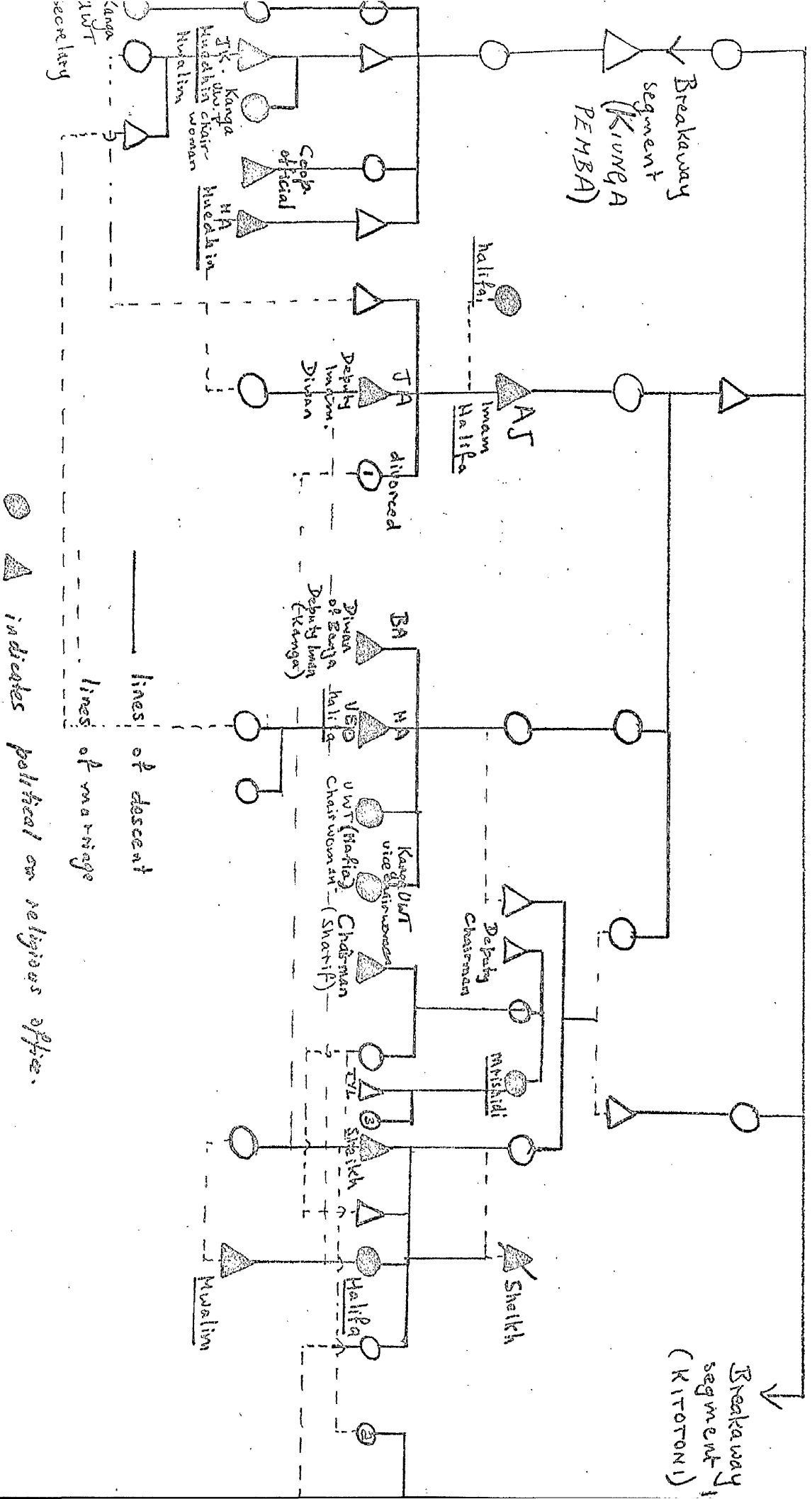
Table 7:3. Friday mosque attendance and descent group membership.

<u>Name of descent group</u>	<u>% of descent group members attending mosque.</u>
Kitotoni	16
Karibuni	50
Kiungani	26
Changwa	16
Mtundani	25
Kidakuli	10
Total population (male)	24

Most of the official posts attached to the mosque are held by Karibuni men. The Imam, two deputy Imams, and some of the muedhin are all Karibuni descent group members, as the genealogy on Fig. 7:2 shows. Most of these mosque officials also hold high posts in the tarika society of the Karibuni Sheikh. The Imam himself has already been discussed in Case 7:1 earlier in this Chapter. His sons, and a classificatory son, are the deputy Imams. The two muedhin are both Koranic teachers; one is a Kiungani man, and the other the leader of the Kiungani Pemba segment of the Karibuni descent group. The former is the only non-Karibuni office holder in the mosque, and he is also the only man who is not a member of the Karibuni Sheikh's tarika society, nor closely related to the Sheikh either by descent or affinity.

At the time I began my field-work in 1965, women were not allowed to attend mosque, in spite of the fact that some of them were known to be pious and learned, and prayed daily, and held important posts in the tarika societies. However, the following year, some of the women in Banja began to attend the Friday mosque there, after the visit of a crusading Sheikh from the mainland, who professed himself horrified to find the women excluded. The Kanga women soon followed suit in their own village. It was, naturally,

Fig.7:2 Section of Karibuni Descent Group.



the wives and daughters of men of high religious status who were the first to attend.

The small Karibuni descent group thus dominates the positions of importance in the context of orthodox Islam, as the genealogy (Fig. 7:2) shows. What of the other men of high socio-religious status? The Arab is an Ibadhi, and thus does not attend mosque, nor participate in any of the other Islamic rituals, with the sole exception of the village Maulid. Gunya men likewise take very little part in orthodox religious activities; only one of their number attends mosque, and then very irregularly, and none is a member of a tarika society. However, high socio-religious status is ascribed to them simply because they are Gunya; furthermore, all of them have had a Koranic education, and one is a mwaliim (he does not teach, however).

Summary

It is mainly in the field of Islamic religious activities, that Kanga is most clearly seen as a social unit. Certain activities, notably the annual Maulid, and the blessing of the village (kuzingua mji), are carried out by, and on behalf of the whole community. Paradoxically, it is also in the same field that the clearest divisions in the society emerge - between those who attend Friday mosque and are members of the Karibuni Sheikh's tarika society, and those who do not attend mosque, and are adherents of the Kitotoni tarika society. This division is very much based on descent group lines, with Karibuni holding most of the mosque offices, as well as the majority of the posts in the Karibuni tarika society, while the Kidakuli descent group holds no mosque posts, and hardly any of its members attend the Karibuni tarika rituals, or the Friday mosque. Together with Kitotoni descent group members, Kidakuli people control the main offices of the Kitotoni tarika branch. Members of the remaining Mbwera descent groups fall somewhere between the two extremes, with some pious Mbwera attending mosque, one even holding a mosque post, and some participating in Karibuni tarika activities.

Everyone in Kanga is a Muslim, so that everyone in the village accepts that it is a good thing to be pious, and indeed to be seen to be so. The result is that everyone accepts the socio-religious hierarchy generated by Islamic activities, and agrees that members of the Karibuni descent group are of higher status than those who are less orthodox Muslims, and even practise spirit possession.

Section B. Politics.

The present political system has only been in operation since about the time of independence in 1961. Prior to this, each village was led by a Headman (Jumbe), who had to be approved by the (European) District Commissioner. The Headman was responsible for law and order, and seeing that taxes were paid. He also held a court at which minor offences and disputes were dealt with. In this latter task he was assisted by a Council of Elders (wazee).

Within the last few years, a more democratic system has been introduced. The lowest unit of administration is a unit of ten houses, each of which has a Head who is responsible for ensuring that taxes are paid, for settling minor disputes, and passing messages from above to the houses in his unit. At the village level, there is an elected Village Development Committee (henceforth referred to as the VDC), led by an elected Chairman. In addition, there are various other committees and elected officials - TANU secretary, School Committee, TANU Youth League (TYL) secretary, Village Representative (Diwan) on the Mafia District Council, etc. All of these are chosen from among their number by the villagers. In addition, in Kanga and some other villages, there are Village Executive Officers (VEOs), chosen and salaried by the Mafia District Council. The VEO's job is to further self-help schemes, and see that the law is kept and taxes paid. The Kanga VEO is also responsible for the nearby villages of Bweni and Banja. In 1966, another government⁷ appointee was sent to every village - a salaried TANU secretary. Normally the VEOs and TANU secretaries are men from the south of the Island who have a few years of government schooling, but

who have then failed to get into secondary school.

There are twenty elected members of the VDC whose job it is to hear disputes and either settle them on the spot or else pass them on to the sub-court in Kilindoni. In addition, the members are supposed to discuss matters of interest in the village, and pass recommendations to the Mafia District Council through the Diwan. On average, the council meets once a week but very few of these meetings are attended by all twenty of the council members. Normally the quorum consists of a few VDC members, people with disputes to discuss, and passers-by. Most of the meetings are held at the TANU office, or rather under the mango tree outside. Some meetings are convened by the VEO, who urges villagers to participate in the latest self-help scheme (at the time of my stay, a brick house for one of the school-teachers), or to pay their taxes. Sometimes government officials come from Kilindoni or even from the mainland, and urge greater efforts in cultivation or else attempt to persuade the villagers of the value of digging latrines, boiling their water, and sending children to school.

The real power in the village lies not with the VDC as a whole, but only with certain members, and other officials. The VDC contains a fairly representative selection of all categories and statuses, but the real power is in the hands of Karibuni and Gunya people. Even within the VDC itself, it is noticeable that religiosity and political power go hand in hand. It is no coincidence that those descent groups with the highest proportion of mosque attenders also furnish the majority of political officials in the village, as the following table shows :

Table 7:4. Descent group membership, Mosque attendance and political office.

<u>Name of descent group</u>	<u>% of members attending mosque</u>	<u>% of members holding political posts</u>
Kibuni	16	18
Karibuni	50	23
Kiungani	26	23
Changwa	16	14
Mtundani	25	21
Kidakuli	10	19

Those descent groups with a noticeably higher proportion of mosque attenders - Karibuni, Kiungani and Mtundani - are also the descent groups with a higher than average proportion of members holding political posts. However, even though the Karibuni descent group does not hold a much higher proportion of political posts than Kiungani or Mtundani, it is the nature of the posts held by the former group that enables us to see the real distribution of political power in the village.

There are seven office holders in the village who may be described as wielding some sort of effective power within the formal political structure. These are the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the VDC, Diwan, VEO, TANU secretaries (one government appointed, one elected) and the Co-operative Official. The majority of these are elected by the villagers, and are thought to be people who understand, and know how to manipulate the new political framework, and because of their socio-religious status, education and personality, to be peculiarly suitable for dealing with 'government' officials from outside the village. I propose to examine each of these seven posts, and to show what kind of people fill them, and the reasons for this.

Principal Office Holders.

The Village Chairman, a Gunya, is the only male Sharif in the village. He has held his office for two terms, in spite of the fact that the villagers frequently complain privately that he is inefficient. He is literate in Roman script, or at least enough so as to sign his name, which confers prestige on him. He has lived for long periods in Dar es Salaam, and thus acquired an

air of sophistication which impresses the villagers. He came to power while he was still married to the daughter of the Imam, whom he has since divorced. He would thus have had the support of powerful affines in his election. In spite of the fact that he never participates in religious activities, his religious and social status are, of course, unimpeachable in the eyes of the villagers.

However, the Chairman is frequently away for long periods (in 1966, he was often sick, and visited hospitals in Kilindoni and Dar es Salaam), and even when he is in the village, he does not always take the lead. His mother's brother, also a Gunya, acts as Chairman in the absence of his nephew. At one time, before the introduction of the present system, this man held the post of Jumbe. He is extremely learned in the Koran, and is usually referred to as Malim (mwalin), rather than by his own name. Meetings, particularly to discuss disputes, are often held at his house, rather than at the TANU office.

In what does the power of the Chairman, and, in this case, the Deputy Chairman consist? First of all there is their role in settling disputes. The VDC, as already intimated, acts as a court, and can either reach a compromise settlement, or else impose a punishment for wrong-doing. If the disputants do not agree to the verdict of the VDC, which often in effect means that of the Chairman and his uncle, then they can take the case to the sub-court in Kilindoni, and in most cases, the magistrate (hakimu) there upholds the verdict of the VDC. In some instances, the VDC will refuse permission to take the case to Kilindoni, and if the disputants take their case there nevertheless, the magistrate will refuse to deal with it without a letter from the Village Chairman.

Secondly, most official letters from the government are sent to the Chairman, and he is supposed to make their contents known to the VDC and to the village as a whole. Conversely, he has easier access to authority than the average villager, and a word from the Chairman to the administration counts for far more than one from anyone else in the village. Thus, for example, when one of the shopkeepers was discovered to be selling a low quality flour for the price of high quality flour, a letter from the Chairman to the authorities had the shopkeeper in danger of losing his licence. The Chairman in fact decides

whether or not such a complaint should be made to Kilindoni, or merely settled within the village. Similarly, when another man wished to set up a shop, he had to have a letter of recommendation from the Chairman before he could obtain a licence. The point is that most villagers have to deal with the government through the Chairman, and he can decide how to handle the matter, and whether to pass it on to the appropriate officials in Kilindoni or not.

Apart from the benefits of his role as intermediary between government and villagers, the Chairman, along with other officials, is able to obtain loans from either the District Council or from the Co-operative Society. When these loans were first instituted, they were only made available to those thought to be reliable, and this meant either people who were fairly wealthy, or else those holding official posts. In 1966, the Chairman obtained a loan, and bought a wando fishing trap, with which he made a lot of money.

Why is it that these men in particular (the Chairman and his uncle) are able to command so much power in the village?

One important factor is that they rely on support from the powerful Karibuni people. As already mentioned, the Chairman was formerly married to the daughter of the Imam. The Gunya as a whole tend to identify with the Karibuni people in certain contexts, e.g. their women cook with Karibuni women etc.

On the other hand, the Gunya can, when it suits them, stress their lack of strong kin affiliations in the village. They are not after all members of any of the six descent groups, nor are they caught up in the disputes between the tarika societies, nor in the struggle for power in the mosque, nor do they practice spirit possession. In other words, in every context in which the village is divided, usually along descent group lines, they stand apart, and stress that they are 'strangers' and 'neutral'. As such, it can be argued that they are peculiarly suited to settling disputes. In short, they are in a position to 'have their cake and eat it'; they can rank themselves with the highest socio-religious stratum, and gain respect from the people, and support from other people of high status, and yet when necessary they can claim that they are divorced from all that makes for contention and strife in the village.

Another elected official who is of importance is the Diwan, the Village representative on the Mafia District Council. This post also carries a certain amount of power, although rather different from that of the Chairman. The District Council meets monthly in Kilindoni, and discusses such matters as roads, schools and dispensaries. Obviously each councillor is expected to press for money to be spent on improvements in his own village. The councillor takes requests from the villagers, such as for a well to be dug, or traps for wild animals to be supplied.

The post carries various 'perks'. One is that the Diwan is able to travel to Kilindoni monthly at the expense of the Council. He is thus in frequent contact with the centre of political manoeuvrings in the Island. He can become a 'big man' not just on a village scale, but for the whole Island. Some men holding this post have been to conferences in Dar es Salaam.

A second advantage is that the Diwan, like the Chairman, is one of the first in line for any loans that might be available. With a loan from the District Council in 1965, the Kanga Diwan bought a large fishing net.

The Kanga Diwan, re-elected for a third term at the end of 1966, is the son of the Imam, and is married to the Sheikh's sister. (cf Fig. 7:2). He is also deputy Imam of the Friday mosque. As a member of the Karibuni descent group, and in particular as a pious and learned man, and one closely connected with the Sheikh, he is of the highest socio-religious status.

