ASA FIRTH LECTURE 2022

Unlearning Anthropology

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Abstract

What does it mean to unlearn anthropology? Amidst calls to decolonise and transform universities, does unlearning help us understand how imperial pasts shape our disciplines and institutions today? I use Raymond Firth's vivid description of social anthropologists as a 'band of brothers' to open up these questions. His Shakespearian allusion evoked a close-knit intellectual fraternity spread across the British empire and its 'dominions'. He used his organisational skills and scholarly vocation to assemble the discipline of social anthropology in a colonial university world. Its contested legacies remain with us, shaping academic affiliations, institutions and identities. What forms of disciplinary unlearning best untangle these colonial presences and affects?

PLEASE NOTE: the lecture's slides are appended to the paper

Acknowledgements

ASA Annual Conference 2022: Anthropology Educates

'We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he today that sheds his blood with me
Shall be my brother '...
Scene 3, Act 4, Henry V, Shakespeare

Twenty years after his death, it is an honour to be giving this year's Firth lecture as part of the 2022 ASA *Anthropology Educates* conference (slide 2). It is decorous at such memorials to briefly genuflect at the disciplinary sacristy. But as this nine-month conference is gently breaking pedagogic conventions, so shall I. I use Firth's scholarly journey as a lens through which to unlearn, and relearn, our discipline's relationship to empire. He helped craft a form of 'late-colonial' anthropology through his fieldwork and deskwork. There is surprisingly little disciplinary memory of the imperial academic world in which Firth trained, and from which this late colonial anthropology emerged. Such academic 'amnesia' makes it harder to recognise the colonial 'presences' in our universities today. By unlearning - and unforgetting - our discipline's histories and entanglements, we can better understand, and perhaps repair, the colonial present.

First, I want to pay my respects. There is little doubt that Firth was the 'last of the great founders', to quote one obituarist (Strathern 2002). In his Firth lecture Sahlins called the corpus of work on Tikopia a 'treasure for all time', and tributes abound to Firth's abilities as a fieldworker (Sahlins 2012). He was also deeply committed to teaching social anthropology. The 1978 claim by his American graduate students that Firth was 'perhaps the greatest living teacher of anthropology' is accolade indeed (Watson-Gegeo and Lee Seaton 1978, viii). He never stopped teaching, giving a brilliant lecture on the collaborative nature of ethnographic work at his 100th birthday party. Firth held visiting professorships in six different US universities after his retirement, inspiring successive generations of students with his theoretically modest, empirically grounded, and humanistic view of Tikopian social life (slide 3). On his death, a Māori lament in his honour was composed by Professor Sir Hugh Kawharu – a one-time student - on behalf of the Polynesian Society.

Firth never asked his students to become Firthians (Davis 2004). Despite occasional barbs from his colleagues, he had an ability to rise above patronage networks, institutional rivalries and personal jealousies. Writing endless recommendation letters, and ever sensitive to 'local differences and needs', Firth oversaw what Gray and Winter (2021) call 'a chess board of British-Anglo anthropology appointments in Britain, its dominions and spheres of influence'.

Firth was a founding member of the Association of Social Anthropologists (ASA), its Chairman and then its Honorary President for 27 years. It was just before the millennium when I visited Raymond and his wife Rosemary in their elegant residence on Highgate hill. I was planning a project on the political history of social anthropology. Aware of offending the ancestors, I wanted the blessing of the remaining elder.

Three memories from that visit stick in my mind. The first was Rosemary's gasp of horror that I hadn't brought pen and paper to take notes : what sort of anthropologist was I, she asked? Malinowski famously urged his students to bring differently coloured pencils to colour-code one's fieldnotes by thematic topic. I had failed at the first hurdle.

The second was my realisation that, ever so gently, I was the one being taught. Firth began to quiz me on subaltern studies and whether anthropologists still read Marx and Weber. Remember that

he was 98 at this point. He gently suggested that I couldn't study the political history of anthropology without also analysing its content. I had much to learn.

The third was his description of the early years of the ASA as a 'band of brothers'. It was a Shakespearian allusion to Henry V and his speech at the battle of Agincourt. The metaphor seemed very fitting: a close-knit intellectual fraternity, inspired by camaraderie to fight together.

After Firth died I began to spend time in his LSE archives, all 209 boxes of them. I went on to read those of his academic peers, official Colonial Office papers and institutional archives. I even catalogued and deposited the contents of the large grey tin trunk that held 60 years of the ASA's own administrative records. With no real training in historical method, I tried to make sense of the institutional history of the discipline, and the academic worlds enabled by British imperial rule at the time the association was founded in 1946. The gossip and intrigue brought the archives alive, but I realised how little I understood the late colonial geopolitics from which social anthropology emerged and flourished.

Box after box of correspondence confirmed Firth's commitment to the uncelebrated work of discipline-building during the last years of Empire. In the words of one obituarist (Davis 2004), he was 'organisation man, both in his theory and in his administrative activities'. It is hard to exaggerate the many different projects he initiated and responsibilities he shouldered. Apart from his LSE and ASA responsibilities, Firth was also a founding member of the British Sociological Association. He was initially secretary, and then a member of the Colonial Office Social Science Research Committee. He championed the case for a social anthropology journal, and in the 1960s sought to create an 'international society for social anthropologists' with like-minded American scholars.

Since the 1960s, there have been periodic debates about social anthropology's relationship with British colonial rule, initiated by Asad's (1973) volume on *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, and reinvigorated by Said's work *Orientalism* (1979) and the *Writing Culture* critiques. The attacks troubled Firth, as his written reflections show. In years since, anthropological practice and ethnographic writing has been changed profoundly by feminism, cultural studies and postcolonial theory. But some suggest that the discipline still risks being complacent about its 'deep coloniality' (White 2019), seeing it as a legacy overcome. Having acknowledged this colonial past, can we move on? But can we be confident that the critiques of research extractivism and epistemological eurocentrism don't apply to us? The 'collective amnesia' (Hirsch 2018) and wilful 'misremembering' (Jasanoff 2020) about this late colonial period polarises public discourse. The lack of a vocabulary through which to discuss memory results in a simplistic a balance-sheet approach to empire (Lotem 2019). In the face of urgent calls to decolonise, what Gopal calls 'sustained unlearning' (Gopal 2019) may help us acknowledge the continuing colonial presences within our universities and academic practices.

Firth's role in the birth of this new discipline provides a lens to revisit the research imaginaries and infrastructures of the British scholarly empire. What tales do we tell, and which memories do we forget, about the early years of social anthropology? Most social anthropologists have heard about the aura Malinowski conjured up around his LSE seminars, 'strutting the Trobriand beach, frightening postgraduate students' (Hutnyk 1998, 339). Perhaps we know less about how his students and colleagues secured the new science's reputation by providing professional 'expertise'

within and to the Colonial Office. And how this led to a fifteen years of Colonial Office research funding. Colonial research was intended to inform future British colonial policy, but it also secured the academic credibility of anthropology. I offer three short history 'lessons' on different aspects of this period. The first is entitled '*The imperial PhD*', the second '*Promising to be useful, trying not to be difficult*' and the third '*Late colonial anthropology*'. I then circle back to our colonial present, reflecting on forgetting, presence and unlearning.

