

SOCIAL CONTROL BY SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS
IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

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INTRODUCTION

Some mechanisms of social control are vital to every human culture. They are the means by which chaos and confusion are avoided, and by which individuals are able to continue to live within the framework of their societies. In this paper, a description of the mechanisms of social control found in two agricultural, two pastoral, and two hunting and gathering societies in Africa will be given, and an attempt to discover whether or not there exists any appreciable amount of correlation between the subsistence pattern and the types of mechanisms used will be made.

Specific techniques for maintaining order and control within a society can be divided into four basic categories. The first category can be labeled secular and would include all control techniques stemming from the political system, those concerned with public opinion and values, and those techniques based on the processes of fission and fusion of groups within the society. The second category is that of religious techniques, dealing with those elements of social control believe to have supernatural sanctions. Thirdly, the category of kinship would contain those techniques which originate in and are maintained by the many ties and obligations inherent in the kinship systems of a society. Lastly, there exists a category which can be called enculturative, one whose techniques for social control are inherent in the initiation ceremonies and age-set systems of societies which instill the modes of proper behavior in the young.

These categories are of an arbitrary nature and in real life are often very difficult to separate, for many techniques of social control contain elements from more than one category.

The six societies to be dealt with will be examined and discussed as they existed before colonization and before the imposition of modern national governments and economies upon their traditional patterns of culture. The two agricultural societies, the Lugbara of northwestern Uganda and the Arusha of northeastern Tanzania, are representative of many African agriculturalists, as the Nuer of the south central Sudan and the Jie of northwestern Uganda are of Sub-Saharan African cattle herders. Of the two hunter-gatherer societies that will be examined, the Mbuti Pygmies of the Ituri Forest in northwestern Congo are within the same general vicinity as the previous peoples. The subsistence pattern of the !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert of Southwest Africa allows them to be connected with the Pygmies, in contrast to the other four societies.

In examining the techniques of social control that these African peoples have, the emphasis will shift from the general to specific and back. Where necessary, specific details which the techniques of different societies have in common will be illustrated. On the other hand, where specific details differ, but general principles underlying certain techniques exist, emphasis will be placed on these.

The ultimate goal in this examination is to ascertain if certain techniques of social control, whether they be a secular, religious, kinship or enculturative nature, are limited in their usage to only one type of subsistence or whether they are also utilized by societies having different patterns of subsistence.

SECULAR TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL!Kung Bushmen

Among the !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert, a society of hunters and gatherers still living largely in the Stone Age, there is a minimal amount of social control which can be labeled political in nature. The only such technique is found in the person of the headman.

The headman of a !Kung band, a group of families who live together and are related by close kinship, is usually an older man who has inherited the office from his father by virtue of being the oldest son, and who also possesses the necessary qualities of leadership, i. e. common sense, wisdom, and concern for his people. His authority is used "to coordinate the movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move (Marshall 1965: 267)." The headman also represents the rights of ownership of the food resources (veldkos) of the band's territory, and he protects the resources from encroachment from outsiders. He cannot do this however, by forcing his authority on those who intrude, nor can he judge or punish a wrongdoer among any of his own band. "He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk (ibid)."

This agrees with the composition of a Bushman band: a very small, closely related group living in close cooperation and dependent upon each other for survival, in which gossip and public opinion are very important techniques of inducing

proper behavior.

The Bushmen use several secular techniques of social control which are very effective. As mentioned, talking is one way of commenting on and chastising improper behavior, especially small squabbles between men and women which could lead to bigger disputes and fighting. It is also a means of venting tensions which could ultimately result in disputes.

Attention to good manners, emphasizing restraint and courtesy, is another technique of avoiding tensions and disputes. Good manners "should be inoffensive. Any behavior which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the !Kung. People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree. If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends (Marshall 1961: 235-36)."

Gift-giving is also a technique designed to help avoid jealousy and ill feelings and to develop friendly relations. The things given as gifts are not primarily valuable in themselves; most gifts are the common every day artifacts. The most highly valued ones are ostrich egg-shell beads, and next in value are metal objects and pots. The most common gift is meat. The only two requirements for gift-giving are that one must not refuse a gift and that one gift must be given in exchange, preferably of a comparable value but within no definite time limit.

Probably the most important technique is that of meat sharing. The system begins with the hunters. When the kill is made, they may eat the liver and more meat at the site until they are satisfied. They then carry the rest of the animal back to the band where it is the responsibility of the owner of the arrow that killed the beast to distribute the meat. The first distribution is made in large portions to five or six people--the possessor of the fatal arrow, the giver of the arrow (if it was not one the killer had made himself), and the hunters. The second distribution involves giving to those of close relation, certain obligations such as large portions to wife's parents, one's own parents, spouse, and offspring being compulsory. From his own portion, the hunter gives to his siblings, other kin, and friends. The meat is not cooked as a family meal. Each person owns his piece of meat for only himself. Each cooks and eats his piece when and where he wishes. This sense of ownership is very important for it gives one the responsibility of struggling with hunger as best one can, without excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share (ibid:240-41). The effectiveness of this technique of social control is that it "...helps to keep stress and hostility over food at a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the !Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation (ibid:236)."

One further technique of social control in the secular category is the fear of fighting that could arise over encroaching on another band's food resources. The extreme distaste and fear that the Bushmen have of fighting is justified, for not only is it ridiculous to waste energy on disputes, but the poisoned arrows used are as deadly to man as to game and they are always available. Even if one desired to be secretive, the veldkos could not be stolen without leaving one's footprint, a mark as telling to Bushmen as fingerprints to Westerners. This is a further deterrent to violating ownership rights, for an accused thief can fight back, relatives can become involved and the fighting would spread. "In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting (Marshall 1965:249)."

Mbuti Pygmies

The Mbuti Pygmies also have few techniques of social control which can be called political. They do not have a centralized political system or the very simple office of headman utilized by the Bushmen. The emphasis is on the unity of the band and on full cooperation and there is little tendency towards individual leadership on purely charismatic grounds (Turnbull 1965:297). A different type of leadership does exist, but it is divided up among various realms of activity in which certain people are recognized as being more knowledgeable than others. These areas include hunting

and gathering, marriage, individual and group relationships, and womanhood and manhood. Every member of a band is entitled to express his own opinion about matters in any area, but within each one, there are individuals who are listened to more readily and whose advice is more often followed.