Before the present Diwan was elected, the post was held by his cousin, who is also a member of the Karibuni descent group, and is a mosque and (Karibuni) tarika official (see genealogy Fig. 7:2). During the latter's Diwanship, he was chosen by the District Council to become a Village Executive Officer, and sent to work in Kironwe village. In mid-1966, he was transferred to work as V.E.O. in his own village, Kanga. Prior to his appointment there had been a succession of VEOs from the south of the Island, and most of them had little success in Kanga. The villagers resented their dress (they did not wear the traditional and respectable long white gown or

'kanzu), their behaviour (they did not attend mosque or pray, and some of them even drank), their youth, and the things that the VEOs were there to encourage them to do. As already stated, the job of the VEO consists of tax-collecting, reporting any serious breaches of the peace or crimes, such as theft, and encouraging the self-help schemes. The VEO was responsible for drawing up a rota for the ten house units so that each day the men of two units turned out to work on the teacher's house.

In the latter part of 1965, and early 1966, people grew tired of turning up to meetings at which they were harangued by the VEO and alternately cajoled, exhorted and threatened about attendance of their children at school, growing cotton, and co-operating on the self-help scheme. However, when, in mid-1966, the Kanga man who had been the VEO in Kironwe was transferred to his own village, things went much more smoothly. He did not hold meetings to tell people what to do. Because he knew everyone in the village, he was able to go and see people as needed; there was no longer any possibility of tax avoidance or 'hiding' children. In addition, he had much more success with the self-help scheme, which was finished the same year. Undoubtedly, he understood Kanga people, and knew how to behave. Furthermore he was respected as a person of high socio-religious status - he was a member of the Karibuni descent group, and halifa of the Karibuni tarika, and a Deputy Imam of the mosque. He also had the support of his kin, who thereby condoned such innovations as the setting up of a women's organisation. To a more limited, but nonetheless significant extent, he also had the support and approval of the villagers, who expected someone like him to be in a position of authority. His qualifications, i.e. high socio-religious status, were the ones which in their eyes fitted him for office; of course he had other qualifications too, literacy, and a strong personality, which had led to his being chosen as a VEO in the first place.

The third post of some importance in the village is that of TANU secretary. Up to 1966, this was a purely elective post, and the villagers chose one of their own number. The main job of the Secretary is to encourage people

to join TANU and pay their subscriptions, of which he receives 10%.

The man who holds this post is an interesting example of social mobility. His parents were freed slaves, who had however amassed some wealth, and his father was 'adopted' by a Kitotoni woman as her 'brother' (this seems to have been a not uncommon occurrence). She helped him to acquire a good Koranic education, and he became a teacher, which gave him some religious status. Both of the sons and the daughter of this ex-slave are extremely religious and the men attend mosque regularly. Despite their low social status they have been able to improve their position through religiousity and wealth to the point where both brothers are married to freeborn women (the only men of slave descent in the village to do so), and one of them holds an official post in the village. However, their ability to rise in the social hierarchy is of course limited by their birth. Thus they are married to women of fairly low socio-religious status - they could not marry Karibuni women. And the post of TANU secretary is not as important as that of Chairman or Diwan.

In 1966, salaried government-appointed TANU secretaries were sent to all villages. Their job is to 'bring TANU to the people' in a more forceful way than the village secretaries had done before. Most of them are youths from the south of Mafia, and are therefore greeted with as much suspicion as the previous VEOs had been. As this system only began at the end of my stay, I was unable to see what sort of a role the new TANU secretary plays in village politics; however, I later heard that the Kanga TANU secretary has married a Kanga girl, a member of the Kidakuli descent group.

The final post of any importance in the village is that of the Co-operative Official. This man is chosen by members of the Co-operative society as a whole, only some of whom are Kanga villagers. The Co-operative Officials receive the copra at the market, and weigh it and pay the farmers. They are in a position, therefore, to reject copra which they consider is unripe or 'dirty'. In addition, since loans were by 1966 being channelled through the Co-operative society they have a voice in deciding how loans are to be allocated. In theory only, those who are members of the society are eligible to receive loans, but many

people try to get loans who do not even own coconut trees, much less belong to the Co-operative.

It is obvious that the Co-operative official potentially has an enormous amount of power, since he can reject or agree to buy copra, which, as already pointed out in Chapter II, is the main source of cash income for the majority of villagers, and furthermore is the channel through which loans are requested and granted, these loans being usually the main opportunity of improving economic status.

Since the Co-operative official is not elected directly by the villagers, rather different qualities are looked for than say in the Diwan or Chairman. The man who fills this post is not of the highest socio-religious status, although he is a member of the Karibuni descent group. He is a member of the break-away Kiunga Pemba segment, but he does not live in a Karibuni ward, or attend mosque, or participate in other ways in Karibuni activities. He is, however, a wealthy man, as a successful trader to Dar es Salaam, and through contacts made in his Co-operative work. He is also extremely resourceful and intelligent - he has taught himself to read and write in Roman script. By any criteria, he may be defined as 'successful'.

To what extent does his wealth and his success, as a 'big man' in the Co-operative affect his position in the village? In 1965, he divorced his wife, a Changwa woman, for adultery. He then asked the Sheikh for his daughter, a girl then at puberty. The Sheikh refused. In 1966, this man built the finest house in Kanga, and his power became greater with the extension of loans and the increasing difficulty the villagers had in marketing their poor quality copra (cf Chapter II). The Co-operative official told me that the Sheikh would now be willing to allow him to marry his daughter. Unfortunately there was no way of checking this, but if it were true, it would imply that his rise in status was recognised in the village, and that he had been able to translate his economic and political status into social status, and marry one of the highest-status women in the village. In other words, without using the traditional methods of improving status - religiousity - he was able to rise in the hierarchy. It seems likely that the criteria which enabled him to improve his position in

the village are likely to become increasingly important, as less emphasis is placed on religiousity as an essential criterion for high status, and particularly for political office.

Factors in Political Power.

What do all these office holders have in common? First of all may be distinguished their high socio-religious status. The Chairman is a Sharif, the Deputy Chairman a Gunya and a mwalim; the Diwan is the son of the Imam, married to the Sheikh's sister, and he himself is the Deputy Imam and an official of the Karibuni tarika. Similarly, the VEO is a member of the Karibuni descent group, closely related to the Sheikh and the Imam, and he holds mosque and tarika posts. Even the Co-operative Official is a member of the Karibuni descent group. The only office holder of low social status is the TANU secretary, but he is at least highly religious.

Secondly, most of the above are reasonably sophisticated, by village standards. The Chairman and Deputy have spent long periods living in Dar es Salaam, and visit the capital frequently, as does the Co-operative Official. The Diwan and VEO have both visited Zanzibar, where they have relatives, and the TANU secretary makes regular trading trips there. Furthermore, most of these men have made an effort to acquire literacy in Roman script (of course, they had all received a Koranic education, and were therefore already literate in Arabic script); as far as I knew, only one or two other adult villagers were in any degree literate in Roman script.

Thirdly, most of them are reasonably wealthy men. All of them are heads of 'surplus' households (cf Chapter II), and the only one of their number who was not already in this category prior to obtaining office is the Chairman, who has made most of his money during office. The Diwan and the VEO own large numbers of coconut trees, and the Deputy Chairman and the TANU secretary are both highly successful traders; the latter is also a semi-skilled carpenter. On the whole, people of high socio-religious status are in the top economic bracket in Kanga; this applies particularly to those who hold political or religious offices. However, it must be noted that they are not the only

people in this category; many men of low socio-religious status are also wealthy, some of them very rich indeed (cf next Chapter). The fact remains that it is much easier for a man who has some spare cash to achieve office, than for a man who can hardly make ends meet. For one thing, the former category does not need to work quite so hard in the fields, since they have the necessary cash to buy food, and so have extra time to give to political and religious matters. I do not think that they were very likely to give economic help to potential supporters, certainly not on any large scale; however, after his re-election in 1966, the Diwan held a 'tea-party' (the English phrase was used) for his supporters.

It must be emphasised, however, that lack of money is not necessarily a bar to achieving office; the Village Chairman is a prime example, although of course in his case his poverty prior to election was mitigated by the fact that he was of unimpeachable socio-religious status. The main factor is socio-religious status, rather than economic status; there are many men in the village who are wealthy (by Kanga standards) but would never achieve religious, or, until recently, political office.

Political Change.

The fact that a self-made man, whose socio-religious status is fairly modest, can rise to a position of importance in the Co-operative, is undoubtedly a sign of change. Another is the near defeat in the 1966 election of the Diwan, who was returned with a very small majority. His opponent was a Kidakuli man, who is extremely active in the spirit possession cults; he is thus a man of low socio-religious status. At the time of the election, it was plain that many people in the village, probably for the first time, were beginning to question the right of those people of high socio-religious status to rule them. There was obviously resentment against 'those who wear kanzu, and spend their time praying and pol iticking, and not working as hard as we do', etc. It is thus likely that the new political ideals of egalitarianism are beginning to take root in the minds of the villagers. In this election, the Kidakuli man derived most of his support from fellow descent group members; the Diwan from Karibuni

descent group members. It is even possible that the Kidakuli man might have won, except for the fact that he was very much disliked throughout the village on personal grounds, and considered highly untrustworthy. It was obvious that many people voted for him in protest against the Diwan and the hegemony of the Karibuni people, rather than because they wanted this particular man to be their Diwan. It might also be noted that the Diwan's rival was not a wealthy man; indeed his household fell into the 'non-viable' category; thus wealth was not a factor in the situation.

In the neighbouring village of Banja, the same process is discernible. The Diwan there is in fact the cousin of the Kanga Diwan, and a member of the Karibuni descent group (cf genealogy Fig. 7:2). He has held the position for many years, and prior to that he had been Chairman of the Banja village. He had been among the earliest to join TANU and his name was known as a successful politician on a District, as well as village, level. However, in the 1966 election, he was defeated; people campaigned against him saying that they resented his continual air of 'superiority'.

The fact remains, however, that on the whole the people who have traditionally held positions of authority are still in many instances best placed to do so. An example of this is provided by the women's organisation, called Ummoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (U.W.T. - the Tanzania Women's Union). There has for some time been a Mafia branch, and the sister of the Banja Diwan (i.e. the one defeated in 1966) is the Chairwoman. She had been led into politics by her brother, after the breakdown of her marriage. The UWT is extremely active in the south, where it organises women's literacy classes, 'progress' meetings etc. It was planned to introduce the movement into the northern villages when it had firmly taken root in the south.

In 1966, elections for the post of Chairwomen of the Mafia UWT were held. Previously, the Banja woman had been elected without any opposition, but on this occasion, an opposing faction had arisen in the south, and put up another candidate.

It was no coincidence then that only a few days before the election, when it was being widely surmised throughout the Island that the incumbent Chairwoman would lose, she came to Kanga and the other northern villages,

and set up branches in each of them, with a village chairwoman, deputy and secretary. It was not possible for me to observe the process in other villages, but in Kanga, she informed her brother (the VEO - they had the same father), and her cousin the Diwan of her proposed visit, and asked them to gather the women together. Not surprisingly, it was mainly Karibuni women who attended, and who elected officials from among themselves. In fact, the deputy Chairwoman of Kanga was the sister of the Mafia Chairwoman.

There is thus little doubt of the way the Kanga delegates (i.e. the Chairwoman, deputy and secretary) voted in the elections for the post of Mafia Chairwoman a few days later. The same Chairwoman was returned to office. It is likely that she also had the support of all the delegates from the other northern villages who would vote for her rather than a southerner who was unknown to them.

Thus although there appears to be some change, on the whole people of high socio-religious status are still in an extremely strong position, and seem likely to continue to control most of the political power for some time. For one thing, the value placed on orthodox Islam has not changed, even though other criteria for office may be becoming more important. But even so, the people who traditionally held office have seized new opportunities - a few have made themselves literate, and most have ensured that their children should be so by sending them to school. (It is interesting to note that the only four girls in school beyond the age of puberty in 1966 were the daughters of the Diwan, the VEO, the Arab, and the Sheikh). Furthermore, these people were traditionally among the wealthier members of the community, and those who hold office have new opportunities through loans, and through contacts made in the course of their work, to better their economic position. Traditionally, people of high socio-religious status had wider horizons and more contacts with Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar than others, and this gave them a greater sophistication. They were able to use their kin links very efficiently when necessary (e.g. in the Diwan's election) partly because they were all literate in Arabic script, and so could send letters. They have been quick to see the advantages of aligning themselves with the nationalist movement and the TANU

party, and so have been able to see that it is to their own advantage not to oppose innovations, at least in public, but rather to condone them where they can do so without incurring too much approbrium from the villagers (e.g. a cotton-growing scheme was dropped after fierce opposition, and the village officials, with the exception of the TANU secretary, took care to remain neutral on this issue). In sum, the villagers still see these people as being peculiarly fitted to rule, because of their traditional status, while their acceptance of new ideals and 'progress' causes them to find favour with government officials.

In concluding this Chapter, I want to return to the subject of marriage. Earlier (cf Chapter III) I discussed the 'ideals' of marriage; at this point, I wish to discuss the way in which marriage is used as a strategy in obtaining or maintaining socio-religious status, and hence positions of power in the community.

Marriage strategies.

On the whole, people of high socio-religious status, and in particular those wielding political power, (either through a political or religious post) tend to practise discriminatory marriage policies. They usually marry only among themselves, or else with people of similar status living outside Kanga village.

First of all, it is necessary to re-define who are the people of the highest socio-religious status. Earlier in this Chapter, when attempting to formulate a 'hierarchy' in Kanga, I put the Arabs, the Gunya and the Karibuni descent group members at the top. In fact this requires a certain amount of qualification. The Arabs who now live in the village do not inter-marry with the rest of the population at all, but with their kin in the south of the Island. This does not mean that no Arabs ever marry other than fellow Arabs; the Arab shop-keeper who formerly lived in Kanga was married to the sister of the Sheikh, but it is rare to find an Arab woman being married by any other than an Arab man.

Within the Karibuni descent group itself, there are certain status differentials. Close kin or affinal links with the Sheikh confirm the highest social status, while other members of the same descent group may be considered to be of lesser status. The former tend either to marry among themselves, or else with people of equal status in other descent groups. As one Karibuni woman of very high status put it : "It is impossible for us to send our young people just anywhere to get married. Other people are not as particular as we are about purity (usafi), and other matters, and their standard of living is lower." By purity, she might have been referring to hygiene, or purity of descent, or ritual purity, and 'standard of living' was a reference not only to material things but also to a religious way of life.

A good example of marriage strategies is provided by the family of the Imam, who has nine children, five sons and four daughters. One of his sons is married to the sister of the Sheikh, another to the daughter of the Kiunga Pemba segment Koran teacher (this woman is his classificatory grand-daughter !), and the remaining three to Karibuni women. Strategic marriages likewise were made for his daughters - the eldest married the son of the old Sheikh, and when he died, she married his brother; the second was formerly married to the Sharif Chairman of the village, the third is married to a man who was until recently the Chairman of Bweni village, and the youngest to one of her cousins.

The way in which marriage is used as a strategy to improve or consolidate social status is illustrated in the following case history :

Case 7:2. Dispute between the Imam and the Sheikh.

The husband of the only female Sharif in the village (i.e. the sister of the Village Chairman) died. The Imam wished his son the Diwan to marry the widow. However, she was eventually married by the Sheikh. The Imam was extremely angry, and caused trouble between the Sheikh and his first wife, who was the Imam's daughter. Finally she left her husband, and he divorced her.