The Imperial PhD

The ASA's founding meeting was held in July 1946 in Oxford (slide 4). Edward Evans-Pritchard had been plotting to create such an association well before the second world war, and he was the initial driving force, calling meetings, organising agendas and publishing short notes about the association. Chaired by Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard was appointed 'Chairman and Secretary-General', whilst Firth, Forde and Fortes made up the committee. The minutes noted that 'until the next conference the committee have power to invite anyone to become a member. One black ball to exclude' (Mills 2008),

The first committee meeting was held in Firth's LSE office a few months later, and two lists of potential members were drawn up, nine from Great Britain and double that from the 'Dominions'. Evans-Pritchard's ambition was for the association to create a 'register of anthropologists in the British Empire', with membership to be restricted to ' teachers and research workers in Social Anthropology in Great Britain, the Dominions and the Colonies'.

Why, post-world war 2, was a British or imperial university affiliation a requirement for membership of this new association? Why were two thirds of its members spread across the world? And why, with apologies for the derogatory term, the need to be able to secretly exclude 'unsuitable' candidates? In Firth's recollection, 'there were never any black balls'. Yet questions about membership hung over the association for many years.

Some answers to these questions can be found in the discourse that imbued the inaugural congress of the 'Universities of the British Empire' in 1912 (Slide 5 is from a 1933 Congress meeting). The opening speech by William Roseberry, Chancellor of the University of London played on the imagined imperial kinship of this new association (quoted in Pietsch 2013).

'From Oxford to Sydney, from St. Andrews to Saskatchewan, and from Dublin to the Cape, we are all joining hands to-day and singing, as it were in imagination, 'Auld Lang Syne'. Is not this the best kind of imperial feeling, that of co-operation in high and noble tasks, with the common sympathy, affection and energy which would characterize the members of an immense family?'.

Where had this celebratory 'imperial feeling' come from? The 'Imperial Federation League' map, published for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, just before the Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, gives us a clue (slide 6). It celebrates both the imaginaries and infrastructure of empire, stylising its peoples, flora and fauna, whilst providing statistical details on trade flows. It was designed by Walter Crane, a leading illustrator of the arts and crafts movement. He stays true to his socialist principles by getting the Atlas to carry the world whilst wearing a sash emblazoned with 'Human Labour'. 'Freedom,' 'Fraternity' and 'Federation' at the top of the map are wearing Red Phrygian caps, French revolutionary symbols of liberty and anti-colonial principles.

In her 'Empire of scholars', Pietsch traces how this fraternal ethos shapes the Victorian academy (2013). She traces the co-evolution of metropolitan and 'settler universities', through informal academic research exchanges. With the speeding up of communication and transportation links in the 1870s, and US emulation of the German research university model, universities in Australia, South Africa and Canada didn't want to be left behind, or relegated to training local elites. They invested in libraries, scholarships and exchange programmes, ensuring their universities were at the cutting edge of research debates, and part of this 'immense family' and imperial network. Pietsch shows how the world of 'Greater' British academia was at once geographically expansive and socially closed, dependent on personal relationships and institutional ties. This academic world appears to work as 'a sophisticated tool of social and imperial rule' (Pietsch 2013, 7), attracting the best colonial graduates and sending out bright young British scholars. It was a 'band of brothers' writ large. These same networks defined the membership and ethos of the ASA almost 40 years later.

During the late Victorian period, there had been regular debates in Britain – and especially Oxford - about the creation of advanced degrees to facilitate scholarly mobility. Like other Victorians (including John Ruskin and Arnold Toynbee) who saw empire as a moral cause, Cecil Rhodes had a grandiose fantasy for a federation of British, American and colonial universities, a 'union of English speaking peoples throughout the world', promoting political links between the three great powers (America, Germany and Britain) that would render war impossible (Bosco 2017). Not everyone supported the vision of imperial research universities. One anonymous 1907 correspondent to the *Oxford Magazine* disparaged 'the evil of research without judgement or vocation', dismissing American and German doctoral dissertations as 'futile enumeration and speculation'.

Initially an imperial educational imaginary, the PhD degree that finally emerged in 1919 was a pragmatic response to wartime fears of German militarism and scientific dominance. During the first world war Australian and Canadian research expertise had been invaluable for the British war effort, making imperial and transatlantic scientific relationships ever more important. Responding to American requests, the British Foreign Office lobbied universities to adopt the new PhD in order to 'divert to Britain the traffic in scholars and scientists from the US which before the war had gone to Germany' (Simpson 1983, 124). A 1917 meeting of a United Kingdom Universities Conference approved the new PhD degree based on two years of 'advanced study or research' (Simpson 1983, 156). Lakshmann Sarup, a scholar of Sanskrit from Lahore at Oxford, was the first student in Britain to submit a doctoral thesis under these new regulations (slide 7).

For the first time, a British government department (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) began to fund scientific research. Science and education had become tools of imperial propaganda, and the research degree made good on wartime promises to recognise existing undergraduate degrees offered by universities in India, Africa, Canada and Australia. The PhD qualification formalised existing academic ties, whilst also reinforcing imperial scholarly dependencies (Pietsch 2016).

Firth was born into a working class Methodist family in New Zealand in 1901, far from this world. He walked to school barefoot – boots were only for Sundays. He was the only student to get a scholarship from his primary school to Auckland Grammar. By his own account he again scraped a university scholarship, and sat University of London exams at Auckland University College, for

which J M Keynes was the Chief examiner of the Economics paper. He learnt Maori, and began to do research on the Kauri gum industry. Unlike most economists, he decided to talk to the miners who made a living from digging up the fossilised resin, and getting a distinction for his thesis.

At this point his fortunes began to change. He became increasingly interested in Maori culture, and after taking elocution lessons to minimise his Kiwi accent, his father and university funded his travel to the UK to pursue advanced studies in Economics at the University of London. The new British PhD degree made the journey both possible and attractive.

On arrival at the LSE, Firth missed his appointment with his Economics tutor, and the school secretary Jessie Mair suggested he go and meet Malinowski instead. He ended up working as Malinowski's research assistant on a grant from the Rockefeller foundation, and was awarded a PhD in 1927, based, as he recalled, partly on his own fieldwork experiences, but mainly on discussing the extant literature, digested by 'sitting at seat L5 in the British Library for 3 years' (Gray and Winter 2021). As there was no imperial research postdoctoral fund, he then was awarded a Rockefeller fellowship to carry out a year's research amongst the Tikopia. After that he took up a 3 year lectureship at Sydney, before financial constraints led him to return to the LSE in 1933 to take up a lectureship.

Firth wasn't alone in his peripatetic imperial trajectory (slide 8). Many of the first generation of British PhD candidates hailed from across the British Empire, including more than half of those at Oxbridge in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1925, there were 1400 Indian postgraduates, and another 1200 from across Africa, studying in the UK (Perraton 2014). Britain's cities were an ideal place for anticolonial activism and diasporic networking (Young 2002). For example, a whole generation of African nationalist leaders – including Jomo Kenyatta, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah and Kofi Busia, Hastings Banda and Obafemi Awolowo - came to Britain for postgraduate study, many in anthropology. In his *Black London*, Matera described how in the years after WW1, the 'administrative center and capital of the British Empire became a locus of resistance to empire' (2015, 2). London served as a meeting point for students, intellectuals, artists and activists to exchange ideas 'for a transformed global order in private homes, clubs and political organizations, universities, and bars' (ibid, 2). The journal of the West African Students Union, funded by Marcus Garvey, provided a space to articulate a new African internationalism (slide 9). Many of its contributors had come to read for the new PhD degree. For Young (2002, 2) this community was 'a complex constellation of situated local knowledges combined with radical universal political principles, constituted and facilitated through international networks'. The PhD both facilitated a scholarly empire and an internationalist community of intellectual resistance. Its history makes us reframe our understanding of the degree. An imperial research infrastructure enabled the networks and activism that led to its own downfall.

