

Notes and News

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Lloyd A. Fallers

THE death of the American anthropologist Lloyd Fallers ('Tom' to his friends), at the early age of 48, is a grievous loss both to African studies and to social anthropology.

Fallers was born in Nebraska in 1925. He attended the University of Chicago, where after reading pre-medicine as an undergraduate he went on to postgraduate study in anthropology. In 1949 he came to the London School of Economics on a Fulbright Scholarship, and in the following year he took up a Fellowship at the East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere College, Kampala, carrying out during 1950-2 a twenty-month field study in Busoga, Eastern Uganda. After that he taught for two years at Chicago and Princeton Universities, but he returned to the Institute at Kampala in 1954, where he carried out research in Buganda as part of an interdisciplinary study of Leadership, of which he was both originator and director. During 1956-7 he was himself Director of the Institute, in succession to Dr. Audrey Richards. After that he went back to the States, where he taught at Berkeley for three years before returning in 1960 to the University of Chicago, which he was to make his base for the rest of his life. During 1958-9 he was a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, California.

Like others of Fallers's friends and colleagues at the Makerere Institute during the 1950s, I vividly recall his enthusiasm for research and the intellectual stimulus he generated, as well as the warm hospitality which he and his wife Margaret (herself an anthropologist and the author of the *Ethnographic Survey of Africa* volume on the Baganda and Basoga) offered to Fellows and non-Fellows of the Institute alike. Fallers's genuine modesty and his real concern for others enabled him to establish and maintain outstandingly good relations with everyone. A vital function of the Institute at that time was to facilitate communication between research-workers, the responsible government officials of various categories, and the general public, as well as between the research-workers (who came from several different disciplines) themselves. In this difficult but crucial role Fallers carried on triumphantly the precedent set by Audrey Richards.

His interest and competence in interdisciplinary research specially qualified him for the Institute's directorship. The Leadership project, mentioned above, involved the effective collaboration of social anthropologists, economic historians, and social psychologists, and it resulted in the publication, under Fallers's editorship, of the important study *The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence* (1964).

His field of major theoretical interest, in which he continued to make important contributions throughout his career, was that of authority and status relationships; their bases, the kinds of values they entailed, and the ways in which these might conflict, as well as the forms of their modification in social change. This interest stemmed largely from his familiarity with Max Weber's study of types of authority, and he fruitfully applied many of Weber's insights, especially in his first intensive field study of the Basoga. This research led to the publication of two important books. The first of these, entitled (significantly) *Bantu Bureaucracy*, provided an original and detailed analysis of the kinds of conflict inherent in a traditional African society, taking account as well of the new and radical stresses brought about by colonial rule. Fallers saw more clearly than most of his contemporaries that the

Western administrator and his staff were an essential element in the current social scene, and his book is, I think, unique for its time in containing a chapter on the role of the (European) district commissioner.

The other major study deriving from Fallers's Soga research was published thirteen years later. It is *Law without Precedent* (1969), a detailed and fully documented account of the working of Soga 'Native' courts, and an analysis of the largely implicit system of legal ideas these involve. The work is a substantial and original contribution to the study of African law.

In addition to these books and other articles on his field research, Fallers published a number of important papers on comparative and theoretical issues in the context both of African studies and of developing countries in general. He continued to be centrally concerned with problems of political and social stratification and social mobility. A number of his more valuable essays, together with a few chapters reprinted from *The King's Men*, were republished in his last book, *Inequality: Social Stratification Reconsidered* (1973). This also contains an important new Introduction, in which Fallers sums up his more significant findings in this field. He concludes that the concepts of class and social stratification, appropriate to Western societies, are a good deal less so where traditional African cultures are concerned: in these the notion of inequality, in the form of dyadic relationships of superiority and inferiority, provides a better key to understanding.

Fallers's main empirical research was undertaken in Uganda. But the scope of his interests, and of some of his writings, was continent-wide. Indeed it extended to all developing countries. In 1964, with notable initiative and characteristic enthusiasm, he began a programme of field research in a community in western Turkey. Unhappily, this was cut short by his declining health.

For several years Tom Fallers fought, with immense courage, against a grave and incapacitating illness. He is and will continue to be sadly missed. But his friends and colleagues will find some solace in the memory of a life well lived, and in the substantial, scholarly, and enduring contribution to our understanding of changing social and political processes in Africa which he has left us.

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LA nécessité s'est fait sentir, dès 1967, de créer un Comité des Sciences Humaines au sein du Comité National de la Recherche Scientifique, organisme relevant du Ministère du Plan et de Développement — l'INTSH en est le maillon essentiel. Étant donné sa vocation, il faut le faire participer au programme de développement économique et social inauguré par le premier plan quinquennal. Depuis, d'année en année son action tend de plus en plus à cerner les problèmes de développement.

Au cours des années 1973 et 1974 on a pu noter d'importantes études confiées à l'INTSH; tels les exemples de: la réalisation d'une enquête socio-économique dans le cadre d'une nouvelle définition de la politique économique dans la zone cotonnière; l'étude socio-économique sur les populations du Bas-Chari — elle est nécessitée par le projet de développement régional Serbewell-Assale du programme de la Commission du Bassin du Lac Tchad; l'étude écologique sur la déforestation autour de N'Djamena; les prospections archéologiques et fouilles sur des gisements Sao (Régions de Dougia et Logone-Gana) ainsi qu'au Barh-el-Gazal, au Goz Kerki et au Djourab, les recherches sur la croissance urbaine et l'inégal développement, le pastoralisme dans la zone sahélienne, les formations sédimentaires de l'interfluve Logone-Chari, les études climatologiques sur l'aridification du climat et ses principales conséquences.