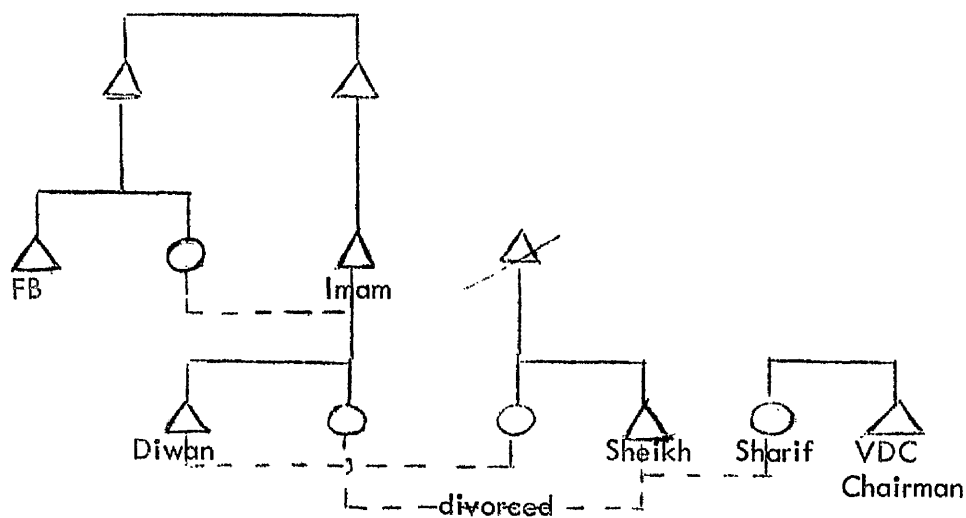
It appears that she was not on very good terms with her father because of this, and she did not go to live in his cluster, as is usual in the case of divorced women, but lived on her meadow land. She took a lover from the neighbouring village of Mrali, and agreed to marry this man.

At this time, the Imam was in Zanzibar, so the suitor turned to her classificatory father's brother, and asked his consent. He agreed to the marriage, and undertook all the arrangements.

Her brother the Diwan did not hear of the matter until the arrangements were quite far advanced, and the suitor had already made over some of the marriage payments. The Diwan was utterly opposed to the marriage, and pointed out to his sister in the strongest terms that she, as the daughter of the Imam and ex-wife of the Sheikh, could not think of marrying a man of much lower status (he was in fact not only a Pokomo but also a cow-herd).

After some time, the Diwan persuaded his sister to agree to marry a man whom he knew in the south of the Island, a wealthy man and one renowned for his piety and learning.

Fig. 7:3. Dispute between the Imam and Sheikh.



One aspect of this dispute concerns the re-marriage of the Sharif woman. The Imam wished his son to marry her, as that would have shown their equality with the Gunya Sharifs. He definitely did not wish the Sheikh to marry her, both because this would have shown the Sheikh's status to be higher than that of the Imam's family, and also because the position of his own daughter, the Sheikh's wife, would be threatened by a co-wife of superior status. The fact that the Sheikh succeeded against the opposition of the Imam in marrying this woman, confirmed his somewhat superior status.

Another aspect of the dispute relates to the re-marriage of the Imam's daughter, divorced by the Sheikh. Her brother realised that he and the whole family would 'lose face' by marrying one of their women, even a woman who had already been married, to a man of such low social status. He therefore put pressure on his sister to reject her lover, and marry a man whom she had never seen, but who was of high social status. The husband chosen for her by her brother would also of course provide the latter with a contact in the south of the Island, which might prove politically useful.

A concern for social status leads to many marriages taking place with equals outside the village, as happened with the Imam's daughter in her second marriage discussed above. There are numerous other examples in the Karibuni descent group. The daughter of the VEO was married to a Kilindoni politician, and the Sheikh himself exchanged sisters with the wealthy Gunya Diwan in Baloni village. The effect of such a large number of inter-village marriages is to further reduce the number of other Kanga descent groups in which Karibuni people can claim membership.

There are also people within the descent group who for various reasons are not considered to be of such high status. A good example is provided by the Co-operative official, who was refused the hand of the Sheikh's daughter. Various reasons may be given why these people do not enjoy the same status as other members of the Karibuni descent group. One is that they are not as closely connected to the families of the Sheikh and the Imam; as I have already mentioned, the Co-operative official was a member of the break-away Kiunga Pemba segment.

There is a second reason, which is that it is not sufficient just to be born a member of the Karibuni descent group; it is necessary to interact in a number of contexts with other Karibuni members, and more importantly, to participate in activities which confer prestige. The Co-operative official, for example, did not live in a Karibuni ward, nor did he cultivate Karibuni land; most important of all, he did not attend mosque, or the Karibuni tarika. As will be seen later, there is even a tiny minority of people with Karibuni descent who participate in spirit possession activities; these are people who do not activate their Karibuni affiliations at all.

Those Karibuni people who are not considered of equal status with the Sheikh and Imam etc. are likely to marry with Mbweru of other descent groups, although more rarely with people of Kidakuli descent. The same Co-operative official was formerly married to a Changwa woman of the segment living in the southern ward. (This segment, as I have already intimated, has become extremely religious, and interacts mostly with the Karibuni descent group in religious matters, tarika affiliation, etc.). Such Karibuni people also marry with the more pious members of the Mtundani and Kiungani descent groups.

However, the fact remains that the Karibuni descent group is the most highly intra-married of all the descent groups in Kanga. No fewer than 50% of its men are, or have been, married to Karibuni women.

One of the effects of the marriage policies of the Karibuni descent group has been to reduce the number of people who can claim affiliation in it, which has made it easier to conserve power in the hands of a few people. In addition, many of the members owe all their loyalties to Karibuni, since they have no affiliations with other descent groups. Some of the more astute members of the descent group perceive this, and take it into account when formulating marriage plans. They do actually see marriages as taking place within the descent group, whereas other people tend to see intra-descent group marriages as being primarily between kin, who are incidentally members of a common descent group. Of course, the fact that the Karibuni group is so small (with a total of 77 adult members) means that, in any case, most people

can trace their kin links with one another, whereas in other larger descent groups this is not always possible.

Since Karibuni is not a completely endogamous unit, social mobility remains possible. Non-Karibuni people are married because of their political or religious position and/or wealth, either within or outside the village. This leads to a dynamic 'hierarchy' in which people use marriage as a strategy to consolidate or improve their social status. This competition for status goes on even within the descent group itself, while outside the Karibuni group, other people use this descent group as a reference point, and those who wish to raise or demonstrate a rise in their socio-religious status will attempt to marry into it.

Conclusion.

In the previous Chapters of this thesis, I have shown that choice in the contexts of residence, and land tenure, lies mainly in the field of descent group membership. In this Chapter, I have discussed the way in which descent group membership is connected with status and power, particularly with regard to Islamic activity, and the formal political framework of the village. Because status is concerned with descent group membership, marriage policies reflect attempts to improve or consolidate status and power. Thus it is that the Karibuni descent group is the most highly intra-married of all the descent groups, and also that its members seek spouses among the Gunya or other people of equivalent status outside the village.

It may be asked how a minority retains control of the political power in the village. Why cannot other people achieve status through religiosity? The answer is that some of them do, like the Kiungani Koran teacher, but that it is still rare for such a person to achieve high office in the mosque, or in the political framework. The people of highest socio-religious status are, of course, well organised, and also their status is validated by the villagers, or it was until recently, because of the universal acceptance of orthodox Islam and 'Arabness'. Furthermore, since status differentiation is not so immutable as to form a rigid stratification system, mobility is possible, and thus each

individual tries to improve his status by moving into a higher category, perhaps through marriage, rather than by joining with people of similar low status to oust those at the top. Many of the people of low status have two other handicaps - they cultivate for five months of the year out in the bush, and spend little time in the village, so that VDC meetings and other political activities, as well as 'mosque politics' go on without them, and secondly, some of them, particularly members of the Kidakuli descent group, are involved in spirit possession activities, which is the subject of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPIRIT POSSESSION.

In this Chapter the cleavage between the Pokomo and Mbwera descent groups is further demonstrated by a consideration of spirit possession activities. Only the Pokomo practise the type of spirit possession considered most reprehensible by pious Muslims, and this debars them from enjoying high socio-religious status.

In this discussion, two problems will be considered. The first concerns the relation of descent and descent groups to spirit possession cults. The extent to which people have a choice about participation in these activities and the way in which they use their choices will be examined. Secondly, it will be asked what kind of sociological explanation can be given to the phenomenon of spirit possession itself?

Categories of spirits.

Spirits are thought to be everywhere, and they can be of all types - male, female, weak, strong - almost any adjective can be applied to some of them. There is a large number of Swahili terms for them, mostly derived from the Arabic. For example, there are spirits called iblisi and chanusi, which live respectively in rivers and on land. These are essentially malevolent, and cause trouble to any human beings who meet up with them. Nothing can be done about them, as they cannot be contacted.

Of greater importance for this discussion are the types of spirit which can be contacted. In Kanga, these may be conveniently divided into two types - those of the sea (majini, sing. jini), and those of the land (mashaitani, sing. shaitani). The former live in the sea, but their names and wishes can be learned, and offerings can be made to them by floating little boats out to sea. Land spirits, on the other hand, live on dry land, usually in the bush, and their homes or shrines (mapanga) are known. (Mapanga literally means 'caves', but this term is applied to all natural features - rocks, trees, pools, etc. - associated with these spirits.) The field spirits already mentioned in

Chapter V fall into the category of land spirits.

Orthodox Islam does admit the existence of various types of spirits, and sanctions certain methods of dealing with them. Sheikhs (Islamic holy men) are thought to be particularly efficacious in ridding people of spirits which are afflicting them. There are variations in the methods sanctioned by various schools of Islam and even by different Sheikhs, but it is certain that all pious Muslims condemn the active cultivation of relationships with spirits as shiriki, or 'setting up a partner' to God, who is indivisible, and all-powerful. Thus the cults involving spirit-possession, and the activities of guilds centred around spirits are condemned by orthodox and pious Muslims on Mafia.

This last statement needs some slight qualification. Rituals centred around land spirits involve not only possession, but the drinking of blood, which is contrary to Islamic dietary laws. These rituals are very strongly condemned by those in the village who claim to be pious Muslims, particularly the Sheikh, and mosque officials, and most of the walim. Sea spirits, however, are thought in some vague way to be more 'Koranic'. Rituals to propitiate sea spirits or to initiate a person possessed by one into a guild involve features which are also common to orthodox Islamic ritual; these include the use of the Koran, incense, rose-water, and the Arabic language, and the dhikiri of the tarika described in the last Chapter. Some of the officiants at these rituals are learned men (walim). Thus although the cults of the sea spirits are condemned, they are not as despised as those of the land spirits, and this has important implications, as will be shown.

Since the two types of spirits involve quite different types of ritual, and different categories of participants, I shall discuss them separately, beginning with the cults surrounding the land spirits.

Land Spirits.

Land spirits may be categorised according to various criteria, the most important of which, for the purpose of this Chapter, is whether they

are possessory or not. Possessory spirits have cults and guilds organised around them. Non-possessory spirits, while they may be important in certain contexts (for example, some of the field spirits already mentioned in Chapter V are non-possessory), are believed to impinge much less on the lives of humans.

Both possessory and non-possessory land spirits can be contacted, and offerings made to them. These become necessary when a spirit causes illness, either because it is angry with a human, or else because it has been sent by another human (i.e. someone with a certain degree of control over it) to cause harm. This latter may be termed witchcraft (uchawi). These spirits are quite amoral - they do not punish people for doing wrong, nor help them because they are 'good'. They hurt those who have offended them or else those who are the enemies of the humans with whom they are on good terms. They help those who give them presents as an inducement, and more particularly, those in some kind of relationship with them. Sometimes, spirits are thought to act quite capriciously, and to cause a man illness simply because they do not like the look of him.

Relations between land spirits and humans.

It should first of all be emphasised that the only people in Kanga who have any sort of relationship with land spirits are Pokomo i.e. chiefly members of the Kidakuli descent group, or else a few Pokomo immigrants from other northern villages. Relationships may be subsumed under four headings.

First of all, there is what may be called a 'potential' relationship. This is acquired in one of two ways during childhood, and is not chosen by the subject. Many Pokomo inherit a relationship with a spirit, because one of their parents, or perhaps both, had a similar or even a more intense relationship.

Some people, whether or not they themselves have a family connection with a spirit, wish to ensure the protection of a child. They therefore take a present to a spirit, either that of the family, or else one with which they 'make a friendship', and invite it to be the guardian (mlezi) of the child, which thus becomes the ward (kengeja)¹ of the spirit. If there is already a family

connection with a spirit, then it is thought to be dangerous not to ask the spirit to be the child's guardian, as it might be very offended.

On reaching adulthood, a person who has a potential relationship may activate it in a number of ways. Many people who had potential relationships as children do activate them to some degree, and many then have what may be termed a 'limited' relationship. This is really a continuation of the childhood relationship, with the spirit guarding its ward, and the ward, in turn, taking offerings to the spirit. (Of course, when the ward is still a child offerings are taken by the parents.) This limited relationship does not involve possession, or membership of a guild, but some people do cultivate the spirit very assiduously, and claim to be able to communicate with it in their dreams. On the other hand, many people completely neglect their guardian spirit, until a bout of sickness sends them to a diviner, who will remind them of their relationship. Even at this late stage, a 'potential' relationship can be turned into a 'limited' one.

A large proportion of the population, around 50%, has a potential relationship with a land spirit. Some of these people also have a limited relationship, although it is difficult to give any precise estimate of their numbers. Potential and limited relationships are held with both possessory and non-possessory spirits. Three Kidakuli shrine Guardians, for example, have limited relationships with field spirits which are non-possessory (cf Chapter V).

However, eight of the ten land spirits in Kanga, and most of the other non-Kanga spirits which affect Kanga people (there are about fifteen) are possessory; only four are not.

Obviously non-possessory spirits cannot enter into the third type of relationship, which is that of possession. By this I mean "a form of trance in which behaviour actions of a person are interpreted as evidence of a control of his behaviour by a spirit normally external to him".² In Swahili, the spirit is said to 'climb into the head' (kupanda kichwani), and to use the subject as its 'chair' (kiti chake). In nearly every case, a man or woman is possessed by a spirit with whom there was already a potential, or even a limited, relationship. People just shrug their shoulders and say: "It is their

ancestry" (asili yao tu).

Possession (kusikiwa) is manifested by various kinds of abnormal behaviour, such as running off into the bush, hysterics (kupiga kilele), trance, distorted speech, etc. However, a distinction is made between true possession and mere hysteria. The former can only be verified by a shaman, who tries to cause the spirit to 'mount into the subject's head', and say its name and what it wants. On many occasions, the first signs of possession are sickness, and trance is not manifested until the process of curing is well under way.

Possession, once ascertained, involves going through a ritual to propitiate the spirit (kupungwa) which also makes the subject a member of a guild, and the follower (mteja) of the shaman controlling the spirit. The guild member now has certain obligations - i.e. to attend the guild rituals, and is also liable to have the possessory spirit demand that he or she make an offering, or bear the expense of an occasional ritual. This more intense relationship does not mean that the spirit is supposed to take any better care of the guild member, but it does mean that he or she receives a certain amount of psychological satisfaction from the rituals of the guild, particularly when he or she is at the centre of attention as the subject for whom the ritual is held.

The fourth type of relationship with a spirit is that of shamanism, which implies some degree of control over a spirit. Shamans of land spirits control the spirit which possesses them. By 'control' I mean that the shaman can manipulate the spirit to give him information (e.g. in divination or curing), to help cure a sick person, to cause illness in an enemy of the shaman, or of his client, and generally to protect the shaman himself. Shamans are thus feared by many people, because they are witches, doctors, and diviners. They can be both men and women, and inherit their status through either parent, but it is most common to succeed a father or paternal grandfather. There are ten male shamans in Kanga, and only one woman.

Shamans are paid for their services, and also receive a fee for the spirit, usually in the form of a cow. Some of them thus build up large herds, which nominally belong to their possessory spirits, but to which they have access. Two Kanga shamans are extremely wealthy men, each controlling herds of over 50 cattle, in addition to owning coconut trees, donkeys, etc. The majority of other land spirit shamans are heads of households which are either 'viable' or 'surplus'. Furthermore as leaders of guilds they have prestige and influence not only among their own followers but outside the guilds as well.

Cults and guilds.