There is one other mechanism which could be labeled as political. This mechanism, by which an elderly man or woman of the band or a stranger who has few or no kinship ties to the members of the band, ascribes a type of authority and tries to restore cooperation and order in order to prevent a dispute from destroying the cooperative economy. This person makes no formal judgement, but rather states that the dispute is noisy and therefore disturbing the forest, the personified entity which provides survival (Coon 1971:240). "This direct appeal to the stomach is nearly always effective. The dispute will be shelved, perhaps continued behind the scenes by the two individuals, or simply forgotten (Turnbull 1965:303)." If the elder is unsuccessful, the entire band often becomes involved and eventually splits, although failure is relatively rare among these most cooperative hunting people.

Public opinion and ridicule are very important techniques of social control among the Mbuti Pygmies. The values of cooperation and unity are stressed, and each member of the band is responsible for contributing to the maintenance of these. There is often one specific person in a band who employs

the technique of ridicule more than any other, i. e. the clown. He is usually a young skilled hunter, often unmarried and with few family responsibilities, and therefore in a safe position to comment on social conditions. He does so not by spouting words of wisdom, but by lampooning one or both parties of the dispute. He subtly but pointedly ridicules the cause of the dispute, usually marital, and mocks the disputants to the point that settlement is quickly and quietly reached. Occasionally, he himself takes the responsibility for the trouble and then proceeds to laugh it off. Either way, the clown and his tactics are very effective at preventing or at least resolving disputes and restoring peace.

The most important and effective secular technique of social control utilized by the Mbuti is the process of flux, defined as "...the constant changeover of personnel between local groups and the frequent shifts of campsites through the seasons...expressed as recurrent fission and fusion which affects the composition of local bands (Turnbull 1968:132)." On a family level, it is quite common for an individual or an entire family to pack up and go live and hunt with relatives in a distant camp to avoid the tensions which build up over disputes. Since the Pygmies' kinship system is not strict or based on definite lineages, there is no feeling of being in a minority when living with a different band.

On the band level of organization, there is a pattern to the flux process. The focal point is the honey season. Prior to this period the bands have remained united for ten

months, living and hunting in close cooperation. For the two months of the honey season, the bands split, individuals and families hunting alone. The honey season is a time of plenty, and the Mbuti maintain that close cooperative hunting is not needed to subsist. The splitting of the band separates antagonistic elements which have developed from living so closely together, and at the end of the season, these lines of fracture and dispute are carefully avoided; reformation of the bands "...follows lines of dissent rather than those of descent (ibid:136)." This process of fission and fusion allows the bands to resolve disputes and prevent future ones by simply separating the conflicting parties, the honey season usually being long enough for the dispute to be forgotten.

Lugbara

The Lugbara of Uganda, an agricultural people whose main crops are sorghum and cassava, have no political system of the Western type, i. e. they have no kings, chiefs, no codified law system, and no courts or judicial machinery for enforcing decisions. They do, however, possess techniques of social control which could be called political. These include the authority exercised by family and lineage elders and rainmakers, and approved means of settling a dispute by self-help.

The authority of elders is very important in Lugbara society. On the lowest levels of organization and social interaction, the family compound and cluster, a true elder is the oldest living descendant of the ancestors of the

lineage of the family involved. The elder of a single family compound is accorded his authority from the ancestors, and he is responsible for keeping peaceful relations and order within this unit, according to the ideal model set forth by the ancestors. Although he has no actual legal power to prohibit offending actions, his age, wisdom, and spiritual authority enable him to greatly influence the behavior of the members of the compound.

On a much wider scale of social relations, "...fighting among groups...could be stopped by the joint efforts of the elders directly concerned, who could curse any of their dependents who continued to fight (Middleton 1965:50)." There is no set procedure by which the elders meet to express their dissatisfaction over such disputes, usually involving quarreling over water or land rights; rather they merely let it be known that they think continued fighting to be pointless (*ibid*). Outside of the family clusters or subgroups of which they are a member, elders have no real domestic authority to influence events, but their wisdom and advice is still often sought and largely heeded by men outside their own kin groups.

Rainmakers, those men of a certain lineage who inherit the power to make and control rain, also have roles in maintaining social control by certain political techniques. They can often bring to an end a quarrel over cattle, land, or personal rights by offering sanctuary to the victims of such a dispute. A man who was the victim of a quarrel could

go to the rainmaker and clasp his feet, thus putting him under the protection of the rainmaker, who would then summon the elders of the persons concerned and discuss the matter and eventually forbid continuance of the offense (ibid). Such arbitration often prevents further disputes that would have arisen had the victim been harmed or killed. The judgement of the elders and rainmaker dictates who is actually guilty, and he has to give a bull to the rainmaker and the person whom he offended.

Again on the larger scale, the rainmaker can enforce social control by his sanction of forbidding further strife, an action which carries the power of a curse by the elders plus a small amount more, considering that rainmakers are believed to possess a vague sort of supernatural power. The rainmaker is actually a very powerful force of secular social control for the respect paid to him is extreme, especially when it is contrasted to the general lack of overt respect paid by Lugbara to anyone in authority over them (ibid).

If the preceding mechanisms of elders and rainmakers trying to impose order and resolution of a dispute fail, then self-help often becomes the only means of maintaining order. The concept of self-help is simply the taking into one's own hands the settlement of a dispute. Often such action leads to homicide, in which case blood money is required as compensation to the deceased's relatives. If the person or persons killed are outside the major lineage, no

compensation in the form of cattle is required. In this case, self-help is praised by the elders and is often the most efficient way to end a dispute. In disputes among kinsmen, occasionally a settlement is achieved by one of the parties simply threatening to resort to the self-help technique, the fear of consequences that might result being a sufficient stimulus to settle by a less violent means.

The aspects of social control concerned with public opinion and values are most clearly reflected in the attitudes towards the authority of the elders. They are thought to reflect the ideals of social relations and behaviors as founded by the ancestors of the Lugbara. The respect which is given to the elders is due not only to this factor, but also in large part to religious overtones of the relations with the ancestors, an aspect which will be explained later.

Regarding the techniques of social control utilizing the processes of fission and fusion of groups within the total society, the Lugbara lack any such technique. Although their system of social organization, a segmentary lineage similar to that of the Nuer, could facilitate patterns of movement designed to compensate for disputes or disagreements among groups, they do not generally use this system as a means of eliminating tensions and hostilities. This is due primarily to the lack of arable land in the area onto which a group could move if it split away, and also because kinship sanctions do not approve of a group moving onto a closely related group's property. Even if a move

was made to an area in which the inhabitants were less closely related, fighting might still result, thus defeating the original purpose.

