TRIBES OF THE INDIRECT RULE

Tribalism in the colonial reporting from Kenya Colony and Protectorate in 1920-1940

A TERMINOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Master's thesis

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University of Joensuu, 2007-02-26

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1. Introduction

1.1. About the terminology

The discussion how to define the term tribalism has blossomed from the late 1950s when research on the internal African relations took its actual proportions. From the sociological, anthropological and political studies of tribalism, the debate has also widened to include the historical point of view. Further on, it has moved into the question about Europeans' role in the creation of the phenomenon. In my introductory chapters I will discuss the term, its meaning and the history behind it; in addition I will widen the analysis to the theoretical frame of the term and to its use in the scientific discussion on Africa.

As a term tribalism is closely linked to racism but it is also used to describe the relations and ideas about and toward smaller, ethnicity-related groups. In the most basic form tribalism has been seen as ethnicity-related classification of people into strictly-bounded groups called tribes, and as the effects of this classification to the relations between the named groups. From this point of view, tribalism is the idea that groups like Kikuyus, Luos, Kambas or Kisiis exist as definite, clearly outlined tribes. The idea of belonging to a tribe affects as well to the interaction between, for example, Kikuyus and Luos.

When we come in the closer discussion about the essence of tribalism, some scholars are highlighting the presence of politics and power[1], when others point out the negative connotation related to the word[2]. Nonetheless, the wide use of the term, and its relation to ethnicity, both in academic texts and in every day use, makes the understanding of it difficult. As ethnicity is nowadays used as the more neutral and probably more politically correct term, tribalism most often guides the readers into ideas and old assumptions about Africans as underdeveloped, backward people. The terms, in practice, circle the same, existing

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[1] For example John Lonsdale 1994. In the article Lonsdale wrote about the idea of moral ethnicity and political tribalism. Ethnicity for Lonsdale is something that common human mind creates in social intercourse compared to tribalism as the use of ethnicity in political competition.
[2] For example Vail 1989, 1.

phenomenon that has variety of levels from politics, identity, history and tradition to culture and ideologies.

Peter Ekeh (1990) discusses this problem in his article Social anthropology and two contrasting uses of tribalism in Africa in Comparative Studies in Society and History. He approaches the question from anthropological point of view and writes about the difference between anthropological and sociological use of the term. He illustrates that in anthropological research tribalism is used as an attribute of tribes and in the study of the reasons of its persistence. In sociological approach the term is however used to show dislike towards the preference of ones own ethnic group in public relations. Ekeh also writes that the anthropological point of view is quite often coming from outside and the sociological approach is discussed more widely inside the African continent.3 In the illustration that Ekeh is giving, anthropological approach is nearer to the basic point of view towards tribalism as such, as the sociological view highlights the more political and negative aspects of the phenomenon. From this aspect, both Lonsdale (1994) and Vail (1989) discuss tribalism from the sociological point of view.

However, Ekeh's definition does not include the non-Africans attitudes towards Africans as tribally divided peoples. To make the use of the term tribalism understandable in my research I will add external tribalism to the earlier definitions to represent the historical point of view. Both of Ekeh's definitions discuss the ethnically highlighted ideas inside and between tribes but external tribalism means the distinguishing ideas directed from outside towards Africans. In the historical point of view that I am using in my master's thesis the term tribalism will include wider sphere of all the attitudes and ideas towards Africans as tribally divided peoples. In this way the term broadens to describe also the conceptions of the British colonialists in Kenya. In both anthropological and historical approaches the research point of view is that of outsiders, but in external tribalism also the person who is studied is an outsider in the tribal context. From the political – or sociological point of view – self-identification, self-centred favours and discriminations, in brief; all the tribalism that exists in the life-sphere of the person in question, is internal tribalism. On the contrary tribalism into which the person does not identify himself can be described as external tribalism. It can also include favours from outside towards the tribes. New definition for the term is important because the

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3 Ekeh 1990, 687-688.

anthropological and sociological use of the term tribalism can confuse the understanding of the main subject of my research. Neither should it be confused with political tribalism – an idea adduced by John Lonsdale. Especially in the article written by Hoyweghen and Vlassenroot (2000), political tribalism is defined as the external side of ethnicity, but in the way the middlemen used it for their own benefits. On the contrary internal side of ethnicity, for Hoyweghen and Vlassenroot is moral ethnicity, another concept of Lonsdale, which means the individual identification.4

Another important factor in external tribalism, or in the historical approach to the sociological phenomenon itself, is identification. For example Gulliver (1969) is using identification in his definition when he writes about the connection between tribalism and nationalism. He concludes that "… the term 'tribe' can be taken to apply to any group of people which is distinguished, by its members and by others, on the basis of cultural-regional criteria."5 These kinds of definitions are quite widely used, but as more recent researchers have noted, tribes, or even ethnic groups are hard to define with any specific criteria. The subject is difficult to discuss as the ethnic groups – here I mean the groups formed by the interaction within the people themselves and into which the people identify themselves to belong to – are groups which are not based on any clear lines. The whole concept is more complex than basic illustrations on language, cultural heritage or political organizing. Further on, as Patrick Harries (1989) writes in his article in The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa, there are several groups an African may identify himself into, and ethnicity is only one of them6.

In the end, what is the difference between ethnicity and tribalism, ethnic groups and tribes? Ethnicity is at least a lot more widely used term in the academic discussion than tribalism. For example Iliffe in the *Modern History of Tanganyika* (1979) is actually writing about tribalism – in the historical sense of the term, and in the way I understand it – although in actual words he is using the term ethnicity. Although artificiality of tribes in comparison to ethnic groups is a major point in differentiating the two concepts, the two terms are sometimes used almost symmetrically in contemporary common discussions among both Europeans and Africans. On the other hand, as most of the historians have nowadays agreed, there were not static, stable groups, tribes, before colonialism. Further on, in many African languages it is also impossible

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4 Hoyweghen & Vlassenroot 2000, 96-97.
5 Gulliver 1969, 24.
6 Harries 1989, 110.

to find a direct equalling to the word tribe[7]. For this study I will use the term tribe to delineate the externally divided groups which were taken to be part of the colonial administration. The term tribalism will thus define the external actions and attitudes directed towards these groups.

In consequence, although many natives also in contemporary Kenya use the term tribe to define the pieces of ethnically divided population – and actually identify themselves into these groups – I will note to the term only as the model of the external, colonial definition of African groups. I want to make the difference between all the levels of connections into which the Africans identify themselves and the simple models of division made by Europeans. My attempt, however, is not to create a black-and-white picture of the models of identification and the connections between tribes and groups existing in contemporary Africa. As I will discuss in the following chapters, I believe those connections being highly fluctuating as the combination of interaction between Europeans and Africans, political, economical, and cultural lineages and global development. Although the terms tribe and tribalism have different definitions, in my thesis I will concentrate purely to the historical and external side of them.

