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**Urbanisation and Social Change in West Africa - Josef Gugler
and William S. Flanagan . 135 pp.
Cambridge University Press · Cambridge · 1978 · £3.95**

The main point of this book is to show the multi-faceted process of urbanization that took place in West Africa at the turn of the 20th century. West Africa shares most of its experiences with the rest of Africa and indeed the Third World at large. The region came under colonial rule and as a result of this colonization it has remained poor. The first chapter therefore outlines the history of this region, showing that at one time you could talk of rural societies; people whose economies, polity and culture were relatively self-contained and whose contacts was mostly with the neighbouring groups. The cities at this time were African and most monuments of African culture. With the arrival of the white man in the region however, there was rapid urbanization on many parts of West Africa especially along the coast which served as contact points for Africans and Europeans. Thus urbanization developed to a large extent according to the pull of trade toward the coast and foreign markets.

The development from African to European rule in West Africa and indeed the rest of the continent has been the most important factor in urbanization, while urbanization itself is part of the whole syndrome of colonialism. Thus the present pattern and conditions of urbanization in West Africa owe much to the colonial past. This does not only affect the location of these towns but also the role they have played and are continuing to play in the economic development of the independent states.

On the second chapter - The Rural-Urban Migration - the authors believe that the predominant

cause of the Rural-Urban Migration has been economic, i.e., the dramatic increase in urban populations is the result of the concentration of economic opportunities in the urban sector. They, Gugler and Flanagan, believe that this proves that there is severe urban-rural irregularities. Rural emigration involves opportunity cost because aggregate production remains lower than it otherwise would be. This last point ties very nicely with our situation here; especially when considering that most of the people who emigrate to the urban areas are able-bodied young men and women - in fact the cream of the nation. Only the old, weaklings and the very young are left behind in rural areas. As a result there is nobody to effectively carry out agricultural work and consequently production falls. Normally this Rural-Urban migration manifests itself in squatter settlement, yet it is interesting that these squatter settlements have always been part of the metropolitan areas but have never been fitted in the pattern of urban development. Our urbanization process in Botswana for instance follows the same pattern. Generally, Rural-Urban Migration in the Third World at large has been too massive so that the urban population within a short time by far exceeds the plans of urban development.

The rest of the chapters concentrate on the social changes that accompany urbanization, e.g., the social relationships within an urban setting, the family, etc.

One good point about this book is that the authors do not take the narrowly sociological viewpoint, but also bring in the politician, economists, historians, demographers, geographers, etc. This probably makes this book one of the best that has been produced on the subject.

Another point is that, as part of the developing world, we are in a better position to appreciate this book better, since we have also been colonized at some point, even though the conditions may have varied a little.

My main criticism on this book is that while it gives us a comprehensive picture of urbanization in West Africa and the problems that followed, it does not give us an alternative model of urbanization.

C. Moremi

African Social Studies (A Radical Reader)
Edited by Peter C.W. Gutkind and Peter Waterman -481 pp.
Heinemann Education Books · London, 1977 . £2.90

Gutkind and Waterman have produced the sort of text which many young Africanists have for a long time been waiting for. It is a pioneer work with an announced broad left radical orientation, and boasts of a wide collection of sources which lend the work a very rich and informative character. The text is divided into eight parts: Methodology, Historical Stages and Transition, The Political Economy of Colonialism and Neo-Colonialism, Social Structure - the Process of Class Formation, Ideology, Politics and a Bibliographical Guide. Under these rubrics extracts for selected papers have been collected in a well-arranged manner. The study concentrates almost exclusively on Africa south of the Sahara. Also Southern Africa comes in vaguely for an altogether rather spare treatment. Another weakness in the collection is that some of the papers are too brief, often the reader's appetite is not sufficiently satisfied, he is stimulated but effectively tantalized. All the same the authors by producing this work have given leftist approaches to social sciences of Africa a major shot in the arm. Students have now a basic refreshing radical textbook of readings to grow on. The appearance of this book also lends institutionalised respectability to radical views, a position which some of us have long awaited, but now obviously this has started in earnest.