Promising to be useful

During the 1930s, the LSE was at the fulcrum of debates over colonial governance and the ideology of indirect rule (slide 10). With its Fabian roots and proximity to Whitehall, the anthropology seminars attracted an influential audience of missionaries, colonial reformers, administrators and politicians. British politicians and civil servants were keen to professionalise colonial administration based on scientific principles. Yet they were suspicious of anthropologists, and particularly suspicious of Malinowski. In this second 'lesson' I explore how three LSE female

academics - Audrey Richards, Margery Perham and Lucy Mair - bridged these divides, making the case for academic expertise within a late-colonial knowledge ecosystem.

With the creation of the League of Nations and the Mandated territories in 1919, there was growing policy attention to the challenge of what was called 'native administration'. Richards, Perham and Mair shared an idealistic commitment to research for social reform. They came of age amidst the Suffragette movement and the horrors of WW1. All had practical experience of policy making and colonial administration, and were gradually drawn into Malinowski's orbit. Both Richards and Mair worked for the League of Nations Union, an influential peace movement that in the mid 1920s had more than 250,000 members, before coming to the LSE. Mair's first monograph was entitled 'the Protection of Minorities' (Mair 1928) and she had acted as a representative at the Assembly of the League of Nations, before being appointed to the new LSE department of International Relations. She then was helped by Malinowski to get a Rockefeller grant, she carried out nine months in Buganda, before taking up a lectureship in Colonial Administration in 1932, and shaping the future of IR at the school (Owens 2018). Richards also consistently championed 'practical anthropology'. Born into a wealthy family of colonial civil servants, Kuper describes her as 'unprejudiced, unshockable and unconventional' (Kuper 2016): her idealism and administrative talents led to an influential career. The LSE shaped their internationalism and commitment to colonial reform.

'Closer to Geneva than to Whitehall' was how one colonial administrator described Richards and Perham (Gladstone 1986). Interdisciplinary in expertise, empiricist in outlook, they deployed their personal and professional networks to negotiate male-dominated institutional worlds and academic egos. They are perhaps best described as liberal imperialists.

After a trip to Somaliland, Perham left her Sheffield history lectureship to begin teaching colonial administration in Oxford in 1924. Awarded a Rhodes travelling fellowship, and then a Rockefeller fellowship to conduct a two year survey of African administrators. she became friends with Lord Lugard, which ensured her access to all the key colonial governors. By the early 1930s she was a Times Columnist, a well-regarded novelist, seemed to knew everyone that mattered, and got invited to all the key meetings. As her biographer put it, she 'moved easily between Oxford and Whitehall, Chatham House and Fleet Street' (Faught 2012, 83).

She briefly joined Malinowski's seminar in 1932, describing colonial administrators as her 'tribe'. She had been warned to keep her distance from anthropologists. The Governor of Kenya Philip Mitchell said archly: 'You are not to go and study under Malinowski. He has a destructive Polish mind - very brilliant and wide, but he will leave you incapable of believing in anything'. Many colonial administrators were deeply suspicious of what Lord Elton, secretary of the Rhodes Trust, called the 'intellectual nihilism of anthropological relativism' (cited in Foks 2018, 48).

In 1929, Malinowski published a long case for 'practical anthropology'. He suggested that work on land tenure, law and economics was an 'anthropological no-man's land', and that these were areas of 'scientific knowledge' that was needed by 'practical men in the colonies' (Malinowski 1929, 23). He went on to insist that this was knowledge that 'men trained in anthropological methods could provide'. Separately he had scribbled in his copy of Lugard's (1922) *Dual Mandate* that 'indirect rule was a complete surrender to the functional point of view' (quoted in Stocking 1991). Some historians use this as evidence that anthropology provided the ideological alibi, and

administrative tools, for empire (Mantena 2015). The opposite seems to have been the case. Amidst heated LSE seminar debates, Malinowski was more interested in appropriating the discourse of colonial governance for his own disciplinary empire-building. This was a risky tactic. The Colonial Office commitment to 'indirect rule' was itself threatened by powerful settler interests in East Africa, and the term was understood very differently by administrators and anthropologists. As Foks notes (2018, 140), this tactical alliance of 'political and intellectual interests' was 'marked more by what both opposed (settler colonialism) than a shared ideal towards which they aspired (indirect rule)'. Ego aside, Malinowski was an unpredictable mix of rhetorical radicalism, liberal paternalism, and modernist nostalgia. During the 1930s, his writing became increasingly sweeping, decrying the excesses of industrialisation and urbanisation. A 1930 speech declared that 'one of the greatest crises in human history' was 'the westernisation of the world', whilst his foreword to Jomo Kenyatta's 1938 *Facing Mt Kenya* described progress as 'a terrible thing'. No wonder that Colonial Office grandees found it hard to trust him.

On the other hand, Malinowski was charmed by Perham. In 1932, she gave a paper at the LSE Colonial Administration seminar on Southern Nigeria, on what she called the challenge of 'four million people who offer no basis for indirect rule'. In a room full of students, administrators, missionaries (Oldham) and colonial grandees (including Lord Hailey and Lugard), the transcript of the event – carefully preserved like those of other seminars in the LSE Malinowksi archives - crackles with tension. [1]

Perham outlines the 'vast anthropological task' of 'studying this incoherent social organisation and finding a basis for a system of administration'. She ends by suggesting that 'nothing could be better than a trained anthropologist coming out..but meanwhile it is a question of bringing administrators and anthropologists together'. This led to a prolonged discussion of the current relationship between anthropology and administration. Was it one of concealed hostility or cooperation? There were some government anthropologists (Northcote Thomas had become notorious) and increasing administrative interest in employing anthropological expertise - but this didn't make the relationship an easy one.

Malinowski again pitched his case that anthropologists can play the role of 'constructive statesmen', and that there was more dislike between anthropologists than between anthropologists and administrators. Calling for 'dynamic anthropology', he claims that 'we are as interested in the detribalised native as in the detribalised native of Mayfair'. Ever the diplomat, Perham bridges the two worlds and offers a gradualist model of reform.

During the 1930s, Perham, Mair and Richards were well-placed to push the case that anthropological insights could transform colonial administration and governance. Whilst head of department at Witwatersrand, Richards became involved with a major Carnegie-sponsored survey on the economic and social conditions across Britain's African colonies. What became known as the African Survey was being directed by the influential ex-Indian service administrator Lord Hailey (Cell 1992). Perham was invited by Lord Hailey to edit the survey, whilst Mair wrote chapters on Land and on Native administration. Collectively, their influence helped ensure that empirical anthropological insights suffused the report, even if as one influential critic of imperialism,

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1 The transcript of this LSE Colonial Administration Seminar is in the Malinowski Papers 6/7, LSE archives

Norman Leys noted, there wasn't 'a single mention of what Africans themselves think or wish' (Cited in Cell 1989, 505).