1.2. Theoretical frame and subject of the study

The debate about ethnicity has created two main doctrines about the essence of contemporary political aspect of ethnicity, which for example Carola Lentz (1995) discusses in her article. I want to give a quick outline of these theories so the wider discussion about ethnicity will also be included to my thesis. From these two doctrines *constructionists* see ethnicity as converting phenomenon attached to the time and space. In this way ones presence in an ethnic group varies in contrast on the historical-political circumstances. Furthermore, according to constructionists, ethnic identity always needs an opposing group and it thus depends on the existing polar groups. In a simple way, ethnicity, seen by the constructionists, is all about "us

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[7] For example sociologist Victor Uchendu referred to the native terminology when he was discussing Igbos in *The Passing of Tribal Man in Africa*, see Uchendu 1970, 57. I have not found a valid linguistic study of the terms used in Kenya, but at least in dholuo *oganda* means the 'broadest social unit recognizing a common history or descent'. See Cohen and Odhiambo 1988, viii.

and them". Primordialists – or essentialists, or supporters of the modernisation theory – on the other hand emphasise the existence of ancestry, culture and language in ethnicity. As a scheme of things it highlights stability and constancy in ethnicity.[8] As Lonsdale illustrates the primordial ideas of the early era of studies of tribalism, separate tribes were seen clearly different as "differently coloured billiard balls". Being a tribal man was for the primordialists something opposing to being a modern man.[9]

Already in the 1950s an idea rose up, which took tribalism as a sign of counteracts towards the economical pressures of colonialism. The main theorist was a French sociologist Georges Balandier, whose theory also opened the way to the next decade's liberalist discussion about tribes as the invention of colonial regime. After the discussion about external manipulation had started, the socialist scholars deepened it by claiming that tribalism was just "false consciousnesses", created and manipulated by capitalist higher class to use for their own benefits. The latest approach to the discussion about tribalism, and its linkage to nationalism, sees the existence of ethnicity in a more multiform way. First of all, the pre-colonial ethnicity is seen in the form of apolitical and non-competitive economies, which actually had constant interaction with each other. The competitive aspect between different groups came into the picture in the imperial and colonial eras through labour market, political hierarchy and western education. In the historical discussion, Lonsdale reminds about the difference between moral ethnicity and political tribalism[10], and about the fact that moral ethnicity has seldom anything to do with political, or tribalistic, debates. On the whole the final state leads us back to the constructionist idea of environmentally-biased structuring of ethnic identity, something that Lonsdale calls "--- fission and fusion, [that is] like slivers of glass in a kaleidoscope" [11]

The discussion about ethnicity can also be condensed to the discussion about the vocabulary used. From the whole theories we can thus stick for a while to the connotations related to the terminological descriptions. Terence Ranger (1983), for example, started his studies about tribes by writing about their *invention*[12], but rethought the idea afterwards. As he wrote in

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[8] Lentz 1995, 306.
[9] Lonsdale 1994, 132.
[10] See the description earlier.
[11] Lonsdale 1994, 133-142.
[12] He also writes about the invention of traditions in the same named book (1983) in which he claims that the traditions made up by Europeans were adapted and used by Africans during the colonial times.

1993, by talking about invention one discusses the idea from a very polarized point of view and claims that tribal ideas were directed plainly from outside to Africa. He also connotes to the temporal aspect in the term. In the article *The Invention of Tradition Revised* Ranger comes to the conclusion that it is actually better to talk about *imagination* of ethnicity in the colonial era. By using the verb to imagine, Ranger wants to highlight the fluidity and interaction in historical time frame between Africans and colonialists.[13] Leroy Vail, for a third point of view, uses the term *creation* when he discusses tribalism in *Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*[14]. Although he criticizes the one-sidedness of the theory of indirect rule, the terminology he uses is ideologically closer to the idea of invention than that of imagining. Creating is something with clear actor and object; it is unilateral action with specific time frame.[15]

Nonetheless, the concept of image is as problematic as invention or creation. As Thomas Spear (2003) writes, it "neglects the economic, social and political factors that help shape identities and the complex processes of reinterpretation and reconstitution of historical myths and symbols to define them."[16] In my thesis I can not get very deep to the discussion about the wider trajectory of tribes – especially when it comes to the political aspect of the phenomenon after the colonial era – because of my time frame. Whether the colonialists invented, imagined or created tribes is fundamental in the wider concept of the studies of tribalism, but as my point of view in the thesis is knowingly very unilateral, I will discuss only the very external, one-sided – and in that aspect also quite abstract idea of tribalism.

In my thesis I will concentrate only to the tribalism of the British towards Kenyans. From the British administrative reporting I am studying the idea of tribes as means of indirect rule; division and definition of the tribes, stereotypes and the effects of the stereotypes in tribalism that can be seen in the writings of British administrators. Consequently, terminological discussion is extremely important in the thesis, and it will follow the research through the text. The main question in my thesis is in the definition and the use of the term tribe in the

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[13] Ranger 1993, see especially pages 79-81.
[14] Vail 1989.
[15] See also the article written by Thomas Spear (2003) about invention of traditions in British colonial Africa. The article works as a great summary of the subjects discussed: ethnicity in relation to indirect rule and traditions. In the text he highlights the continual interaction and fluency of time and change of circumstances in it. He structures the colonial time from the wider point of view and connects it to the historical time frame so that it does not stand out as a static era of paternal relations, but is connected to the historical flow.
[16] Spear 2003, 5.

administrative reports and further on, in the use of the defined tribes in the indirect rule. In this way the fundamental question is why the term tribe was used by the colonialists in the time of indirect rule in Kenya. Apart from describing how and in which contexts tribes were mentioned I will also get deeper to the colonial definition of the term and finally to the stereotypes the term comprised. I will study the reports from the 1920s and 1930s because during that time the earlier models of governance were united into an official policy in the colony, and the effects of indirect rule were most visible. Before the First World War indirect rule was still shaping up and after 1940s the structure and colonial ideas were again at change. Twenty years is also a good interval for me to get a proper picture of the colonial attitudes and movements towards Africans.

First it is important to find out what kind of terminology the administrators used and what was the role of tribes in the indirect rule. The chapter about tribes as means of indirect rule will be highly introductory to the rest of the thesis as it will discuss tentatively the idea of tribes in the colonial administrative structure. The leading idea in my thesis will be the discussion why the term and concept of tribe was needed in colonial Kenya. When it comes to the broader European discussion about Africans, I have decided to include also the anthropological research from the 1920s and 1930s into my thesis since the anthropologists and colonialists had very active discussions and they cooperated in many fields in Africa. Although the same applies to the missionaries living in the continent and although they worked close to the colonialists – especially when it comes to the education – I will approach the subject more from the scientific point of view. The level in which the missionaries worked in the colony was based on the practical side of education and spreading Christianity whereas the anthropologists and administrators worked in the wider grounds of discussing also more in the theoretical level the existence and essence of the natives. From this ground I will not add the discussion on tribalism and the missionaries into this thesis.

After opening the thesis with the study of tribes and ethnic groups I will concentrate to the reasons of the tribal classification from the reports and to the question how the colonial administrators saw and treated individuals as tribal men. In this chapter I will also note to the history of ideas behind the British colonial rule in Kenya. Third, I will study the definitions of the division, that is, how the tribes were defined and how they were differed from each other. In this chapter I will discuss one of the main questions in my thesis: what made a person to belong to a certain tribe. I discuss the problem by studying different options from political

organising to language and livelihood. The question is interesting also because some resent studies have showed the differences of these variables within individual tribes. I will also compare the groups defined as tribes and the locally formed groups. With these questions I will frame the concept of external tribalism by examples from British indirect rule in Kenya. The clear and unequivocal definition of the terms tribe and tribalism will help to clarify the discussion around the terms and thus the definition also directs the possible criticism to its goal instead of pushing it somewhere behind an inadequate term.

