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The Changing Significance of Ethnic Affiliation
and of Westernization in the African Settlement
Patterns in Stanleyville
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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a statistical analysis of the distribution of the various tribal groups and of the westernized sections of the population in the African residential quarters of Stanleyville. The data used are drawn from the sample social survey⁽¹⁾ and from supplementary field investigations carried out at the same time.

The growth of areas in the town that are differentiated in their tribal characteristics and have different proportions of more and of less westernized inhabitants makes it possible to analyse some aspects of the processes of social differentiation that are operative in the community. It is mainly in this connexion that knowledge of the composition of the various areas is of interest. Brief comments on the degrees of urbanization and westernization of the population are therefore included in the following series of explanations on the context and methods of the study.

1. Degree of Urbanization of the Population. It may be recalled from my account in the Report that although the African population of the town has more than trebled over the past 15 years, it has, as compared with many African towns and the labour centres of Stanleyville's own hinterland, a relatively well balanced structure. Furthermore, large numbers of the new immigrants to the town are drawn not from native villages but from smaller labour centres in which they acquire some experience of what they call "Kizungu" ("civilized") life before reaching Stanleyville. It was found, for example, that only 18.4 per cent of the adult⁽²⁾ inhabitants have less than 6 years of "civilized" life to their credit, whereas no fewer than 47.1 per cent have been in Stanleyville for less than 6 years.

(1) In Section I of the Stanleyville Report I have previously given an account of the methods employed in conducting the Survey and some preliminary results on the recruitment and demographic composition of the population.

(2) Throughout this paper "adult" is defined as a person over 15 years of age.

These facts strongly suggest that the population is to a large extent uprooted from rural areas. The findings of an investigation into the attitudes to town and village life of a small group of 38 men inhabiting one of the less "civilized" neighbourhoods of the town confirm that there are powerful forces operating to produce a permanent urban population.⁽¹⁾

2. Westernized Status. Like most African towns Stanleyville is the creation of European commerce and industry, and the capital, management, and skill, which keep it going are almost entirely of western origin and in the hands of a minority European group.⁽²⁾ The basic explanation to this must be sought in technological and economic terms such as those put forward by Frankel.⁽³⁾ The African, lacking the social heritage necessary to compete with the European for managerial and entrepreneurial activities, is automatically relegated to a specific rôle in the pattern of economic production. Here he performs a relatively undifferentiated and quite discrete function. The wide cultural and status cleavage between White and Black are both cause and effect of this situation.⁽⁴⁾

Amongst the natural consequences of the "superiority" of the European are, firstly, that every African aspires for himself and his children to "civilized" or westernized status and, secondly, that "civilized status" is developing into an important criterion for social differentiation.

It is probably also a consequence of the wide gap which separates the two communities that Europeans generally regard Africans as falling into one of two discrete status groups, évolués and non-évolués, whereas Africans tend to think of each other more in terms of degrees of "civilization".

The more educated Africans normally use the term "évolué", but it is a striking fact that, in making reference to particular individuals, they frequently introduce qualifications concerning degree of evolution to the extent that the term comes to be applied to a wide range of individuals. Similarly, less educated Africans, who generally use the word "civilisé", are often heard to make evaluations in terms such as "he follows civilization well", "he was civilized long ago", "he is half civilized", "he is little civilized", and "he is not yet civilized".

3. Occupational Categories as Indices of Westernization. In this paper a man's occupational status is used as an index of his degree of westernization. The wage-earning adult male population is classified for this purpose into the three

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- (1) The investigation is reported in an appendix to this paper.
 - (2) In 1952 the European population of the town totalled approximately 4000 as against some 40,000 Africans. In addition there were about 200 Asian inhabitants.
 - (3) S.H. Frankel "Some Aspects of Investment and Economic Development of Africa" Africa Vol. XXII No. 1, January 1952.
 - (4) It is of interest to note that there are a number of indications that Belgian colonial policy may be directed to the eventual goal of complete social assimilation of Africans and by implication, therefore, to active measures to combat the colour-caste system. For references on this question see J.J. Maquet "The Modern Evolution of Africans in the Belgian Congo" Africa Vol. XIX No. 4, October 1949.

categories viz white collar employees, specialized manual workers,⁽¹⁾ and labourers. The definition of each category is as follows:

- (1) White collar employees comprise all men pursuing occupations for which basic literacy is normally an essential requirement. In actual fact some two-thirds of the men in this category are clerks. Of the remaining third a great majority are either school-teachers or medical orderlies (infirmiers).
- (2) The specialized manual workers consists of men following occupations which require, for Africans under local conditions, training and experience other than mere initiation to a particular job.
- (3) The category of labourers comprises men following an occupation which requires no skill, experience, or training other than that which can be acquired by an able-bodied man in the course of, at the most, a day or two of initiation on the job.

The above three categories of workers comprise 88.7 per cent of adult men in the town. The classification excludes unemployed men and "men" still at school, who together comprise 6.6 per cent of the adult males. Self-employed men, who represent 4.7 per cent of the adult male population, are also excluded as they constitute a category which is very heterogeneous in educational and occupational experiences. Self-employed status is commonly aspired to by members of all groups, but the scale on which a man can establish himself independently is usually determined by his prior occupational achievements in the employment of Europeans. Thus, for example, a highly "civilized" clerk seeking self-employed status will probably become the proprietor of a relatively large commercial enterprise (e.g. a dance hall selling European beer), while an "uncivilized" labourer can have few hopes of reaching higher than the level of a gatherer or seller of palm wine.

Table I sets out data gathered by the survey on the income, schooling, and recruitment of the three categories of wage-earning men. It may be seen that the specialized manual category has been broken down into various occupations and the labourer category into "labourers with a specified job" (e.g. night watchmen, messengers, aides-chauffeurs) and "labourers with no specified job", (i.e. persons returned on survey schedules as "travailleurs ordinaires")

On the basis of all three criteria shown in the Table, the categories of wage-earning men do not emerge as discrete groups. The criterion on which there is the sharpest distinction between white collar employees and the higher grades of specialized manual workers is that of schooling, and this, of course, is not surprising. Indeed, what may cause some surprise is that there is a small proportion of white collar employees claiming no formal schooling. This is probably explained by the fact that some men acquire a certain standard of literacy in the army or at night schools, and education of this kind was not counted as "schooling" by the survey.

(1) In my previous study included in the Stanleyville Report I labelled the "specialized manual" category as "skilled and semi-skilled". The term used here seems more appropriate.

The occupations in the specialized manual category exhibit considerable variation in respect of mean wages, (702 francs per month for service personnel to 1102 francs per month for chauffeurs) and of schooling experiences (mean percentage of men with no formal schooling ranging from 18.7 per cent for the "miscellaneous specialized manual" to 64.0 per cent for masons and painters). Despite such internal variation, however, the category as a whole is clearly distinguished from both the white collar and the labourer categories on the averages of all three criteria. Furthermore, each specific "specialized manual" occupation is distinguished from the white collar category, while the lower grades of "specialized manual" only fail to distinguish themselves from the labourers on the averages of schooling and recruitment.