K. Prah

**Consensus and Conflict in African Societies:
An Introduction to Sociology - Margaret Peil -396 pp.
Longman · London · 1977 · £3.50**

The declared aim of this book is introducing the student to aspects of sociology which seem most important for analysing African societies in the post-independence period. The book draws most of its material from Africa and as such is useful as an addition to the literature of African societies. It provides a dictionary of sociological terms or concepts and familiarises the reader or the student with a range of theoretical ideas. This is followed by an attempt to apply the concepts to the African setting.

The first chapter is an introductory one, giving a general coverage of the field of sociology. The author presents the main ideas with which the sociologist approaches any area and the skills and interests that make up the sociologist's tools of analysis. The author approaches the subject matter in simple language. In the second chapter, she focuses on social organization, the structural relations between groups and people which make up the social structure of society. Here she discusses the fundamental aspects of social organization and includes the study of primary groups, patterns of leadership and authority and theories on the nature of social order. She further discusses other topics such as macro sociological and micro sociological ways of looking at societies. The study of the micro-order focuses on the human individual in what is called the behaviour setting. Peil also considers some elementary aspects of the macro-order, i.e., the larger patterns and units of social organization. Under primary groups, the major types of

groups are examined. The author also attempts to describe the general features of societies or social orders. This raises questions on wider questions of the way societies are held together. The two main theories which explain social order are the consensus and conflict theories, which imply 'unity' and 'diversity' - all this is at a general level.

Chapter three of the book shows how an individual's behaviour is shaped by the society of which he is part. This is what is called socialisation. Here the author discusses the socialisation process of an individual into his society and the relationship he develops with other individuals through social exchange. Chapter four deals with various aspects of social differentiation - the major themes which characterise modern society, e.g., social stratification, the growing significance of race and ethnic origin in advanced and developing nations. Thus, the chapter is concerned with ways in which one group of people is set apart from another. The first part of the chapter briefly discusses the Marxist concept of class and its application to a Third World situation. Despite its title, the book does not deal with some of the vital questions, e.g., class conflict, the nature of capitalism, the emergence of the national bourgeoisie and the emergence of political power, and the history of imperialism. The author neglects the class nature of the state. The relationship of the bourgeoisie to the multinationals is of considerable importance in analysing the dynamics of social structure in African countries. By failing to cover this aspect, the book ignores the most important aspects of conflict in African societies. Hence, though the book is only meant to be introductory, it is shallow and lacking in certain respects. The weakest part of the book is actually found in this chapter.

Chapters five to seven bring sociological analysis to bear on institution, the family, education, religion, the polity and economy. Here most, if not all,

topics or concepts introduced in the previous chapters are elaborated and applied, e.g., bureaucracy, social stratification, etc. Chapter eight is centered on the development of the city as a general site of human residence, association and work while chapter nine discusses the ascendance of an industrial order with new problems of organisation and control - problems of unemployment, housing, etc. The final chapter applies theories of social change to African societies. Here, the author aims at a better understanding of the factors involved in the adoption and rejection of change. As I mentioned earlier, the discussions in the book tend to be at a general level. The book is shallow and lacking in certain respects. But inspite of this criticism, the book is valuable and is a contribution to the study and understanding of African societies.

B. Tsimako

Land, Labour Migration and Politics in Southern Africa: Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland - D. K. Kowet - 290 - pp.
The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala 1978

Kowet's book which was published in late 1978 helps to increase the number of publications on the Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (BLS) countries' economic and political development further towards an already considerable figure. Naturally one would expect some new information, ideas or insight from any forthcoming study of these aspects, especially when a renowned research institution like the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies in Uppsala (Sweden) renders its support for such an undertaking. Has this expectation been met?