Published in 1938, the *African Survey* extended to 1673 pages. It almost killed Hailey, and he later admitted that he had never intended it to be read as a whole (Cell 1989). The book's secretary, Hilda Matheson, declared that propaganda was smoke, but facts were dynamite. One Colonial Office administrator described it as an 'Ur text' and that the Survey was 'as familiar an object on the desks in the Colonial Office as... the Imperial Calendar' (Chilver 1957,). Key for the future of social anthropology was its emphasis on the important contribution that a 'trained and detached sociological worker' could make. The findings made the case for Britain supporting the development of health, nutrition and living standards across colonial Africa. The text leveraged a major tranche of funding for colonial research to inform post-war development planning.

Firth also was championing anthropological utility during this period. His 1938 'Memorandum on the utilisation of anthropological services by colonial governments' for the Colonial Office was based on an extensive survey of administrators. He asked them for their views on the discipline's 'utility' in providing the 'systematic information required for an adequate programme of rural development'. The report ended, predictably, with the recommendation of 'the appointment in each territory of a specific Government anthropologist … trained in modern methods of field research'.[2]

At the same time, Firth was willing to criticise the inequities of colonial governance (Foks 2018). In his 1938 introduction to anthropology, *Human Types*, he poses the rhetorical question of whether anthropologists should help with 'making a policy of Indirect Rule more efficient'. And if they did so, was this with the 'ultimate object' of self-government, about promoting 'freedom of choice', or simply with ensuring that the 'framework of an Imperial system' is more efficiently implemented (Firth 1938, 195) A year earlier, Firth had pointed that the differential pricing of commodities sold to Europeans and 'natives' in the colonies was the result of one of the 'inscrutable privileges which accompany white domination' (Firth 1937, 55). It was a brief, but damning, aside. And during the war, the Times published a letter from Firth that was outspoken about the 'economic disabilities' built into the colonial economy, and 'disintegrative effects' of labour migration and the 'dangers inherent in the superiority complex of Europeans' (Firth 1942). He ended by pointing out that 'social analysts have stressed how essential' are studies of 'the rapidly changing modern conditions'. In retrospect it reads as an appeal for more anthropological research.

Late Colonial Anthropology

My third history lesson builds on the themes from the first two. Richards and Firth, having helped win the argument for anthropology's usefulness within colonial , found themselves steering a major post-war investment of colonial office funding into social research.

The Colonial Development and Welfare (CDaW) Act was adopted in 1940, partly thanks to the evidence assembled in the *African Survey* (slide 11). The act sought to build the British colonial state (Butler 1991, 1999), matching domestic plans for a post-war 'welfare state', with an ambitious £120 million spending programme. The leftist politicians developing this new colonial

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2 Firth Archives 2/1/1–5, LSE archives

vision were 'unlikely imperialists' (Thomas 2018, 232). Their Fabian sympathies translated into a commitment to mobilise state resources to develop colonial economies, improve welfare provision and raise living standards. This was to be the corollary to Beveridge's 'New Jerusalem' for Britain.

In 1940, the LSE decamped to Cambridge for the duration of the war. But Firth was seconded to Naval Intelligence, and remained involved in Colonial Office administration. At this point, the Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald, who had championed the Act, was far from convinced of the value of sociological work. With the promise of £500,000 of colonial research funding a year, he asked Hailey to lead a new Colonial Research Committee. MacDonald was worried that it would be hard to find an anthropologist who has not his own 'personal axe to grind', feeling that 'anthropologists, as a class, are rather difficult folk to deal with.' He went further: 'sociological research covers such a very wide and divergent field, and it will be very difficult indeed to get together a really representative and harmonious committee to tackle this work.'(quoted in Mills 2008,

Hailey reassured MacDonald that the aim was 'not to 'encourage academic study' but rather 'to discover those things which our administration must know if it is to make the best use of its resources for the development of the people in the colonies'. Hence the importance of finding an anthropologist with experience of 'estimating the social factors which must be taken into account.' Firth was seen as the ideal person to be secretary of this new committee. Theoretically, Firth had always been wary of what he called 'apocalyptic theories…and provocative divides'. His training in economics ensured on the everyday transactions, obligations and needs that sustain social life. His empirical pragmatism and attention to detail made him well suited to this new role of research coordination and strategy.

Persuaded that scientific expertise had to underpin economic and social reform, the Colonial Office rapidly expanded its research capacity, becoming the second largest sponsor of civil research in Britain (Cell 1980). Science symbolised modernity, and provided the data needed for colonial development. This 'technocratic turn' (Clarke 2007) ensured that most of the 10,000 additional Colonial Office staff employed between 1938 and 1954 were researchers, teachers, engineers and lawyers. Post-war, there was also a concern to restructure African economies to help pay for British war-time debts. State-led central planning initiatives, such as the failed Tanganyika ground-nut scheme, led some to call this a 'second colonial occupation' (Low and Lonsdale 1965).

By producing and using research, the intention was that the colonies would 'knit to the scientific culture of the west', participating in the 'international project of scientific advance' (Clarke 2007, 456). The British Colonial Research Committee (CRC) was created in 1942 to create 'a cadre of scientists versed in colonial problems' and to support 'investigation in any field…where knowledge was essential in the interests of colonial development'. The Colonial Social Science Research Council (CSSRC), one of its sub-committees, funded more than fifty anthropologists between 1944 and 1961, through fellowships, studentships and the colonial research institutions to a total of £1.5 million (equivalent to around £50 million today). Scientists in UK universities were recruited to lead and work with more than 40 research institutes across the British colonial empire, including 26 in Africa.

In 1944, the Council started its work, with Firth as secretary, and Perham and Richards as members (Mills 2002). The agendas for the early meetings reveal their ambition. The Council papers from 1945 include a thirty page report from Firth from his war-time tour of West Africa, which sets out the 'main problems for research' and those 'demanding most immediate attention' (slide 12). The constant focus is on the need for socio-economic surveys, both large and small. The minutes of the first meeting declare, in capital letter, the council's opinion 'that the programme of ANTHROPOLOGICAL work was most important'[3].

To gain scientific legitimacy, the Colonial Social Science Research Council modelled itself on the existing UK research councils. Research grants were awarded and projects commissioned by autonomous academic committees. The regional research institutes were also insulated from the concerns of colonial governments. In practice, it was up to individual scholars and fields to define the developmental problems that they felt were most urgent. Firth threw himself into this task: making extensive lists of research 'needs', assessing grant proposals and commissioning surveys (slide 13). In the first 10 years, it made 94 grants to fund projects all over sub-saharan Africa (Tilley 2011).

Steinmetz describes and visualises (slide 14) 'colonial sociology' as an 'imperial field…centered on metropoles, with tentacles reaching out to overseas outposts and additional lateral connections that link colonies directly to one another' (Steinmetz 2017, 613). He points to the dynamism of work during this period, as 'new analytic objects, methods, concepts and theories, and epistemologies' emerged', partly in the 'intellectual contact zones' that existed 'between colonizer and colonized in a period of turbulent cultural change' (ibid, 640). With Colonial Office funding, late colonial anthropology was similarly networked and closely overlapped with sociology: in 1961 more than a third of ASA members were working outside metropolitan Britain, mainly in the British Commonwealth, colonies, and former colonies. At the same time, many new anthropology posts were created in British universities, cementing the ascendancy of this new discipline (Ardener and Ardener 1965, 303).