Finally I will compare the externally created tribes to internally formed groups. In the chapter I will highlight the differences between political organisations and areas inhabited but I will also discuss the native identification to tribes and ethnic groups. Finally I will conclude the idea of both internal and external fluency in the colony: the ongoing interaction and formation of relations between the natives and administrators and from this ground I will discuss how the changing circumstances affected to the concept of tribe.

Apart from these questions, I wanted to include the discussion about the practical side of external tribalism in Kenya to my thesis. I wanted to contemplate the question from three different points of view: the opportunities of work, education and colonial politics which were given to different tribes during the 1920s and 1930s. However the subject would have been too widespread for me to discuss within the limited number of pages. Also the sources I needed for the above questions would have been different from the sources I was using in the thesis. In addition, I was also afraid that the shortness of the chapter would have affected to the presentation of the discussion. Throughout the thesis I point out the importance of interaction between the natives and colonialists. There was the chance in the last chapter that the point about natives affecting to the placement of schools and for example Local Native Councils would have got lost in the short discussion of the subject. Too short description of the subject might have presented all this in too Eurocentric and facile way as if the British would have build schools without taking cognizance of the native response. Thirdly, the discussion about the practical side of tribalism differs from the general line of the thesis. While all the other chapters in the thesis are discussing the terminological side of the subject, the discussion about educational and political inequalities would have remained individual and separate. Although the discussion about the practices is extremely important in relation to the whole concept of external tribalism, it definitely deserves its own thesis rather than a solitary chapter in the terminological discussion.

1.3. Analysis of sources

The main part of the study is done in the University of Joensuu with the administrative reports from Kenya colony. The study is a historical research based on printed, written sources. In addition to the reports I study the books of lord Lugard and articles from the International African Institute publication Africa written by British administrators. This enables me to get a proper picture of how the British colonial administrators saw Kenyans and Africans in general.

The colonial governance had the duty to report the colonial events annually to the mother country. The colonial governance was divided into different fields which received and drew up a summary of the local reports to be sent to Great Britain. My research is based on this kind of reporting from Native Affairs Department (NAD). The department was started in the 1907 in Kenya and it was in work until the end of the 1930s. After that the chief of the department kept his position in the government as an adviser but he did not have direct authority in subjects related to the locals.[17] Lonsdale (1989) has suggested that the department was started mainly to find proper workforce for the settlers and colonialists.[18] This can be seen in the reports – as I will discuss later in my thesis – in the keen description of the working abilities and cooperation of different tribes. The reports start with general political survey and continue with reviews for example about education, agriculture, crimes and taxes. The reports sent to Great Britain were written by the chief native commissioner. I complete my thesis also with the reports from the labour and registration sections written by the chief administrators of the named fields. The material is in the microfilm collection of University of Joensuu.

Apart from the reports I go through the books from Captain (later Lord) Frederick Lugard, who worked in Uganda and Northern Nigeria as colonial administrator and who had a big role in the development of indirect rule. In Northern Nigeria, between the years 1900 and 1907, he applied the models of governing of Uganda to the colonial administration.[19] Already in 1893

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[17] Hailey 1979b, 107.
[18] Lonsdale 1989, 28.
[19] Betts 1985, 318.

he wrote *The rise of our East African empire – early efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda* (second edition: 1968), and fifteen years later he published *Political Memoranda* (third edition: 1970), that was basically meant to be an advisory for colonial administrators and is mainly emphasising administration in Nigeria. Hence the book is not so useful for me as others written by Lugard. In the well-known *Dual Mandate* (1922; fifth edition: 1965) Lugard illustrates his point of views mainly with examples from Nigeria, but he writes very keenly about the ideas, factors and problems all over in the British colonies in Africa. In the introduction for the fifth edition of the book, Margaret Perham (1965) writes that in the 1930s almost everywhere in British colonies the administrative staffs were using the books of Lugard as "canonical books of their profession"[20].

I am also using a variety of articles written by colonial administrators and anthropologists in the 1920s and 1930s about ethnicity in Africa. International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (later the International African Institute, IAI) was founded in 1926 to transfer information between the Europeans working in Africa and to create co-operative possibilities between different instances. From 1928 onwards the Institute has published four times a year a journal called *Africa*, in which people from different fields are introducing their research or experiences from Africa.[21] The journal does not have only one language so the articles are written in English, French or in Germany; yet English being the most used. From all the articles in *Africa* I will concentrate on the articles from 1928 to 1939. The articles are highly analytic and chiefly discussing the possible improvements that could be made to the colonial ruling system. *Africa* is thus a very useful journal to study the western discussion which was going on about Africa, colonialism and Africans in the colonial era.

As I have already mentioned, theories about the start and appearance of tribalism were discussed already in the 1950s. Especially in the British social anthropology topics as urban ethnicity and labour migration were intensively discussed. For example A.L. Epstein's *Politics in an urban African community* (1958) and Mitchell's *the Kalela Dance* (1956) give a good outline of internal tribalism and furthers the discussion about the phenomenon. These kinds of studies already highlighted the fluid and time-related aspect of ethnicity and differentiated the urban tribalism from the existence and structure of rural tribes.[22]

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[20] Perham 1965, xlii.
[21] History from the internet site of the Institute: http://www.iaionthe.net, read 14.10.2006 and 19.1.2007.
[22] Lentz 1995, 310.

In the 1970s the study of tribalism deepened visibly. In 1979 John Iliffe wrote *Modern History of Tanganyika* where he dedicated one chapter to the history of ethnicity. In the book he put the pressure to the identity: in this way he emphasised the direct connection with colonialism and ethnicity. John Iliffe did not use direct research literature but he based his research completely on source material. He brought up many questions of tribalism which were the basic lines of the followed studies of the phenomenon, such as the explanation of tribalism with indirect rule and the effect of the locals themselves to the development of tribalism. One can say that John Iliffe's studies are the pillars of the later studies of tribalism. He connected the history of ethnicity to a wider context of history; and although he based his studies to a specified area in Africa, his research can be used in general as the ground material to studies of other areas as well.

Ten years after *The Modern History of Tanganyika* Leroy Vail edited a book about the emergence of tribalism. In the introduction part of *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* Vail criticises earlier research on the lack of historical view, something Vail also promises to repair. In the introduction he surveys the theories of earlier research and points out the weaknesses and strengths of them. Further on, he also condemns wholly the idea of the traditional tribalism of Africans. From all the theories Vail mainly highlights the one about indirect rule, which he however condemns as too simple for an answer. In his words, when ethnicity is explained in its present context only as the effect of indirect rule, one is putting the Africans in the passive and naïve position in comparison to the active British colonialists. Other theories discussed by Vail are the work-immigration, the inequality of colonial areas, the local middle-class and its effects in the growth of ethnicity and the interest from locals towards their ancestors. As his own, new point of views Vail adds the effects of capitalism and reservation areas.