The book has been divided into eight chapters of which three (chapters 2, 3 and 6) deal mainly with the political development of BLS in historical dimensions while chapters 4, 5 and 7 analyse the socio-economic patterns of the three countries. It might be argued that this arrangement of the book, which in the first instance, is orientated along historical lines, makes reading rather difficult. Instead of organising the main subject areas in such a way that they are covered in coherent sections, the author splits them up, which necessitates numerous repetitions and leaps. Taking the extent of BLS migrant labour as an example, the reader looking for statistical information in this matter is referred to three scattered places: figures for 1969 are quoted on p. 10, for the period 1911-1966 on p. 97, and for the years 1967, 1970, 1973 and 1976 on p. 105. Obviously, the given figures are not consistent as some of them refer to recruited (organised) migrant labourers only while others reflect private or official estimates

of the total migrant labour force from BLS including 'spontaneous' migration mainly to South African farms.

The data supplied by the author are indeed one of the weak points of the study. It is difficult to understand why Kowet was unable to draw information from more up-to-date sources than those quoted here. In his introduction, for example, many of the figures presented are those from the late 1960's, e.g., South Africa's GNP for 1968 (p. 13), South Africa's intraregional trade 1965-1968 (p.13), Botswana's foreign trade composition 1962-1968 (p.14), Swaziland's employment figures for 1967 (p.16) etc., although more recent information is easily available and in fact used by the author in the final chapters.

Illustrating the stratification of cattle ownership in Botswana, for example, figures are cited from 1967/1968 in section 3 of chapter 5, while in section 4 of chapter 7 (p.216) and also in the Appendix to chapter 7 (p.228) data for 1974 are given. Furthermore, Kowet states on p. 25, that 'Details for (cattle) ownership (in Lesotho) are not clear, but, from scattered information, it has been estimated that about 70 per cent of the population owned livestock'. Quoting here from Lesotho's First Five-year Development Plan which was published in late 1970, the author at a later stage of his study obviously came across more recent figures and discusses them on p. 220.

The lack of adequate data, therefore, leads the author to various outdated results and even wrong conclusions. On p. 135, for example, he maintains that 'there was no textile industry in Swaziland', although in May 1974 the first project phase of the 'The Textile Mills of Swaziland' had already been completed. Then, on p. 187, the author argues that 'Despite expectations arising from South African support for the post-colonial regimes of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, there was no large-scale economic investments forthcoming from the Republic'. It seems that Kowet has missed some important

developments in this connection, as, for example, Anglo American's activities and investments both in Botswana and Lesotho. Therefore, discussing the diamond business in Lesotho (p. 127), the author does not even mention the new Letseng-la-Terai Mine in the Maluti Mountains which started production in early 1976.

Furthermore, he names the U.K., the R.S.A., Zaire and Zambia as Botswana's principal markets for livestock (p.14), drawing on a study published in 1970. Since then there has been a definite change in the direction of beef exports, with the bulk of meat sales still directed to the U.K., while the R.S.A. has imposed a small weekly quota for Botswana beef and Zaire and Zambia have virtually ceased to import beef from Botswana. Instead, new markets in the Near East and Far East have been developed.

It is stated on p. 133 that '...the Republic (of South Africa) had obtained winter grazing rights in the country, bringing an average of 150 000 sheep, a few goats and horses into Swaziland every year'. These grazing rights were secured by individual trek-sheep farmers from Transvaal, and since 1964 the figure for Transvaal sheep, goats and horses in Swaziland never exceeded 100 000, with roughly 58 000 animals, for example, in 1970.

Several factual mistakes need to be corrected. Kowet, for example, writing on the history of Botswana in colonial times, maintains (p.17): 'The various colonialists started to divide the country amongst themselves... The Southern part was handed over to the Boers in an effort to check their northern advance..., while the eastern part of the country was given to the British South African Company for its ambitious rail project...' In fact, that part of Bechuanaland which lay south of the Molopo River was declared a British Crown Colony in 1885 while only certain delimited areas in eastern Botswana were ceded to the British South Africa Company.