Late-colonial anthropology flourished as a result of colonial office patronage. But so did criticism of the research model it promoted. The promissory holism of the *African Survey* become a rigid template, creating a preference for empirical, survey-style social research. The rhetoric of establishing practical knowledge 'needs' meant that description and applied. Firth and Richards had skilfully marketed anthropology, but their perceived control over Council funds provoked growing dissension. Even in the 1930s, Evans-Pritchard had accused LSE anthropologists of not doing 'real' anthropology, and instead of 'advising the government and clinging to the colonial office couch'. He began to refer to LSE as £SD, whilst William Stanner, himself an LSE student, wrote of 'outright nepotism'.

On hearing about a decision to give Council funding to an LSE research fellow to work in Jamaica, Richards warned Firth that 'this might be interpreted as letting ourselves in on the ground floor of West Indies social research.' Firth later admitted wishing he'd taken her advice. Responding to Gluckman's accusation that an 'LSE mafia' dominated the council, she complained that others were not 'prepared to go on the council or do the extremely heavy work that we have done these last years'. She went to write that 'about 1/3 of my time goes on it in term time', and that 'if I

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3 CSSRC 1944 files, LSE archives

hadn't fought in the Colonial Office for so long there wouldn't have been any money for anthropology at all' (see Mills 2008, 85).[4]

These tensions spilt out at the 1948 business meeting of the ASA (slide 15). A strongly worded motion argued that the 'expenditures of funds from the Colonial Development and Welfare fund on anthropological research is not in the best interests of anthropology and its application to colonial problems'. Gluckman had warned 'of the grave danger that the demands of colonial governments for research workers may lead to an excessive concentration on practical problems, to the detriment of basic research, and to the lowering of professional standards'. Richards had been equally frustrated about this undermining of the regional research institutes, such as the RLI and EAISR. Writing to her friend Sally Chilver, she was similarly outspoken.. 'I am depressed because he is dead set against local institutes and has made no secret of that. He will vote and finally win his way for getting large grants to English universities, no questions asked and no results expected, and those of us who have tried to play the Colonial Office fair will feel HAD' (quoted in Mills 2008).

The motion proposed that the President of the ASA make a deputation to the Colonial secretary. All four LSE members abstained. The visit paid off. A consultative 'subject' panel was created within the Council, with Evans-Pritchard as Chair. This shift marked the growing influence of a metropolitan disciplinary imaginary, and was quickly copied by other fields. Whilst work at the Rhodes Livingstone Institute fundamentally reshaped the British discipline.

Late-colonial anthropologists sought to manage the tension relationship between colonial politics and science, protecting both disciplinary autonomy and research funding, but it was an impossible juggling act, especially as the discipline became increasingly confident of its academic future within British universities. The phrase 'late colonial anthropology' is a historical and geopolitical descriptor, not a moral judgement. The term reminds us to historicise our field, understanding the opportunities and tensions within particular state formations. The disciplinary field was enabled by, but also entangled within, this colonial political economy.

The Colonial Reckoning

In 2012, James Clifford described a meeting with Firth outside the LSE library in the early 1970s. Clifford describes how Firth 'shook his head in pretended and real confusion' over the critiques of anthropology's entanglement with colonial power. 'What happened?' he asked. 'Not so long ago we were radicals. We thought of ourselves as gadflies and reformers, advocates for the value of indigenous cultures, defenders of our people. Now, all of a sudden, we're handmaidens of empire!' (Firth, quoted in Clifford 2012, 418).

It is a revealing anecdote, prompted by Asad's important edited collection *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (1973). Clifford suggests that this is what it is like to 'feel historical', to have the rug pulled out from underneath you'. You are forced to rethink what you thought you knew, what you took for granted. But it was also a time of growing 'colonial reckoning', the title of Perham's Reith lectures (slide 16).

_____

4 Richards papers, 16/19, LSE, letter from Richards to Gluckman, 4.11.48.

Responding to Asad, Firth wrote a thoughtful and 'dispassionate' set of reflections on working during the colonial period. He rightly insisted that there was 'no simple dictation, often not even simple influence' of anthropological projects, by Colonial Office'. Firth admitted that 'working within the colonial system no doubt had its effect, in subtle ways' (1977, 165). But Firth also pointed to the many other influences on anthropology, including ideas 'acquired from the people under study', which were, he went on, 'often defended in the face of colonial regulations and Western norms'. It reads as a defence of late colonial anthropology and its intellectual autonomy. This time there was less mention of the European 'superiority complex' and the excesses of colonial rule.

Firth and his colleagues had little choice but to negotiate the colonial administrative order. As Ferguson (1999, 32) acknowledges in his account of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute (RLI), 'the political positioning of the RLI anthropologists was not a matter of choice between white domination and African independence, for these were not the political stances that were meaningful in their social world. Their position was one that existed within white colonial society, not against it, it was a position that found definition and moral purpose in its opposition to the white conservative, the ignorant racist settler. Neither anticolonial radicals nor colonialist racists (the anachronistic categories into which later readers tried to fit them), the RLI anthropologists were precisely, colonial liberals'.

Historians of empire tend to agree on the disciplinary amnesia afflicting social scientists about the late colonial period. For Steinmetz, 'the process of forgetting sociology's colonial entanglements set in almost immediately after decolonization' (2017, 602). This, argues Satia (2020), was part of a wider process of 'forgetting' where much academic work took a 'national' turn. How is it, Stoler asks, reflecting on the historical absences in the work of Bourdieu and others, that these colonial histories 'can be rendered irretrievable, made available, and again displaced'? Do these histories raise 'unsettling questions about what it means to know and not know something simultaneously' (Stoler 2016, 123). Stoler suggests that 'aphasia' might be a better term, emphasising the occlusion of knowledge and the dissociation of words from objects. Finding the right vocabulary to discuss memory and history is one challenge. Another is understanding the recursive and unpredictable way in which these debates return.

Amnesia helps explain why we are so uncomfortable talking about anthropology as a colonial discipline. But so might our own anthropological attachments and identities. Periodic reappraisals have sought to adjudicate on the relationship between anthropology and colonial rule. This logic ends up separating the two, as if one can discuss disciplinary identities as a space apart from, and in intellectual dialogue with, funding and institutional infrastructures. I have sought to tease out the different temporalities and lineaments of anthropology's coloniality, and how we remember or forget these links.

So how do these colonial 'presences' manifest today (slide 16)? What are the connections between these institutional histories and the political economies of contemporary higher education? As Satia points out, 'we live in a postcolonial world in which the division between haves and have-nots extends divisions created in the era of European colonialism', necessitating a 'clear eyed understanding of that colonial past' (Satia 2020, 146). Coloniality survives colonialism (Maldonaldo Torres 2007, 240).

At a material and symbolic level, the imperial geographies of academic mobility and disciplinary closure remain. The PhD retains its role fostering, and sometimes demanding, academic mobility, sustaining a geographically unequal research economy. Some PhDs, universities and journals are more equal than others. A small cadre of elite research universities continue to dominate transnational academic networks, sustaining relations of intellectual dependency and, for some critics, extractive research practices (for an anthropological example, see Kawa et al 2019). Inequities in funding and resource define the contours of knowledge production, a situation exacerbated by the commercial ownership of citation indexes and 'global' university rankings. Audit cultures perpetuate colonial notions of quality and global hierarchies of value. Meanwhile, the 'metricisation' of the global academic publishing economy devalues the credibility and visibility of scholarly journals across the majority world, reinforcing academic coloniality and epistemic exclusion. In the context of climate change and rising authoritarianism, some see the answer as letting anthropology burn (Jobson 2020), replacing its liberal suppositions with a more radical humanist project.

