

They are not only scientifically meaningless but an insult to African peoples. In most reports, these terms are superfluous and completely gratuitous. They can simply be struck out without in any way altering the meaning of the passages in which they occur. Burundi was a kingdom before the colonial conquest. It was hierarchical and stratified into castes of differing rank and privilege, the primarily pastoral Tutsi minority closely linked to the ruling group and the agricultural majority of Hutu under their domination. It is as ludicrous to refer to the Tutsi as a tribe as it would be to call the Brahmans of India a tribe or to refer to the Flemings and Wallons of Belgium as tribes. Indeed, such things are occasionally said in jest, but for the people of Burundi it is not a joke. It is a matter of life and death.

## OBITUARIES

The death of **Joel W. Gregory** is a sad loss for Africanists the world over, and particularly for Canadian Africanists. Joel Gregory was Professor of Demography, Université de Montréal and an active member in the Canadian Association of African Studies. His contribution to the study of African demography was extensive. His most recent book (which he co-edited with Dennis Cordell) *African Population and Capitalism: Historical Perspectives* was published in Westview's series on African Modernization and Development. In addition, he compiled *African Historical Demography: A Multidisciplinary Bibliography*, in collaboration with Dennis Cordell and Raymond Gervais, and he has co-edited a collection of essays, *Démographie et sous développement*. At the time of his death, his research continued to focus on African historical demography and household strategies, both in Africa and the Caribbean. Joel Gregory helped make the Université de Montréal a major center in demographic studies. It is hoped that the work that was so important to him will continue there and that his memory will inspire those colleagues he has left behind.

Paul E. Lovejoy  
President, Canadian Association of African Studies

The death of **Michael Crowder** on the 14th of August this year came as a profound shock to his friends and colleagues alike. He was at the height of his powers -- researching, teaching and writing with all his customary vigor. He was also an editor of the *Journal of African History* and an active member of the board of the International African Institute.

Michael's distinguished career as an Africanist, which was inspired by military service in Nigeria, 1953-54, led him through a series of appointments in African universities: Secretary of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1962-64; Director, Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone, 1965-67; Director, Institute of African Studies, University of Ife, 1968-71; Professor of History, Ahmadu Bello University, 1971-75; Research Professor of History, University of Lagos, 1975-78; Professor and Head of Department of History, University of Botswana, 1982-85. Addition-

ally, he was editor of *History Today*, 1979-81 and at the time of his death was dividing his time between a professorship of African History at Amherst College and editing a massive series of documents on the end of colonialism in London.

Despite his many administrative responsibilities (only a fraction of which are listed above), Michael was a dedicated and active scholar. His many books include *The Story of Nigeria* (four editions between 1966 and 1977), *Senegal: A Study in French Assimilation Policy* (1962), *West Africa under Colonial Rule* (1968), *Revolt in Bussa* (1973), and *The Flogging of Phineas McIntosh* (1988). He edited or co-edited many books including *History of West Africa* (three editions, with Jacob Ajayi), *Africa in the Wider World* (with David Brokensha, 1967), *West African Chiefs* (with Obaro Ikime, 1970), *West African Resistance* (1971 and 1978), *Education for Development in Botswana* (1984), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. VIII (1984), and *Historical Atlas of Africa* (with Jacob Ajayi, 1985). His *Biography of Tshekedi Khama*, almost complete, will be published posthumously. A caring and committed scholar, deeply devoted to education in Africa in the broadest sense, he also found time to produce no less than ten school textbooks, many in collaboration with African authors.

Michael was one of those rare human beings who combined serious scholarship with a brilliant flair for administration. His work was inspired by a deep and lasting love for Africa and a commitment to its development which found their expression in a warm and generous personality imbued with a sparkling sense of humor. He will be sorely missed by a very wide circle of friends, colleagues, and former students. A bright flame has been extinguished, alas too early, but his scholarly achievements and talented organizational skills will continue to make their impact on the world of Africanists and upon Africa itself for a long time to come.