TABLE I - WAGES, SCHOOLING AND RECRUITMENT OF MEN
IN THREE OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

	Wages			General Schooling		Recruitment
	(frs.per month)	Mean	Quartiles	Per cent	Median Yrs.	Per cent
	1st.	3rd.		with no	Schooling	whose fathers
				school-	(excluding	worked for
				ing	men with no	Europeans
					schooling)	
White collar	2348	845	2950	7.9	6.0	43.3
Chauffeurs	1102	864	1265	44.5	3.2	29.0
Carpenters and Joiners	921	647	1061	22.5	4.3	30.6
Misc. Specialized Manual	907	641	972	18.7	3.2	25.7
Mechanics	882	561	969	28.7	4.3	31.1
Masons and Painters	841	616	958	64.0	2.7	15.0
Service personnel (domestic, hotel etc.)	702	585	793	59.3	3.0	22.6
Total Specialized Manual	872	625	998	43.4	3.3	26.2
Labourers with a specified job	574	476	668	55.1	2.9	15.6
Labourers with no specified job	588	468	679	71.5	2.3	
Total Labourers	583	471	675	64.7	2.5	15.6
TOTAL	959	556	951	49.6	3.5	23.5

The percentage distribution of the labour force by occupational categories and principal occupations is given in Table II. It may be seen that if personal service personnel, and masons and painters, were dropped into the lower category of labourers, the proportions of men in the two categories affected by this change would be substantially altered, with the category of labourers representing 63.2 per cent of the population and "specialized manual" representing 26.4 per cent. The labourer category would then have a greater dispersion in wages, but its educational characteristics and rate of recruitment from sons whose fathers had in their time worked for Europeans would be little affected.

TABLE II - OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF
WAGE-EARNING MEN

	<u>Per cent</u>
White Collar	10.8
Chauffeurs	5.9
Carpenters and Joiners	11.5
Misc. Specialized Manual	3.1
Mechanics	5.9
Masons and Painters	11.8
Service personnel (domestic, hotel, etc.)	10.6
Total specialized manual	48.8
Labourers with a specified job	16.9
Labourers with no specified job	23.5
Total labourers	40.4
TOTAL	100.0

Note: The slight discrepancy between the above percentages for each occupational category and those given in Table IV, is accounted for by the exclusion from the above Table, as also from Table I, of the Railway Camp population.

4. The System of Accommodation for Africans. In contrast to the type of African urban settlement in which housing is provided for the population by government or industrial authorities, and where the inhabitants may often have rather restricted opportunities to own houses and to remove from one neighbourhood to another, Stanleyville presents a situation of which both house-ownership and residential mobility are characteristic.

The population is settled on plots or dwelling compounds (parcelles), each of which is allocated to a single title-holder (titulaire).⁽¹⁾ On receiving a permit of occupation in respect of a plot a person is invested with a number of rights and obligations of which we may note only those of particular relevance to this study:

- (1) He is responsible for constructing his own dwelling or dwellings on the plot. If he has not so settled on the compound within six months of the date of receipt of his permit, the compound may be allocated to another person.
- (2) He is entitled subject to official approval to accommodate families other than his own either in his house or houses or by allowing them to construct their houses on his compound.
- (3) He may apply for permission to set up a shop, restaurant, or other commercial enterprise on his compound.
- (4) On leaving the town for an indefinite period he may temporarily cede his permit to another person.
- (5) He may subject to official approval dispose of his property thereby automatically surrendering his permit of occupation.

It is to be noted that the title-holder's rights in respect both of the accommodation of persons other than his own dependants and of the cession and disposal of his property on a compound may only be exercised subject to official approval for each individual act. Furthermore, all such approvals and, in fact, the title-holder's own permit of occupation may, in principle, be cancelled at any time. In practice, however, the last is very largely a formality and a person, once granted a permit of occupation, has virtual security of tenure. In the case of his or her death the administrative authority automatically grants a permit of occupation to the inheritor of the property if he or she desires to reside there.⁽²⁾

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- (1) The Social Survey covered five quarters: Belge I, Belge II, Brussels, the Railway Camp, and the Arabisé village. The dwelling compound system described here is not applied in the railway camp where housing is provided by the railway company. Nor is it applied in the Arabisé village where, however, inhabitants also own their houses.

Within the three large quarters a European employer or a firm may acquire tenure of a compound for the purpose of housing employees. Similarly, the administration reserves to itself the right to house Africans. In actual fact, however, the proportion of compounds not held by private African title-holders is negligible.

- (2) Although under traditional law and custom, a wife would not inherit her husband's property, inheritance by a woman of her deceased husband's house is now common in the centre extra-coutumier.

The Social Survey data yield the estimate that 61.4 per cent of dwelling compounds contain one family; (1) that 25.0 per cent contain two; that 8.9 per cent contain three; and that 4.7 per cent contain four or more. It follows from these figures that while a majority of title-holders do not exercise the opportunity to receive subsidiary families on their compounds, a majority (approximately 6 in 10) of all families are resident on multiple family compounds.

Of the heads of the subsidiary households enumerated by the Survey, 34.9 per cent were "real" kinsmen of the title-holders (i.e. kinsmen whose exact genealogical connexion with the title-holder is known), 24.3 per cent were "vague" kinsmen (i.e. persons whose claim to be the "brother" of a title-holder could not be explained in terms of a precise genealogical connexion), and 40.8 per cent are unrelated. Of this last group 82.1 per cent are rent-paying tenants but only 17.7 per cent of the "vague" kinsmen pay rent and not a single "real" kinsman does so.

5. The Turnover of Dwelling Compound Title-holders. The sale and purchase of houses amongst inhabitants, who normally speak of "buying" or of "selling" a compound, is common. Small notices advertising a compound for sale may be seen on palm trees or houses. A field check on over 500 compounds distributed in two areas, each of which had been settled for over twenty years, revealed that the present title-holders had come to acquire their compounds in the following ways: (2)

	<u>Area I</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Area II</u> <u>%</u>
Allocated as undeveloped plot	27.3	32.6
"Bought"	51.6	43.3
"Inherited"	12.8	15.4
Unknown (3)	8.3	8.7
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

While these two areas cannot be claimed as representative of the town they represent, as is explained later, two contrasting types of neighbourhoods.

There was no way of ascertaining the proportion of title-holders who, on selling their compounds, had moved to other areas of the town and the proportion who had left the town. Nor was it possible to gain any estimate of the number of compounds which had changed hands more than once since the time of first settlement.

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- (1) In preparing these estimates "family" was defined as a domestic unit except where more than one elementary family claimed to constitute one domestic unit. In such cases "family" was defined as the elementary family.
 - (2) Area I nearly coincides with Survey Tract AI and Area II with Survey Tract BIII. These survey tracts are referred to later in this paper.
 - (3) Unknown includes compounds whose title-holders were resident at the time of the check as well as those compounds temporarily ceded by the title-holder to another person.

Nevertheless, the figures amply demonstrate that the turnover of title-holders is sufficiently high to allow the interplay of social forces to influence patterns of settlement.

6. Residential Mobility within the Town. The 1952 annual report of the Centre Extra-Coutumier records that for a population of approximately 40,000 there were some 15,000 changes of address in the course of the year under review. Assuming that every person who moved during the year did so once only, this figure represents movement of 37.5 per cent of the total population. Although the notification of a change of address is a statutory obligation, the figures themselves should not be taken too seriously. Commenting on a population check carried out in 12 avenues of Belge I in 1951, the annual report of that year says: "Les changements d'adresse (mutations de parcelles à parcelles) non déclarés sont très nombreux, ce qui explique les difficultés que l'on rencontrait quand il s'agissait de trouver dans le centre extra-coutumier un résidant qui y était cependant recensé."

However, there is no justification for assuming that all persons who moved in 1952 did so once only. Numbers must, undoubtedly, have moved more than once. It is possible that with the cancelling out effect of these two factors, (non-notification on the part of some persons and more than one change by others) the estimate of 37.5 per cent may be approximately correct, but my impression is that the true figure may be even higher.

It is certain that this exceedingly high rate of residential mobility is in large part accounted for by the movement of persons who are not title-holders or the immediate dependants of title-holders. It is probable, too, that the families who are "real" kinsmen of the title-holders of the compounds on which they reside are less mobile than "vague" kinsmen and unrelated persons.