A cult is defined as being centred upon a certain category of spirits, and using a particular type of ritual. A cult may be practised by several guilds. There are two cults of land spirits in Kanga, called kitanga and mwingo; these are the names of both the cult, and the type of dance ritual practised by the cult adherents. The kitanga cult is also practised in Bweni and occasionally in Banja villages. The mwingo cult, on the other hand, is practised extensively in Mrali, Futa and Jimbo, and only occasionally in Kanga. The rituals associated with the cults have a lot in common, in fact the main difference is in the use of the drum in kitanga rituals, whereas only hand-clapping is allowed in mwingo rituals. In other essential features they are the same. Most of the discussion about land spirit cults in this Chapter concerns kitanga guilds.

A guild (kilinge) is composed of men and women who have been possessed by the same spirit, under the leadership of the shaman who controls the spirit, and gives the guild its name. Normally, guild rituals are held at the house of the shaman. There are four categories of people associated with guilds. First of all, there are those who are not possessed, and cannot strictly be called members; these are assistants, who help with practical matters. They herd cattle which belong to the spirit of the guild, help to keep the shaman's house (which he shares with the spirit) in good repair, and on the occasion of rituals, perform any odd jobs that need doing.

Secondly, there are ordinary guild members, men and women, whose functions have already been discussed under the heading of possession. A few of these members, however, do reach the position of 'senior' members, and play a significant part in organising ritual and assisting the shamans. Both men and women can be senior members, although women tend to outnumber men. Finally, there are the shamans themselves.

There are four kitanga guilds in Kanga. One is centred around a 'Bweni' spirit, and another around a 'Mrali' spirit - the shamans of these guilds originated in Bweni and Mrali villages respectively. Many of the members trace descent in these villages. The two larger guilds are both Kidakuli-based, and they are the only two guilds which have senior members and other assistants. I shall refer to these two guilds as Kidakuli A and Kidakuli B. Normally, each guild consists of a shaman and his followers, but in the largest guild, that of Kidakuli A, there are no fewer than four shamans, one of whom is the only woman practising in north Mafia.

The following table shows the relative sizes of the four kitanga guilds in Kanga, and the status of those attached to them.

Table 8: 1. Kitanga guilds: size, and status of members.

Grade	Kidakuli A	Kidakuli B	Mrali	Bweni	Others *
Shamans	4	1	1	1	-
Senior members	2	1	-	-	-
Ordinary members	13	13	5	8	8
Assistants	2	-	-	-	-
	<hr/> 20	<hr/> 15	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 8
					58

* These are people who are members of guilds in other villages, mostly Bweni.

As the foregoing Table shows, some 58 men and women are directly concerned with guilds, or 15% of the adult population. However, the guilds and their activities affect a much larger proportion of the population because most of their activities are concerned with sickness.

Activities of guilds.

The raison d'être of the guilds is said by Kanga people to be the diagnosis, curing and prevention of sickness, both physical and mental. In the course of achieving this, the guilds recruit new members, and gain animals and cash. Members have an opportunity not afforded them elsewhere for certain psychological satisfactions, and the shamans, or at least those who are successful, increase their prestige and their wealth.

Life in Kanga is a hazardous business, particularly in the early years. Almost as many children die before the age of ten as reach adulthood. Various explanations are advanced by people living in Kanga as to the reasons for these sicknesses and deaths.

- a) Ancestors are believed to be capable of causing illness, but not death, in order to draw attention to themselves. They usually make a small child sick, because they want him or her as a namesake (somo). In such cases, the child's name may be changed to that of the ancestor who has thus indicated his wishes. Occasionally, the child's somo makes him or her sick because he feels neglected. The remedy here is to hold a Koranic reading (hitima) on the grave of the somo.
- b) An explanation of sickness, and more particularly, general misfortune in adult life is that a parent has withdrawn his or her 'satisfaction before God' (radhi) with the child. This may be likened to a parental curse, and the effect is to prevent anything the child does from prospering. The form of the curse is often "may your life as long as you live be like a coconut shell with holes in it", or else "may you live as if you were not living". Sometimes the angry parent can be persuaded to reinstate the child, but often the parent dies before this is done.
- c) Illness is sometimes attributed to natural causes such as old age, the will of God, or 'bad luck'.
- d) It is believed that illness and even death can be caused by the activities of land spirits. There are three reasons for a land spirit to harm someone. Firstly, because it is angry, perhaps that a debt has not been paid for help given in the past, or else a human has infringed one of the rules for dealing

with spirits, e.g. humans should not come into contact with spirits when 'dirty' from semen or menstrual blood. Secondly, because the spirit wishes to possess the sick person, and chooses this way of drawing attention to itself. And finally, because someone with control over the spirit has sent it to hurt or kill an enemy.

The most important method of determining which of the above explanations is correct in any set of circumstances is by divination, which is of two types. One is through a 'Koranic' diviner, usually a mwalim, who uses figures, stars, etc. (kupiga ramli). The second is to consult a shaman at a time when he is possessed by his spirit (this type of divination is called kufuzamia). All land spirit shamans can act as diviners, and most of them do so on occasion. However, a virtual monopoly of this type of divination in Kanga is held by one of the shamans of the largest guild, Kidakuli A, who has a wide reputation in northern Mafia.

The very choice of diviner determines to some extent the type of explanation given, for the shaman diviner nearly always explains illness in terms of the activities of spirits, whereas a Koranic diviner uses a wider range of explanation, including the anger of an ancestor wanting a namesake or a Koranic reading, or the will of God. In certain circumstances, however, he may attribute it to the action of a spirit (see Case 8:2).

What determines the choice of diviner? To some extent this is purely practical; in early 1966, there were two men regularly practising as diviners - one was the shaman diviner of the Kidakuli A guild, and the other was a mwalim who used Koranic techniques. Later that year, the latter went to live in Zanzibar. Thus people who wished to consult a Koranic diviner would have had to go to Banja, which involved crossing the river between the two villages. Hence many people who might formerly have consulted a Koranic diviner were forced to consult the shaman diviner.

However, the most important consideration is ancestry. The shaman diviner is consulted by people who are of Pokomo descent; he is almost never consulted by people who are non-Pokomo, e.g. of Mbwera, Gunya or slave descent. During my attendances at the divination sessions of this man, I saw

23 Kanga people ask him for information - there were others who had come from various northern villages - and only two of these were not Pokomo; one of the two was an immigrant from Kilwa and possessed by a Kilwa spirit.

I have thus maintained that the shaman diviner is consulted only by Pokomo, mainly members of the Kidakuli descent group, although people from other villages, such as Bweni and Mrali, also consult him. It should be remembered at this stage that half of the adult population in the village can be categorised as Pokomo, since 222 adults are members of the Kidakuli descent group, and a handful of others are immigrants from other villages. Some of these Pokomo are also Mbwera, that is they have mixed descent, and a minority of this category stress only their affiliations with Mbwera descent groups for status reasons, and would never consult the shaman diviner. But the majority of Pokomo do consult him, and he is often able to explain their sickness in terms of the action of spirits for two reasons. First of all, many Pokomo inherit a potential relationship with a land spirit through their Pokomo forebears. Secondly, because the Kidakuli descent group controls the majority of bush land in Kanga, nearly everyone who is of Kidakuli descent uses this membership to obtain land at some time or other. As I explained in Chapter V, most Kidakuli land is associated with field spirits, and certain specific rules have to be obeyed by people cultivating such land. The shaman diviner, who knows, of course, which people have cultivated Kidakuli land (since he himself is a field Guardian, and allocates much of it), can nearly always find an explanation in terms of misbehaviour while in the fields. The following case gives an example of this :

Case 8:1. A field spirit punishes quarrelsome women.

Binti Hatibu and Binti Athman were both cultivating Kidakuli fields, controlled by a field spirit. The two women quarrelled violently during the course of the agricultural season, when they were living out in the fields.

Subsequently, both women became sick, and the explanation given by the shaman diviner was that they had annoyed the spirit by shouting at each other in its 'town'.

Apparently Binti Hatibu was thought by the shaman to be more blameworthy, and he ordered her to pay the cost of half a cow. She did so, and recovered. Binti Athman was told to pay the cost of a tray of sweetmeats³, but she failed to find the money. However, she later recovered.

Some time later, when Binti Athman was again cultivating the field of the same spirit, she fell sick. The diviner reminded her of her debt to the spirit and this time she paid up.

As this case illustrates, not only can a single case of illness be explained in terms of the action of a spirit, but frequently several cases of illness. The reason is that offerings to the spirits tend to be extremely expensive, and people delay paying their debts. The diviner meanwhile can continually use this unpaid debt to the spirit as an explanation for the sickness either of the debtor himself, or of his immediate family.

Because of the high proportion of the population which is involved in some way with spirits, through descent and/or cultivation of Kidakuli fields, many cases of illness are attributed to the action of spirits. I kept a record of all cases of illness and death which came to my attention during my stay in Kanga. No fewer than 77% (57 cases out of 74) were attributed to the action of a spirit. This statement needs qualifying in two respects. Firstly, there may have been some bias in my record taking, because frequently it was at a divination session that my attention was drawn to a particular case of illness. Secondly, in several cases included in the above figures, more than one explanation was advanced a) at different stages in the illness and b) by different people. Thus it is quite common for people to consult the shaman diviner, and to follow whatever line of action he recommends, and also to consult the hospital dispenser, a Koranic diviner, and indeed, any other kind of practitioner available. The fact remains, however, that in the majority of cases, one of the explanations advanced for illness or death is the action of a spirit.

Of course, those people who are involved in spirit possession would be much more likely to use a spirit as a source of explanation, whereas people of high religious status would say that sickness is caused by the will of God or 'bad luck', and scoff at the former type of explanation as 'foolishness and ignorance'. But those people who give no credence at all to spirit

explanations are in a minority.

Even if the diviner does not diagnose the activities of a spirit, he usually recommends his clients to one of the shamans in the village, or may undertake treatment himself, because shamans control most of the remedies for sickness, apart from those provided by the government dispensary. During the course of treatment for illness, shamans usually encourage their clients to become possessed, because this means that they will have to be initiated into a guild.

Initiation of a man or woman into a guild is through the holding of the appropriate dance ritual (ngoma). Guild members dance and sing all night to invoke the spirits, and in the morning, when all are possessed, including the initiate, a cow or bullock is slaughtered, and first the initiate, and then the shaman, followed by other shamans and guild members, drink its blood.

The ritual, which costs in the region of 250/-, is paid for by the initiate and his or her relatives. Not surprisingly, many people have their troubles diagnosed as possession by a spirit, but are unable to afford to be initiated for some time. Nor do expenses end with initiation, as frequently guild members are told by their shamans to provide an animal for slaughter, or at least a tray of sweetmeats as an offering to the spirit. Having once become a member of a guild, a man or woman is influenced to a large degree by the shaman who leads the guild, and can usually be induced to find the necessary cash for such offerings.

Possession and Descent Group Membership.

As has already been stressed, people who are possessed by land spirits are almost invariably Pokomo. However, they can be divided into two categories - those who are only Pokomo, and those who are part Pokomo and part Mbwera. Even so, only a minority of members of Mbwera descent groups participate in guild activities.

Those people most closely involved in spirit possession activities, particularly shamans and senior guild members, usually fall into the former category. There are 10 shamans and senior members of the kitanga guilds, and only four of these have any Mbwera descent at all, and all of these have

only one link⁴ (i.e. one grandparent) with a non-Kidakuli descent group. The reason for this is that there is a high degree of intra-marriage among such people, and an endogamous subgroup has been formed within the larger Kidakuli descent group, comparable to the highly intra-marrying Karibuni subgroup formed around the Sheikh and Imam.

What are the reasons for this very high degree of intra-marriage? One is that it accords with the general preference for marriage between close kin, which has already been discussed in Chapter III. More often, however, it seems likely that parents who are themselves deeply involved in possession cults are likely to marry their children off to people with whom they interact in this context. Such marriages may also be seen to cement ties between shamans and their closest followers.

There is another reason for the high degree of intra-marriage between people who practise spirit possession - it constitutes a reaction to the discriminatory marriage practices of those with high socio-religious status. Undoubtedly, spirit possession practitioners find it difficult to marry women from Mbwera descent groups, and an Mbwera man, especially one of high status, would also probably not wish to marry a woman from a family known to be involved in possession cults. But people who are Pokomo and not highly involved in spirit possession activities are also unwilling to marry those who are. Such people will, of course, find it easier to marry Mbwera, if they wish to do so. This leads to a positing of status differentials within the Kidakuli descent group, between those who practise spirit possession and those who do not, which is very often coincident with the distinction first made at the beginning of this section between those who are 'pure' Pokomo and those who are 'mixed' Pokomo and Mbwera.

This raises the question of choice. To what extent are people forced to participate in guild activities? Obviously, those people who are brought up surrounded by guild activities may have little choice, although not all of them will become possessed. In cases of sickness, they will turn to their relatives who are shamans and diviners, who will tell them that they must not neglect the spirits with whom they have inherited relationships.

Furthermore, Pokomo people, who have no affiliations with descent groups other than Kidakuli, are virtually forced to cultivate Kidakuli land, which brings them again into contact with spirits.

People who have both Mbweru and Pokomo descent have a greater choice. They may use both sets of affiliations when it suits them. They may participate in spirit possession cults in a limited way (e.g. for curing, divination etc.) and at the same time participate in 'Islamic' activities.

A good example is provided by the following case :-

Case No. 8:2. Sickness of a small boy.

The two-year old son of the Kanga UWT secretary (cf last Chapter) became sick. This woman has affiliations with Kidakuli, Changwa, Kitotoni and Karibuni descent groups. She consulted an Islamic diviner, and he said that because she had not 'said farewell' to the land spirit which she had inherited with her membership of the Kidakuli descent group, it had become angry and made her son ill.

She therefore went to the shaman of the spirit concerned and through him made an offering of a tray of sweetmeats to the spirit.

This woman lives in a Karibuni ward (that of Kiunga Pemba), and participates in many orthodox Islamic rituals; she is a member of the Karibuni tarika, and as already mentioned, was elected along with other Karibuni women to the committee of the newly formed UWT branch in Kanga. In this instance of her son's illness, she consulted a Koranic diviner, but he, perhaps at her suggestion, stressed her Pokomo (Kidakuli) affiliations in giving his explanation. She accepted this in taking an offering to the land spirit.

However, other people of mixed Pokomo-Mbweru descent may totally ignore their Pokomo descent, and stress only their affiliations with Mbweru descent groups. Such people are usually hoping thereby to improve their social status. They may even join together with other pious Mbweru in condemning spirit possession activities, and will never consult a diviner or shaman. Other Pokomo say of them, and of all who profess to scoff at spirit possession, that they secretly believe in the efficacy of spirit cures, and consult shamans in private. It is interesting to note that even full siblings, who share the same sets of descent links, may stress ties with quite different groups, particularly in the context of Islam and spirit possession. The following case, not an isolated example by any means, demonstrates this :-

Case 3:3. Different approaches to sickness.

J.M. and A.M. are two full brothers living in the same cluster of the Kidakuli ward (cf Chapter 4, fig.4: 1). Their father was half Kidakuli, half Changwa, and their mother a Changwa woman, a member of the segment now living in the southern ward which associated with Karibuni and people of high socio-religious status.

J.M. is highly religious, attends mosque regularly, and even walks to Kirongwe once a week for advanced Koranic classes. When he is sick, he uses Koranic charms, cupping, and goes to the dispensary; he occasionally uses herbal medicines, but never consults a shaman or diviner.

A.M., on the other hand, consults the head of his cluster, his father's brother (who is a mwingo shaman), and other shamans and diviners for remedies. He also believes in witchcraft, and he attends spirit possession rituals regularly, although he is not a member of a guild. A.M. does not attend mosque, and identifies more closely with the Kidakuli than with the Changwa descent groups.

Sea Spirits.