Arusha

The political techniques of social control used by the Arusha are the most complex of the six societies considered. Although their subsistence pattern is based on the same crops as those of the Lugbara, they have a political system which is much different.

The main technique of social control exercised by the political system is the discussion and arbitration of all disputes, from petty theft or name-calling to murder, in assemblies of peers and/or kinsmen. The ultimate goal is to achieve a settlement acceptable to both parties so that further strife is alleviated.

This technique can be further broken down into specific types of assemblies. One very common type is the parish assembly, a gathering of men from the parish (a group of scattered homesteads within fixed boundaries) who are either elders in the age-group of the disputants, kinsmen, or simply concerned onlookers. The principal speakers in the discussion of a parish assembly are those men known as spokesmen for the age-groups involved. They are usually intelligent, popular men who are felt to be able to present their cases with eloquence and influence. The spokesmen are not viewed as having any authority in the decision making

process, and indeed they do not wish to be elevated in this way over their age-mates, for the strong egalitarian bias of the Arusha looks with displeasure upon self-seekers. They do, however, through respect and influence, try to guide the decision in favor of their associates.

Parish assemblies are used mostly to settle disputes among members of age-sets within and outside of the same parish, and conclaves are used primarily for disputes involving only kinsmen and/or kinsmen and outsiders. The conclave is a smaller assembly than the parish assembly and is usually somewhat less public, only those who are involved through kinship ties being actually informed of the proceedings. The persons who are most important to the success of a conclave as a means of dispute settlement are the lineage counsellors. Before the meeting itself, ".... the counsellor acts as advisor to the disputant of his own lineage; he recommends the best course of action, he consults witnesses and other people involved, he arranges a meeting for public discussion of the dispute, and he assists in the presentation of the case, the questioning of witnesses and the proposals for the resolution of the affair (Gulliver 1963:105)." In the conclave discussion, the counsellor acts as a conciliator, taking the initiative in attempting to secure a solution. He also exercises a great deal of influence, and much power of persuasion--almost authority. In his role as conciliator, he seldom attempts to force people on either side to accept his opinion. "Rather he tries to influence and direct opinion; and to urge the kinds of reso-

lution which, in the given circumstances, are likely to be more acceptable to the other party, and to lead to a conclusion of the dispute with a minimal concession by his own side (ibid:106)." In their capacity to influence decisions about a dispute, the Arusha spokesmen and lineage counsellors are similar to the Lugbara elders and rainmakers.

Even though the parish assembly and conclave are usually quite efficient at achieving settlements to disputes, the problem of implementing them adequately to prohibit further disputes still exists. Even though a man may admit his guilt and agree to pay compensation, he may do nothing afterwards in hopes of avoiding his responsibility. The Arusha try to prevent this in two ways. The method which is most successful, if circumstances permit, is to have the punishment carried out before the meeting disperses; for example, to have the animal required for compensation delivered immediately. As the agreement is often not this simple, the other method, of having another meeting where the final details are concluded and the agreement carried out, is used.

Although in one way, self-help is the normal way of obtaining settlement of and compensation for disputes, it is different from the self-help practiced by the Lugbara and the Nuer. In this society, self-help is limited only to initial responsibility that falls to the wronged person to make his injury known to counsellor, spokesmen, and

others who will help. It does not extend to the use of physical violence to achieve settlement or compensation. The Arusha see such violence as not only a breakdown in the traditional and right method of settlement and a loss of social control, but also as "...an admission of weakness in a man's argument. They also perceive it as an affront to...the integrity and dignity of an individual. It is an Arusha tenet that men are susceptible to persuasion and to peaceful coercion through recognized procedures: but physical coercion against his person, or his property, or his family, is thought to be an inequitable and immoral act (ibid:220)."

Jie

The Jie of Uganda, a cattle-herding people who also practice some agriculture, have no traditional political system, and there are no acknowledged leaders, nor is authority or decision-making responsibility or power ascribed to specialized roles or particular persons. They do nevertheless, have several techniques of control which can be labeled secular techniques of social control.

When an injured person brings the injury, whether it be homicide, theft, or adultery, to the attention of his own stock-associates and the offender and his associates, a meeting of these individuals forms in which moral argument and appeal for unity and resolution of the dispute is offered by a go-between, a man who belongs to both groups concerned. After much argument, agreement is usually

reached in which compensation in the form of cattle is paid to the injured person. If the offender and his associates refuse to settle, public opinion in favor of the injured can become a very powerful technique to bring about resolution of the dispute.

Self-help, both as defined by Arusha and Lugbara and Nuer standards, is the secular technique of social control that is utilized most frequently by the Jie. Similar to the Arusha use of the term, an injured Jie must seek for himself payment for his injury or resolution of a dispute that has arisen over a past injury. The Jie feel that if someone does not make his opinion and grievances known, then no one else should take any interest in them either. Also in keeping with the other definition of self-help; i.e. seeking settlement or payment by use of force, "Jie clearly feel that an injured person has the moral right to resort to force if that is the only way open to him to gain a settlement (Gulliver 1965:190)." Whether or not the threat or actual use of physical force to, for example, attack the offender's homestead or seize payment cattle, is successful in bringing about settlement depends on how much support each side has and where the real guilt lies. In clear cut cases or ones where public opinion and concern are strong, the mere threat of self-help in the form of force is a powerful enough sanction to restore social order.

Nuer

The Nuer of the Sudan have several secular techniques of social control which are very similar to those of the Lugbara. They, along with the Lugbara, have no law or government systems which deal with disputes in a judicial or legal sense, but utilize other effective means for bringing about control.

Among the various clans and tribes of the Nuer, a very egalitarian pastoral people, there is an informal authority exercised by some elders within a village. The authority of such a man, a tut, is usually in the form of advice and opinion. He is often the eldest surviving son of his family and head of the joint family, but in order to be a social leader whose opinion is readily agreed to, he must also have character and ability. As the chief man of his family and joint family, he takes a very prominent part in settling the affairs of these groups (Evans - Pritchard 1940a:180). Within these family groups, the tut is a leader somewhat similar to the !Kung Bushman headman, being concerned mostly with the movements of the group and the protection of its rights, but having no judicial powers in arbitrating disputes. Outside the family groups, the position of a tut is like that of a Lugbaran elder; i.e. although he has no political status, his position affords him respect and a type of authority used mainly to encourage the settlement of disputes.