Because there are several writers and different chapters are dealing with different areas and a bit different time spheres, the methods used in the articles in *The Creation of Tribalism* are also very variable. The points of views of the authors have differences as well: some are discussing work and its relation to the creation of tribalism; some concentrate to the effects of the works done by missionaries and the education given to Africans. When it comes to the geographical concept, South Africa comes up most; in individual texts also Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique are handled.

The Creation of Tribalism has taken its place as the basic line in the research of tribalism and as the background research of it, and so far there have not been other studies of the history of tribalism to the value of *The Creation.* Some new points of views were given by Okwudiba Nnoli in his introductory article in *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa* (1998). Nnoli does not bring ethnicity up as completely bad thing and he points out for example the solidarity related to it. In the article he tries to bring scientific understanding closer to the every day ethnicity in Africa. Nnoli is also more careful than earlier researchers about the effects of colonialism: in his words, colonialism did not *create* but it did *encourage*. Nnoli notes also to the ethnicity of Africans before colonialism but at the same time he adds that ethnicity was not a problem for Africans before colonial administration. Okwudiba Nnoli writes about ethnicity a bit softer than the research does in general but he also does agree with the others about the negative effects of it.

Kenya has not been mentioned many times in the scientific discussion of tribalism and John Lonsdale is one of the only researchers concentrated to the ethnicity in the area. Already in 1989 in a book edited by W. R. Ochieng', *A Modern History of Kenya* he notes to the ethnic determination of British administration. In his introduction to the early era of colonial Kenya, he gives examples of the relations between the British and different native groups. *Unhappy Valley: conflict in Kenya and Africa* written by Lonsdale together with Bruce Berman in 1992 deepens his handling of ethnicity and Kenya. Lonsdale is a specialist of Kenyan history and he has also written many critical and analytical articles about tribalism like *When did the Gusii (or any other group) become a "tribe"?* (1977) and *Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism*. In my thesis his texts have been extremely helpful.

Although the discussion about ethnicity has continued through the 1990s and early 21st century, the challenges from Leroy Vail have not yet been responded completely. Something can also be concluded from the point that many books about ethnicity have been edited as a united work of many people, or the studies have been articles about very concentrated subjects. Not an individual has studied tribalism in the historical point of view extensively: the studies have usually had very clear geographical boundary lines. This also tells about the area differences in the creation of ethnic thinking. *The Creation of Tribalism* is a versatile anthology into which flashes of different areas of development of tribalism have been connected. The different areas of Africa have been studied very unequally and the research

has mainly been concentrated to the ethnic conflicts and in the effect of the history of tribalism in those areas of Africa, which have had most of the political unrest.

2. Indirect rule

2.1. Lugards vision

The practice of European rule through local leaders worked a long time before Lugard made it a doctrine for the British in Africa. Believing that all the Africans had chiefs was the start point for British in the early colonial times. David Welsh (1996) writes about a form of indirect rule practiced already in the mid-nineteenth-century South Africa[23], but Lugard's indirect rule can be traced more directly to Buganda. The so called Ganda model was used in part of the area known now as Uganda. Before colonialism, the area of Buganda was divided into king-centred, hierarchical societies. When the Europeans arrived, they soon saw the benefits of the hierarchical system in Buganda and started using the existing structures for their own benefits. Already back then it was about missionary influence and the lack of finance and officers as the British administrators decided to leave the native administrative structures intact.[24]

Maxon (1994) highlights Ganda's role in the inauguration of British administration in Eastern Africa. A military leader, Semi Kakunguru conquered new areas and spread the Bugandan type of administration appointing Ganda to act as chiefs and sub-chiefs to areas where British did not have any control yet. Before British influence started spreading to the areas, the model of using existing hierarchies was already in use. Now, it was easy for the British to start using the ongoing models for their own benefits. Considering how little British – or any Europeans

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[23] Welsh 1996, 479.
[24] Maxon 1994, 146-148; Gartrell 1983, 3.

– knew about Africans at the time, they had to construct colonial administration on the crumbs of information they had. Ganda model was one of these crumbs. When Sir Frederick Lugard arrived to the protectorate the practice already existed; Lugard formulated the ideas of indirect rule from the basis of Bugandan model and put them eventually in practice during his post in Northern Nigeria.[25]

Lugard's importance in the creation of indirect rule is in the official structuring and spreading of the idea. For Lugard, indirect rule was to build colonial administration on the substratum of local hierarchies. As Lugard saw indirect rule, it was "---the high ideal of leading the backward races, by their efforts, in their own way, to raise themselves to a higher plane of social organisation ---"[26]. Lugard structured the system of clear descending administrative posts in the colony with British governor, who represented the British Government, on the top. For him, the whole colonial governing was a unitary whole, in which both the British and the natives would work together.[27]

In the simplest form the indirect rule was hierarchical pyramid with the governor on the top and minor administrators beneath him. Territorially the colonies were divided into provinces, which were again divided into districts and divisions. The province and district administrators oversaw the work of the local chiefs and headmen. Apart from the territorial administration, the governor was also in charge of the different branches – administrative, judicial and departmental – of the colony.[28] The local administrators were supposed to be those keeping their "traditional statuses" in their community, working as they had always worked to lead their own tribes. These local chiefs were superior to village headmen, who were the lowest branch of the colonial hierarchy.[29] Anyhow, they were not independent leaders. The local officers worked between the locals and British mediating rules, knowledge and information both ways. Lugard saw the local leaders in this position, as the mediators of western civilisation and intercessors of the benefits of forestation, health care and agriculture.[30]

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Lugard 1965, 215.
[27] Lugard 1965, 203.
[28] Lugard 1965, 95-96.
[29] Lugard 1965, 200.
[30] Lugard 1970, 297 and 315.

The British administration in Africa – though called congruently indirect rule – was never a precise concept despite Lugard's efforts to make it one[31]. Much of this was consequence of the difference between Lugard's ideas and examples from Northern Nigeria, and the practice in the actual colonial territories. The colonies were separate entities of the mother country. The United Kingdom had little to do with the decisions of the colonial governments, and the main communications between the two were the annual reports sent to the Colonial Office. Consequently, the different colonies under British administration were eventually led in very distinct ways.[32]

In the 1920s Britain had colonies in Kenya, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Uganda, North- and South Rhodesia and South Africa[33]. From these Uganda and Nigeria stood up as the modelling colonies of indirect rule, South Africa had a special structure of governance through her history and the remaining colonies coped with indirect administration as they could. Lord Hailey, who travelled in British Africa after the Second World War, notes in his book (1979a) that only Buganda, Northern Nigeria and some individual protectorates had actual, functioning indirect rule. He also continues that all administrators in Africa – also others than British – had to use locals to support the colonial administration.[34] The differences between the different colonies were visible for example in the use of local chiefs or even armed forces. Berman (1974) writes about the councils of chiefs formed in Tanganyika and of the "sub chiefs" of Gold Coast, who controlled family groups[35]. Lugard, on the other hand, had noticed Kenya's special status, where the administrative chiefs had the right to arrange armed groups in order to maintain their authority. In other colonies raising armed forces was forbidden for the native rulers.[36]