In any event, the information can be taken as abundant evidence of the possibilities which exist for the regrouping of the population according to various affinities in the centre extra-coutumier.

7. The Physical Layout of the Town. The layout of Stanleyville is shown in Sketch Map I.*

There are two principal features of the siting of the African quarters which require comment in approaching our subject. First of these is the relation of the African quarters to the town centre. The European residential quarters, together with the administrative, industrial and commercial establishments, are concentrated around the area of intersection of the major road, rail and river lines of communication which link the town to its hinterland and to the external world. The African residential quarters, which were established or merely allowed to grow on sites considered in the early days of development to be at "safe" distances from the European quarters, virtually encircle the town centre.(1)

This location of the African quarters contributes to their typically "sub-urban" or dormitory character: from early morning until the night curfew which prohibits African circulation in the town centre (and European circulation in the native quarters), there is a large volume of movement back and forth between the

(1) The very rapid progress of the current phase of expansion is causing both European residential quarters and industrial establishments to overflow from the original town centre. (See dashed lines on sketch map.)

* To be omitted in the mimeographed version; reinstated in the printed version.

"suburbs" and the European town. Africans leave their quarters for diverse purposes. Principal of these are to report for work and to shop at the European-owned stores and at the morning market, which is situated within the precincts of the town centre, but there are many additional attractions in the European town. The native courts, the secondary school and some of the primary schools, the administrative offices, the labour exchange, the post office, the hospital, some churches, etc., are located outside the native quarters and all these contribute to the drawing off of most men and numbers of women and children from their homes during the day-time. A number of social provisions do exist in the African quarters (some primary schools and churches, dispensaries, subsidiary markets, mosques, community centres, etc.), but European-owned commercial establishments are debarred, by official regulation, from operating in premises located within the native quarters which are strictly reserved for African residence,⁽¹⁾ for such commercial establishments as may be run and owned by Africans, and for official or officially approved welfare activities for the native population.

It is obvious that, under these conditions, proximity of residence to the European town in itself affords a considerable advantage for the native urban resident and may be expected to constitute a significant factor tending to promote the development of socially differentiated areas within the African settlements.

Inherent in the relation of the African quarters to each other and in their relation to the radial road, the river, and the railway, is a second set of conditions which influence the distribution of various population elements. As shown on the sketch map, each of the principal quarters bears a particular relation to the town's lines of communication. This undoubtedly promotes the distribution of population in the several quarters according to areas of origin and, consequently, tends to minimize the extent of tribal heterogeneity in any one quarter quite independently of any other factors of tribal segregation.

8. The Survey Tracts. In order to examine patterns of settlement in the African town, the residential quarters were subdivided into 15 tracts. (Marked AI-AV, BI-BV, CI-CVII, D and E on Sketch Map I).

The determination of tract boundaries was partly arbitrary but was carried out in such a way as to satisfy three major requirements. Firstly, it was clearly important that the tracts should throw into relief the influence on the settlement pattern of distance from the European town. Secondly, it was desirable that no tract boundary should cut across a relatively discrete neighbourhood or across an area displaying one or other particular population characteristic not generally spread over its vicinity, unless such an area or neighbourhood contained a sufficiently large number of inhabitants to allow its division into two or more tracts. Thirdly, tracts were to contain sufficiently large populations to allow general comparisons to be made between their effective samples.

Table III gives the estimated population and the effective samples of wage-earning men and of all inhabitants for each survey tract.

(1) Exceptions are occasionally made by the administration in allowing "mulâtres reconnus" (i.e. half-castes with legal European status), who are unable to stand the economic competition of the European town, to reside in the African quarters.

TABLE III - EFFECTIVE SAMPLES AND POPULATION
ESTIMATES FOR SURVEY TRACTS

	<u>Tract No.</u>	<u>Effective Sample of All Persons</u>	<u>Effective Sample of Wage-Earn- ing Men</u>	<u>Estimates of Total Popula- tion</u>
Belge I, Aves 1-3	AI	240	69	2112
" " 4-6	AII	257	61	2262
" " 7-10	AIII	426	100	3749
" " 11-14	AIV	370	106	3256
" " 15-18	AV	301	80	2649
Brussels Aves 1-6	BI	401	114	2927
" " 7-12	BII	286	81	2088
" " 13-18	BIII	277	95	2022
" Trans Aves 4-7	BIV	268	83	1956
" " " 8-17	BV	207	66	1511
Belge II, area between Ave. Albertville and the river	CI	535	78	4762
" area south of Ave. Albertville	CII	539	117	4797
" (detached area)	CIII	241	41	2145
Railway Camp	D	147	43	1073
<u>Arabisé</u> village	E	376	79	2869
			TOTAL	<u>40178</u>

In Belge I (Survey Tracts AI-AV) it was not difficult to meet the above requirements. There were no obvious indications of the existence of spatially discrete communal or neighbourhood groups and a preliminary examination of the survey schedules tended to confirm this. The population of the quarter is settled in well laid-out avenues, and tract boundaries were accordingly fixed along several of these.

In Brussels the recent history of growth had to be taken into account. The northern strip of the quarter known as New Brussels, has been settled during the post-war period of development. It is the only extensive area in the African

residential quarters to have been cleared and built up in recent years. On the other hand, all parts of Old Brussels have, with the exception of minor piece-meal extensions, been settled for 20 years or more. For this reason it was thought desirable to distinguish between the two areas. Old Brussels was divided into three tracts (AI-AIII) on the same principle as that used in Belge I. New Brussels was divided into two tracts (AIV-AV), one covering an area which was fully settled by 1952, and the other covering an area in which many houses were still under construction at the time of the field survey. This departure from the principle of fixing tract boundaries at increasing distances from the European town referred to again in the interpretation of the data.

In Belge II another type of situation had to be considered. One part of the quarter incorporates the remnants of an Arabisé village. Both on account of this and of its physical isolation from the rest of Belge II, it was retained as a separate tract. (CIII). Another section of the quarter faces the river and this situation has, since early days, endowed it with a particular character: it is settled almost exclusively by Lokele tribesmen whose villages are encountered along the river banks no more than a few miles below the town. Local enquiry and inspection of the survey schedules revealed that this tribally homogeneous area is relatively discrete, and that it is rather conveniently delimited on the southern side by Avenue Albertville which runs parallel to the river bank. The area was labelled Tract CI, and the residual area of Belge II not covered by either CI or CIII was labelled CII.

Finally, the railway camp and the Arabisé village were retained as Tracts D and E respectively.

II. SOCIAL AREAS IN THE TOWN

1. Occupational Categories and Earnings. Table IV sets out the percentage distributions of wage-earning men enumerated in each of the residential quarters and in each of the separate survey tracts by the occupational categories of white collar employees, specialized manual workers, and labourers.

Differences between the percentage distributions for the centre extra-coutumier quarters of Belge I, Belge II, and Brussels, are statistically significant in the sense that we can reject the hypothesis that population distribution according to occupational categories does not vary from quarter to quarter.⁽¹⁾ But the actual differences between any two quarters are relatively slight and no quarter, taken as a whole, can be claimed as distinctively more "civilized" than another on the basis of these figures. On the other hand, all three quarters contain internal differences between tracts and there is a marked tendency for the proportional representation of the lower occupational grades to increase as distance from the town increases. In Belge I and in Brussels the differences between tracts are statistically significant, though in Belge II we cannot rule out the possibility that the differences may have arisen as sampling fluctuations.⁽²⁾

(1) Chi-square = 16.7, d.f.4; P less than 0.01.

(2) Chi-square test values for tables with the white collar and specialized manual categories amalgamated are as follows: for Belge I, chi-square = 41.4; d.f.4; P less than 0.0001; for Brussels, chi-square = 19.2; d.f.4; P less than 0.001; for Belge II, chi-square = 2.43; d.f.2; P lies between 0.5 and 0.25.

