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***Part I. Cultural anthropology as a form
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production – its potential and
shortcomings***

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Chapter 1

Virtuality as a key concept in the study of globalisation

Towards an anthropology of present-day Africa's symbolic transformation

After my oral-historical and ethnographic field-work on popular Islam in the highlands of North-Western Tunisia (1968, 1970), I joined the Department of Sociology of the University of Zambia. Although teaching, administration, and our family life under (then, anyway, still) unfamiliar tropical conditions absorbed most of my time, living in Lusaka, the capital of a newly independent country in sub-Saharan Africa, offered immense opportunities for field-work. Moreover, local research was greatly encouraged by the University of Zambia and – in those days before the collapse of copper revenues – even subsidised, so that expatriate lecturers of social science could be better equipped for their already arduous task of teaching an unfamiliar discipline to Zambian students straight from boarding school – or, as most of my students then, not even staying at campus but dispersed all over the country and, in these pre-Internet times, only reachable through correspondence, mimeographed syllabuses, and summer schools. Under those constraints, my first field-research in sub-Saharan Africa was to be urban research, on such topics as: Lusaka churches as voluntary associations; churches as factors of social control in the management of urbanites' marital life; religious affiliation as a factor in educational success; and gradually (under the influence of the urban immigrant Mr Dennis Shiyowe from the Nkoya people in Western Zambia, who was to become my research assistant, and ended up as my elder brother) what was to remain my main topic of urban research: the staging of female puberty rites, healing-cult sessions, and funerals, by Lusaka urban immigrants. It this connection I learned the basics of the Nkoya language and of the urban migrants' Nkoya culture, but it was only after extending my research to the remote rural areas of Kaoma District, and into the recent and remote past, that

my career's main research project began to take shape. Urban anthropology had received ample attention in the course of the excellent education I had received at Amsterdam University, yet my scientific perspective and field experience (like that of most anthropologists at the time) were predominantly rural. My early Lusaka research forced me to come to terms⁷⁷ with the bewildering complexities and contradictions of modern African life in an urban setting, and to join my research hosts in their struggle to make sense of a life world that had left them utterly poor, powerless, deprived from most material, sexual, social, cultural and spiritual resources that could be taken for granted in their original village environment, and forced them to live among linguistic and cultural strangers. How was meaning at least partially, and fragmentarily, being reproduced, or rather restored, in their lives? What was the role of urban-rural ties in that process? What was the role of the state, the modern economy, formal education, and formal organisations such as churches, schools, mines, companies? When by the late 1980s African Studies were launched on the path of globalisation studies, these questions obtained a new relevance and new interpretative paradigms, but they were essentially familiar questions, whose answers required not just a grounding in globalisation theory and post-modern thought, but also a solid empirical familiarity with the realities of African life today.⁷⁸ As a stepping-stone towards the intercultural-philosophical arguments that make up the bulk of the present volume, I offer as the first Chapter of this book a long argument on virtuality as a key concept for the understanding of globalisation in the African context. Since towns have functioned as the main interfaces between historic African life and the outside forces of globalisation, our emphasis in most of this Chapter will be on urban conditions. In order to prepare the reader for this specific empirical focus, I introduce, as the first Section of this Chapter, another stepping-stone: an overview (now dated in some respects, still relevant in others) of the state of the art in African urban studies by the time globalisation studies were around the corner.

'When children play at trains their game is connected with their knowledge of trains. It would nevertheless be possible for the children of a tribe unacquainted with trains to learn this game from others, and to play it without knowing that it was copied from anything. One might say that the game did not make the same sense to them as to us.' (Wittgenstein 1967a / 1953: 97e, 282; needless to point out that this quotation addresses *virtuality*, and does not express the racist view of (urban) Africans as children.)

1.0. African towns: Some sociological aspects

African urban studies emerged shortly before World War II (e.g. Hellman 1935; Wilson 1942), as social scientists began to realise that the almost exclusive emphasis, in African social research at the time, on *rural* life was both intellectually and politically one-sided. Sizeable towns had for centuries been a feature both of the continent's coastal societies and of various parts of the interior;

⁷⁷ However, from the Africanist perspective, my colleague Buijtenhuijs and I also sought to make a contribution to the study of West European urban society; van Binsbergen & Buijtenhuijs 1978.

⁷⁸ The passion for urban African research as, especially, a quest for meaning remained with me and, apart from early Lusaka-related papers (van Binsbergen 1974, 1982), yielded such later studies as van Binsbergen 1990 (on therapeutic meaning in Francistown, Botswana), 1993d (symbolism in the context of a Botswana town a), 1995e (on globalisation and decivilisation in urban Botswana), 1997f and 2000g (how a young female migrant makes sense of her urban space in Botswana), and 2000f (on church and social conflict in a Lusaka family conflict) – as well as the present Chapter.

many more towns had been founded since the Scramble for Africa after the Berlin Congress (1881). and – largely on the basis of the migratory influx of rural-born Africans – were already rapidly expanding as administrative, commercial and industrial or mining centres.

It was the time when now classic anthropological monographs on Africa were being written – but the study of African social change, even in a rural setting, was still largely relegated to afterthoughts, *after* ‘the main book’. African urban life posed enormous problems of conceptualisation and analysis to its early researchers, whose first field-work experience had normally been rural. The urban situation appeared to them as of a bewildering complexity – not unlike the experience of the urban migrants whom they followed to town from their respective rural homes. How could social research begin to capture that immense heterogeneity of regional, ethnic and cultural origins, and to see patterns of repetitive, institutionalised social relations, within the towns, and between the towns and the rural communities that fed them with people, food and no doubt also, to a large extent, with norms and beliefs? Anthropology had recognised that African village life was to a considerable – if initially exaggerated – extent organised in enduring, localised, culturally fairly homogeneous and corporate groups, which were largely conceptualised in a kinship idiom; in these groups, individuals were tied together through the converging effects of: *multiplex* (many-stranded)⁷⁹ and interdependent roles, an (often exaggerated) sense of community (as enforced by both ritual, a shared world-view, traditional politics and ethnic identity), and interlocking economic interests to be pursued within a limited rural space. If most of this seemed to be lacking in the emergent African urban society, what then constituted its structural features? Admittedly, general sociology had already offered dichotomies (such as Durkheim’s mechanical / organic solidarity – 1926 / 1883; or Tönnies’ *Gemeinschaft* / *Gesellschaft* – 1887) that helped to impose a first ordering on the African urban data. But specifically urban interpretative models deriving from other, more urbanised continents were still in the process of being formulated for the first time. Despite the early theorising of Durkheim, Tönnies and others, it was only in the 1920s and ’30s that North Atlantic⁸⁰ urban life – the very cradle of the social sciences – was being empirically explored in detail so as to add concrete social descriptions to the generali-

⁷⁹ A common situation in traditional village environments, in Africa and elsewhere, is that one’s neighbour is also one’s consanguineal and / or affinal kinsmen; a member of one’s own clan or of a clan with which one has a recognised, specific historic relationship; a fellow-producer in the fields and the forests; a fellow-member of the councils and courts that regulate socio-political life at the local level; a fellow-member of the ritual groups that come together on a more or less regular basis. Clearly, the relationship between such neighbours is *many-stranded*. By contrast, the relationship between an urban street peddler and his customer is in principle single-stranded: it is a-typical (though not impossible) that urban peddler and customer are at the same time each other’s neighbours, go to the same church, etc.

⁸⁰ *I.e.* North American and North-Western European.