Interestingly, the differences continued also inside individual colonies. According to the differences one can also see the fluidity of the indirect rule in practice. The duties of both the province and district officers included everything from finances and labour forces to

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[31] Pratt 1960, 163.
[32] Berman 1974, 50.
[33] Gold Coast is the area of present Ghana, Tanganyika of Tanzania, Nyasaland of Malawi, and the Rhodesias of Zambia and Zimbabwe.
[34] Hailey 1979a, 13.
[35] Berman 1974, 229.
[36] Lugard 1965, 205. In the native reserves the chiefs got help from the tribal police ordinance, established in 1929. Earlier the tribal retainers were only mediating orders to headmen, carrying messages and assisting in the supervision in general, but in the end of the 1920s they got the authority to make arrests, guard prisoners and assist the headmen in maintaining law and order in the areas. See NAD 1929, 16.

organising and ministering health care, justice and education. The tasks also varied according to the territory and as Lugard writes, in the isolated stations district officers' responsibilities involved even arranging postal services, police and engineering in addition to the regular tasks.[37] With these responsibilities and slow communication means in colonial areas the administrators had a lot of freedom to arrange these things as they wished. However, these were only the surface of the differences. As Hailey observed, the British administers seldom had opportunity to control all the detailed actions due to the wide administrative areas[38].

However the flexibility in practical administration, it did not quite meet with the flexibility described by Lugard. As Lugard visualised the indirect rule to mould according to the different hierarchical tribal structures, he never noted the possibility of the wider sphere of native ethnical or political structures. Furthermore, the administrators with little education and experience had to adapt Lugard's visions to the surrounding realities. The education given to the candidates was short and widely varied about everything from accountancy and criminal law to hygiene and cultivation. Some languages were taught as well, and the candidates were obligated to study the native laws, customs and one of the main languages when arriving to the post in Africa.[39] However the administrators changed their posts rather often and thus their connections and language skills stayed in a modest state.[40]

Apart from all the differences between the colonies or administrative territories within a colony, there were also many things affecting to the similarities between the British colonies. The history of ideas of the turn of the 20th century was visible in the attitudes and actions of the British officers. The education was same for all the candidates travelling to Africa and in addition, most of the administrators were circulated from early companies like the IBEA to colonial tasks or administrators were transferred between different colonies. Kenya for example received officers from Uganda and South Africa in the early state of the colony.[41] The suppositions coming with especially the officers who had served in Uganda stressed the chief-led structure of African tribes.

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[37] Lugard 1965, 134.
[38] Hailey 1979a, 23.
[39] Lugard 1965, 133.
[40] Berman 1974, 76 and 102.
[41] Berman 1974, 92.

The suppositions were also beneficial for the British. First of all, the concept of indirect rule tallied with the presumptions that British had of Africans as tribally divided peoples. As Vail writes, British were deeply suspicious on the concept of "detribalised" Africans and wanted thus to support the "natural ethnic groups". Furthermore, the British administrative system was itself deeply hierarchical and it was easy to transfer the ideas to pertain to the chiefs and sub chiefs in the colonies. There was neither proper practical policy nor enough resources to create new socio-economical and political institutions.[42] Secondly, indirect rule was cheaper than direct rule. It saved the costs of hiring British administrative stuff, which the system was also lacking, and the local chiefs were cheaper than Europeans.[43] In a way, the locals were funding themselves the foreign rule. Third, as Iliffe and Berman point out, the structure of indirect rule in a way gave the colonialists the moral right to rule. As they were not interfering to the local practices – as the colonialists wanted to see the situation – and as they saw themselves as the higher class bringing the savage people only the comforts of civilisation, the arrangement soon justified itself. The local officers also strengthened the administration and gave acceptance to the British foreign rule.[44] When the locals worked together with the foreign administration, the whole concept did not show up as imperialistic invasion. Indirect rule protected the colonialists from uprisings as well. As Vail writes, by distributing administrative tasks to the locals, evolution of wider political consciousness among the locals slowed down[45]. Here we come close to the concept of *divide and rule*, in which the British tried to keep the local groups separate in order to control the territory in an easier and more systematic way. It kept the subjects from uniting and gave the rulers more space to organise the administration within the people.

Indirect rule was often compared with the so-called direct rule of the French as the more tradition-respective and co-operative form of colonialism. The British were easily seen as the colonialists working through the indigenous institutions, as when the French abolished those while imposing their own believes and practices. I will not get very deep to the discussion between similarity and contrast approaches to the direct and indirect rule in Africa[46], but I would like to summaries the debated theories. The similarity school adherents claim that what

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[42] Vail 1989, 13; Berman 1974, 125.
[43] Vail 1989, 13; Watson 1976, 169.
[44] Iliffe 1979, 322; Berman 1974, 125.
[45] Vail 1989, 13.
[46] For further reading I would suggest for example *West African Transformations – comparative Impacts of French and British Colonialism* (2001), written by A. I. Asiwaju.

ever the theoretical frames were, both of the colonies faced the same problems of ruling foreign people in practice. The contrast approach is on the other hand stressing the differences between French and British colonialism both in practice and in the ideology. A new approach to the discussion is accusing the preceding theories of being Eurocentric and flawed to recognise the fluidity between different circumstances and the practices held by administrators. Further more, as Miles (1994) is writing, colonialism as such is seen as exploitation based on racial domination by the new scholars. That is far more important in his point of view than the virtual theoretical structure of it.[47]

2.2. Indirect rule in Kenya

The time of imperialism in Kenya started after the explorers and missionaries had opened the way to East Africa for the Europeans. There were not only the British conquering lands in Africa and during the last decades of the 19th century Britain and Germany divided the areas in Eastern Africa between the two countries. Although both continued their influence in the area, they left the actual direct control to chartered companies which were established to East Africa. In the area of present day Kenya the British East Africa Association, established by William Mackinnon, became the Imperial British East Africa (IBEA) Company in 1888. The company started the British influence in practice in the area. After seven years the East Africa Protectorate was established, and the power started to move from the company to the British Government. Within a year the British also started the construction work for the railway from the coast to the area today known as Uganda. The railway connected the interior areas to the imperial posts and spread the foreign influence further to the inlands. In 1905 the protectorate was transferred to the administration of the Colonial Office and fifteen years later the area was changed from Protectorate to stand as a Colony. Only a narrow strip at the coast remained under the name of protectorate.[48]

In Kenya Colony and Protectorate the administration was based on the general British principals. The provinces were led by provincial commissioner helped by the district

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[47] Firmin-Sellers 2000, 254; Miles 1994, 10-11.
[48] Maxon 1994, 127-155. Basic history of the colony of Kenya for example from *A Modern History of Kenya* (1989) or *East Africa: an introductory history* (1994).