TABLE IV - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADULT MALE
WAGE-EARNING POPULATION IN THE SAMPLES OF
QUARTERS AND SURVEY TRACTS BY OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY

<u>Quarter and Tract</u>		<u>Labourers</u>	<u>Specialized Manual</u>	<u>White Collar</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Belge I	A I	26.1	63.8	10.1	100.0	
"	A II	14.8	70.5	14.8	100.1	
"	A III	35.0	52.0	13.0	100.0	
"	A IV	47.2	43.4	9.4	100.0	
"	A V	61.3	33.8	5.0	100.1	
<hr/> Total Belge I		38.7	51.0	10.3	100.0	
Brussels	B I	25.4	61.4	13.2	100.0	
"	B II	38.3	51.9	9.9	100.1	
"	B III	52.6	46.3	1.1	100.0	
"	B IV	49.4	45.8	4.8	100.0	
"	B V	40.9	59.1	0.0	100.0	
<hr/> Total Brussels		40.5	53.1	6.4	100.0	
Belge II	C I	46.2	41.0	12.8	100.0	
"	C II	41.9	44.4	13.7	100.0	
"	C III	56.1	34.1	9.8	100.0	
<hr/> Total Belge II		45.8	41.5	12.7	100.0	
<hr/> Railway Camp D		79.1	18.6	2.3	100.0	
<hr/> <u>Arabisé village</u>		E	17.7	70.9	11.4	100.0
<hr/> ALL AREAS		41.8	48.0	10.2	100.0	

The high proportion of labourers in the railway camp (Tract D) has no special significance since the camp is specifically reserved for a particular group of workers.

The Arabisé village is also a special case in that it contains a relatively closed community which will be referred to presently. It will suffice to note here that its population has a comparatively high "civilized" status.

Table V sets out three measures of income levels in the various quarters and tracts. These enable us to add a little precision to the outline picture provided by the data on occupational categories.

TABLE V - MONTHLY INCOME LEVELS OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED
ADULT MEN IN THE VARIOUS RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS
AND SURVEY TRACTS (1)

<u>Quarter and Tract</u>		<u>Mean (francs)</u>	<u>Coeff. of Variation (%)</u>	<u>Percentage with income of 1050 francs & over</u>
Belge I	A I	1215	117	29.2
"	A II	1426	118	29.2
"	A III	1023	87	26.4
"	A IV	904	90	18.9
"	A V	671	39	4.1
Total Belge I		1015	107	20.9
Brussels	B I	1113	96	26.7
"	B II	946	83	22.1
"	B III	704	54	10.7
"	B IV	868	83	13.8
"	B V	770	37	10.3
Total Brussels		899	85	17.6
Belge II	C I	1016	113	20.3
	C II	860	82	18.2
	C III	693	30	4.5
Total Belge II		888	96	16.6
<u>Arabisé village</u>	E	1213	106	40.2
ALL AREAS		959	100	20.2

Chi-square tests applied to the sample figures of men with incomes of over 1050 francs and of under 1050 francs show that differences between tracts in all three of the principal quarters are statistically significant. ⁽²⁾

- (1) The incomes recorded comprise all allowances in respect of housing, rations, family, etc. Earnings of men inhabiting the railway camp are paid partly in kind and for this reason their incomes have not been tabulated.
- (2) Chi-square for table dividing Belge I residents into two income groups, "over 1050 francs" and "under 1050 francs" = 17.1; d.f.4; P less than 0.01; for Brussels, chi-square = 17.4; d.f.4; P less than 0.01; for Belge II, chi-square = 8.7; d.f.2; P less than 0.05.

These observations merely confirm the general inferences already drawn on the basis of the occupational data. The original contribution made by the figures given in Table V is that they clearly show that homogeneity in economic status decreases as we pass from the periphery of the town to the close-in areas.

No statistical significance can be claimed for the slightly higher income levels recorded in the close-in tracts of Belge I, as compared to those in Brussels and Belge II, but independent evidence suggests that the area covered by Tracts AI-AIII is in actual fact the most fashionable neighbourhood of the centre extra-coutumier. With no more than 20.2 per cent of the town population, it contains 12 out of the 22 dance halls in the town; 68 out of 77 addresses of the foreign élite of clerks and traders from English and French colonies;(1) and 14 out of 21 Congolese leaders.(2)

2. Religious and Tribal Affiliations. Tables VI, VII and VIII set out the Survey findings on the distribution in the town of different religious and tribal elements of the population. The percentage distributions by religion are based on adults only, and those by tribe on the total population.

The data on religious affiliation are introduced here with those on tribal affiliation in order to enable the degree of segregation of the Arabisé population to be examined, but passing comments may first be made on the proportions of Roman Catholics, Protestants, and "pagans" in the various areas.

As elsewhere in Africa, the fact of being baptized according to Christian rites, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, is generally associated with schooling and other marks of contact with Europeans. In Stanleyville it is not in itself an important factor of social differentiation. The tendency revealed in Table VI, for the proportions of Christians to fall towards the peripheral areas of the town, is, therefore, as expected on the basis of our previous knowledge of the distribution of more and of less westernized elements of the population. There is, however, one peculiar feature of the distribution of Protestants which must be explained. Tracts CI, AIV, and AV, contain appreciably higher proportions of Protestants than other areas. It seems most unlikely that these concentrations are the consequence of a spontaneous process of regrouping on this basis especially as there is an obvious alternative explanation, namely, that these tracts contain high proportions of members of two particular tribal groups (Lokele and Bamanga) amongst whom the Protestant missionaries of the region have spent most of their efforts.

(1) The addresses of the foreign élite were drawn from the Rapport Annuel: Centre Extra-Coutumier de Stanleyville (1952).

(2) This information was passed to me by Monsieur P. Clément who selected the leaders according to a set of fixed criteria. These included a record of correspondence to the press, of nomination to serve on official committees, and election to office in one or other of several leading voluntary associations.

TABLE VI - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADULT
POPULATION IN THE SAMPLES OF QUARTERS
AND SURVEY TRACTS BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

<u>Quarter and Tract</u>		<u>Roman Catholic</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Mohammedan</u>	<u>"Pagan"</u>	<u>Total</u>
Belge I	A I	72.5	9.5	0.0	18.0	100.0
"	A II	69.0	8.2	2.7	20.1	100.0
"	A III	65.1	8.5	1.9	24.5	100.0
"	A IV	45.2	14.6	1.4	38.8	100.0
"	A V	52.3	13.1	3.7	28.9	100.0
<hr/> Total Belge I		59.8	11.3	1.9	27.0	100.0
<hr/>						
Brussels	B I	70.3	2.4	7.9	19.3	99.9
"	B II	64.9	3.0	8.7	23.4	100.0
"	B III	51.6	2.8	6.0	39.6	100.0
"	B IV	58.3	4.5	1.5	35.8	100.1
"	B V	55.7	4.7	0.0	39.5	99.9
<hr/> Total Brussels		61.2	3.3	5.4	30.0	99.9
<hr/>						
Belge II	C I	33.7	28.1	3.1	35.1	100.0
"	C II	53.6	8.7	11.5	26.2	100.0
"	C III	14.7	8.8	52.9	23.5	99.9
<hr/> Total Belge II		38.6	15.5	17.1	28.8	100.0
<hr/>						
Railway Camp D		34.0	3.0	7.0	56.0	100.0
<hr/>						
<u>Arabisé village</u>	E	10.2	0.0	86.7	3.2	100.1
<hr/>						
ALL AREAS		50.5	9.1	13.1	27.3	100.0

The concentration of Mohammedans in Tract E (the Arabisé village) and in Tract CIII (which is the area of Belge II incorporating a former Arabisé village) is a reflection of a major social cleavage within the African community. To anyone acquainted with Stanleyville, no census of the population is required to reveal that the Arabisés are concentrated in these two areas. What is perhaps less well known is the extent of their dispersal. Our data show that over the greater part of the centre extra-coutumier quarters they are sparsely distributed, and that only in areas immediately adjacent to Tracts E and CIII do they represent 6 per cent or more of the population.