Sea spirits cannot be categorised as conveniently as can land spirits. One reason is that most sea spirits are not even named. However, they are sometimes classed into 'tribes' - the commonest are Subhani, Rohani, Bedu, Hambali and Katani⁵. Some of these are referred to as 'Moslem' spirits, while others are considered to be pagan, and these latter cause the most trouble. Like land spirits, sea spirits are both possessory and non-possessory; the latter are called Mabwengu⁶.

Relations between sea spirits and humans.

Relationships between humans and sea spirits are not inherited in the same way as they are with land spirits, nor are relationships with them confined to a category defined by descent. Members of all descent groups in Kanga are possessed by sea spirits, but here a different categorisation becomes important - that of sex. Sea spirit cults are essentially women's cults, and they concern women's problems, such as marriage, frigidity, fertility and pregnancy.

The majority of sea spirits in Kanga are thought to be 'love spirits' (majini ya mahaba). A woman may acquire a love spirit when she is still quite young, and it can remain with her after she reaches puberty and marries. This spirit is believed to be like a husband to her, so that she gets no satisfaction from sexual relationships with human men. Furthermore, sea spirits, like land spirits, dislike sexual 'dirt' particularly that caused by semen or childbirth. They are thus said not only to try to prevent a woman from having sexual relations with a man by making her frigid, but also to render her sterile, or cause her to abort any pregnancies she may have, or cause a newly born child to die.

Some women become possessed by sea-spirits, and then are initiated into a guild. Initiation is regarded as the chief way of curing a large number of lost pregnancies or sterility, as a bargain is struck with the spirit, and it 'agrees' to let the woman bear children in return for presents. The spirit is also made the guardian of the child, in the same way as are land spirits, but in fact sea spirits are not thought to be as effective in protecting children and the relationship between spirit and ward does not last beyond childhood.

A few men are also possessed by sea spirits, but these are all shamans or else apprentice shamans. It is notable, however, that not all sea-spirit shamans are possessed; some are able to control spirits through their knowledge of Arabic books on astrology and magic. However, sea spirit shamans are not as feared as the shamans of land spirits, because they are not thought to be able to cause sickness and death.

Cults and guilds.

A sea spirit cult is defined in the same way as is a land spirit cult - it is differentiated only by a particular kind of ritual. There are two cults which affect Kanga people: the mkobero, which is practised widely in Kanga and Banja, and the tari, which is confined to Bweni. The other northern villages have no sea-spirit cults, probably because they are all inland villages.

In this discussion, I shall be describing only the mkobero cult as practised in Kanga.

There are three mkobero guilds in Kanga. Their organisation differs somewhat from that of the kitanga guilds already described. The assistants attached to the guild are of two kinds; there are helpers who assist with practical matters, and there are also men who can read the Koran (walim) which is required in the rituals of these guilds. Both shamans and senior members are to be found in mkobero guilds, but there is also a category of apprentice shamans. The point about mkobero shamans is that they are not recruited in quite the same way as kitanga and mwingo shamans - they spend some time with a practising shaman 'learning the trade', and they may or may not inherit the post of shaman from a father or grandfather.

The following table shows the relative sizes of the mkobero guilds in Kanga.

Table 8:2. Mkobero guilds - size and status of members.

	<u>Bakari</u>	<u>Hamis</u>	<u>Jumbe</u>	total
<u>Grades</u>				
Shamans	2	1	1	4
Apprentice		3	2	5
Senior	3	1		4
Member	10	18	17	45
Total	17	23	20	58

The largest guild is that of Hamis, with a total of 23 members, of whom four live outside Kanga. The only four men in the guild are the shaman and three apprentices, one of whom is the shaman's sister's son. The latter's mother is the senior member. This guild has its headquarters in the Karibuni ward, although not all the rituals necessarily take place there. Few of its members are Karibuni women, the majority being members of the Kiungani and Mirundani descent groups, and a few Kidakuli women. This is probably the most successful guild, with three rituals held in 1966, and nine women initiated.

Jumbe's guild has only slightly fewer members, two of whom live in Banja village. These are the shaman himself, and one of the apprentice shamans. The former is in fact one of the most famous shamans in Mafia, as he is thought to control both a land spirit, which possesses him, and sea spirits. He is a Kanga man of the Kidakuli descent group, and has spent much of his youth and early manhood serving as a soldier. He claims to have visited Egypt and the Near East, and to have acquired his knowledge of Islamic magic and astrology during the course of his travels. Whatever the truth of his stories, most people think that he is very powerful, and are much afraid of him. It is probable that he has many more mkobero adherents than those shown in the foregoing Table, which represents only those ordinary members who live in Kanga, and take part in the activities of the Kanga guild, located in the Kidakuli ward, where Jumbe's brother lives.

Some of the members of this guild are Kidakuli women, but there are also women from the Changwa descent group. Only one ritual was held by this guild in 1966, and this was as an offering for a child which had learned to walk⁷. However, in the course of the ritual several other women went through the first stages of initiation, and some who were already guild members made offerings.

The third guild, that of Bakari, is situated in the Kitotoni ward, and more than any other, this guild is a close knit kinship unit, in spite of the fact that the two shamans, who are brothers, both live away from Kanga, as does one of the senior guild members, and some of the ordinary members. Very few of the members of this guild are not Kitotoni people or women married to Kitotoni men (cf. Fig. 3:1).

Three rituals were held by this guild in 1966. Three new women members were initiated, and three others gave offerings. All of the rituals of this guild are held in the Kitotoni ward, in the same place as the ceremonies of the tarika are held, and indeed, many of those prominent in the guild are closely related officials of the tarika, as Fig. 3:1 shows.

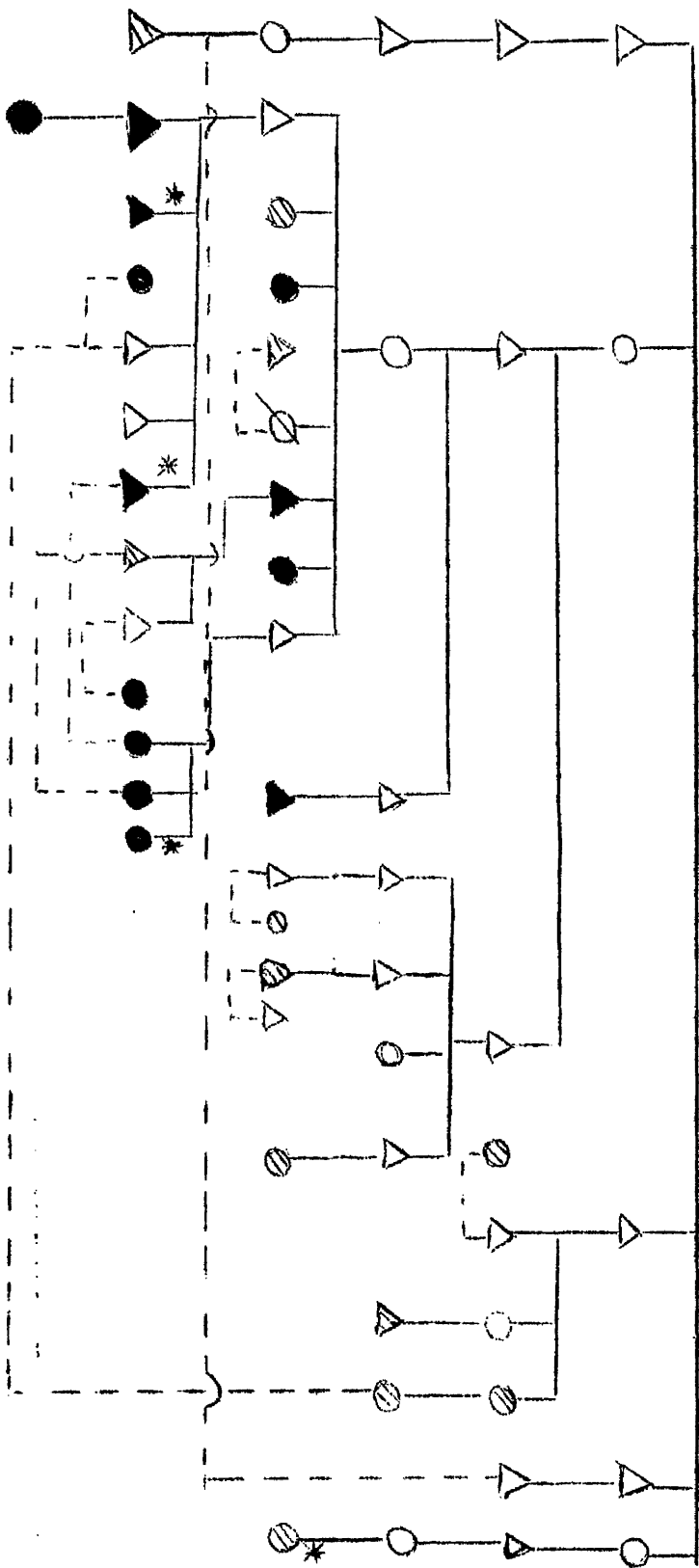
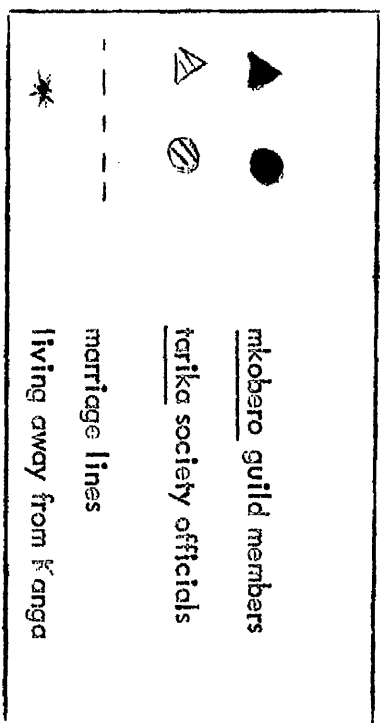


Fig. 8:1. KITITONI DESCENT GROUP

Mkobero guild members and
tarika society officials



There might seem to be a contradiction here between spirit possession activities, which are regarded as unlawful (haramu) by pious Muslims, and tarika society activities, whose ostensible purpose is 'the glorification of God'. Two explanations can be advanced. Kitotoni people who are involved in both point out that sea spirit possession is not as 'bad' (upotevu) as land spirit possession; furthermore, Bakari's guild, unlike the other two mkobero guilds, does not slaughter animals, nor drink blood during its rituals. The second explanation is one already noted in the last Chapter; members of the Kitotoni tarika society are not forbidden by their Sheikh from participation in spirit possession activities, as are members of the Karibuni tarika society.

Activities of guilds.

The primary activity of the mkobero guilds is to help women to come to terms with problems arising from their sex. People usually suspect that a woman is being troubled by a sea spirit if she fails in her role as a wife and mother. She may also become hysterical, and run off to the sea-shore. In such cases, her relatives take her to a Koranic diviner, or to a sea-spirit shaman, who will attempt to make the spirit possess her, speak its name, and say what it wants. Only then is it possible to come to some arrangement with the spirit, whereby the woman is allowed to function normally, in return for her becoming a guild member, and making frequent presents to the spirit.

It is noticeable that many women become hysterical or possessed for the first time in stress situations. Young girls are often possessed at the time of their first marriages, particularly when they are married off to men living in other villages, as the following case shows :

Case 8:4. A young wife is unhappy, and sea-spirit possession is diagnosed.

Binti A. was married off at puberty to a distant relative in Ndogoni village, which is some four hour's walk from Kanga. Her parents were unable to visit her, as her father's health was poor, and her mother had a deformed foot.

After a short time, her husband brought her back to her parents, and said that she was sick. She remained in her parents' house, while her husband returned to his own village. She constantly became hysterical, and ran off to the sea-shore, pursued by relatives who brought her back and attempted to calm her down. They took her to various shamans, and it was decided that a sea spirit was troubling her.

During the course of a mkobero ritual, Binti A. offered a tray of sweetmeats to the spirit, but she failed to become possessed. Soon afterwards, however, her husband divorced her, and she remained in Kanga with her parents. Some time later she married a Kanga man.

If the woman is frigid, or afraid of her husband, and refuses him, the situation is likely to be made worse. Sex is considered a normal and pleasurable activity for both men and women, and sexual instruction plays an important part in a girl's puberty rites. Women who are frigid are said either to be 'sick', or else they are thought to be afflicted by a spirit.

Likewise, if a woman fails to bear children, or else if she loses most of her children while they are babies, the explanation is usually made that a sea spirit is preventing her from having children. This again may be a point where she becomes possessed and is initiated into a guild, as part of her treatment.

On the other hand, some women who are extremely fertile become possessed after a long series of pregnancies. Usually in such cases, they exhibit symptoms of hysteria, and are then sent home to be treated, probably again by initiation into a guild. Undoubtedly, women may subconsciously use the excuse of spirit possession to get away from their husbands, or perhaps to force a relative to undertake the upbringing of some of their children.

Another occasion on which a woman is likely to manifest possession symptoms are when her husband takes a second wife. As Lewis (1966) has suggested, possession may reassure the wife about her husband's affections, since he has to pay a large part of the costs of initiation into a guild. It is interesting to note in this connection that, almost without fail, if one wife of a polygynously married man becomes possessed and is initiated, the

other wife follows suit.

There are two categories of treatment; one is to get rid of the spirit altogether, the other is to 'come to terms' with it. The first may be effected either by using a medicine made from a plant called mavimavi which is said to smell like human excreta, and prevent the spirit from coming to the woman at night, or else by a Sheikh using Koranic methods, and exorcising the spirit. The second effect is achieved through initiation into a guild.

Initiation.

Initiation is usually in two stages. In the first stage, the woman (and her relatives) bear the cost of a ritual during which she (i.e. the spirit 'in her head') consumes the offering of a tray of sweetmeats. The second stage in the majority of guilds (not that of Bakari) is when she offers a goat to the spirit, and drinks the blood, in rather the same way as do participants in the kitanga ritual.

The form of the mkobero ritual is quite different from that of the mwingo or the kitanga. First of all the ritual is usually held on Thursdays, i.e. the day before the Islamic sabbath, and since the ritual usually continues all night, the culmination is on the holy day, Friday. The ritual begins with the initiate, and any other guild members who are making an offering, sitting on a mat, while incense is burned under their noses and the mwalim and/or shaman reads from the Koran. The women are offered rose-water and saffron water to drink, and soon become possessed.

When this happens, everyone starts the dhikiri of the tarika and this continues all night. The form of dhikiri, and the songs (kasida and rishad) are exactly the same as at a conventional tarika ritual. The climax is when the tray of sweetmeats (sinia) or the goat is offered to the spirit. Only those who are being or have already been initiated are allowed to consume the food or blood, although others may dance and be possessed during the course of the ritual. This differs from the kitanga or mwingo rituals, where anyone who is possessed can drink the blood, or eat the spices, etc., and it emphasises one of the main differences between these two types of cults.

In the cults of the land spirits, descent is the most important criterion for recruitment; people can participate even before initiation because they already have potential relationships with the spirit, but the mkobero cult has little to do with descent, and only those who choose to be initiated may participate in this way.

Another important difference between the two types of cults is in the language used. For the land spirit cults, there is a special 'spirit' vocabulary⁸. In the mkobero cult, 'Arabic' is the language used by the possessed. As I have already said, the rituals begin with a Koranic reading, which is of course in Arabic. The first signs of possession are when a woman gives the Arabic greeting normally only used by males in this society "Salaam aleikum". The rest of the ritual is also conducted in 'Arabic'. In actual fact, hardly anyone in Kanga is able to understand the Koran, much less hold a conversation in Arabic. However, since they all hear Arabic frequently when the Koran is read, they know what Arabic is supposed to sound like. Hence a series of guttural sounds passes for Arabic, and people marvel all the more that women, who are not normally even able to read the Koran or recite the prayers, when possessed speak 'Arabic' so fluently.