John Hunwick  
Northwestern University

*Lila Abu-Lughod kindly submitted this article previously published in the newsletter of the American Anthropological Association. It is in memory of her friend and mentor, Paul Reisman. Reprinted with permission of the AAA from Anthropology Newsletter, Vol. 29, No. 6, September 1988.*

### **Paul Reisman: An Appreciation**

Paul Reisman, who died unexpectedly on June 29, was the person who introduced me to anthropology. Those of us who had the privilege of knowing him admired him as a generous and respectful teacher and a deeply thoughtful and unpretentious scholar with a special vision of what anthropology could be. From the profound way he touched my life, and I'm sure the lives of others, one can understand why he believed that "our selves are actually made up of the selves of people we live with" (1983: 122). We are who we are in part because we have known him.

One feels the pain of loss. And yet Paul, more than most, allows us to continue to share in him through his work because of the intensely personal and introspective quality of his writing. For him, anthropology was not a profession, a discipline or a career; it was a way of life, a way of exploring the questions that haunted him, a way of under-

standing what it is to be human. He wrote of his first book that it was "a resultant of the encounter of a man belonging to Western civilization and haunted by questions which life there raises for him, with a radically different civilization which he investigates with those questions constantly in mind." (1977:1-2).

In a bravely honest paper called "Fieldwork as Initiation and as Therapy," he reflected more deeply on his personal motivations for doing fieldwork. Admitting a sense of malaise, a feeling of being trapped in a culture not of his own making and uncomfortable in his interpersonal relations, he said that he hoped to jostle himself through this "chance to be with people whose perceptions of the world and whose expectations about me would be totally different from what I was used to. This would relieve, at least temporarily, the conflict I was experiencing between my need to be with people and the feeling of being trapped while with them" (1982:2). Perhaps most of us feel something of this. But Paul was unique in his honesty, his ability to reflect it in his writing and to inspire with it the lives of his students. Living with the Fulani in a village in Burkina Faso changed him, he wrote, in positive and unexpected ways, making him especially sensitive to "how personal bonds between people were the foundation of community life."

One of the first to consider seriously what it meant to do fieldwork and one of the first to experiment with ethnographic writing, he wrote, before it had become fashionable to think about such things, that one of his most useful methods was "a disciplined introspection in which I compare my feelings and reactions in particular situations with what I think the Fulani feel in those situations" (1972:2). He structured his book in two parts - one that resembled more conventional ethnographies and described what for the Fulani was the "found" world, and a second, called "Life as Lived," which sought to understand the world of the Fulani from within, through a process of questioning himself and his Fulani hosts simultaneously.

Letting himself be guided by his deepest concerns (as he always encouraged his students to be), he formulated an original set of questions around the central problem of the individual's relationship to society. The themes to which he returned, again and again, were the differences between the Fulani way of seeing society as a fabric of personal relationships, and our own as a system of impersonal institutions (1977:203), and the different meanings personal relationships had for a sense of self and of freedom. He was interested in how the Fulani nurtured an inner strength that seemed to allow individuals freedom from social pressure while at the same time enabling them to feel themselves related to others and even responsible for keeping society going.

In his later work, based on a second long period of fieldwork among the Riimaaybe, the Fulani's ex-slaves, he began to question the perspectives of psychoanalysis and developmental psychology and to trace their ideological bases. In the ethnography of childhood he was writing, tentatively called "First Find your Child a Good Mother," he was developing instead a radically sociocultural approach to the person in his or her relationship to others. "We would be mistaken to think of personality as something someone *has* or, conversely, that mysteriously controls one's behavior," he argued in an article entitled "On the Irrelevance of Child Rearing Practices for the Formation of Personality." Rather, it is the expression, in a given social context, of one's sense of who one is.

This expression occurs on two levels at once, for the manners one adopts are both like a badge by which everyone can locate you in the realm of possible cultural identities, and they portray in the cultural language of gestures the very meaning of that identity in the society's value system" (1983:118). In this formulation, beautifully illustrated through his analysis of the Fulani, he offers us a rich way of doing cultural interpretation that is sensitive to issues of power and social hierarchy and yet never loses sight of the phenomenology of human experience.