There is in Nuer society a means of social control like that found in the rainmakers of Lugbara society. This means is seen in the men who are known as leopard-skin chiefs. Such a man exercises control in two main areas. He is first of all a mediator in disputes over such things as land rights, cattle theft, and adultery. The process of settlement begins when a chief goes with the injured party and elders of his village to the village of the offender. Here the offender's elders meet with them, and the injured and offender present their views and attempt to justify their actions. Then the leopard-skin chief, "...and anybody else who wishes to do so, expresses an opinion on the question. When everyone has had his say the chief and elders withdraw to discuss the matter among themselves and to agree upon the decision. The disputants accept the verdict of the chief and the elders...(ibid:163)." The chief, however, gives his final decision in the form of an opinion full of persuasive language and not as a judgment delivered with authority (ibid:164).

The leopard-skin chief can also act in a more powerful way, particularly in cases of homicide where a blood-feud can quickly arise if compensation is not paid. The killer receives sanctuary in the home of the chief until settlement has been reached. The chief is responsible for negotiating the settlement with the dead man's people. They usually refuse the first offers, until public pressure and threats of curses from the chief persuade them into accepting the

compensation (in the form of cattle). Although the pressure he can bring to bear is stronger and the desire for settlement more urgent, the leopard-skin chief is still in such cases only a mediator and his mediation is successful only if community ties are acknowledged by both parties and if they both wish to avoid further hostilities. Only if both parties want the affair settled can the leopard-skin chief intervene with success (ibid:174-75). Thus in these two ways, the leopard-skin chief acts as a very effective means of dispute settlement and sanction for maintenance of the social order.

More than any other of the peoples examined, the Nuer use violent self-help as a major sanction for social control. The Nuer are a very emotional people, easily provoked and taught from birth to defend one's rights and honor by fighting if necessary. It is an accepted norm that an injured man will challenge his offender and fight to the death to obtain compensation. So powerful is the threat of violence in relations among Nuer, that it in itself is a very effective technique of control. The knowledge that force, violence, and possibly a feud could result from failure to settle a dispute and/or pay compensation is the most important sanction within a tribe and the main guarantee of an individual's life and property (ibid:150).

Among the Nuer, the principles of fission and fusion are two further secular techniques of social control. Although they are not quite as systematic as among the Mbuti Pygmies, the fission of groups is similarly balanced by the

combination of others. The fission and fusion among the Nuer is in terms of groups of people rather than separate families, but the effect is much the same; i. e. the separation of antagonistic elements before ill feelings from any number of causes can lead to open disputes and in the case of the Nuer, a feud.

RELIGIOUS TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL!Kung Bushmen

The !Kung Bushmen are unique among the six societies examined in this paper in that they have almost no specific techniques of religious control which prohibit actions that disturb the social order. They also have no concept of sin; a sin being an offense against the gods. They feel that man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings within the social context. The high god punishes people for his own reasons, ones which are often quite obscure. Since the !Kung lack any concept of having special relations with their own ancestors or worshipping their ancestors in any way, there are no techniques of control which could offer the wrath of the dead as a sanction (Marshall 1962:241-245).

There is only one technique of social control which can be connected to the area of religion. This is the ceremonial curing dance, a ritual involving all of the band members in an attempt to cure sickness and drive away any lurking sickness and evil. The dance, aside from providing physical pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction and being a very unifying social act, has the effect by means of the "...violence and excitement of the ceremony...of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them...Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves (ibid:251)." The curing dance can thus be viewed as an effective technique of social control, for it provides an escape valve for feelings which might erupt into a future dispute.

Mbuti Pygmies

The Mbuti Pygmies are second only to the !Kung Bushmen in their lack of social control techniques which have a religious basis and supernatural sanctions. Like the !Kung they do not worship ancestors and therefore have no corresponding techniques to control behavior. They do, however, have a vague concept of sin, but only with regard to offending the forest, the one element in their life which has deep religious significance. In their society where kinship and nuclear family ties are not strong, the forest forms the basis of the strongest bond between people. It becomes the focus of a Pygmy's life, receiving his loyalty and devotion. As the forest is elevated to the level of a deity, precautions are taken not to offend it. These precautions, in the form of curbing open hostility and appealing for the settlement of arguments and disputes, form the one religious technique of social control among the Mbuti. The extreme degree of identification that the Mbuti have with the forest, in contrast to the sedentary life of their Bantu neighbors, also serves in this same way to urge cooperation and resolution of conflicts, factors which affect the welfare of the forest; as expressed by the Mbuti themselves in the saying "The Forest is Mother and Father, because it gives us all the things we need...food, clothing, shelter, warmth.. and affection. We are children of the forest. When it dies, we die (Turnbull 1965:132)."

Lugbara

Religious techniques of social control among the Lugbara of Uganda are in many cases related to the concern that these people have for their remote ancestors and for all Lugbara who have died. Since the spirits of the dead are considered still a part of the present world and aware of all that takes place among their survivors, effective sanctions for maintenance of social order so as not to offend the dead are present.

The dead, when offended by sinful actions, usually in terms of adultery, theft, kinship disputes, or personal injury or insult, can use their power to bring punishment, always in the form of sickness, in two ways; i.e. "...either at the invocation of living kin or on their own responsibility. Their ability to send sickness to their living descendants is part of their role as the guardians of morality, and it is accepted that they do not do so wantonly or without adequate reason (Middleton 1965: 68 & 74)." Anyone can invoke the dead to punish an offender, but the elders of the families and lineages do so most frequently for it is part of their expected role. This power and authority to invoke supernatural punishment gives the elders the ability to control relations and bring about the end of most disputes by threatening invocation.

When the dead themselves, who are the origin of law and order and the social system, send sickness on their own account, without invocation, this is known as ghostly vengeance. They do this mostly when they feel that their descend-

ants are not sacrificing often enough or when they think they are not being remembered with due respect, and also when offenses against close kinsmen are committed (ibid:77). Such a sanction encourages correct behavior, not only in ritual life but also in everyday relations.

The belief in witchcraft acts as an agent of social control in two ways. Before explaining these, the idea of a witch must be examined. A witch to the Lugbara is always a man who is usually bad-tempered, spiteful, and one who does not behave in a way approved by the society. He may be recognized by his physical ugliness, but often he is inconspicuous except for his actions. Witches are feared and thought of as evil not only because the acts they commit are evil, but also because they usurp and abuse the power and authority of the elders. As Middleton states it, "A man who is insulted should not take the law into his own hands and bewitch the offender. He should leave his punishment to the offender's own elder or other kin, who can bring sickness upon him in socially approved ways. Witchcraft is an antisocial action...because the witch ignores the socially approved means of dealing with offenders against kin or community mores (ibid:244)." Thus witchcraft acts as a sanction for social control by stressing the authority of the elders.