commissioners, district officers and assistant district officers.[49] In the 1920s and 1930s there were more or less hundred field officers in Kenya: 109 in 1921, 92 in 1928 and 70 in 1939[50]. Beneath the district officers worked a group of local administrators. Also in Kenya, the lowest in the hierarchy were the village headmen[51]. The tribes of the indirect rule in Kenya were divided into three different groups which, according to a resent publication are the Bantus, Nilots and Cushites. The Bantus form the biggest group within the colony and for example Kikuyus from the highlands, Luhyas, Kambas, Merus and Embus are seen to belong to the Bantus. Luos from the Eastern Kenya, as well as Maasais and Kalenjis are examples of the Nilots; Gallas, Borans and Somalis form part of the Cushites.[52] Most of these tribes exist already in the administrative reports from the 1920s and 1930s but there are some newer formations as the Luhyas and Mijikenda into which I take a closer look in the chapter of consistency of tribes and ethnic groups. Cushites are not mentioned, but instead the reports indicate to Hamites, in connection with Nilo-Hamites, a group that includes for example the Turkana.[53]

In Kenya the existing groups did not have single, clear hierarchical leaders which existed for example in Uganda[54]. Lonsdale describes how the peoples in the Kenyan highlands had boundaries between them, called their neighbours differently, but had no political or economical boundaries in between. The peoples traded and married over these loose geographical groups. The people in power were in constant connection with each other since they needed mutual support and alliances during the hard times. The divided headship was usually based on seniority, although Lonsdale is also writing about ambition, inspiration and organisation behind the leaderships. Age, however, meant knowledge and control and had thus a special role in the selection of leaders.[55]

The system of chiefs and their selection was interesting in Kenya colony because of the surrounding concept of the indirect rule as a rule based on the existence of local chiefs. In this structure the chiefs should have been "traditionally" chosen only by the natives and the chiefs should have had unequivocal and strong standing among the people. In Kenya colony, the

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[49] Tignor 1976, 42.
[50] Berman 1990, 87: table 3.2 Field staff in African districts 1919-39.
[51] See appendix 1, map of Kenya colony and protectorate.
[52] See for example Kyle 1999, XV for more information.
[53] NAD 1926, 28.
[54] Maxon 1994, 159.
[55] Lonsdale 1992a, 19-21.

chiefs were anyhow chosen by the foreign rulers and in selected cases partly by the natives themselves. The local chiefs were chosen and hired by the British. Later on, within the tribes the British regarded more developed, the locals were given a chance to contribute to the appointment of the chief by voting for him from among the people chosen by the British.[56] Even in these cases the native administrators were co-operative and foreign-rule supportive because of the pre-selection done by the British officers. Another thing affecting to the selection of the chiefs was the individual district and province commissioners. As I have already noted, the commissioners had a lot of freedom in their work and they were able to use a lot of personal influence and supply their own preference to the selection[57]. After all, the selection of the chiefs was controlled from above and it had little to do with the actual pre-colonial political systems of the natives.

The status of the chiefs as subordinates of the foreign rule affected also to the two-folded position of them. They acted as the mediators of orders coming from the British administrators, worked as the grass roots level officers in the foreign administration and executed the orders from district officers and local councils. On the other hand they were supposed to mediate knowledge and represent the local groups – tribes – to the higher levels of the administration.[58] Thus the Kenyan chiefs worked mainly with the same subjects as in other colonies, although they were allowed to employ assistance and their role in tax-collecting was not as big as in other British colonies. Chiefs were also supposed to provide porters for the government, to keep order and to recruit labour. Tignor (1976) notes in comparing Kikuyus, Maasais and Kambas that the Kikuyu chiefs were more useful in these kind of works for the administration than the others.[59]

The demands from higher authorities also weakened the status of the chiefs in the eyes of the locals. Traditional or not, the chiefs were supposed to defend the interests of the local people and the orders the chiefs got from British officers challenged thus their legitimacy in the eyes of the locals.[60] However, as these chiefs did not have a lot of native respect as tribal chiefs, their duties were mainly related to the work of the British officers. In consequence they worked more as the officers of colonial rule than as the native leaders, who would have been

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[56] Berman 1974, 234.
[57] Berman 1974, 60.
[58] Hailey 1979a, 222; Hailey 1979b, 203.
[59] Tignor 1976, 43-44.
[60] Spear 2003, 10.

only co-operating with the British[61]. Hence, because of the non-existence of traditional chiefs in Kenya, the role of such was harder to accomplish. The role of the chiefs and their relation to the natives is one of the main points why the administrative structure in Kenya is widely interpreted to be closer to the idea of direct rule than to that of indirect[62].

Apart from the chiefs, the governors established Local Native Councils (LNC) to Kenya to support the idea of local administration. The practice was unique in the British colonies in Africa. The councils worked to decide on minor subjects related to the native life in the lead of the district commissioner. The members of the councils were Africans, slightly more of them chosen by natives than by the British officers, or, as it is put in the reports, "selected native headmen together with the popular representatives chosen by the natives themselves". The members were appointed for a period of three years.[63] The councils were empowered to decide on matters purely local such as food and water supplies, use of land, forest, agriculture, markets, education, roads and public health. However, this co-operation was meant to exist between the administrative officers and the "more enlightened natives" and in this way the councils were not pointed to all the tribes in Kenya.[64] Here the status of the British authorities was similar as in the selection of chiefs. By selecting part of the members, the higher authorities assured that the councils were always willing to co-operate with the colonial governance[65].

Despite the role of the British in the work of the councils, the councils were still shown as the means for the locals to decide on their own matters and to express their own points of view[66]. As the reports show, the purpose was to convey that the councils were an integral part of the tribal organisation[67]. Despite the will of the colonialists to show the councils as locals' means of contributing, the councils did not have a lot of power. Hailey is in fact criticising the system because the district commissioner were leading the discussions and Hailey doubts the power of the councils to influence. Also Berman agrees with the critic and he writes that most

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[61] Maxon 1994, 159.
[62] See for example Maxon 1994, 159 and Berman 1974. Also Lord Hailey (1979a, 13) wrote, as I have already noted, that the actual indirect rule existed only in Northern Nigeria, Uganda and in some individual protectorates.
[63] Hailey 1979a, 14 and 208; Hailey 1979b, 126 and NAD 1934, 38. Quote from NAD 1924, 20.
[64] NAD 1924, 20.
[65] Berman 1974, 275.
[66] NAD 1926, 32.
[67] NAD 1935, 45.

of the laws came in the basic form from the higher authorities[68]. In the administration's point of view, the Councils were however an integral part of the governing. Especially during the interwar period the Councils were functional instrument for the British. Through them the administrations were also able to establish cooperation with the "progressive" natives especially in Nyanza and Central provinces.[69]

Again, because of the artificiality of the councils, the role of the chairman and thus the role of the whole higher administrative structure are visible also in the reports. The commissioners did not always hide the role of the British. The paternal status of the British was visible in the fact that most of the questions brought up in the councils were those of the British. This was commended for example in the report from 1925, where the writer indicated that most proposals in Nyanza Province emanated from the chairman[70]. Interesting in the concept of Local Native Councils is the fact that they did not relate to any local structure nor worked independently as a unit for the locals to influence. The structuring of the councils particularly in Kenya tells us about the problems the administrators had in adapting the model of indirect rule to the local structures. Further on, the names and placements of the councils indicate of the presupposed connection of the councils and the tribal structures. At the end of the 1930s, there was approximately one council for one district. As the districts were also tried to be build around the idea of ethnic unity[71], the councils were also tried to be bordered both by administrative as well as ethnic units. They were also named according to the tribes involved, like the 'Luo-Abasuba' and 'Kisii-Bakoria' councils.[72]