This reflects another aspect of this spirit possession cult. The sea spirits are described as being 'fair, like Arabs' and 'very handsome'. The articles in use in the rituals - incense, rose-water, cordial, dates etc. - are all associated with Arabs, who constitute the majority of shopkeepers on the coast. In both land spirit and sea spirit rituals, trays of sweet-meats are offered; in the former cults, these are called 'chano', which means a wooden (locally made) tray, whereas those given to the sea spirits are 'sinia', manufactured metal trays obtainable only in shops. The implication here is that the land spirits dislike manufactured articles,⁹ whereas the sea spirits like only 'things of shops', or 'Arab things', the two being synonymous in this culture. In the previous Chapter, I mentioned the importance of being as much like an Arab as possible; this is symbolised in the sea spirit possession cult, and is a point to be taken up later.

Economics of initiation.

Initiation into a mkobero guild is not as expensive as into a kitanga guild, mainly because cows cost more money than goats (150/- as opposed to 50/- - 75/-), and in any case, goats are not always used in initiation, particularly in Bakari's guild. Thus a woman has only to find the cost of a tray of sweetmeats (sinia), a set of new clothes, the 'things of the shop' (incense, rose-water etc.) and possibly a meal before the ritual is held. Even the last is not mandatory, as some rituals are not all-night affairs, like the kitanga rituals. In short, the total maximum cost of initiation is in the region of 150 /-, and this is assuming that the initiate buys both a goat and a tray of sweetmeats, which is not usual. Some women are initiated in two stages, first with a tray, then with a goat, but others use a goat immediately, and any trays offered are usually given by other women who wish to take a present to the spirit for various reasons.

Sea spirit guilds, and shamans, are not wealthy as are some of the kitanga guilds and shamans. The reason for this is that they do not undertake divination and curing of general sickness, in the same way as do shamans of the land spirits. Nor are offerings, other than those consumed during the course of a ritual, made to any particular spirit. This means that herds of animals are not built up from the fees for curing made to sea spirits, as is the case with land spirits. It is difficult to judge the wealth of the sea spirit shamans, as several of them are not resident in Kanga. Jumbe, the shaman living in Banja village, is probably one of the wealthiest shamans in Mafia, but he is also a land spirit shaman, and undertakes a large amount of divination and curing. He is also a successful trader. On the other hand, Hamis, the shaman of the largest mkobero guild in Kanga, is not a rich man by any standards, and indeed spends most of his time herding other people's cows, an occupation which is considered fit only for the simple-minded or the very poor.

Spirit Possession: Discussion.

Why do people become possessed by spirits? And why is it that only certain categories become possessed, that is, women in the case of sea spirits, and Pokomo in the case of land spirits? Lewis (1966) has discussed possible sociological approaches to the phenomenon of spirit possession and has stressed that those most commonly possessed are the socially 'deprived', particularly women in male-dominated societies, or occasionally, men of low social status. He has also maintained that spirit possession is a weapon in the 'sex war'.

Wilson (1967) appears to accept Lewis's premise that the majority of people possessed are women, but he has argued that the reason for this is that they frequently suffer from 'status ambiguity', and use spirit possession more clearly to define their roles or create new ones. He rejects the idea that spirit possession is a weapon in the war between the sexes, and suggests instead that spirit possession is used in situations of competition between members of the same sex.

How do these theories fit in with the facts in Kanga? First of all, I should like to point out that in Kanga at least, spirit possession cults do not only concern women. This is true of the mkobero cult, but certainly not of the kitanga or mwingo cults, in which men participate not only as shamans, but also as ordinary members, senior members, assistants etc.

Secondly, what is meant by the two key terms introduced by Lewis - 'peripherality' and 'deprivation'? Lewis describes both spirits and possessed humans as peripheral to the society. By calling spirits peripheral, he means that they are outside the main morality cult. This is as true of Kanga as it is of Somalia - both land and sea spirits, in spite of vague connections of the latter with Islam, are amoral beings, and rituals concerned with them are not part of orthodox Islamic activity. Lewis maintains that, frequently, spirits are thought to come from 'outside' the society. This is also true to a limited extent in Mafia, since the majority of spirits are thought to have originated in Zanzibar and Pamba.

However, the epithet 'peripheral' can be applied with less justification to human beings in Kanga. It would seem logical to call 'peripheral' people like descendants of slaves, who are of the lowest social status, and are not members of the descent groups. But these people do not participate in land spirit possession cults at all, and only a minority of them participate in sea spirit possession cults. None of the Arabs or Gunya participate in any kind of cult.

Lewis also suggests that spirits "frequently express contact between people and their changing environment and experience". This would appear to be borne out on Mafia by the appearance during colonial times of cults centred around 'European' and 'Indian' spirits, which demanded the appropriate ritual (e.g. for 'European' spirits, eating at a table with knife and fork). One of the most striking aspects of the sea spirit cult is its emphasis on things 'Arabic'. The fact that the sea spirits are regarded as 'Arabs', can doubtless be correlated with the dominant position which the Arabs, and their culture, have held on the Coast for centuries.

It could perhaps be argued, in Lewis's terms, that women are 'deprived' in the sense that they are excluded from the principal forms of religious expression such as mosque attendance (at least until very recently) and generally things related to 'Arabness', which are so highly valued in this society, and that their sea spirit possession cult takes the form it does because they subconsciously desire to participate in the same way as do men. However, I am not sure that this explanation is appropriate for Kanga. First of all, women are not completely excluded from the religious sphere, since they attend Koran school, have even recently begun to attend mosque, and are particularly prominent in the tarika societies. This last fact would tend to substantiate my argument, since according to the 'deprivation' theory, one might expect the possession ritual to take the form of an Islamic ritual from which women were excluded, not one in which they are active.

Admittedly women do have a much more restricted sphere of religious and political activity than do men, but if we say that women are seeking substitute political power in joining guilds, this is not borne out by the fact that all the shamans of the sea spirit guilds, and all except one of the land spirit guilds, are men. On the whole, men play the major role in rituals, and even senior female members of guilds are usually concerned only with the practical aspects, such as food for the participants, not with leading the ritual itself.

However, Lewis has also argued that women in male-dominated societies are 'deprived' in almost every sphere. He speaks of Somali women as being 'down-trodden'. I certainly do not feel that this epithet can be applied to women in Kanga. In public life, women play important roles in the tarika societies, and in rites of passage, even though they are normally segregated from the men. In the domestic sphere, wives can and do hold their own with their husbands. Kanga men frequently admit that decisions are made in consultation with their wives. Furthermore, they feel it no shame to help their wives with 'feminine' tasks such as fetching water, or even pounding rice, when their wives are overburdened. One man even remarked that he wouldn't like the European pattern of work, because it kept husbands and wives apart all day.

Even so, it cannot be denied that women do suffer certain disadvantages compared with men. Apart from the fact that they have much less scope for participating in Islamic and political activities, they are usually less well off than men in the economic sphere, since they inherit less property, and also have few other means of acquiring more, such as by trading, or buying or planting coconut trees.

It is perhaps in the marital sphere that we may describe women as being 'deprived', or perhaps better still, suffering from 'status ambiguity'. On such occasions as first marriage (particularly to another village), a husband taking a second wife, failure to bear children, or the loss of pregnancies or babies, even over-fertility, there is additional strain on the wife, and these are typical occasions for a first manifestation of spirit

possession. In this context, women in Kanga undoubtedly use spirit possession as a 'weapon' against their husbands, and as a means of coercing their own kinsfolk to support them. At all events, a wife who becomes possessed is always sent back to her own kin, and she may be able to use this excuse as a lever for ending an unhappy marriage, as Binti A. did in Case 8:4.

In sum, I feel that the argument that women, in particular, suffer from 'status ambiguity' in the marital sphere, and thus are 'deprived' can be applied to Kanga, but it does not seem appropriate to explain their possession in terms of their exclusion from the male-dominated fields of religion and politics, and subsequent seeking of 'substitute power'.

This latter explanation may perhaps be more apt for the cult of land spirits, in which only the Pokomo participate. There is undoubtedly a correlation between the fact that so few Pokomo participate, much less hold office, in the religious and political fields, and the fact that they dominate the land spirit cults. Given the monopoly of these fields by the Mbwera and Gunya, and particularly those of the highest socio-religious status, it is not surprising that the Pokomo seek a substitute activity. Of course, they are not barred from participation in mosque rituals, nor in attending VDC meetings, but the point is that they are extremely unlikely ever to attain high office.

In the field of land spirit possession, on the other hand, the Pokomo, or some of them at any rate, can achieve very real power and wealth¹⁰. Many of the land spirit shamans in Kanga are extremely rich by local standards; two of the kitanga shamans in particular are among the richest men in the village, vying with people of high socio-religious status, such as the Sheikh. Apart from fees for curing people, they also receive fees 'on behalf of the spirit', and in this way, herds of cattle and stores of money are built up. The shaman has almost unrestricted access to this wealth, although he says he can only 'borrow' from the spirit. He can also borrow money on the strength of this wealth,

because, in the eyes of the government officials from Kilindoni, he is the owner. Even those shamans who are less successful fall into the category of those men who have a surplus of cash over expenditure, or at least who have sufficient cash to meet their needs. Only a very few shamans fall into the economic category of those who do not have enough cash to meet their needs, and these are all mwingo shamans, who in Kanga are eclipsed by the more successful kitanga shamans.

In addition to their economic status, shamans have a large amount of control over the actions of their adherents, particularly guild members. They can put pressure on people to follow a certain course of action; for example, a shaman's attitude towards his patient, particularly if female, may decide whether or not she returns to her husband after curing, or demands a divorce¹¹. An additional fringe benefit for shamans is the number of opportunities for seduction of female patients presented during the course of curative treatment.

Shamans enjoy a large amount of prestige not only among their own adherents, but even further afield. One kitanga shaman has patients who come from the mainland coast, as well as other parts of Mafia. Even people who are considered to be unsympathetic towards the activities of shamans (e.g. pious Muslims) accord a certain grudging respect to some of the more famous ones, although they disapprove of their methods of curing people.

Apart from the shamans, ordinary guild members in both types of cult obviously derive considerable psychological satisfaction from their participation. The rituals are highly 'theatrical', and exciting to watch. Dancers can behave in an uninhibited way which is not normally tolerated; difficulties and fears can be voiced without shame, and reassurance given by relatives, fellow guild members and shamans.

In sum, then, spirit possession in Kanga highlights two important cleavages in the society. Firstly, there is the cleavage between men and women. To the extent that some women, at least, suffer from status ambiguity, or 'deprivation', they can find in sea spirit possession cults the reliefs which they cannot get elsewhere.

The possession cults associated with land spirits, on the other hand, express the division between Mbwera (Karibuni in particular) and Pokomo (mainly Kidakuli) within the society. In the sense that the Karibuni dominate the 'legitimate' or most highly valued political and religious offices, Kidakuli leadership of land spirit possession cults and guilds can be viewed as a response to deprivation or exclusion from positions demanding high socio-religious status. Alternatively, of course, it can be argued that the benefits accruing from participation in these cults - the explanations they provide for misfortune and the economic advantages available to the leaders - are sufficient inducements in themselves, and are seen by some Kidakuli as a positive alternative to orthodox religion and politics. The Mbwera-Pokomo cleavage, however, is not absolute, because so many people in the village can claim both kinds of descent and so participate in both kinds of ritual activities. Total commitment to one descent group or another is required only of the leaders of these activities. As a result, the Karibuni who control the mosque, the Karibuni tarika society, and local government offices, like the Kidakuli who run the possession guilds, are the most intensely intra-married. Each comprises a 'core' whose descent ties are extremely confined. These leadership cores may be seen to represent two extreme points at opposite ends of a descent continuum, hierarchical in nature, with the rest of the population falling somewhere in between, in that they have different degrees of commitment to both sides.

CHAPTER IX.
CONCLUSION.

This thesis has considered a system of cognatic kinship in an East African village community. It has been concerned principally with the descent group framework, and with the problem of individual choice of affiliation with descent groups in a variety of social contexts - residence, land, Islamic ritual, political activity and spirit possession. In this last Chapter, I want to consider all these contexts, and see to what extent a discernible pattern of choice emerges. It may then be possible to answer the question posed in the introduction - whether descent groups can be truly 'unrestricted', or whether the factors influencing choice cause even an ideologically unrestricted system to be a restricted one in practice.

One way of looking at this problem is to ask to what extent the descent groups are corporate. I have maintained that according to most of the criteria posited by various writers (permanence, property-holding, leadership etc.), the descent groups in Kanga may be so described. In this Chapter I want to use the term in a somewhat different way and to see to what extent Firth's notion that 'corporateness may vary in degree'¹ is true of Kanga descent groups. In effect, it will be held that the more numerous the contexts in which the members of a descent group tend to affiliate exclusively with that group, the greater its 'corporateness'.

In Chapter IV, I showed that, on the whole, people live in wards associated with descent groups of which they are members. Choices in this context are influenced largely by where coconut trees are owned, or are to be inherited, or else by the desire to live in a cluster alongside certain kin.

Another context in which a choice about affiliation must be made is that of land-holding. Rights in meadow land, like those in coconut trees and residential land, are held more or less permanently. Bush land, however, is under a system of shifting cultivation, and in theory, a man can cultivate the land of any descent group of which he is a member. It was shown that, in fact, men do affiliate with different descent groups

at different times in order to obtain cultivation rights to land. Furthermore, residence does not especially influence decisions about cultivating. Residence is thus not a 'closing' factor in membership of a descent group, and this emphasises that these groups are 'unrestricted'.

However, land holding is complicated to some extent by distribution of land; thus for example, most of the bush land is owned by the Kidakuli descent group. We find, therefore, that most people with Kidakuli descent use their Kidakuli links to obtain bush land, at the expense of their ties to other groups where they have less chance of getting land. On the other hand, some people prefer to cultivate meadow land, because they find it physically less arduous than bush cultivation, or because for political or religious reasons they wish to remain in the centre of the village (where meadow land is found). These people will activate their membership of descent groups which hold such land. And where such direct ties (which confer what I have called primary or secondary rights) do not exist, they attempt to utilise their networks of kin, affines and friends to obtain tertiary rights. These ties are also activated in other situations in which a person needs assistance. In Chapter VI it was shown how the network (jamaa) is called upon to provide financial aid at the time of a marriage. The network cuts across and in a sense brings together the disparate groups to which an individual belongs. In a different sense, it emphasises that certain types of choice exist outside the framework of descent groups.

Other contexts in which descent group membership is important are Islamic and political activities, and spirit possession. The former types of activity are associated mainly with the Karibuni descent group (and the few Arabs and Gunya). Here individual choices are influenced by status considerations. Those with links to Karibuni and one or more other groups stress their affiliation with Karibuni by participating in the Kanga Sheikh's tarika, and attending mosque. Where a choice is possible, association with Kidakuli takes the form of involvement in spirit possession activities, with which this group and Pokomo in general are associated.

It must be stressed that a choice is not available in every instance. The children of highly intra-married ancestors will have little choice about descent group affiliation, since most of their ties will lie within a single group. For various reasons, they may perpetuate this situation by continuing to marry within the same descent group. Alternatively, people who belong to descent groups with little to offer in the way of economic inducements (i.e. which hold little land) or status, might prefer to marry elsewhere in order to obtain these benefits through affinal links. In other words, marriage has to be viewed as a strategy.

Table 9:1 gives the overall pattern of affiliation to descent groups in the various contexts which have been discussed. The figures are taken from the data already presented in previous Chapters. As the Table indicates, the descent groups with a majority of members affiliating for residence purposes are Kitotoni, Karibuni and Kidakuli. We may ask why this is, since all descent groups hold ward land, and none has a shortage? Is residence conditioned by choices in other contexts?

As might be expected, the group with the largest percentage of its membership affiliating in order to obtain cultivable land is Kidakuli. This is of course mainly because of the fact that Kidakuli holds such a large proportion of the available land. But it will be noted that all the descent groups, with the exception of Mtundani, which holds very little land of any kind, have their land used by a majority of members. This suggests that over a period of time, many people cultivate with more than one group. It will also be noted that all groups, with the exception of Mtundani, have a higher proportion of members using cultivable land than reside in their wards. This reinforces the point made earlier that residence is not a determining factor in regard to choice about affiliation for cultivation purposes.