The second way that witchcraft is utilized as a technique of control is by encouraging good manners between neighbors. Witches attack their neighbors, those who deserve

to be attacked due to their unfriendly behavior. Thus, witchcraft, though antisocial and punishable if persistent, acts as a sanction for good manners and friendly relations between neighbors.

There is one further method of social control that is part of the Lugbara religious system. It involves the release of tensions and hostilities by means of a dance similar to the method of the !Kung Bushmen. The dance takes place after the death and burial of someone. The people dance and sing, and "...as in most Lugbara songs, there is much bitter and sarcastic allusion to the failings of other lineages, and so there is a good deal of airing of grievances and thereby disposing of them (ibid:69)."

The Lugbara say that once a grievance has been expressed openly, it is doubtful that anyone will take it up again for to do so brings embarrassment and loss of face.

Arusha

The techniques of social control having supernatural sanctions among the Arusha are based on the power of the ancestors, similar to those of the Lugbara.

For the Arusha, the most important ancestor is one's father, who is believed to be the most powerful and active ancestor, with the ability to communicate with all the other ancestors and to influence the use of their powers (Gulliver 1963:83). Each homestead has a shrine known as the 'grave of the father' at which all sacrifices and rituals for the ancestors are conducted. Effective social control and coop-

erative relations among the members of the homestead are achieved by the idea that the dead father desires the continued cooperation and unity that he commanded during his lifetime. Rituals directed toward praising and appeasing him may be ignored if the supplications are not done corporately, and he may even take action to show his displeasure. In view of the fact that a man always fears that he may suffer from the displeasures of the ancestors, he is glad of opportunities to demonstrate his continued respect for them by participating in invocations to them through rituals directed to the dead father. The fear that such rituals will be unsuccessful acts as a sanction for proper behavior between brothers and family members, not only in the rituals themselves but also in everyday activities.

Among the Arusha, the curse is a technique used by elders and lineage counsellors to bring about settlement of difficult disputes when all other measures fail. This is a very serious action and no counsellor will take this measure unless he is completely supported by public opinion. The curse is an appeal to the high god to punish the offender. It is believed that if a person is indeed guilty of the charges against him, the god will recognize this and send punishment, usually in the form of sickness. The punishment follows quickly after the appeal unless the curse is revoked. In most cases, the mere threat of a curse is sufficient to force agreement and an end to hostilities and rarely even after a curse has been uttered, does the offender still refuse to

settle and pay due compensation and risk the consequences of the curse.

Jie

Religious sanctions which encourage maintenance of the social order, peace, and cooperative behavior are exercised by members of the senior age-group and by the heads of households among the Jie of Uganda. These men of seniority status, by virtue of their position, are thought to acquire mystic power from the high god. At all public rituals, such a man may, by virtue of his ritual position, espouse the accepted morals and values of the people. On other occasions he may refer to specific breaches in behavior, but even then he must be content to point up the situation and be careful not to initiate procedures to resolve the conflict (Gulliver 1965:186). The high god of the Jie, although not thought of as the source of moral behavior, can nevertheless punish wrongdoing if the disapproved conduct of someone is brought to his attention by such a responsible man.

The most powerful sanction for social control is the emphasis placed on successful rituals, particularly the rain rituals. Success is not possible if there are hostilities and disputes present among those assembled for the ritual. Since the proper amount of rainfall is dependent upon effective rituals, there must be cooperation and unity or the ritual will be spoiled. If the rituals are unsuccessful and the high god is not properly supplicated, then trouble may follow for the "Jie are inclined to attribute death, disease, mis-

fortune, and so on, to failure to reach the high god properly...(ibid:189)." This emphasis on unity and correct behavior in order for successful rituals does much to reinforce cooperation and peaceful relations among the Jie.

Nuer

The Nuer religious system contains sanctions for social control similar to those of the Lugbara and Arusha. They include both the power of a high god over man, and the concern for not displeasing the spirits of the dead in such a way to provoke their anger.

The high god of the Nuer, termed "God" or "Spirit" by the anthropologist, Evans-Pritchard, is the creator of the world and the controller of all life. He is commonly a benevolent deity and is compassionate towards most men. The supernatural sanctions which emanate from him encourage peaceful relations between all Nuer and consideration of their rights. His power discourages envy, greed, theft, adultery, and murder. Although he is not thought to be an immediate sanction against sins, sooner or later he is thought to punish ill and reward good behavior. This power of Spirit to administer punishment is reflected in the Nuer conception of misfortunes such as famines, epidemics, death, and injury; i.e. when they suffer misfortunes, they wonder how it may have come about, for if it strikes a man, it is usually because of some previously committed fault. The eventual punishment that will follow the committing of a sin serves as a deterrent to such action in many cases.

The curse, an appeal to God to bring punishment, is another powerful sanction against disrupting the social order. As among the Arusha, a curse is effective only if God sees that one man is guilty and another innocent (Evans-Pritchard 1956:173). The types of curses vary, the most powerful ones being those of parents against children for disobedience and meanness and that of the leopard-skin chief against a man who interferes with him in the exercise of his function as peacemaker (ibid:167). Unlike a curse among the Arusha, a curse has only to be thought to be heard by God, thus widening its potential use.

The Nuer believe, like the Lugbara and the Arusha, that the spirits of the dead are still a part of the social order and are thought to see and feel everything that goes on in the world of the living. If a dead man goes to his grave with a legitimate grievance, he may take vengeance on the living, by sending sickness, a practice known as cien or ghostly vengeance. The possibility of such vengeance after death makes the Nuer avoid, if at all possible, denying men justice while living lest they seek settlement from their graves (ibid:173). Ghostly vengeance thus serves as a means by which social control in the form of justice and dispute settlement are encouraged among the Nuer.

KINSHIP TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL!Kung Bushmen

The !Kung Bushmen do not possess a kinship system in which there are inherent ties and obligations or religious sanctions which serve as techniques of social control. The only social organization of importance to them is the nuclear family. Within each family, which may include more than one wife, her offspring, and their spouses, there is only one rather small element of control. This is found in the respect and obedience that the members give to the father, even after he is too old to hunt.