Another way of structuring the administration according to the tribes of indirect rule was the use of the native tribunals. Already in 1924 the colonial governing started thinking of establishing native courts among the "more enlightened tribes" to let them solve the "petty criminal matters" on their own[73]. Later on, in the reports, the tribunals are described as the bodies of native elders. The tribunals were allowed to hold about civil matters as marriage, inheritance and criminal matters concerning cases against native law and custom. The tribunals were not supposed to handle cases like murder, homicide, slavery or any offences

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[68] Hailey 1979a, 213; Berman 1974, 274.
[69] Berman 1990, 217.
[70] NAD 1925, 16.
[71] I will discuss this subject more deeply in the chapter 4.2.
[72] Hailey 1979b, 141; see also for example NAD 1928, 39.
[73] NAD 1924, 21.

against the State. Furthermore, both provincial and district commissioners were able to revise the decisions made by the native tribunals.[74] Also the difficulty to attach the tribunals to the native life can be seen in the reports. In 1936 the commissioner complained about the tribunal of West Suk because it had proved to be unpopular and the administrators had encountered difficulties getting elders to work for it.[75] The tribunals and councils were thus institutions established within the colonial system and had quite little to do with the native structures. As the councils, they worked within the tribal lines and for the fluency of the colonial governing. In the basic form they can be seen as one more style of means for the colonialists to administrate the native population of the colony.

In general the British rule in between the world wars in Kenya was not stable or static. Quite on the contrary, the time was reflected by several political, economical and social changes, which all had their effects to the future of the colony. The twenty years saw the start of the native resistance against the foreign rule: the Nandi ended up rising against the British in the early 1920s[76] and The Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) was established in 1924 by a number of educated Kikuyu men. The KCA was formed partly because of the inspiration given by a Kikuyu protestant, Harry Thuku and it eventually led to the process ending as the MAU MAU guerrilla in the 1950s. The development was also keenly followed in the reports.[77] According to Maxon the movement of KCA was highlighting the issue of land. The people wanted control over the land in the reserves, more land in general and some compensation for lands lost to Europeans.[78] Again, in the late 1930s the Kamba surprised the colonialists. They were thought to be cooperative and willing to work along the colonial lines but in 1938 the Kamba established their own political party. It was mainly because of the problem of overstocking and the British response to it, but Tignor reminds also that the Kamba were neighbours to the Kikuyu and had many similar institutions with them. Also the previous religious protest groups had their effects to the political uprising.[79]

Lonsdale discusses in *Unhappy Valley* the resistance groups. He writes that the reactions by the locals were not reactions towards sudden opening of their closed world but a reaction

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[74] NAD 1926, 33-34.
[75] NAD 1936, 45.
[76] Ellis 1976, 556.
[77] Ibid., 199.
[78] Maxon 1994, 203.
[79] Tignor 1976, 331-354.

towards the unwanted changes in their world. The peoples living in the area had been in contact with each other before the imperialism so the European rule was not a point of opening tribal boundaries.[80] I will discuss these resistant groups more in the chapter 4.1.

Apart from native problems the young colony had to struggle with the finances. First of all, the locusts damaged the crop yields in 1928 and 1929, and during the next two years drought affected many parts of the colony. Secondly the economic depression of western countries had its effects also in the colonies; the depression was however mainly hitting the economy of the white settlers. The afflictions continued and the reports give examples of the natural phenomena affecting the colony.[81] The economical problems were felt all over in the life spheres of both of the natives and the colonialists and the Native Affairs Department reports described keenly the problems in the administrative and social lives in the Native Reserves.[82]

After the Second World War, Great Britain gave a lot of intension to Kenya, because of its European settlers and because of the geopolitical situation of the colony.[83] Obviously, the political unrest in the highlands of Kenya put also a lot of pressure for the British to concentrate to the development of their East African Colony. After the MAU MAU guerrilla ending in the middle of the 50s and after the elections for Kenyatta to form a government in 1963, Kenya became independent from the British rule.[84]

2.3. Tribes as means of indirect rule

During this British invasion into Eastern Africa strong visions in scientific discussions were whelming in Europe. The turn of the century was the time of scientific defining, dividing and distinguishing all existing on earth. Darwinist ideas on evolution and humans place on the developing line were effecting to the attitudes towards non-European peoples. Further on,

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[80] Lonsdale 1992, see especially 1992b, 63.
[81] Maxon 1994, 202; NAD 1934, 2; NAD 1934, 54.
[82] For example NAD 1931, 2; NAD 1932, 2.
[83] Maxon 1994, 226.
[84] Maxon 1994, 237.

there existed the simple assumption that Africans were naturally tribal people[85]. In the reality of colonial structuring the problem came to be, as Arens (1976) puts it, to organise Africans so that they would fit into these ready-made models of tribes that were made by the colonialists[86].

In a very simple way to put it, the British started their colonising by drawing maps of Africa with tribal lines in them. The areas had to be clear and easily definable, and the tribes living in them should be as clearly divided as the areas. For the colonialists, tribes were "units in which physical, cultural and even psychological attributes would find neat correlation"[87]. The British started to build up their colonial administration around the idea of these tribes. The smallest units from villages upwards to divisions and even districts had usually some correlation to tribes or sub tribes in the minds of the rulers. These kinds of efforts to attach territories and ethnicity were also the main measures of the colonialists to control the native people.[88] As the administration was divided into geographical units, the actual groups within those were the tribes. Thus, as a district commissioner ruled the chiefs in the area, the chiefs ruled their own tribes. Tribes were the units of the native administration and the administrative units like chiefs, LNCs and tribunals were working only in connection with the tribes.

Another thing was obviously how these units were actually working and in which connection they were to the local peoples in reality. In a way the colonial administration seems to have been struggling between divided people and divided areas. For example in 1934 a separate Samburu district had been established in order to bring the tribe under closer control, to unite them in a sense.[89] Connecting administrative areas and subordinate units to the same did anyhow clarify the governing. Accordingly, the structure of the councils and tribunals was as important as that of the districts. For example in South Kavirondo changes were made so that the councils would tally as well as possible with the tribal units in the area. Because of the "racial affinity", the Suba location was thus changed from Kisii-Bakoria council to Luo-Abasuba.[90] As well the tribunals were usually meant to represent individual tribes. They were

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[85] Vail 1989, 2.
[86] Arens 1976, 66.
[87] Ambler 1988, 153.
[88] Broch-Due 2000, 64.
[89] NAD 1934, 20-22.
[90] NAD 1928, 39.

supposed to be divided as tribal units, although there were some mixed tribunals as well.[91] In the mixed tribunals the tribal division was still clear as each tribe was represented for example in Rift Valley Province, in Kitale and in Mombasa, which all had mixed tribunals.[92] Actually, in the reports the control of natives through the tribal structures was visible also in the structure of the text. The general section in 1925, which was divided into provinces, was again divided into tribes under the governing areas. After 1926 the division was only in provinces and in selected districts, but the point of view was still highlighting the tribal structures as the subjects were handled in connection with different tribes. Only in 1936 the general section in the reports was divided just into provinces and the tribal aspect diminished.