There are also more affective, less tangible, aspects to the coloniality of our disciplinary affiliations. Institutional identities crafted during this late colonial period continue to inform our epistemologies and sense of belonging. The Association of Social Anthropologists renamed itself the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth in 1952, in response to a request by Australian colleagues to set up a sub-branch. It divested itself of its Commonwealth title in 2020, and continues to restrict membership to 'persons of academic standing…who can be recognised as professional social anthropologists'.

More provocatively, I want to suggest that disciplinary identities can also be the source of institutional amnesia. In our frustrations with university bureaucracy (Graeber 2014), we can forget that scholarly networks are built on the academic 'credibility economies' that universities provide (Mills and Robinson 2021). Critiques of neoliberal higher education overlook the role of academics in everyday university governance, whether running departments, chairing committees or sitting on REF panels. Academics are caught in this double consciousness, at once intellectuals and administrators. As Strathern put it (1997, 10), 'Auditors are not aliens; they are a version of ourselves '.

Embodied disciplinary practices, along with 'willed ignorance' (Luhmann 1998, 81) about disciplinary history, enable a form of distancing from universities, funders, regulators, and state agencies. An anthropological temporality tuned to the ethnographic present exacerbates this amnesia. Does a defence of disciplinarity rely on institutional forgetfulness, downplaying our entanglements within, and dependencies on, these symbolic-material infrastructures? This can lead either to an over-emphasis of the impact of say, neo-liberal reforms on academic identities, or a studied neglect of our involvement in these processes.

Unlearning, or how not to jump to conclusions

I have used this lecture to think again about the colonial histories and infrastructures that shape disciplinary consciousness. By tracing how Firth's work has organised our discipline, I hope we can better understand the infrastructures and economies that enable and constrain disciplinary knowledge-making

Why 'unlearning' rather than, say, decolonising anthropology? Partly because I am not sure we can ever fully decolonise . The term infers that one can indeed move beyond coloniality. For Pels, such calls risk 'feeding the conceit that the decolonisation of representation can be finalised and successful' (2018, 71). It also risks ahistoricism, forgetting the many different historical moments of decolonial critique within anthropology (from Firmin in the 1880s, to DuBois in the 1920s, Nkrumah in the 1950s and Asad in the 1970s). It also risks separating the discipline from the organisations that sustain it. If, as Tuhiwai Smith points out, '[d]ecolonization is a process which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels' (Tuhiwai Smith 2012), then this is also a scalar politics. It has to address global inequalities in research funding as well as everyday of departmental belonging and pastoral

For some, unlearning is an urgent matter of ontological delinking. For Azoulay, it is about assuming that 'what seems catastrophic today to certain groups was already catastrophic for many other groups' (2019, 30). Tlostovana and Mignolo (2012, 7) see unlearning as a 'process of delinking from the colonial matrix and escaping from its control'. They insist on the necessity of 'learning to unlearn'—'to forget what we have been taught, to break free from the thinking programs imposed on us by education, culture, and social environment, always marked by Western imperial reason' (ibid). If we can't transcend o coloniality, we can recognise what is lost within a colonial knowledge matrix. Gayatri Spivak describes how all her work has been a 'streaming of learning how to unlearn', understanding 'one's privilege as one's loss' (Danius et. al. 1993, 24). Privileged positions of race, gender and class prevent researchers from understanding alternative and subaltern knowledges. The best we can do is to make better sense of dominant knowledge forms.

Unlearning reminds us to question our assumptions, to ask if things could be otherwise, to trouble what we thought we knew. It reminds us of the limits of disciplinary investments, institutional affiliations and professional identities. Biesta reflects on the possibilities that would be opened up by a shift away from 'rules based education' (2020), whilst Ingold highlights the emancipatory possibilities of a different way of thinking about learning (Ingold 2018). In many ways, 'unlearning' seems very suited to anthropology, even if resort to a pedagogy of 'estrangement' also needs to be rethought, given the deeply unequal societies in which we work and the challenges of 'relating with equality, mutuality, transparency and respect' (White 2019, 159) across these divides.

Unlearning has many dimensions: historical, institutional and identity. We need to continue to explore the colonial roots of social anthropology, and its subsequent history and politics. Anthropologists have also been at the forefront of remaking disciplinarity, and there is much to remember here too. As Stoler puts in, 'what animates effective rather than idle colonial history is not its timeliness—how well it fits current policies, political manoeuvres, and the stories long rehearsed—but how deeply it disrupts the stories we seek to tell, what untimely incisions it makes into received narratives, how much it refuses to yield to the pathos of moral outrage or of new heroes—subaltern and otherwise' (2016, 154).

Unlearning is not just a pedagogy of questioning, but an attention to the tools and resources that make academic knowledges possible. 'Sustained unlearning' (Gopal, 2019) means understanding the historical entanglement of our discipline with universities, funders, regulators, states and empires. Unlearning encourages us to think critically about the ways in which academic knowledge is validated, published, disseminated and cited. Given Firth's commitment to teaching, we can do

more to understand the classroom as a site of disciplinary assemblage. As well as questioning our assumptions and positions, our students give us new bearings on the discipline and the university. The classroom is a place for listening, unlearning and repair.

I have one final memory from my meeting with Firth. It is apposite given the release of the REF results tomorrow. He told me that LSE had just asked him his most recent publications. He had already been retired for 30 years. 'How ridiculous is this?' he asked me in bemusement. LSE anthropology needed his journal 'outputs' for their submission to the 2001 research assessment exercise. He was right to skewer the excesses of what we now call, following Strathern, 'audit culture' (Strathern 2000). 80 years after Malinowski's self-proclaimed 'revolutionary movement', Firth's work could still embellish its 'world-leading' reputation. Amidst post-colonial amnesia, his contribution has not been forgotten.

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Unlearning Anthropology: The ASA Firth Lecture 2022

David Mills, University of Oxford

10th May 2022

Raymond Firth 1901-2002

Picture by Thomas Fisher, 1930, National library of Australia, PIC/15611/9177

Raymond Firth c1965 LSE image library 753

ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGI[...]

MINUTES (23-24 July 1946)

A meeting of social anthropologists was held at Oxford on Tuesday and Wednesday, 23-24 July 1946.

Present. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown (in the Chair), E.E.Evans-Pritchard, R.Firth, D.Forde, M.Fortes, S.F.Nadel, Audrey Richards, M. Gluckman, B.Z.Seligman, A.Arkell, E.R.Leach, John Layard, L.S.B.Leakey.

1. Resolved: That a professional association of teachers and research workers in Social Anthropology be here and now formed as an independent body.

2. Objectives of Association. 1. To promote the study and teaching of social anthropology. 2. To hold periodical meetings. 3. To represent the interests of social anthropology and to maintain its professional status. 4. To assist in any way possible in the planning of research. 5. To collate and if possible publish information on social anthropology, and a register of social anthropologists.

3. Officers & Committee. President- Radcliffe-Brown. Chairman & Secretary-General- Evans-Pritchard Committee- Firth, Forde.Fortes.

4. Membership to be by invitation of the Association. Until next Conference the Committee to have power to invite anyone to become a member. One black ball to exclude.