Discussing the revision of the 1910 Customs Union Agreement in 1969, the author claims (p.23) that

'Infact Lesotho's share of customs duties in the 1969 revised agreement was drastically reduced while that of Botswana and Swaziland were slightly increased'. Again this conclusion is false as both the real income as well as the percentage share of the BLS countries were remarkably increased, as in the case of Lesotho (1969/70) from 1,85m Rand (according to the 1965 distribution formula) to 5,00m Rand (1969 distribution formula), corresponding to a 0,47 resp. 0,92 percentage share of the Common Customs Pool. Although the 1965 formula reduced Lesotho's share from 0,88575% (1910 agreement) to a mere 0,30971%, the revised agreement of 1969 allotted a higher share of the customs pool to all BLS countries than ever before. It is difficult to understand, therefore, why Kowet maintains (p.118) that 'The overall share of the poorest country in the region, Lesotho, was again reduced compared to the other two,...' as under the new 1969 agreement there are no longer fixed percentage shares like under the 1910 and 1965 formula but variable portions for each member state. One is inclined to doubt whether Kowet understood the new distribution formula properly which he cites on p. 117 without even explaining the symbols used.

In this context two other points are slightly incorrect: 'Botswana and Lesotho, together with the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, were brought into a customs union in 1893... Swaziland was not included until the 1910 customs agreement with the Union of South Africa'. (p.112). Instead, Basutoland and Bechuanaland had joined the Cape Colony and Orange Free State already in 1891, with Swaziland following in 1903, together with Natal, Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia. On the previous page Kowet claims (p.111): 'The Customs Union maximises the extraction of raw materials from the three (BLS) countries, for processing in the Republic.' It would be interesting to know on which provisions of the 1969 agreement Kowet based his assumptions, as in practice the bulk of BLS' raw materials is in fact sold to overseas customers for

further processing (e.g., Botswana beef and minerals; Swaziland sugar and iron ore).

Insufficient information or even omissions of relevant developments and facts help to weaken the quality of this study further. In section 4 of chapter 5 which, besides others, deal with financial institutions in BLS, there is no comment either on Botswana's new currency (since August 1976) or on Swaziland's Lilangeni (with its pari-link to the Rand). Only in one sentence (p.23) does the author indicate that he is aware of new developments in this field. Another relevant information gap might be seen in the lack of any discussion of BLS' link with the EEC within the framework of the Lomé Convention (1975). As most of the provisions of this Convention affect BLS' external trade in one way or another, an analysis of the economic structures of BLS and their dependence on South Africa (section 3 of chapter 5) remains incomplete without looking into the diversification effects of Lomé I. The description of Swaziland's sugar exports (p.130 ff) or Botswana's meat industry (p. 122 ff) is, therefore, outdated and rather of historical value only.

In addition, new developments in the intra-regional physical infrastructure remain untouched, e.g., the new railway link between Phuzumoya in the central Lowveld of Swaziland and Golela (Natal) with its connection to the new Richards Bay harbour; the Lesotho-Transkei border conflict with the resulting improvements and extensions of Lesotho's internal transport network; or the new international airports in Lesotho and Botswana, now under construction.

Finally, some formal points are to be made. First of all, a list of maps is missing in the table of contents. The map on land tenure in Botswana (p.44) is misplaced and should have been included either on p. 34 or p. 35. Secondly, the description of tables in the table of contents differs from that which is actually used on the pages where they are placed (e.g., p. 97, table ?; p. 215, table 3), and/or do not explain the

meaning of the figures quoted there (e.g., p. 188, table 1). Thirdly, authors are named without quoting them in the bibliography (e.g., Marwick - not Marawick - on p. 25), or they are even quoted in different ways (e.g. Berlesen (name!) on p. 143, footnotes 27 and 33 resp. on p. 237 (title, name of magazine!)). Fourthly, a great number of recent important studies on BLS have not been considered by the author, to name only a few: R. Bodenmüller (1973), International Monetary Fund (1973), C. P. Potholm and R. Dale (1972), E. Moody (1974), R. F. Weisfelder (1970 and 1971), J. C. Williams (1972), etc.

All these shortcomings contribute to the general impression that Kowet's study could have benefitted tremendously from a thorough streamlining effort, the checking of new consistent data, and the interpretation of BLS' economic development during the last six years or so. As it is, the book gives hardly any new insight into the problems of land distribution or allocation, labour migration and the political development of BLS but is rather a descriptive summary of already well-known facts, figures and facets.

J. Jeske