TABLE VII - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MOHAMMEDANS
BY SELECTED TRACT COMBINATIONS COMPARED TO
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION

<u>AREA</u>	<u>% of all Mohammedans</u>	<u>% of Total Population</u>
Tract E (<u>Arabisé</u> village)	52.8	6.9
Tract CIII (Detached part of Belge II)	23.2	5.4
Tracts BI-BIII	11.3	17.6
Tract CII	10.8	11.8
All other tracts	1.9	58.3
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: auto;"/> 100.0	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: auto;"/> 100.0

In Table VII, the percentages are run the other way to show the estimated proportions of Mohammedans who reside outside Tracts E and CIII.⁽¹⁾ It is impossible to know to what extent the official policy of allowing the Arabisés their own chefferie⁽²⁾ has "artificially" prevented their greater dispersal to other areas of the town.⁽³⁾ The fact that they constitute a distinct and integrated community has probably been the greater force containing them residentially.

This view is based on general knowledge of Arabisés attitudes of superiority over the non-Islamized population, but is also supported by the data which suggest comparatively little dispersal from that part of Belge II which incorporates a former Arabisé village.

The percentage distributions by principal tribes of the inhabitants enumerated in each tract are set out in Table VIII. Before discussing these, two points concerning their value and limitations must be noted.

Firstly, the very heterogeneous tribal composition of the population makes it impossible to trace the patterns of settlement for the many smaller groups in the community on the basis of returns for a sample enquiry. In the table, only those tribes that each represent over 2.5 per cent of the total population are listed by name. Members of all groups estimated to represent less than this

-
- (1) The previous percentage distributions of populations in the various tracts were calculated directly from the actual number of enumerated persons. But in Table VIII and in similar tables to follow the percentages are estimates which take into account the variable sampling fractions used.
 - (2) The chefferie in the Belgian Congo is the unit, based on a traditional group, under which the peoples of the rural hinterland are normally administered.
 - (3) Removal from the chefferie to the centre extra-coutumier would, in theory, involve obtaining official permission.

percentage of the population are included under "others". But groups representing less than 2.5 per cent of the population may well constitute a much larger proportion of the population of a particular area.⁽¹⁾ The percentage of "others", therefore, does not necessarily indicate greater or lesser tribal heterogeneity although, in actual fact, it probably does so.

Secondly, in preparing these statistics, it was debatable whether Mohammedans should be classified by their tribal affiliations. The reason for retaining them need not preoccupy us. The distribution of the population in Tract E serves as a rough estimate of the tribal composition of the Mohammedans in the town, and it may be seen that the Bakusu constitute the only large category in the Arabisé community. We can therefore infer that they are the only one of the ten principal tribal groups that is appreciably affected by our decision to retain Mohammedans in the table.

Ignoring for the time being the percentage distributions in separate tracts of Belge I, Belge II, and Brussels, and devoting attention to the "total" columns, to the Arabisé village (E) and to the railway camp (L), we see that none of the tribal groups listed by name is evenly distributed in the various quarters. Thus, for example, the distribution of Lokele varies from 1.7 per cent in Brussels to 40.0 per cent in Belge II; of Bakumu from 3.5 per cent in Belge II to 14.5 per cent in Brussels; and of Bamanga from 0.0 per cent in both the railway camp and the Arabisé village to 8.9 per cent in Belge I. When the data on which Table VIII is based are turned into percentages of each tribal group represented in the various quarters, we obtain the following results:

Belge I contains an estimated 35.0 per cent of the population of the town but has 63.6 per cent of the Babua, 49.5 per cent of the Topoke, 89.4 per cent of the Bamanga, and 74.7 per cent of the Bangelima;

Brussels contains an estimated 26.6 per cent of the population of the town but has 34.9 per cent of the Babua, 54.9 per cent of the Bakumu, and 59.0 per cent of the Babali;

Belge II and the railway camp together contain an estimated 31.5 per cent of the population of the town but have 72.4 per cent of the Lokele, 74.6 per cent of the Bambole, and 63.4 per cent of the Balengola;

the Arabisé village contains an estimated 6.9 per cent of the population of the town but has 31.1 per cent of the Bakusu.

These figures show that in most cases a substantial majority of each group resides in one or other quarter of the town and that, the Babua excepted, none of the principal tribes is over-represented in more than one quarter. The differences are gross and it is clearly unnecessary to apply tests of statistical significance to the data.

We need have no hesitation in asserting that the explanation of this degree of segregation lies partly in the siting of the residential quarters in relation to transport routes leading from the town to rural areas. Thus, for example,

(1) An example of this is found in Tract BIII (referred to on page 22) where members of the small Barumbi group are title-holders of 13.5 per cent of the dwelling compounds.

the Bamanga who originate in the North are concentrated in Belge I, and the Babali from the East in Brussels. Administrative policy over past years may also have influenced the tribal settlement pattern. The present-day practice of the authorities in allocating undeveloped plots is to take no account of tribal affiliation or évolué status. But in the early days of the centre extra-coutumier the policy was to allow members of a tribal group to settle in one or other particular quarter.

The data commented upon so far cannot, therefore, be taken as crucial evidence of spontaneous tribal segregation but they none the less reveal a feature of the settlement pattern that is important in understanding the social life of the community.

TABLE VIII - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF TRACT AND QUARTER
POPULATIONS BY PRINCIPAL TRIBES

	AV	TOTAL	BI	BII	BIII	BIV	BV	TOTAL	CI	CII	CIII	TOTAL	ESTIMATE	FOR ALL	
7	BELGE I		BRUSSELS					BELGE II (RLY.CAMP)			(ARABISE)	QUARTERS			
5	15.0	11.2	4.2	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	1.7	80.6	13.9	8.3	40.0	10.9	2.7	16.4
6	6.0	4.8	13.0	12.6	5.4	3.0	1.9	8.0	1.7	10.4	26.1	9.7	4.8	44.2	9.8
8	6.0	16.0	17.0	5.9	7.9	18.7	5.3	11.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.5	8.8
9	8.3	3.8	6.0	7.7	24.2	20.5	19.8	14.5	0.0	6.9	3.3	3.5	16.3	5.9	7.0
10	4.3	9.8	1.7	0.7	6.5	12.7	16.9	6.7	3.6	6.9	7.9	5.7	2.0	0.5	6.9
11	2.0	1.9	2.5	1.7	0.4	4.5	1.9	2.2	5.8	15.2	25.7	13.3	1.4	0.0	5.2
12	3.0	1.9	3.0	1.7	2.6	1.5	8.2	3.1	1.1	13.7	4.6	6.9	29.9	1.6	4.4
13	4.0	4.1	3.5	9.8	20.2	10.1	5.8	9.5	0.2	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.7	2.1	4.3
14	24.9	8.9	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	2.9	1.0	0.0	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	3.5
15	7.3	6.1	2.7	2.1	0.4	1.5	2.4	1.9	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2	1.4	1.9	2.9
16	19.2	31.5	46.4	54.9	32.5	25.0	34.8	39.8	7.0	30.7	22.8	19.6	32.7	40.7	30.8
17	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.2	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0
18	301	1594	401	286	277	268	207	1439	535	539	241	1315	147	376	4871

Turning our attention to the percentage distributions of tract populations in Table VIII, we see that there are some marked variations for particular tribes from tract to tract within each of the three centre extra-coutumier quarters. The most striking example is found in Belge II where the Lokele constitute 80.6 per cent of the population of Tract CI but no more than 13.9 per cent in Tract CII and 8.3 per cent in Tract CIII. Tract CIII is the only case of a fairly large area being clearly dominated by a single tribal group, though we have already seen that the tribally heterogeneous Arabisé community is highly concentrated in its own village.