5. Subscription. 10/- per annum.

6. Title. Association of Social Anthropologists ? (The Committee to consider this.

Image from ASA Archive (A1/1), held in the LSE library

Congress of Universities of the Empire, Edinburgh 1931

CONGRESS OF UNIVERSITIES OF THE EMPIRE. EDINBURGH 1931

Image courtesy ACU website

Imperial Federation, from The Daily Graphic 1886, courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center at the Boston Public Library

THE YEARBOOK OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE EMPIRE 1915

OF THE TIMES AND EXERCISES REQUIRED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

[Statt. Tit. VI. Sect. v.]

§ 1. Of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Any member of the University who has been admitted to the status of Advanced Student by the Committee for Advanced Studies constituted under Statt. Tit. XII. Sect. IV may supplicate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy provided that

Lakshman Sarup was awarded Oxford's first Dphil degree for 'The Nighantu and the Nirukta: the oldest Indian treatise on etymology, philology, and semantics', a thesis defended in 1919

Images from Oxford Exam Regulations 1921, and Balliol College

The adoption of the PhD degree in the 1920s by British Universities

	1919-20	1920-1	1921-2	1922-3	1923-4	1924-5	1925-6	1926-7	1927-8	1928-9	1929-30
Birmingham	—	2	7	4	5	9	12	6	15	12	15
Bristol	—	2	2	3	6	4	3	8	2	6	4
Cambridge	—	3	9	22	31	43	32	25	50	45	58
Durham inc. Newcastle	—	—	1	1	6	5	5	5	7	2	2
Exeter	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Leeds	—	1	4	4	4	6	13	16	11	8	24
Liverpool	—	3	9	24	4	27	18	14	18	11	12
London	—	9	28	46	48	51	98	86	116	109	111
Manchester	—	6	9	3	10	17	17	10	11	7	16
Nottingham	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	1	—	3
Oxford	2	4	10	20	17	13	11	19	19	25	21
Reading	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	3	1	1	3
Sheffield	—	3	3	3	4	1	3	12	5	11	15
Wales	—	3	—	5	6	3	7	9	11	6	13
Aberdeen	—	—	—	2	1	1	7	5	3	5	5
Edinburgh	—	10	14	17	35	30	31	28	39	40	46
Glasgow	—	2	—	7	8	20	18	13	4	19	16
Glasgow RCST	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	9	2
St Andrews	—	7	8	12	7	12	10	8	10	6	10
TOTAL GT. BRITAIN	2	55	105	173	193	246	285	273	323	322	377

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WĀSÙ

CONTENTS.

Margery Perham, Audrey Richards, Lucy Mair and the African Survey

Margery Perham
1895 -1982

AN AFRICAN SURVEY

A STUDY OF PROBLEMS ARISING IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

BY

LORD HAILEY, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Issued by the Committee of the
African Research Survey
under the auspices of the
Royal Institute of International Affairs

NEWS CHRONICLE
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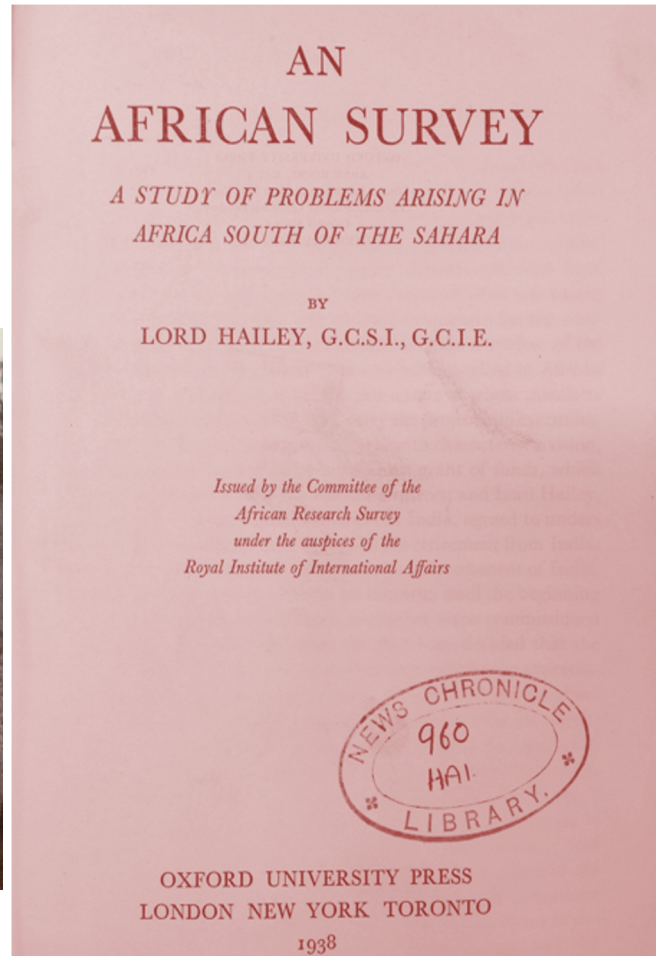
Audrey Richards 1899-1984

Lucy Mair 1901-1986

The Colonial Development and Welfare Act (1940)

1940. *Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940.*   Ch. 40.

CHAPTER 40.

An Act to make provision for promoting the development of the resources of colonies, protectorates, protected states and mandated territories and the welfare of their peoples, and for relieving colonial and other Governments from liability in respect of certain loans.

[17th July 1940.]

2. Application by I.A.I. for African Information Bureau.
3. Training of Personnel for S.S.Research in Colonies.
4. Social Research in the West Indies.
5. Supervisory Comee for Miss P. Ady's Research in the Gold Coast.
6. Psychological Research in Northern Rhodesia by J.F. Ritchie.
7. Priorities in Social Research.
8. Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Plan of Research.
9. Report by Prof. I. Ward on Language Problems of G.Coast.
10. Proposed Investigation into Development of Female Education in Selected Areas in Africa.
11. Ethnographical Survey of Africa: Further Information.
12. Report on Relief Work in Jaffa.
13. S. Research by Mr K. Little in Sierra Leone.
14. Proposal for Publication of Dr Meek's Report on Land Tenure in British Colonial Empire.
15. Application by Rev. A.C. Lamb for assistance towards anthropological research in Sierra Leone.

Malcolm MacDonald,
Colonial Secretary 1938-40

Agenda for the second meeting of the Colonial Social Science Research Council (CSSRC) 1944

Firth reports back to the CSSRC on his West African research trip..

101. It is difficult and even invidious to attempt to evaluate the relative urgency of the needs for research as between the various territories and the various types of problem. But there is obviously an urgent demand for urban surveys, basic socio-economic surveys in rural areas (including studies of land tenure), studies of labour movement and of internal marketing, and studies in the educational field. This leaves out of account, moreover, the more strictly economic studies falling outside the sociological field. On a minimum basis, it would seem that there is immediate need for the services of 3 research workers for urban surveys, 10 other sociologists or social anthropologists, 3 economists, 1 psychologist, 1 political scientist, and 2 educationists; or 20 workers in all. (This makes allowance for the possibility of a research worker shifting on to a further problem when one has been completed, e.g. undertaking a social survey of Freetown after carrying out one of Bathurst.) On a conservative estimate, there is work to be done by 40 or more research investigators during the next 5 years.