There is one means by which the concept of kinship is extended beyond one's close relatives; i. e. the same name relationship. This involves the practice of always giving the first born the names of their paternal grandparents. Other children are named for their maternal grandparents, uncles and aunts, and other relatives, and thus only a few names are used repeatedly throughout the generations. This custom has two purposes. In one case it acts as an incest taboo, prohibiting sexual relations with or marriage to persons of the same name, at least up to the level of the second cousin. The second purpose is to give a feeling of unity to all the members of bands within a region. It acts as an encouragement for correct behavior for "...the familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen--sharing food, gift-giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, con-

forming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together (Marshall 1965:260)."

Mbuti Pygmies

Like the !Kung Bushmen, the Mbuti have no kinship organization beyond that of the nuclear family. They lack furthermore, even the semblance of a broader kin system that the !Kung have in their same name relationships. This is understandable owing to the importance of flux among these people who live so intimately and maximize on the shifting of peoples to reduce hostilities. If they had a more complex kinship system, their fission and fusion processes would not be as adaptive as they are, for there would be a feeling of being in a minority whenever one was outside one's own band. This is not the case however, for families are expected to move around and are accepted into any band. Techniques of social control whose sanctions are based on the traditional obligations to kinsmen are hardly possible or functional among the Mbuti Pygmies.

Lugbara

The kinship system of the Lugbara is one of a segmentary nature; i. e. each level or group of organization can be further divided into smaller groups whose members are more closely related. Within this system, the effectiveness of techniques of social control based on kin obligations decrease as the distance between related peoples increases.

One type of social control that the closer ties of kinship exert is the obligation to settle all disputes peace-

fully and to support one's kinsmen and elders of the disputants, one of the most sacred duties of the kinship system is to support a fellow kinsman in his troubles, and a Lugbara man feels compelled to do so if possible because he in turn may need support in the future (Middleton 1965:46). This support consists not only of arguing in favor of the accused kinsman, but also helping pay the compensation if he is decided guilty. This very practical appeal for correct dispute settlement among kinsmen is effective only to a certain point, which varies from one tribe to another. Beyond this point, the use of socially approved force in the form of self-help is operable as a means of dispute settlement.

The most important factor which determines the point where self-help becomes operable is the use of religious sanctions that are a part of the cult of the dead. In kinship relations throughout the levels of organization up to and including the lineage, sanctions for the maintenance of the well-being of the social order are exercised by the ancestors. The techniques of both ghost invocation and ghostly vengeance are used as sanctions against disputes among close kinsmen. Since the Lugbara believe that the dead are conscious of all events on earth, this fear of provoking their anger and punishment (sickness) acts as a deterrent to offenses against kinsmen.

Arusha

Arusha techniques of social control connected with the kinship system are very similar to those of the Lugbara. There is first of all the appeal for cooperation and mutual aid among

brothers of the same father and among all similarly related kinsmen. This has a very practical basis of appeal of joint inheritance and economic interdependence. The ties and obligations of kinship are justified due to "...their practical usefulness allied with sentiments arising out of common upbringing and common interests. There is neither right nor desire of wilful intervention in another's affairs, but rather a general readiness to give as well as to seek help when required (Gulliver 1963:79 & 82)." Arusha men and all members of their families are encouraged to conform to norms of behavior so that their claims on assistance from kinsmen will be honored.

Secondly, correct behavior "...reciprocal aid and the value of corporate action are...reinforced by the image of the dead father, which provides both a conceptualisation of lineage unity and, through the ancestor cult, a positive force which cannot be ignored without danger (ibid:79)." All Arusha, whether members of a single family or of an entire lineage are subject to the power of the ancestors and to certain obligations connected with them which cannot be avoided. The importance of fulfilling these obligations, such as helping with bridewealth or compensation payments, support in a dispute, or furnishing economic assistance, is sanctioned by the desire not to incur the displeasure of the ancestors, whether it be by negligence in rituals, refusal to settle a dispute, or most importantly, failure to respond to and maintain the traditional obligations and relations inherent in the kinship system.

Jie

Among the Jie, kinship sanctions are again based upon two principles: secular cooperation and unity and the supernatural sanctions against disrupting or ignoring the order set up by the kinship system.

At the household level and the settlement level, which includes many households, the authority of elders is important in maintaining proper behavior between kinsmen. This authority, however, is usually limited to the use of the herd, while the more important sanction is the desired affection between and unity of the kinsmen. The basis for this unity lies not only in its practical values of cooperation and the right of inheritance, but also in its moral value. Here, as among the Lugbara and Arusha, the ties and obligations of kinship offer security and well-being if they are fulfilled by correct behavior and a refraining from conflict.

Inherent in the authority of the elder, whether he be a brother or a senior age-group member is the firm belief that supernatural retribution follows the deliberate disobeying of his decisions. This retribution usually takes the form of misfortune and sickness sent by the high god Akuj, after he has been alerted to the disobedience by the elders concerned. Conflicts and hostilities among kinsmen also are punished by Akuj by his refusal to respond to rituals appealing for his favor and good will, especially those concerned with rain and crop success. As mentioned previously, the presence of disputes and animosity makes rituals fail, and

thus there is a very powerful inducement to get along well with kinsmen by living up to one's responsibilities.

Nuer

As with the Jie, Lugbara, and Arusha the techniques of social control which are based on the kinship system are quite similar to those of the Nuer. There is the same practical appeal to live up to the obligations inherent in kin ties and to behave properly towards one's kin so that the privileges of support, both political and economic, can be rightfully gained in return. With the Nuer, a man is expected not only to side with his relation in disputes and to help with compensation payments, but also to fight by their side if a dispute leads to a feud. Among kinsmen, however, much effort is made to avoid disputes leading to heavy settlement penalties or fighting, the fear of violent results acting as an effective sanction against improper actions toward kinsmen.

The most powerful sanction for correct behavior and avoidance of disputes among kinsmen is the power of the dead kinsmen to punish the living for disrupting the social system. As mentioned before, the possibility of a ghost avenging injustice or unreasonable disputes from his grave serves as a technique of social control in that it emphasizes justice, consideration of others' right, and fulfillment of one's own obligations to kin.

ENCULTURATIVE TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL!Kung Bushmen

The !Kung are a very gentle, protective, and permissive people in the area of child rearing and enculturation. They possess no age-grade organizations or elaborate initiation ceremonies in which the children are taught the norms of behavior. They learn to behave properly and cooperatively throughout their childhood. They are not punished severely for failing to act correctly, but rather are simply encouraged to do so and positively reinforced until the values of Bushmen life are instilled in them.