More interesting, because they are less obvious, are the concentrations of tribes other than the Lokele. In each quarter particular groups are commonly found to represent as much as from 10 to 30 per cent of populations enumerated in one or in each of two or three tracts. Thus, the table shows that in Belge I the Bamanga represent 24.9 per cent of the enumerated population in Tract AV, 14.3 per cent in Tract AIV, 3.1 per cent in Tract AIII, and are not represented in Tracts AI and AII; that in Belge II the Bambole represent 25.7 per cent of the enumerated population in Tract CIII, 15.2 per cent in Tract CII and only 5.8 per cent in Tract CI, etc.

In a number of cases the enumerated population of a particular tribe in one quarter is so small that no statistical significance can be attributed to variations in percentage means recorded from tract to tract in that quarter. But, confining attention to cases where the size of a group enumerated in a quarter is reasonably large, we see that the percentage means tend to decline from "peaks" in one or other tract to lower levels in adjacent tracts. The regularity of these tendencies is in itself convincing evidence of tribal segregation within the quarters. Examples from the table are: the decline of the proportion of Babua in Belge I from 23.8 per cent in Tract AI to 6.0 per cent in Tract AV, and the decline, in Brussels, of Babali from 20.2 per cent in Tract BIII to 3.5 per cent in Tract BI on the one side, and to 5.8 per cent in Tract BV on the other side.(1)

As a final illustration of the type of tribal settlement pattern encountered, the data for four groups are set out in Table IX to show their percentage distributions by selected tracts and combinations of tracts as compared to the distribution of the total population.

It should be noted that the extent to which tribes have highly concentrated nuclei may, of course, be greater than suggested by the table since tract boundaries were, except in the case of Tract CII, established without prior notions of the settlement patterns of particular groups.

(1) The peculiar relation of some tracts to each other must be remembered in consulting Table VIII. At first sight the table might be thought to reveal two "peaks" for the Babua in Brussels (i.e. 17.0 in Tract BI and 18.7 per cent in Tract BIV) but, as shown on Sketch Map I, Tracts BI and BIV are contiguous and the impression of two peaks is, therefore, most probably misleading.

TABLE IX - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF EACH OF FOUR TRIBAL GROUPS COMPARED TO PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, BY SELECTED TRACT COMBINATIONS

(a)	<u>Area</u>	<u>% of all Lokele</u>	<u>% of Total Population</u>
	Tract CI	57.7	11.6
	Tract CII	10.1	11.8
	All other tracts	<u>32.2</u>	<u>76.6</u>
	TOTAL	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
(b)	<u>Area</u>	<u>Bamanga</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
	Tracts BIV-BV	81.2	14.8
	Tract BIII	8.2	9.4
	All other tracts	<u>10.6</u>	<u>75.8</u>
	TOTAL	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
(c)	<u>Area</u>	<u>Babali</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
	Tracts BII-BIV	47.8	15.3
	Tracts BI and BV	11.2	11.3
	All other tracts	<u>41.0</u>	<u>73.4</u>
	TOTAL	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
(d)	<u>Area</u>	<u>Bambole</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
	Tracts CII-CIII	61.5	17.2
	Tract CI	13.2	11.6
	All other tracts	<u>25.3</u>	<u>71.2</u>
	TOTAL	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

III. DISTINCTIVE PATTERNS OF TRIBAL SETTLEMENT AND THE TREND OF CHANGE

So far we have established that there is a tendency for the development of neighbourhoods that are differentiated from each other in occupational structure or "civilized" status, and that there is marked residential segregation on the basis of ethnic affiliation. These inferences are not startling in themselves but they lead to more important questions: are there differences in tribal settlement patterns between the more "civilized" and the less "civilized" areas of the town? Is differentiation according to degree of Westernization developing at the expense of tribal segregation?

It may be seen from Table VIII that in Bolge I and Prussels the percentage of the inhabitants who are members of "other" tribes tends to be higher in the more "civilized" areas than in the less "civilized" peripheral areas. As was explained

above, however, the proportion of "others" in a tract has doubtful validity as a measure of tribal heterogeneity, and the data contain no clear indications of the way in which the process of tribal segregation is articulated with that of social differentiation on the basis of "civilized" status. Nor is there any way in which the Survey data can be manipulated to shed light on the subject. We must, therefore, have recourse to the findings of two supplementary investigations conducted in selected areas of the town.

Both of these had objectives additional to that of studying the settlement pattern, but reference is made here only to the findings which are relevant to the theme of this paper.

1. Tribal Settlement in Two Contrasting Areas: In two areas of the town which approximately coincide with Survey Tracts AI and BIII, a complete enumeration of dwelling compound title-holders was carried out. Amongst other details recorded were the tribal affiliation of each subject and the way in which compounds had been acquired.

The following comparison of the areas on criteria discussed in this paper recalls the essential difference between Tract AI, which is more "civilized" and fashionable, and Tract BIII which is less "civilized" and sometimes referred to by AI residents as being "in the bush".

<u>Criteria of Degree of "Civilization"</u>	<u>Tract AI</u>	<u>Tract BIII</u>
Estimated mean monthly income	1,215 francs	704 francs
Estimated percentage of men with incomes over 1,050 francs	29.2	10.7
Estimated percentage of labourers	26.1	52.6
Estimated percentage of Christians	82.0	54.4
Number of dance halls	7 out of 22 in the town	None
Number of Congolese leaders (selected by fixed criteria)	5 out of 21 in the town	None
<u>Number of addresses of foreign élite</u>	28 out of 77 in the town	None

The simple enumeration of title-holders by tribal affiliation confirmed the Survey findings that each of the two neighbourhoods has its own relatively well represented tribal groups: the Babua, Bakusu, and Lokele in Tract AI, and the Babali and Bakumu in Tract BIII (Cf. Table VIII). It also revealed that Tract BIII has a fairly large group of Barumbi - 13.5 per cent of the total - who were classified in the category of "others" in analysing the Survey data. The important difference found between the tribal settlement patterns of the two neighbourhoods is that in Tract BIII there are distinct "clusters" of the larger tribal groups viz. Babali, Bakumu, and Barumbi, whereas in Tract AI the only evidence of a tribal "cluster" is that a small number of Makere is localized at one end of Avenuc 2.

The question which has to be faced if these data are to be taken as evidence that different processes are at work in each of the two areas is: are we justified in assuming that the "cluster pattern" and the "mixed pattern" are consequences of spontaneous movements? An answer to this is suggested by the analysis of data on mode of acquisition of compounds and tribal affiliation of title-holders.

A count of title-holders who came to acquire their compounds in different ways shows that there are not large differences between the two areas in percentages of "bought" compounds, "inherited" compounds and compounds allocated to title-holders as undeveloped plots.⁽¹⁾ Thus the influence of whatever policy was practised in originally allocating compounds in the two areas may probably be discounted as an explanation of present differences in their settlement patterns, and the tribal composition of surviving title-holders from the early days is probably an approximate reflection of the original tribal character of each area.

In Tract AI there are 90 title-holders who either settled on an undeveloped plot or who "inherited" a compound. They are members of 18 different tribes of which there are four which each represent at least 10 per cent of the combined number of original title-holders and "inheritors". These four are the Babua with 30.0 per cent; the Bakusu with 18.9 per cent; the Azande with 11.1 per cent; and the Makere with 10 per cent. They are referred to in Table X(a) as the "four principal tribes", and the remaining 14 tribal groups whose members between them represent 30 per cent of persons who are either original title-holders or "inheritors", are referred to as "others".