"It would seem that there is an immediate need for the services of 3 research workers for urban surveys, 10 other sociologists or social anthropologists, 3 economists, 1 psychologist, 1 political scientist, and 2 educationalists, or 20 workers in all"
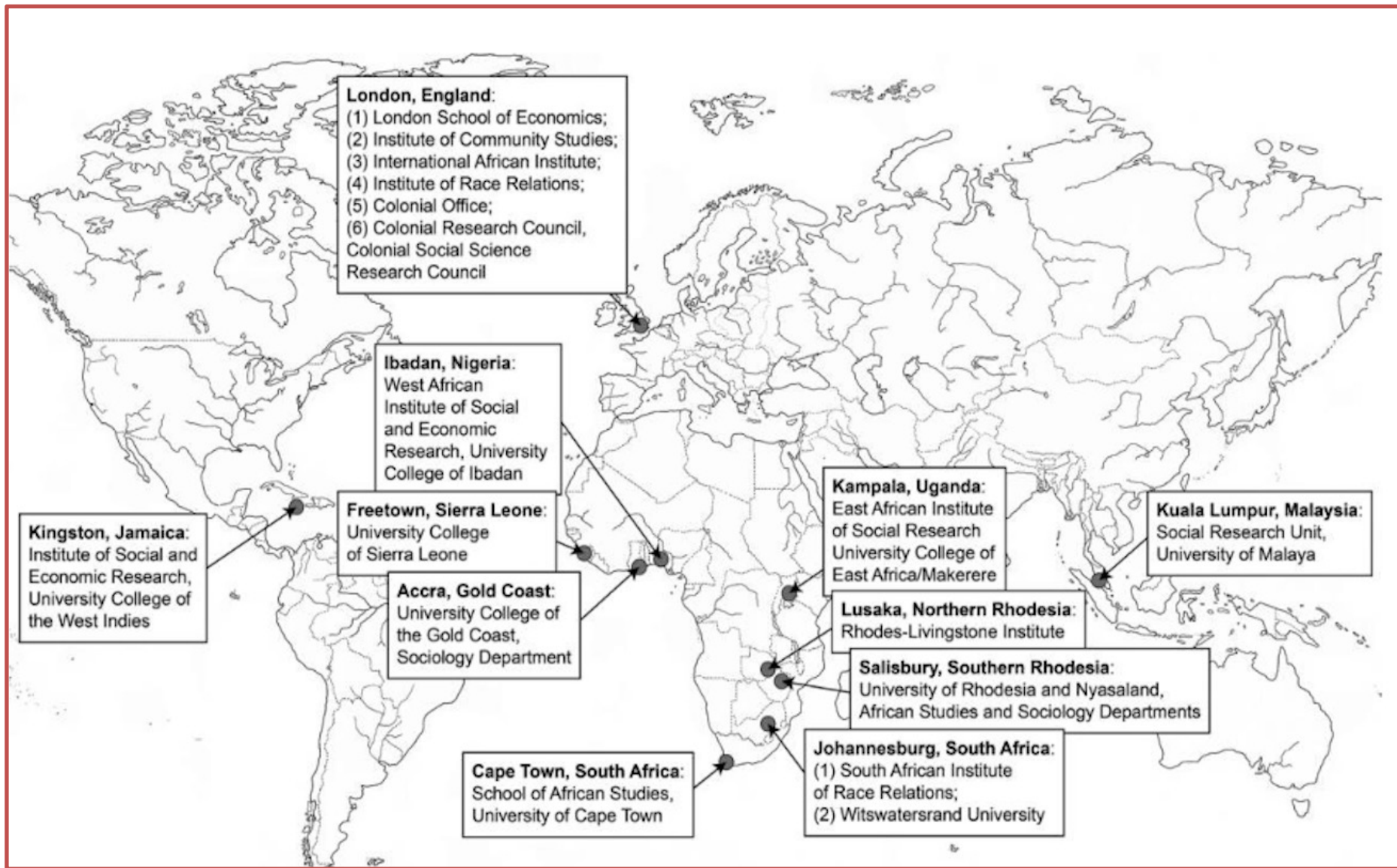
Table 6.1 Research in the human sciences: Colonial development and welfare grants, 1945-53

Territory	No. of projects	Amount (£s)
Africa (General)	11	79,830
Basutoland	1	2,985
Swaziland	1	850
East Africa (General)	8	297,046
Kenya	14	40,554
Tanganyika	1	4,185
Uganda (excluding research institutes)	8	17,845
Zanzibar	1	4,185
Somaliland	1	2,466
Central Africa (General)	4	128,750
Northern Rhodesia	2	7,943
Nyasaland	1	740
West Africa (General)	7	170,305
Gambia	3	6,696
Gold Coast	12	35,578
Nigeria	15	34,325
Sierra Leone	4	6,724
Total	94	843,822

Source: CSA, *Research in the Social Sciences in Africa South of the Sahara* (Bukavu: CSA, 1954), 44.
Note: Between 1945 and 1954 approximately £450,000 of the £843,822 went to three institutions: the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Northern Rhodesia, founded 1937), the East African Institute of Social Research (Uganda, founded 1950), and the West African Institute of Social and Economic Research (Nigeria, founded 1950).

Total Spending by CSSRC 1945-53
Source CSA *Research in the social sciences in Africa South of the Sahara* (1954), reprinted in Helen Tilley (2011) *Africa as a living laboratory : empire, development, and the problem of scientific knowledge, 1870-1950*

London, England:
(1) London School of Economics;
(2) Institute of Community Studies;
(3) International African Institute;
(4) Institute of Race Relations;
(5) Colonial Office;
(6) Colonial Research Council, Colonial Social Science Research Council

Ibadan, Nigeria:
West African Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of Ibadan

Kingston, Jamaica:
Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies

Freetown, Sierra Leone:
University College of Sierra Leone

Accra, Gold Coast:
University College of the Gold Coast, Sociology Department

Kampala, Uganda:
East African Institute of Social Research University College of East Africa/Makerere

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia:
Social Research Unit, University of Malaya

Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia:
Rhodes-Livingstone Institute

Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia:
University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, African Studies and Sociology Departments

Johannesburg, South Africa:
(1) South African Institute of Race Relations;
(2) Witswatersrand University

Cape Town, South Africa:
School of African Studies, University of Cape Town

Institutions supporting colonial anthropological and sociological research, mid 1950s (source Steinmetz 2017)

A 'band of brothers' divided..

1. **MINUTES OF BUSINESS MEETING, 6 January**

The Minutes of the Cambridge Meeting were read.
Arising out of the Minutes, No.7. Dr. Fortune proposed & Dr. Richards seconded that the Minutes be amended with the addition of the words:
"Professor Firth, Dr. Read, Dr. Kaberry, and Dr. Mair asked that there abstention from voting at the last Meeting under 7. Other Business, Nos. 1, 2. & 3, be recorded in the Minutes of the present Meeting".
This was agreed to.
No.7:3: Prof. Radcliffe-Brown's report on his interview in August with the Secretary of State for the Colonies was read.
To summarize: He told Mr. Creech Jones of the feeling among social anthropologists that the existing system of utilising Colonial Office funds for research in their subject was in many ways unsatisfactory, and quoted specific instances. He said that although probably no system by which scientific research was directly organized by a government bureau could be really

Margery Perham was the first female BBC Reith lecturer in 1961, talking on 'The Colonial Reckoning'.