There is only one occasion on which the main purpose can be said to be the specific instillation of the values and norms of life. This takes place twice, one for the first killing of a large male game animal and once for a female animal. Tiny cuts are made on the arms, chest, back and forehead of the adolescent boy. These cuts are to ensure that he will see and shoot well and have "...a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?" (Marshall 1965:265)." This last function acts as a means of social control in that it encourages the young man to hunt, supply food, and participate in the life of the people as an adult, rather than to be a shiftless, unproductive person who contributes little to the survival of the band and much to the presence of hostilities.

Mbuti Pygmies

The Pygmies are similar to the Bushmen in their lack of

any formal initial ceremonies. Throughout childhood, children are encouraged to imitate adult behavior and are expected to be disciplined by any adult for improper actions. By the age of nine, they are expected to go with their parents on the hunt and to gather edibles and are given more and more adult responsibilities. Punishment until this age is usually in the form of a sound slapping, but from now on the more common form is ridicule. (Turnbull 1965:306).

With the onset of puberty, the Mbuti boy is required to show his adulthood in much the same way as a Bushman boy; i. e. by killing a large animal. Upon doing this, he is immediately proclaimed a member of the Lusumba, an association which includes all males who have proved their maturity and hunting prowess. There is no formality to this, and "the only thing that might be regarded as a formal token of initiation is the cutting of sets of three vertical slits on the forehead... (ibid 1960:436)." This public recognition of his status as a hunter and adult acts as a sanction for the pursuance of correct adult behavior and responsibility among the Mbuti.

Lugbara

The Lugbara of Uganda have neither any formal initiation rites nor age-grade organization. The children are taught the values and norms of behavior by their families and most importantly by their father, who beats his children when small, but uses religious sanctions against them when they are grown for the more serious offenses.

There does exist among the Lugbara an informal system of seniority whose levels are instrumental in teaching the young men the proper behavior and important values of the society. The ideal of responsible behavior for a man is to be quiet, dignified, deliberate in decision, and just and ready to act in support for his 'brothers' of the same grade as himself (Middleton 1960:16). Although this is the ideal, the expected behavior of men at different levels of seniority varies: a youth looks out for himself but should obey his seniors; a big youth who is married should protect his wives' land rights but also be responsible to the larger kin group; and finally, the elders exercise authority for the good of the entire group (ibid 1965:74). One aspect of social control found in this system is the idea that the junior man respects the senior one. This respect involves politeness, listening to the opinions and advice given, and most importantly, refraining from arguing or fighting with a senior man, this being considered one of the worst offenses possible (ibid 1960:21). These offenses are punished by ghostly vengeance and are very serious. A second technique of social control inherent within this seniority system is that by the time a man has reached the status of elder, he is assumed to have complete social maturity and a depth of experience, both of which validate his exercise of both secular and supernatural authority. Without this validation, his attempts to maintain the social order would be illegitimate and therefore ignored.

Arusha

The Arusha have an age-grade system which is much more formal than that of the Lugbara, but whose techniques of social control are similar; i. e. the learning of the norms of the society and validation of the leadership of the senior men by virtue of their having successfully reached the required level of physical and social maturity. The system is organized in the following way:

The first level of organization is the age-group which contains all boys of the same age in a parish who are initiated by a circumcision ceremony at about 6 years of age. The next level is the age-set which contains concurrent age-groups from several parishes. The last level is the age-grade; each grade has a formal status and a group of norms of behaviors, obligations and privileges. The grades are briefly as follows: First are the youths, who have no part in public life. Their main role is herding stock and playing. Second are the junior murran, who have been formally initiated but still play no part in public life. They supervise the herding and spend much time dancing and enjoying themselves. Next are the senior murran, who, although they are not mature enough to fully participate in ritual or political affairs, may attend them to learn the processes. They marry and begin farming their own lands. The next grade is that of junior elders who participate in all public affairs, for they are quickly learning the customs, ritual procedures and ceremonials, judicial techniques and precedents. Members of the next grade, senior elders, partici-

pate in public affairs only a little less than junior elders. They are regarded as repositories of experience and as thus being experts in the procedures and diplomacy necessary to settle many delicate matters. The last grade is that of the retired elders, who do not participate in public affairs but still wield much influence due to their authority in connection with the ancestor cult (Gulliver 1963:26ff).

As this brief examination of the age-grades indicates, there is a definite increase in both knowledge and authority as the levels progress. The respect given to the junior and senior elders in the exercise of their authority is validated by this progressive acquisition of knowledge. The progression, however, is not automatic for the age-grades are linked in a ward-patron relationship which determines whether the younger men can proceed to the next grade. It is the responsibility of the patrons to guide and assist the younger men in learning and behaving properly so that they can legitimately undertake a further stage in the maturation process (ibid:30). The need for such approval encourages the men to perform correctly and learn the social norms, as do the rituals that mark the transition from one grade to the next by exerting pressure on those who have not conformed and developed properly to do so so that they may join their mates in the next level (ibid:44).

Jie

Among the Jie, there is little discipline exerted on the children until the age of seven when the boys are expected to help with the herding of all animals and to begin to spend much

time in the cattle camps, away from their homesteads. At this time, physical and verbal punishment are administered to encourage correct behavior. The age-grade system of the Jie is not as complicated as that of the Arusha, being based only on generations, and the only element of social control inherent in it is that upon initiation, a man is classified as an adult and gains the right to exercise ritual authority in his homestead. The initiation consists of the killing of an ox and a feast acknowledging the new status of the initiate.

Seniority is an important factor in the control exercised by initiated men. The longer a man has been participating in the ritual and political affairs, the more supernatural power he is believed to acquire. Thus, although there is no formal instruction concerning social norms or values before or after the initiation, by observing, participating, and behaving properly towards kin and age-mates, one may ultimately become a senior man of much respect and ritual power. This ultimate goal acts as a positive sanction for courteous behavior and restraint from disputes and thus is an effective technique of social control.

Nuer

In the enculturation processes of the Nuer, there occurs both a formal initiation and an age-set system, both of which also contain techniques of social control.

The initiation ceremony consists of a rather severe operation in which the foreheads of boys the ages of 14 to 16 are cut to the bone with six cuts stretching from ear to ear.

This ceremony not only makes them a member of the present age-set, but also marks them as full adults, herdsmen with all the accompanying responsibilities and obligations for correct behavior.