TABLE X - (a) TRACT AI: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TITLE-HOLDERS OF COMPOUNDS ACQUIRED IN DIFFERENT WAYS IN TRACT AI, BY "FOUR PRINCIPAL TRIBES" AND BY "OTHER TRIBES"

	Title-holders of allocated and "inherited" compounds		Title-holders of "bought" compounds		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Members of one of the "four principal tribes" at the time of first settlement of the area	63	70.0	53	46.9	116	57.1
Members of "other tribes"	27	30.0	60	53.1	87	42.9
Total ⁽²⁾	90	100.0	113	100.0	203	100

(1) The figures are given on page 7. In calculating the percentages and in the analysis that follows all compounds falling in Avenue 14 (bis) of Tract BIII and on one side of Avenue 1 in Tract AI were omitted because it is known that they were comparatively recently settled. Otherwise each of the two tracts cover areas settled for some 20 years or more.

(2) Unknowns excluded.

Chi-square = 11.7

P less than 0.001

TABLE X - (b) TRACT BIII: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TITLE-HOLDERS OF COMPOUNDS ACQUIRED IN DIFFERENT WAYS IN TRACT BIII, BY "FOUR PRINCIPAL TRIBES" AND BY "OTHER TRIBES"

	Title-holders of allocated and "inherited" compounds		Title-holders of "bought" compounds		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Members of one of the "four principal tribes" at the time of first settlement of the area	105	70.0	94	68.1	199	69.1
Members of "other tribes"	45	30.0	44	31.9	89	30.9
Total(1)	150	100.0	138	100.0	288	100.0

In Tract BIII, the 150 persons who are original title-holders or "inheritors" are members of 25 tribes and four of these each represent at least 10 per cent of the total. They are the Babali with 28 per cent; the Barumbi with 18 per cent; the Bakusu with 12.7 per cent; and the Bakumu with 11.3 per cent. They are referred to in Table X(b) in the same way as are the principal groups of Tract AI.

Table X(a) and (b) set out for each area the number of title-holders who acquired their compounds in different ways and who fall into the two groupings of "four principal tribes" and "others".

It may be seen that in Tract AI the number of persons that are affiliated to one of the four original principal groups and who "bought" their compounds is not proportional to the number who belong to the original groups and who are either survivors from the early days of settlement or "inheritors". On the other hand, in Tract BIII the difference between the corresponding proportions is insignificant.

Definite conclusions can be drawn from the data in the two tables only if we are prepared to make assumptions such as that the persons who "inherited" compounds did so from members of their own tribes and from persons who were themselves original title-holders. There is no apparent reason to suspect the validity of assumptions of this kind but we have, of course, no evidence to prove them correct and must, therefore, be cautious in interpreting the figures. But it does seem that, whereas Tract AI tends to attract tribally heterogeneous newcomers, Tract BIII tends to attract mainly persons whose tribe is already well represented there.

(1) Unknowns excluded.

Positive evidence that the tribal "clusters" in BIII are maintaining themselves are provided by the findings concerning particular groups. We may take two examples:

- (i) Reference to Sketch Map III shows that the Babali are concentrated in Avenues 16-18, where their members who were allocated or who "inherited" compounds outnumber those in Avenues 14-15 by 35 to 7 title-holders. It is therefore clear that the Babali concentration in Avenues 16-18 dates back to the time when the area was first settled, and the question may be posed whether this concentration has been maintained. The tract as a whole contains 36 Babali who purchased their compounds. Using the information we have on the total number of "bought" compounds, it can be estimated that, had the Babali "bought" at random in the area, 15 out of the 36 would now be found in Avenues 14-15, and 21 in Avenues 16-18. In actual fact we find 6 in Avenues 14-15 and 30 in Avenues 16-18.
- (ii) The case of the Bakumu need not be explained in detail. It is sufficient to say that 67.9 per cent of their members in the area bought compounds and to refer to the Sketch Map to conclude that their two "clusters" (along Avenue 14 and diagonally across Avenues 15-18) must be the consequence of spontaneous grouping.

2. The relative residential isolation from fellow-tribesmen of more and of less "civilized" title-holders: The second investigation, complementary to that reported above, was confined to Belge I, and sought to establish whether the more "civilized" members of the community are less frequently neighbours to their fellow-tribesmen than are less "civilized" persons.

The investigation was conducted as follows:

- (i) Ten residential blocks were chosen with the aid of a map in such a way that they were well dispersed throughout the quarter. Survey Tract AI contains three of these blocks, Tract AII contains one, and Tracts AIII, AIV, and AV contain two each. Although the selection was not random in a technical sense, the blocks adequately represent the whole range of social areas encountered in the quarter.
- (ii) Details asked of each title-holder included sex, tribal affiliation, and occupation. Where a title-holder was absent for an indefinite period his principal substitute, whether tenant, kinsman, or friend, was enumerated in his stead.
- (iii) On the basis of the data gathered from neighbours, all title-holders were classified into three categories according to whether they had two, one, or no neighbours of the same tribe as themselves. Neighbours were defined as the title-holders of compounds on either side, thus excluding those of compounds back-to-back or facing each other across an avenue. By definition, therefore, every title-holder had two neighbours unless his or her compound happened to be at the end of an avenue in which case he or she was dropped from the sample. The use of this particular definition is not intended to imply that having neighbours of one's own tribe residing next-door is necessarily considered to be of greater significance than having them opposite, at the

back, or a few doors away. A broader definition of neighbours could equally well have been used but this one had the advantage of being very simple.

The ten residential blocks investigated contained 279 dwelling compounds of which 37 were occupied by women and 35 by retired or self-employed men who could not be classified according to the three occupational categories of white collar employees, specialized manual workers, and labourers. Differences in degree of residential isolation from fellow-tribesman between men and women and between wage-earning and non-wage-earning men were not statistically significant and the data are not reported here.

The differences found between the three categories of wage-earning men are given in Table XI.

TABLE XI - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF CATEGORIES
BY INDICES OF RESIDENTIAL ISOLATION FROM
FELLOW-TRIBESMEN

<u>Neighbours'</u> <u>Tribal Affiliations</u>	<u>Labourers</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Specialized</u> <u>Manual</u> <u>%</u>	<u>White</u> <u>Collar</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>%</u>
Both same tribe as title-holder	7.8	6.4	2.1	5.8
One same, one different	33.3	30.3	8.5	26.1
Both different to title-holder	58.8	63.3	89.4	68.1
TOTAL	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	51	109	47	207

Chi-square = 12.9. P less than .01. Values of chi-square and P calculated with first two rows of table amalgamated.

The percentages themselves merit little attention. The fact which is of interest is that the more "civilized" elements of the population are less frequently neighbours to fellow-tribesmen than are the less "civilized". The difference is perceptible between labourers and specialized manual workers but is particularly marked between white collar employees and the rest of the population.

The findings are in keeping with, and help to explain, those of the investigation into the tribal settlement patterns in Tracts AI and BIII. The "mixed" pattern of Tract AI would seem to be a consequence of an invasion by more "civilized" persons of diverse ethnic origins into a neighbourhood that was probably "clustered" in earlier days.