Table 9: 1. Descent group affiliation *

<u>Context of affiliation.</u>	<u>Kitotoni</u>	<u>Karibuni</u>	<u>Kiungani</u>	<u>Changwa</u>	<u>Mtundani</u>	<u>Kidakuli</u>
Residence in ward	55%	61%	36%	31%	36%	66%
Cultivating with descent group **	70%	70%	70%	58%	18%	82%
Friday mosque attendance	16%	50%	26%	16%	25%	10%
Tarika membership:						
Kitotoni	95%	20%	70%	52%	53%	86%
Karibuni	5%	80%	30%	48%	47%	14%
Membership of land spirit guild	20%	3%	16%	32%	7%	33%
Intra-marriage ***	41%	50%	40%	27%	25%	47%

Notes :

* Males only are considered in this table because I want to compare a full range of contexts of choice, and in some of these, women have little choice (e.g. mosque attendance or political office holding) and in others, their choice is usually dictated by their husbands (if they are married), e.g. residence, cultivation.

** 'Cultivation' covers a six-year period from 1962 to 1967.

*** 'Intra-marriage' means that either a first or subsequent marriage was with a woman of the same descent group.

In regard to religious affiliation, Karibuni is the descent group with the highest proportion of mosque attenders (50%), while Kidakuli has the lowest proportion (10%). Karibuni is also the only descent group a majority of whose members affiliate with the Karibuni Sheikh's tarika society. However, it will be noted that two groups, Mtundani and Changwa, are almost equally divided between the two tarika societies. The vast majority of the members of the Kitotoni and Kidakuli descent groups are members of the Kitotoni society. This has been explained by the fact that the Kitotoni descent group controls this society, while the Kidakuli descent group members join partly because they are banned from the Karibuni society (for participating in spirit possession activities). The group with the highest mosque attendance (Karibuni) and the highest number of Karibuni tarika members (bearing in mind that the Karibuni tarika carries more 'prestige and piety' than that of the Kitotoni) is the one with the lowest number of (land) spirit possession adherents.

To what extent does marriage fit in with the other contexts of choice? First of all, those groups with the highest figures for intra-marriage - Karibuni, Kidakuli and Kitotoni, are also those groups which are the most 'corporate' in all other contexts. One of the reasons for this is that intra-marriage restricts choice, thus if the members of a descent group tend to marry within that group their children will have few ties elsewhere. People not only have ties to different descent groups, but may have more ties to one than to another. How does this situation affect their choices about affiliation? It might be expected that a man who has three links with the Kitotoni group and only one with the Karibuni group would tend to affiliate in most contexts with the former. On the other hand, certain other factors mitigate this tendency. So that a man with this pattern of links might well stress the latter for status reasons. Alternatively, a man with only one Kidakuli link may use this in preference to any others, perhaps because he wants Kidakuli land, or else because he is possessed by a Kidakuli spirit. The following Table (9:2) attempts to show the relationship between the number of links a man has to any one descent group, and the number of contexts in which he affiliated with that group.

Table 9:2. Descent links and frequency of affiliation.

No. of links	No. of contexts of affiliation.							Totals.
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
<u>Kitotoni</u>								
1 d/g link(s)	2%	9%	20%	25%	20%	4%		80%
2 " "		7%		2%	2%			11%
3 " "				7%				7%
<hr/>								
<u>Karibuni</u>								
1 d/g link(s)	12%	18%	6%	3%	18%	15%		72%
2 " "				6%	3%	9%		18%
3 " "						3%		3%
<hr/>								
<u>Kiungani</u>								
1 d/g link(s)	6%	16%	18%	24%	8%			72%
2 " "	2%	2%	4%	6%	2%			16%
3 " "			4%	4%	4%	2%		14%
<hr/>								
<u>Changwa</u>								
1 d/g link(s)	20%	31%	15%	13%	5%	4%		88%
2 " "		2%	2%	7%		2%		13%
<hr/>								
<u>Mtundani</u>								
1 d/g link(s)	29%	18%	25%	14%	11%			96%
2 " "	4%							4%
<hr/>								
<u>Kidakuli</u>								
1 d/g link(s)	3%	3%	10%	11%	21%	12%		60%
2 " "		2%		2%	9%	11%		24%
3				2%	3%	9%	2%	16%
4 " "							1%	1%

As might be expected, the more ties a person has with a descent group, the more he is likely to affiliate with that group in a majority of contexts. But in some descent groups, people with only one link still affiliate mostly with that group; these groups are again the ones already shown to be the most 'corporate' - namely Kidakuli, Karibuni, and to a lesser extent, Kitotoni. But in the Mtundani and Changwa groups, people tend to use their membership rights much less often, even when they have more than one link. (It is also noticeable that these two groups do not have any members with more than two descent links). So that there would seem to be other factors affecting affiliation choices in particular circumstances.

It is now necessary to consider the question of whether it is the same people who are affiliating with any given descent group in a number of contexts? In other words, is there a core of people within each descent group which tends always to affiliate there, or do people move around, whenever they have the opportunity, and utilise their rights in all groups?

Table 9:3 attempts to answer this question.

Table 9:3. Frequency of affiliation.

<u>Name of d/g</u>	<u>No. of contexts of affiliation.</u>							<u>No. of members.</u>
	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	
Kitotoni	0	5%	23%	34%	20%	14%	2%	44 (100%)
Karibuni	0	30%	22%	10%	6%	19%	13%	38 (100%)
Kiungani	0	2%	14%	34%	26%	18%	6%	51 (100%)
Changwa	0	5%	5%	20%	16%	33%	20%	55 (100%)
Mtundani	0	0	11%	14%	25%	18%	32%	28 (100%)
Kidakuli	11.5%	29%	29%	13%	10%	4.5%	2.5%	112 (100%)

Note : For the purposes of my argument here, I am treating the six sets or contexts of activities as comparable, even though I am aware that they are not all of the same level, and that comparison between them must be limited. However, all are associated with descent groups, and it is with affiliation to descent groups that I am concerned here.

It is clear that two groups have a majority of their members affiliating with them in a majority of contexts. Over half (52%) of those with Karibuni descent, and an even greater percentage (53%) of those with Kidakuli descent affiliate in four or more of the contexts considered. For the other descent groups, the figures are much lower - 28% for Kitotoni, 16% for Kiungani, 11% for Mtundani and 10% for Changwa.

To this point in the Chapter, I have discussed to what extent the descent groups may be termed corporate, and it is clear that Kidakuli and Karibuni are the most corporate, with Kitotoni somewhat less so, and the remaining three descent groups the least corporate of all. Now one reason for a strong degree of corporateness is a high rate of intra-marriage, so that many descent group members would have little choice about affiliation. But as we have seen, even people whose links are not all with one descent group may still choose to act in most contexts with one group only. The questions then which remain to be answered are:

- 1) Why does the greatest amount of intra-marriage take place within certain descent groups?
- 2) Why do some people choose to affiliate with certain groups, regardless of their links elsewhere?
- 3) What are the contexts in which they prefer to associate with these groups?

I think that the answer to all these questions, and indeed, to the whole problem about affiliation lies in what I propose to term 'channels of power'. It may be recalled that the three most corporate groups - Karibuni, Kidakuli, and to a lesser extent, Kitotoni - are all associated with specific sets of activities or resources which they control. The Karibuni descent group dominates the Friday mosque, and most of the political offices within the village; it also controls the Karibuni tarika society, which is considered to be superior to that of Kitotoni, because it is more exclusive, and does not admit people practising land spirit possession. In addition, the Karibuni descent group, together with the Gunya, virtually controls all the offices of political power in the village. The Kidakuli descent group, on the other hand, holds most of the bush land of the village; its members also monopolize the most widely believed-in curative medicines and rituals.

The Kitotoni descent group, although it does not approach Karibuni or Kidakuli in the number of 'channels of power' it controls, does run the Kitotoni tarika society, and the Kitotoni sea spirit guild. Conversely, no such 'channels of power' (land, guilds, societies or political offices) are associated with Kiungani, Changwa and Mtundani descent groups. It would thus appear that those descent groups which possess such 'channels of power' are likely to be more corporate than other groups which do not. This would explain why there is such a high intra-marriage rate for these descent groups, resulting in the formation of a 'core' of members who have few if any ties elsewhere, and why even some people who do have ties with other groups, prefer to exercise their rights in the more corporate groups. Intra-marriage thus keeps these 'channels of power' in fewer hands.

This core of descent group members usually contains the leaders of the activities which the descent group controls. All of the leaders of institutions such as guilds, societies, etc. reside in the wards concerned, near to the site of the activities (e.g. a zawiya, or a guild headquarters), even if they have descent ties elsewhere. This in fact may be another reason for residing in a particular ward, in addition to ownership of coconut trees, or the desire to live alongside certain kin, and it explains why residence figures are consistent with figures in other contexts (cf. Table 9:1). But this still does not mean that residence is a 'closing' factor. There are people who reside in a particular ward, but inter-act in nearly all other contexts with another descent group. A good example of this is provided in Case 8:3, in the last Chapter, where a man who identifies with the Changwa descent group lives in a Kidakuli ward. However, it should be noted that such people are not usually leaders of activities. People who wish to stress their affiliations to a particular group can do so in contexts other than residence. They can do so on occasions such as when contributions are made to the village maulid via descent groups, or in the cooking groups at feasts; in these contexts, a choice is made, and an individual affiliates permanently with a single group, usually the one with which he identifies more than any other, but not necessarily the one with which he is residing.

At the same time, it may be pointed out that there are reasons which might dissuade people from affiliating with some groups. Mtundani, for example, has almost no land, and its numbers appear to be in the process of decreasing. People claim that many Mtundani members have moved away from Kanga and that the remaining members 'have not given birth to many children'. It may be possible that this group will eventually fade away. Changwa, another example of a 'non-corporate' group, is in the process of splitting into two independent groups. This is the reason why in most activities Changwa people are divided in their affiliations. On the whole, the northern segment inter-marries with people from Bweni village (members claim that their apical ancestor was a Bweni man), and as a result, many of them are involved in land spirit possession cults; as might be expected, few of them attend mosque, and most of them are members of the Kitotoni tarika society. The southern segment, on the other hand, is attempting to improve its status. Most of its male members attend mosque, and are fairly politically active; they tend to ally themselves with the Karibuni people, and are followers of the Karibuni Sheikh's tarika.

What then are the functions of the descent groups? First of all, they control most of the residential and cultivable land in the village. Goodenough has suggested that most Malayo-Polynesian cognatic systems are based on the method of land holding, and this would seem to apply in Kanga. It is interesting to note that it is only in the north of Mafia, where each village is a discrete unit surrounded by large areas of bush, that descent groups are found. Although the south has a cognatic kinship system, there are no large descent groups, and this may be partly explained by the lack of bush land.

Secondly, religious and political institutions in Kanga are associated with descent groups. But here the groups are not all of the same type, as they are in regard to land. There is a basic division between the Kidakuli descent group (i.e. the Pokomo people) and the remaining five Mbweru descent groups. This differentiation is extremely important in regard to land spirit possession, as this is the preserve of the Pokomo people. In

regard to Islamic activities, a slightly different division between the groups emerges - Karibuni stands apart from the rest as the group in control of the mosque, and also of the political power (together with the Gunya) in the village. The rest of the descent groups are not noted for their religiosity, and in addition, they belong to a different tarika society.

However, if the descent group system provides the framework for status distinctions, it is not in itself the principal status-bearing entity. Rather, such a unit is the close circle of intra-marrying kinsmen which may be compared to the pavula of Ceylon². These pavula-like entities in Kanga are the cores of the most corporate descent groups, that is, they are composed of the people who are the most highly intra-married, and who are also wholly involved in the activities of one group, and usually in control of whatever channels of power are held by that group.

However, descent group membership can confer a number of benefits, and status is not the sole criterion of choosing affiliation with a particular group; economic advantage is also important, particularly as when a group of low status, like Kidakuli, controls a large amount of land. Many individuals of low socio-religious status, like spirit shamans, are extremely wealthy, and through their position influence large numbers of people, although this does not enable them to marry Karibuni women. Furthermore, very many people in the village feel that spirit shamans provide the most effective cures for all types of sickness and will thus consult them, particularly if they (the patients) have some Kidakuli descent links. In other words, even a low status group, like Kidakuli, because of its control of land, and cures for sickness, offers benefits to members, so that the tendency of those who have a variety of options is not necessarily to repudiate links with groups of low status, in order to cultivate those with high status groups. In fact the reverse may be true. Furthermore, descent groups control different types of 'channels of power', so that members of a higher status group may marry people of lower social status, perhaps because of land or other considerations. As Scheffler has pointed out for the Choiseul³, a balance has to be struck between intra-marriage to keep channels of power in a few hands, and also maintain a social hierarchy,

and inter-marriage, which means expanding allegiances for the advantages which this brings. This latter necessity results in a large section of the population having a choice about affiliation with descent groups. It also means that improvement of status is possible. Initially, this may be done through piety, and to a lesser extent through wealth, and it is reinforced by marriage with a person of higher status.

I have defined the vikao in Kanga as corporate, unrestricted, cognatic descent groups. In this thesis, I have tried to show how such groups operate. In many respects they are like unilineal groups. They recruit on the basis of descent. They are named. New groups are formed by a segmentary process. The chief difference is that, unlike restricted descent groups (such as unilineal groups), they are not discrete. This means that individuals have choices about affiliation. Such choices are reduced by intra-marriage, and inter-village marriage. But it is still a system which leaves room for manoeuvre, and individuals in search of land, power and status do their best to manipulate the situation. This means that some people voluntarily, as it were, 'restrict' the system for themselves, in order to gain access to a channel of power. Others use all possible links, both through their descent groups, and their personal networks, to achieve their objectives.

NOTES

Chapter I.

1. Fox argues that descent groups are a generic type, and that they may be sub-divided into 'restricted' and 'non-restricted' (or even 'pragmatically' restricted) sub-types. Thus unilineal groups, and cognatic groups restricted by residence or some such other factor, are both 'restricted' types, while unrestricted types are those which allow all descendants of an ancestor to affiliate with a group. This seems to me to be a useful approach since it allows cognatic systems to be studied as descent systems, and not merely as systems of localised groupings.

Chapter II.

1. Oliver & Mathew 1963
Baumann 1896
King 1917
Revington 1936
Piggott 1941
2. Chittick 1957.
Greeman-Grenville 1962.
3. Mafia District Book.
4. Strictly speaking, the correct form is 'Wambwera' – with the plural prefix 'wa'. However, in order to avoid confusing the reader not familiar with Bantu languages, I have retained only the singular form of this and other appellations, e.g. Pokomo, Gunya, for the singular and plural, throughout the thesis.
5. Umbwera is the name of a place on the mainland.
6. A Tanzanian (East African) shilling was equivalent to a British shilling (prior to devaluation).
7. TANU is the Tanganyika African National Union, the only political party in Tanganyika.
8. Copra is unripe when coconuts are picked too early; it is 'dirty' when dried over wood fires.
9. Sharifs are descendants of the Prophet Mohammed. As such they are of high religious status, and entitled to peculiar respect (cf. Chapter VII).
10. Expenses include wages of fellers and preparers of copra, and transportation of copra to Kirongwe market by donkey.
11. Even in a poor year, expenses remain high, e.g. fellers are paid per tree, and not according to the number of nuts they fell.

Chapter II (contd.)

12. It should be emphasised that these figures are only approximate, and are given mainly with the intention of showing the great disparity in the incomes of the male population.