Although the age-set system does include the establishment of relative junior and senior status between every man, which requires some respect and obedience from the former to the latter, the most important technique of social control inherent in the system is that it sets up an idiom of behavior and obligation very similar to that of the kinship system. It extends beyond the range of kinship ties, but still requires such things as mutual hospitality and sharing, good manners, economic and political support, and most importantly, a refrain from fighting with those of a senior set. Although the curse is operable as a sanction for these proper behaviors, the desire for approval and elevation in status are usually sufficient to encourage fulfillment of age-set obligations.

CONCLUSIONS

In attempting to determine whether or not various techniques of social control are used by African peoples having vastly different patterns of subsistence, it must be remembered that although whatever conclusions are arrived at in this examination are specific to the six societies discussed, they can be applied in their broad, general implications to many different societies in Africa, agricultural, pastoral, and hunting-gathering. In order to determine these implications, it is beneficial again to separate the techniques into the

arbitrary categories defined earlier.

In the area of secular techniques of social control, the dominant appeals of most such methods are for the continued unity of whatever level of social organization is concerned, whether it be the nuclear family, band, homestead or lineage, and for the swift resolution of disputes which fragment this unity. These two goals are achieved by three techniques common to all the societies discussed. One of these is the use of public opinion to encourage correct behavior. Ridicule, gossip, and public support for those people in the right all act as sanctions against violation of the social order in hunting bands, agricultural villages and cattle herding camps. Another common technique is the respect and often aura of authority which is given to men and women who, by virtue of their age and/or experience, warrant it. Whether this be in the form of a !Kung Bushman headman, an Arusha lineage counsellor, or a Nuer tut, the basic principle of respect for age and wisdom acting as a deterrent to prolonged disputes and encroachment of other's rights remains the same. Perhaps the strongest and most universal technique of social control among people of all modes of livelihood is the fear of violence which might result from anti-social behaviors. In the form of face to face combat with poisoned arrows among the Bushmen and Pygmies, the long, destructive blood feud of the Nuer, or the homicides that might result from Lugbara self-help, violence which leads to loss of life and disruption of everyday life acts as a very powerful sanction for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the avoidance of future

ones whenever possible.

The dominant factor among religious techniques of social control is the appeal not to offend the supernatural beings, either a high god or the ancestors, by actions which they deem improper, in most cases bad manners, offenses against kin, adultery, and homicide. The !Kung Bushmen are the only one of these groups who do not use this sanction. Their concerns for social control are controlled by powerful secular techniques, and their religious system has no ancestors which control the living by sending punishment. In the other societies, the appeal to quiet a dispute for fear of disturbing the Forest, an entity which provides survival for the Mbuti Pygmies, the threat of supernatural punishment incurred by a curse among the Arusha, Lugbara, and Nuer, and the possibility of rituals made inadequate by human hostilities among the Jie, all carry the basic sanction of supernatural punishment against sins or offenses disruptive of peace and order.

Among the societies examined, only the Mbuti Pygmies do not have a system of social organization which offers some techniques of social control. For the Mbuti, such a system would not be functional because it would make their very effective process of flux useless as a means of separating antagonistic elements to avoid disputes. Within the societies which do possess such a system, the one dominant element effective for social control is the stress that is placed on cooperative and peaceful relations among kinsmen which are beneficial to the entire community. The emphasis is placed on the necessity of

maintaining an atmosphere among relatives in which all are able to pursue their daily economic and social activities. Among kinsmen there are inherent obligations which must be met in order to preserve peaceful relations, but along with the obligations go privileges to which kinsmen have a right. The fulfillment of these obligations and the economic and political support which are their counterpart, act as powerful sanctions among the Bushmen, Lugbara, Arusha, Jie, and Nuer for the avoidance of hostilities and peaceful settlement of disputes.

Among the two agricultural and two pastoral societies discussed, there is another common technique of social control based on the kinship system. This is the idea that since dead members of the community are still very much a part of the kinship structure, they can and do exercise a great deal of supernatural power as a means of controlling the relations between their living kin. The fear of supernatural retribution is a very powerful sanction for seeing that the obligations of kinship ties are fulfilled and that disputes with kinsmen are avoided.

Initiation ceremonies and age-set systems among the six societies examined all have one technique of social control in common which is enculturative in nature. This is the inherent element of these two institutions by which the cultural mores of the societies are informally instilled in the youths so that either when they are ritually initiated or gradually elevated to the status of adult, they are aware of and expected to live by these social values. Whether the occasion be the scarifica-

tion of a !Kung Bushmen boy after his first big kill, the transition of an Arusha youth into an age-grade where he is given more of a part in public affairs, or the initiation of a Nuer boy as an adult, the common function of transforming them into adults responsible for fulfilling kin obligations, settling disputes, and generally behaving in a manner agreeable with the social norms is present.

The age-set organizations and the systems of seniority found in the agricultural and pastoral societies examined have an additional common technique of social control. In the physical and social maturation processes inherent in these two systems exists the recognized phenomenon that by the time a man reaches the upper levels of the organization, he is usually very experienced in many matters and has gained a good deal of practical wisdom. At this level of maturation, such men play very important roles in their societies, usually both politically and religiously. These important roles, rainmaker, lineage counsellor, elders, or senior, are all validated by this experience and wisdom acquired through one of the two organizations. The ritual powers and vast amount of knowledge these men are believed to possess are regarded with respect and often fear; reactions which would be impossible without the validation of the maturation processes.

After this final analysis and comparison of the techniques of social control found among the !Kung Bushmen, Mbuti Pygmies, Lugbara, Arusha, Jie and Nuer, it seems correct to say in conclusion that there exists only a small amount of correlation

between the subsistence patterns of Sub-Saharan African peoples and the techniques of social control that they utilize. Particularly in the categories of secular and enculturative controls, several techniques such as the use of public opinion, respect for the elders, and the instillation of societal mores by means of initiation ceremonies and/or age-set systems appear to be common to African peoples practicing each of the three main patterns of subsistence. In both of the other categories, religious and kinship, one of the hunting-gathering societies does not have any techniques in common with the agricultural or pastoral peoples; in one case because it lacks a religious system designed to provide sanctions for social control, and in the other case because the hunting-gathering society lacks any type of broad kinship structure. These cases appear to be only exceptions, however, for in the majority of cases, there appears to be almost no correlation between mode of livelihood and techniques of social control. Although specific details may vary, the general basis of the techniques and the sanctions urging their implementation vary little from one hunting-gathering society to one agricultural society or to a pastoral society of Sub-Saharan Africa.

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