Paul's attitudes toward the Fulani with whom he lived, and toward other people about whom he read and taught in anthropology, were unusual. Rather than simply learning about them, he felt we could learn from them. He ended his review of the literature on the person and the life cycle in Africa (1986:112) by writing that "being a person and understanding what a person is are the same sort of process. In fact the very reason why you and I are struggling with these thoughts today is so that we can be whomever we are more fully. Just as Newton hoped to discover God's design in the order of the cosmos, and thus be better able to further that design, so are we, as we study personhood in African societies, hoping perhaps to find a design for living that will imbue our own lives with greater meaning than they now have. The point from which we have to start, then, is that being a person is essentially a process of making meaning. It follows from this, as so many African instances have shown us, that other people are an integral part of that process."

My sense is that Paul did learn from the people with whom he lived in the village of Petage and in Djibo. The sociocultural theory of personality he was developing (see 1983) owes much to them, for through them he was able to begin to see how peculiar are our own Western middle-class ideas about the separate and isolated self, striving desperately to define itself through its possessions, deeds, and experiences, with a dulled awareness of the importance of our relationships to others and of our fundamental connectedness. "For all humans," he suggests, "the sense of self is the feeling of one's quality of relatedness to the rest of the world." He found in the Fulani world a rich sense of acknowledged ties, a way of admitting dependence on others without sacrificing integrity, a way of being free without being alone, and a way of feeling responsible for the social world in which one lives, not oppressed by it or helpless before it.

Keenly aware of the dilemmas of anthropology and unwilling to give easy answers, Paul nevertheless had hope. Commenting on the new proposals for a dialogic anthropology, an anthropology in which those with whom we work would be more equal, he wrote, "There remains an inherent contradiction between treating the natives as equals and using the knowledge they give us for goals they would never imagine themselves. ... We have to face the fact that we are using other people for our own purposes all the time. Rather than try morally to purify ourselves to the point where we cease to use ethnography, it is my contention... that through an intense fieldwork experience we can go beyond ethnography, as it were, to a relationship with others that broadens everyone's sense of what it means to be human" (1982:19). There is much that we can still learn about being human from what Paul has left us.

## Works Cited:

- 1977 *Freedom in Fulani Social Life: An Introspective Ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1982 "Fieldwork as Initiation and Therapy." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. Washington, DC.
- 1983 "On the Irrelevance of Child Rearing Practices for the Formation of Personality." *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 76:103-129.
- 1986 "The Person and the Life Cycle in African Social Life and Thought." *African Studies Review* 29:71-138.

## FUTURE MEETINGS

The **World Congress of Black Intellectuals** will be hosted by Lincoln University (PA) and the city of Philadelphia on 3-9 June, 1990. This event will bring together two thousand delegates from all over the Black world (scientists, scholars, artists, men and women of Letters...) around the theme: "The Black World in the Third Millennium." For further information, contact Congress Secretariat, Lincoln University, Lincoln, PA, 19352.

An **"International Conference on Women and Development: Focus on Latin America, Africa and U.S. Minorities"** will be held at the State University of New York at Albany on March 3-4, 1989. Topics to be covered include the impact of modernization, urbanization and immigration on Third World women's culture and history; the impact of development forces on Third World women's culture and history; and the emergence of women's studies in the countries of the Third World. For more information or preregistration, please contact the conference sponsors: Prof. Chris Bose, Institute for Research on Women, SUNY/Albany, Albany, NY 12222 (518-442-4670) or Prof. Edna Acosta-Belén, Chair, Latin American and Caribbean Studies, SUNY/Albany, Albany, NY 12222 (518-442-4719).

The **14th Annual African Literature Association Conference**, "25 years after Dakar and Fourah Bay: The Growth of African Literature" will be held **March 20-23, 1989**, Dakar and Saly Portudal, Senegal. Focus on Diversity and Dynamism of Oral and Written African Literatures in Creativity, Criticism, and Scholarship. Linkages and Nuances between Africa North and South of the Sahara. Contact: Edris Makward, 866 Van Hise Hall, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI 53706; (608) 262-2487.