Total incomes per annum were reckoned as follows :

coconut tree	2/- per tree
cattle	100/- per head
fishing	250/-
donkey	250/-
sailor	400/-
labourer (casual)	100/-
trader	500/-
herdsman	100/-
shaman	250/- - 500/-
Koranic teacher	250/- - 500/-
tailor	100/- - 200/-

In fact, a few people would probably make much more through trading, or being successful shamans. Obviously, it is difficult to be as precise about such occupations as about coconut cultivation.

13. There is a government school between Bweni and Kanga which caters for the needs of both villages. It is a primary school, with up to Standard 4 (recently up to Standard 6). Most boys over the age of 7 or 8 attend, and a few girls below puberty.

Chapter III.

1. Genealogies were obtained from old men, informal leaders of the descent groups, and were checked against personal genealogies given by a number of people. It does not seem very likely that the genealogies are 'telescoped', although they can be manipulated on occasion (cf. Chapter V, case 5:2).

2. Cf. Tanner 1959, Widjeyewardene 1961, Middleton 1961, and Prins 1961 for the way in which these terms are used in various parts of the East African coast.

Chapter IV.

1. It is only under Shafe'i law that a wakf may be made in favour of descendants (cf. Anderson 1959). Other schools state that it must be left to a religious charity like a mosque. Most wakf property in Kanga is left to descendants, but one of the mosques is maintained by a wakf bequest.

Chapter IV (contd.)

2. Following Wilson (1957 and 1959) I have categorised rituals as either 'kinship' or 'communal'. In the case of Kanga, kinship rituals include all rites of passage, and in addition, rites held to honour ancestors. Communal rituals, which are discussed more fully in Chapter VII, include those of Islamic tarika societies, the maulid, blessing of the village, and other rituals concerned with the Islamic calendar.

Chapter V.

1. Land tenure in Kanga village has many similarities with land tenure in Zanzibar Island among the Hadimu (cf. Middleton 1961, MacGeagh and Addis 1945, Pakenham 1947).

2. In translating dawe by 'meadow', I am following the Oxford dictionary, which defines a meadow as 'a grass field, near to water'.

3. It should be noted that my use of these terms does not correspond to the way in which they have been used by Gluckman (1943), and other writers. However, Kanga people themselves do make a verbal distinction between various types of holder - a man who has obtained rights other than through being a primary holder will say 'nimebenda' or 'nimeuga', meaning that . . . he had to ask permission.

4. It may have been no mere coincidence that the same man took both of Athman's fields - it is possible that there was some other dispute between them, and that Seleman was deliberately trying to annoy Athman. Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain any more details. The main point is that Seleman used 'government law' to win his case.

5. In some contexts, Kidakuli and Kitotoni descent groups tend to inter-act (e.g. cf account of tarika society, Chapter VII). This may be because Kitotoni regards itself as being founded by a breakaway segment from Karibuni descent group, which then inter-married with the Kidakuli descent group (cf. Chapter III). . . People often implied that there was a close relationship between Kidakuli and Kitotoni descent groups, although no-one knew why they held this meadow land in common.

6. In other parts of Mafia, many cases turn on this particular point. In Baleni, where there are many cashewnut trees, there are frequent disputes about their ownership. This is because, until recently, they were of no value, and in fact were planted by birds dropping the fruit seeds. With the sudden rise in the price of cashewnuts, and the drop in the price of coconuts, cashewnut trees have become a considerable asset. Thus where two men have documents stating the boundaries of their coconut fields, and in between is a stretch of land which has come to contain cashewnut trees, two or more people may claim the same trees.

Chapter VI.

1. Firth 1963.
2. In some societies, as Fox (1967, p.169-71) has pointed out, ego-centred groupings, such as kindreds, are recruited on a unisexual basis.
3. Mayer 1966.
4. The turban is associated with Arab dress, and as such is a sign of prestige on the coast.
5. The mkaja is a belt worn by women after child-birth.

Chapter VII.

1. The Maulid ya Barazanji is a poem celebrating the birth of Mohammed and telling of the wonders that occurred at the time. There are three versions - the full Arabic version by Ja'far bin Hassan al Abidin al-Barzanji al Madina, who lived from 1690 - 1766, an abridged version made by his grandson, and a Swahili version by the poet Sayid Mansab. In Mafia, one of the Arabic versions is most commonly in use (cf Harries 1962, pp.102 et seq).
2. At the Maulid reading, pilao (rice and meat) are served. But after the encirclement and blessing of the village, only meat is cooked. I have no explanation for this, but it may be connected with the fact that all the other northern villages are invited to the Maulid as guests, whereas the blessing of the village concerns only Kanga people, quite a number of whom take their meat home to consume it there.
3. Cf Gibb and Kramers, 1961.
4. Trimingham, 1964.
5. *ibid* 1964, p.96.
6. The reason why I have considered only the male population in this Table is that in the conclusion, I want to compare the various contexts of affiliation to descent groups, and women are not significant in all contexts (e.g. residence). However, the proportions would not be any different if I had included men and women in this Table.
7. I use the term 'government' in this Chapter for the sake of brevity, and because it is not particularly necessary in this context to differentiate between local, central and party government. In any case, as I pointed out in Chapter II, it is often difficult to make a clear distinction.
8. As she had already been married and divorced, she was considered an adult, and could therefore, in theory, marry whomsoever she pleased. She still needed a male relative, however, to speak for her and settle the bride-payment (mahari), and give her consent for her at the marriage ceremony.

Chapter VIII.

1. This is not a standard Swahili word, but part of the 'spirit vocabulary' discussed later. It is normally translated as 'child'.
2. Firth 1959, Page 141.
3. Berreman has noted for the Baharis that "it is largely as the result of the shaman's decision that one family will have to spend hundreds of rupees and weeks of effort in an elaborate ceremony, while another spends only a few hours, and gives only a goat in a simple sacrifice." (1964, page 59).
4. Cf. Chapter III for discussion of links.
5. It will be noted by Arabists that these terms have very definite connotations, but it is unlikely that the majority of people on Mafia understood the origin of these terms: it seems likely that they have been taken over and used simply because they are 'Arabic'. However, they do appear in Arabic books on astrology and magic.
6. An early article on spirit possession on the East Africa coast (Koritschoner 1936) mentions most of these categories of sea spirits, but the author's categories of land spirits are not found on Mafia.
7. The mother had been prevented from carrying her children to term or else the children had died very young. Thus a compact had been made with the spirit which was troubling her that if the child was allowed to grow up, a present would be given to the spirit. Such presents are normally given when the child has passed the most critical first two years of its life, and can walk.
8. For example : cow (ng'ombe in Swahili) becomes mkwavi
 child (mtoto " ") " kengenja
 woman (mwanamke in ") " mwanakasi
 man (mwanamume " ") " dume
9. During the agricultural season, people working Kidakuli fields associated with spirits are not allowed to wear rubber, manufactured sandals; they must either go bare-foot, or else wear sandals of skins, which they make themselves. Similarly, participants in the land spirit dance rituals are bare-foot.
10. Berreman (1964) has pointed this out for the Baharis. "Shamanism affords people who would otherwise spend their lives deferring to others a role in which they hope to acquire not only prestige and economic well-being, but a large measure of influence in the lives of others, and especially in the lives of their caste superiors who otherwise exert authority over them" (Page 62).
11. Similarly, Berreman (ibid) "They are often in a position to decide responsibility of guilt in inter-personal difficulties, and then to influence, if not actually decide, the atonement to be made" (Page 59), cf. Case 8-4.

Chapter IX.

1. Firth, 1963, Page 23; 1959, Pages 215-6.
2. Cf. Yalman 1960, 1962, 1967. I prefer the term 'kinsman' to 'kindred', as used by Yalman, because these are not ego-centred units.

Yalman points out that the pavula is prevented from becoming a caste-like endogamous group, because of the changes in the relative wealth of its members, which lead wealthier ones to seek marriage with others equally wealthy, who may or may not be of the same pavula.

3. Scheffler 1965. "The solidarity of the group, its capability for concerted action, and its stability depended on the particular balance struck between concentration as opposed to dispersion of the mutual obligations of its constituent members." (Page 302).

BIBLIOGRAPHY.a) Primary sources.

Mafia District Book. (in the National Museum, Dar es Salaam, and District Office, Mafia Island).

Records of Ownership of Coconut and Cashewnut fields. Agricultural Office, Mafia Island.

Tax Records. District Office, Mafia Island.

b) Secondary sources.

abbreviations used

A.A. American Anthropologist.

J.R.A.I. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

ANDERSON J.N.D.

1959 "Waqfs in East Africa". J. African Law. vol.III

BAILEY, A.P.

1965. Land Tenure; its sociological implications. With specific reference to the Swahili-speaking peoples of the East African coast. With annotated bibliography of the area. Thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts. University of London.

BARNES, J.A.

1962 "African Models in the New Guinea Highlands." Man, vol. 62.

BAUMANN, C.

1896. "Die Insel Mafia" Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Erkunds zu Leipzig. trans. Freeman-Grenville. Tanganyika Notes and Records. 1957.46.

BERREMAN, G.D.

1964 "Brahmins and Shamans in Pahari Religion". J. of Asian Studies.23

CHITTICK, H.N.

1957 et seq.

Annual Reports of the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa. London.

1961 Kisimani Mafia. Excavations at an Islamic Settlement on the East African Coast. Tanganyika Ministry of Education, Antiquities Division. Occasional Paper No.1. Dar es Salaam.

CHOWNING, A.

1962 "Cognatic Kin Groups among the Molima of Fergusson Island" Ethnology. vol. 1.

COULT, A.E.

1964 "Role Allocation, Position Structuring and Ambilineal Descent". A.A.vol.LXVI

DAVENPORT, W.

1959 "Nonunlineal Descent and Descent Groups". A.A. vol.LXI.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E.

1940 The Nuer. London.

1951 Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer. London.

FIRTH, R.

1957 "A note on Descent Groups in Polynesia". Man vol. 57.

1959 Social Change in Tikopia. London.

1959b "Problem and Assumption in an Anthropological Study of Religion"
J.R.A.I. vol. 89

1963 "Bilateral Descent Groups" in Schapera (ed.) Studies in Kinship and Marriage. London

FORDE, D.

1947 "The Anthropological Approach in Social Science". The Advancement of Science, vol. IV.

1963a "Unilineal Fact or Fiction: An analysis of the composition of kin groups among the Yakò." in Schapera (ed.) Studies in Kinship and Marriage. London.

1963b "On Some Further Unconsidered Aspects of Descent." Man vol. 63

FORTES, M.

1945 The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi. London

1949 The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi. London.

1953 "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups" A.A. vol. 55.

FOX, R.

1967 Kinship and Marriage. London

FRAKE, C.C.

1956 "Malayo-Polynesian Land Tenure". A.A. LVIII

FREEMAN, J.

1961 "On the Concept of the Kindred" J.R.A.I. vol. 91.

FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, G.S.P.

1962 The Mediaeval History of the Coast of Tanganyika. London

GIBB, H.A.R. and KRAMERS, J.H.

1961 Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leiden and London.

GLUCKMAN M.

1943 Lozi Land and Royal Property. Rhodes Livingstone Paper No. 10.
Manchester University Press.

GOODENOUGH, W.H.

1955 "A Problem in Malayo-Polynesian Social Organisation." A.A. vol. 67.

HARRIES, L.

1962 Swahili Poetry. London.

1965 (ed) Swahili Prose Texts. London

KING, N.

1917 "Mafia". Geographical Journal. vol. 50.

KORITSCHONER, H.

1936 "Ngoma ya Shaitani: An East African native treatment for **Psychical Disorders**." J.R.A.I. vol. 66.

LANE, R.B.

- 1961 "A reconsideration of Malayo-Polynesian Social Organisation".
A.A. vol. 63.

LEACH E.

- 1961 Pul Eliya. London.
1962a "A Note on the Mangaian Kopu". A.A. LXIV
1962b "On Certain Unconsidered Aspects of Double Descent Systems".
Man. vol. 62.

LEWIS, I.M.

- 1966 "Spirit Possession and Deprivation Cults." Man (new series) vol. 1. 3.
1967, 1968 "Reply to Wilson" correspondence in Man. vols. II and III (n.s.)
1968v "A structural approach to Witchcraft and Spirit Possession". unpublished
ms.

LIENHARDT, P.

- 1967 Sifa ya Nguvumali. London

LLOYD, P.

- 1966 "Agnatic and Cognatic Descent Among the Yoruba." Man vol. 1.
No. 4 (n.s.)

MACGEAGH, W.M. and ADDIS, W.

- 1945 Review of systems of land tenure in Zanzibar and Pemba. Zanzibar.

MAYER, A.C.

- 1966 "The Significance of Quasi-Groups in the Study of Complex Societies"
in The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies. London.

MIDDLETON, J.

- 1961 Report on Land Tenure in Zanzibar. H.M.S.O. London.

MURDOCK, G.

- 1948 Social Structure. New York.
1957 "World Ethnographic Sample". A.A. vol. LIX
1960 Social Structure in South-East Asia. London and Chicago.

OLIVER, R. and MATHEW, G.

- 1963 History of East Africa. vol. 1. London

PAKENHAM, R.H.W.

- 1947 Land Tenure amongst the Wahadimu at Chwaka, Zanzibar Island.
Government Printer, Zanzibar.

PIGGOTT, D.W.I.

- 1941 "History of Mafia". Tanganyika Notes and Records, vol. II and 12

PRINS, A.H.J.

- 1961 The Swahili Speaking Peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast.
Ethnographic Survey of Africa. East-Central Africa. part XII. London.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A.R.

1929. "A further note on Ambryn" Man vol. 29.
1952 "Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession". in Structure and Function
in Primitive Society. London.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. and FORDE, D.

- 1950 African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. London.

REVINGTON, T.M.

- 1936 "Notes on the Mafia Island Group". Tanganyika Notes and Records. vol. 1.

SAHLINS, M.

- 1961 "The Segmentary Lineage: An organisation of predatory expansion". A.A. vol. 63.
1965 "On the Ideology and Composition of Descent Groups". Man vol. 55.

SCHEFFLER, H.W.

- 1965 Choiseul Island Social Structure. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
1966 "Ancestor Worship in Anthropology: or, Observation on Descent and Descent Groups". Current Anthropology. vol. 7. No. 5.

SOLIEN, N.L.

- 1959 "The Non-unilineal descent group in the Caribbean and Central America". A.A. vol. 61.

TANGANYIKA.

- 1958 Population Census, 1957. Nairobi.
Report on the Non-African Census, 1957. Dar es Salaam.

TANNER, R.

- 1959 The Social and Kinship System of Pangani District, Tanganyika Territory. Thesis presented for the degree of B.Sc. University of Oxford.

TRIMINGHAM, J.

- 1964 Islam in East Africa. London.

TULLOCK

- "Mafia Island". Corona, vol. 8.

WEBER, M.

- 1965 Theory of Social & Economic Organisation, part 1 of Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. trans. A.M. Henderson and T. Parsons. New York and London.

WEBNER, R.

- 1968 "Spirits and the Sex War". Man vol. 2. No. 1. (n.s.).

WIDEJEYEWARDENE, G.

- 1961 Some Aspects of Village Solidarity among Ki-Swahili Speaking Communities of Kenya and Tanganyika. Thesis presented for Ph.D. Cambridge University.

WILSON, M.

- 1957 Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa. London.
1959 Rituals of Kinship among the Nyakyusa. London.

WILSON, P.

- 1967a "Status Ambiguity and Spirit Possession". Man vol. 2. No. 3 (n.s.)
1967b "Reply to Lewis". Man vol. 2. 4. (n.s.)

YALMAN, N.

- 1960 "Caste Principles in a Kandyan Community", in Leach (ed.) Aspects of Caste. London.

YALMAN, N. (contd.)

1962 "The Structure of the Sinhalese Kindred: A re-examination of the Dravidian terminology." A.A. vol. 64.

1967 Under the Bo Tree. Berkeley and Los Angeles.

ADDENDA

FRIED, M.H.

1957 "Classification of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups."
J.R.A.I. Vol. 87.

MAINE, H.

1888 Ancient Law. London.