IV. SUMMARY AND COMMENTS

Although the findings of the study are outlined throughout the text, it may be useful to restate the more important of these in summarized form:

- (i) All three of the principal African quarters of the town contain both more "civilized" and less "civilized" areas. The more "civilized" neighbourhoods are situated close-in to the European centre, and a steady transition is evidenced as one proceeds from these to the peripheral areas. The difference between the more and the less civilized areas is appreciable but there are no neighbourhoods that are exclusive to the more Westernized inhabitants.
- (ii) The siting of the residential quarters and also, probably, the administrative policy followed in settling the population in earlier days have given to each quarter a particular combination of ethnic groups. Large neighbourhoods that are dominated by a single group are exceptional, but throughout each of the principal quarters there are areas in which one or more groups are significantly over-represented. In addition, in the less "civilized" areas it is not uncommon for members of the same tribe to settle in "clusters". None of the larger tribes studied was found to be represented in appreciable numbers throughout the town.
- (iii) Ethnic affiliation remains an important factor in ordering the pattern of residential settlement of less "civilized" inhabitants but is losing significance amongst the more "civilized".

In conclusion, two comments must be passed on the possible value of this investigation.

Firstly, while the findings are thought to be of some interest in themselves, their full significance will only be realized when it can be effectively demonstrated whether or not differences between more "civilized" and less "civilized" areas are associated with differences in social organization and in the system of inter-personal relations in the two types of neighbourhoods. It is hoped that analyses of other kinds of data gathered by the Social Survey will eventually enable the results reported here to be appreciated in this way. For example, it may be suggested, without anticipating the findings of an analysis which is not yet complete, that kinship connexions play a considerably less important part in determining accommodation arrangements on dwelling compounds in the more "civilized" areas.

Secondly, it is not possible on the basis of data treated in this paper to convey any impression of differences in the social significance of ethnic affiliation between the various tribal groups. We can generalize that amongst the more Westernized sections of the community ethnic affiliation is losing significance, but the question of whether this is equally true of all tribes remains to be answered.

APPENDIX

A Note on the Attitudes to Town and Village
Life of 38 Men in Stanleyville

The fact that the Stanleyville population is to a considerable extent up-rooted from village life is of particular significance in relation to the findings of the investigation reported in this paper. In order to convey an impression of the attitudes of the inhabitants towards town and village life, therefore, this note recounts a small-scale field investigation conducted on a group of 38 men.

The men interviewed were the inhabitants of a residential block of 23 dwelling compounds situated in an area of the town which has a low economic status and a negligible proportion of white collar employees (Tract BIII). They represent the adult male inhabitants of the block who were successfully contacted over a period of about two weeks.⁽¹⁾ With an element of floating population it is difficult to know exactly how many residents were missed, but the average number of adult men in all these compounds at any time may be estimated at about 45.

TABLE (i) - COMPOSITION OF GROUP OF 38 MEN IN TRACT BIII STUDIED IN
RESPECT OF ATTITUDES TO URBAN LIFE COMPARED TO THAT OF
ADULT MALE POPULATION

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Group Studied</u>		<u>Town Pop.</u>	<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Group Studied</u>		<u>Town Pop.</u>
	No.	%	%		No.	%	%
Labourer	19	50	36.7	16-25 yrs.	13	34.2	28.2
Specialized manual	15	39.5	42.5	26-35	9	23.7	35.7
White collar	0	0.0	9.5	36-45	7	18.4	21.4
				46-55	4	10.5	9.3
Self-employed and not gainfully employed	4	10.5	11.3	56 and over	5	13.2	5.4
TOTAL	38	100.0	100.0	TOTAL	38	100.0	100.0

The composition of the group in terms of occupational categories and age groups is compared to that of the town population in Table (i) above. No surprise need be expressed that the group is not representative of the town according to these two criteria, but it is pertinent to note its particular composition. All the adult age groups are well represented but there is not a single white collar employee in the sample.

(1) I studied the inhabitants of this residential block over a period of about one year, but questionnaires on the topic of urbanization were completed over a two-week period.

The subjects were asked open-ended questions about the advantages and disadvantages of both town and village life, whether they hoped to stay in Stanleyville or return home, and the reasons for their various statements.

The men may be classified into two categories, according to their hopes to stay in town or to return home viz. the "temporarily urbanized" and the "permanently urbanized".⁽¹⁾

The temporarily urbanized category comprises 12 men who do not wish to remain in Stanleyville till the end of their days. These 12 men were born in villages and all have kinsmen in rural areas with whom they claim to be in regular contact. Amongst this group there is a good deal of variation in the formulation of hopes for the future:

Four have the intention of returning to their villages in the near future on the completion of a specific object in town.

Two hope to divide their time in future years between town and village.

Five hope to return to their villages but not until old age, sickness or some other comparable misfortune befalls them.

I explained that he can entertain neither staying in town nor returning to his village and hopes to settle at some future date in a commercial centre near to his tribal area.

The permanently urbanized category comprises 26 men who said, on being interviewed, that they do not wish to return to their villages to settle and that, as far as they can see, they will end their days in Stanleyville.

Amongst these 26 "permanently urbanized" men there is a good deal of variation in respect of their residential histories and contacts:

Four are men who were born away from rural areas and do not know their villages of origin.

Eight were born in rural areas but are no longer in touch with their villages (some have allowed contacts to lapse while others explained that their rural kinsmen had died or emigrated).

Fourteen were born in villages and claim that they still keep in touch with their rural kinsmen.

Taking the criterion of links with rural kinsmen into account the 38 men may therefore be classified into the more meaningful categories shown in Table (ii) below.

(1) This type of classification is used by Mitchell in research on the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt. But I have only used two categories, whereas Mitchell has five. My category of "temporarily urbanized" corresponds to his categories A, B, C, and my "permanently urbanized" to his D and E. See J.C. Mitchell "A Note on the Urbanization of Africans on the Copperbelt", The Rhodes Livingstone Institute Journal, No. 12 (1952)

TABLE (ii) - CLASSIFICATION OF 38 MEN BY THEIR INTENTIONS IN REGARD TO STAYING IN TOWN AND BY LINKS WITH RURAL KINSMEN

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Temporarily urbanized with existing rural contacts	12	31.6
Permanently urbanized with existing rural contacts	14	36.8
Permanently urbanized without rural contacts	<u>12</u>	<u>31.6</u>
	<u>38</u>	<u>100.0</u>

That all the "temporarily urbanized" men are in contact with rural kinsmen is easily understood. The interesting fact is that of all men with existing rural contacts a significant proportion consider themselves as permanently uprooted from village life.

An analysis of the statements made by the 38 men in explaining their hopes and intentions revealed that life in Stanleyville is frequently appreciated by Africans not only as attractive itself but as a refuge from many difficulties and hardships in the village. "Kizungu" or life with the Europeans, offers an escape from the "harsh" authority of tribal chiefs, from sorcery, from drudgery of work in the fields, from obligations to demanding kinsmen and from the hostilities and jealousies of the village. The town also has its own positive attractions. It offers enjoyable social life, material standards unattainable in the village and opportunities of advancement for oneself and one's children.

On the other hand, the village is sometimes thought of nostalgically for the social and economic security of family life and for the abundance of food, but a majority of "permanently urbanized" men consider that despite such advantages in the village a return home would involve them in an intolerable situation. They commonly say that after one has been accustomed to "Kizungu" it is impossible later to accommodate to the "uncivilized" or "basendji" ways of rural people.

Furthermore, the village people are said to be distrustful and jealous of those who have "followed the Europeans". One may return home to visit, and most of the men who are still in contact with rural kinsmen do so, but to return permanently is said to be courting disaster. "They (the village people) like you to come back for a few months", one man explained, "but if you stay for good they will poison you."

The difficulty of accommodating to village ways and village people after a spell away is also sensed by some "temporarily urbanized" men, and this feeling of dislocation partly accounts for their frequently qualified hopes of returning to village life.

It is evident that the particular statistics given in Table (ii) cannot be taken as estimates for Stanleyville or for the type of area from which the men were drawn, but the investigation does show that even in the less "civilized" peripheral areas of the town there is a strong and developing attitude of permanent urbanization, which is a pre-condition to the development of a stratified urban community.