The use of the term tribe can often be seen as a means of specifying the subordinate masses to the administrators. As I will describe in the next chapters, the term itself was widely used and mainly all the actions towards the natives were directed towards specific tribes. The whole administrative structure worked in the backing of the idea. Treating individuals as members of the tribes united the subordinates and directed for example the penalties towards specified units. This kind of collectiveness was strong and the tribes were given for example collective punishments for offences like stealing stock[93]. Stock was the main valuable for many pastoral peoples and raiding was connected to the traditional, communal action of pastoral tribes. Determining communal punishments was first of all a display of the idea that the natives formed tribes and secondly it indicated that the whole community had to be responsible to the actions made by its members. In this particular case of stock, it points out that raiding was a tribal action and there also might have been an idea in the background of communal pressure in order to stop the stock thefts.

Conflicts like raiding were also generally highlighted in the reports[94]. These conflicts were keenly observed through the colonial times and in addition, the Europeans' role as the mediators between the local groups was highlighted.[95] Not only did the division to tribes connect the locals to the lower class, it also gave the British the right to rule. When the locals

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[91] For example NAD 1932, 52 and an example of a tribunal for purely Turkana disputes, NAD 1934, 54.
[92] NAD 1934, 52-53.
[93] NAD 1926, 19.
[94] For example NAD 1930, 19; NAD 1933, 22.
[95] Maxon 1994, 139.

were shown as barbaric fighters[96], the British colonialists could be shown as civilised and peaceful. An example of Europeans and European civilisation as a mediator of peace and tribal cooperation can be found from the report from 1936. The provincial commissioner reports about a school in Kisii where an equal number of both Kisii and Luo pupils studied. The commissioner thought that it was the Scout movement which helped to maintain peace in the school between the two tribes.[97] In this way the Europeans and European innovations were active, civilised and calming, whereas the Africans were passive, barbarian and quick-tempered. Like in this example, tribes were the intermediary to push European superiority into the concept where indirect rule worked.

In summary, the reasons for dividing people in the colony into the tribes were similar to the reasons of indirect rule as such. As I have described earlier in my thesis, besides the original idea of Africans as naturally tribal people it helped the administrators to control clear units, work through the chiefs and to have thus influence more directly to the locals. What is important, it also patronised the locals. Treating the locals as tribes – a word used by the Europeans also to describe their own "barbarian" ancestors – connected the Africans into a lower and less developed state of humanity. Furthermore, the idea of tribes helped the administration to concentrate on both specific human and territorial units instead of scattered and interconnected individual groups. Equivalence and the different units in the colony had to synchronise.

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[96] I will come back to this point in the chapter 5.4. where I will discuss the ways local raids and enmities were described in the reports.
[97] NAD 1936, 66.

3. Individuals as tribal men

3.1. Scientific discussion about the tribes in the 1920s and 1930s

I will also include the scientific aspect to the discussion about tribes. As Harries writes in *Africa*, anthropology influenced to the Native Affairs Department in the ideological level, which can also be seen in the NAD reports. The anthropological theories affected to the administrative structures and especially to the ethnic territorial divisions.[98] Furthermore, the two aspects of European activities in Africa, the administrative and scientific, were intertwined in the Institute of African Languages and Cultures, one of the major sponsors of anthropological studies in the continent and the meeting arena for all Europeans working in Africa. Owosu writes that the institute promoted colonial "applied anthropology" and the interest in tribes and tribal structures welled from there.[99] I have thus studied the anthropological articles from *Africa* from the 1920s and 1930s to get a wider picture of the scientific discussion and approaches to the terminology and points of view towards tribes.

First I will give a little outline of the two main doctrines which affected to the anthropological points of views in the era, the diffusionism and functionalism. Diffusionism discusses the cultural elements moving from a culture or a place to another, from a people to another. In the extreme form the diffusionists assume that the human kind is not inventor-minded and everything is invented only once and spread after that to others through special cultural paths. To compare with, classical evolutionism assumes that humans are inventors and different peoples have the possibility to invent the same things, though in different times.[100] A known diffusionist, Melville Herskovits (1930) wrote about his ideas also in *Africa*. In the beginning he emphasised the point of dividing cultures into groups and showed for an example the resemblance of neighbouring tribes and differences between tribes far away from each other.[101] According to him, people living in one area have at least the culture, language or

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[98] Harries 1989, 98.
[99] Owosu 1976, 9.
[100] Barnard 2000, 47.
[101] Herskovits 1930, 59.

physical appearance in common.[102] His idea has the bases in the geographical distance and its effect to the similarities of cultures. Herskovits introduced in his article the cultural areas with their distinct elements. He wrote about livelihood, agriculture, the structure of dwellings, language, political organisation and social life in general. In his text he wanted to survey all the visible differences between different areas and the people in these areas.[103]

When Herskovits discussed several different aspects of defining Africans, professor of ethnology and sociology from Berlin University, Richard Thurnwald (1929) concentrated only to livelihood and political organisation. The division he made was very clear and it showed the duties of men and women in different groups; keeping of cattle, poultry, handwork, gardening and agriculture. Furthermore, Thurnwald tried to define the political organisation types and include the results to the different livelihood types. What confused the division was anyhow the use of the term race in surprisingly narrow context. Thurnwald wrote about the population of Kaffa which is divided into nine races, differed by origin, religion, language and physical features.[104] At least in these two cases livelihood and politics were highlighted, although Herskovits noted also the cultural aspects in his texts.

Functionalism on the other hand, is in the basic form the idea that different peoples always act similarly in the same kind of situations. In the wider sense it includes both functionalism and structural-functionalism, in the narrower discussion it refers only to the ideas of Malinowski and his followers as distinct from Radcliffe-Brown and his followers. The difference is not completely clear, because some of the followers of Radcliffe-Brown still call themselves simply functionalists. In both of the doctrines the idea bases to the actions and their meaning in culture.[105] In *Africa*, Wilson, who had worked under Malinowski in the London School of Economics, explained the functional point of view towards cultures. He wrote that the unity of cultures was basically in congruent actions: in the same environment and under the same circumstances, different people act in the same way.[106] In simple terms functionalism connects all the aspects of the surroundings and discusses the effects of the combination of all existing to the cultural development. Ergo, when diffusionism acts as a response to

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[102] Herskovits 1930, 69.
[103] Herskovits 1930.
[104] Thurnwald 1929c, 375. The whole text in articles Thurnwald 1929b and 1929c.
[105] Barnard 2000, 67.
[106] Wilson 1937, 16.

evolutionism, functionalism deals with cultures within a whole different point of view. In *Africa,* however, functionalism acted a smaller role.

The anthropological texts in the first part of the 20th century were full of descriptions of different tribes. Despite the fact, the terminology was not completely clear in the texts. As I have already mentioned, for example Thurnwald wrote about races which were divided by origin, religion, language and physical features.[107] Anthropologist Nadel (1935) wrote down the definitions for the terms tribe, community, society and a sub-tribe. He illustrated that a tribe is a group living in the same area, and whose members have the same culture and language. He also added the members' individual identification to the group as one feature. Furthermore, he mentioned that the sociological difference between the terms community and society is in their naturalness. Community is a group with natural origin, and the people are point together according to their family, same language, religion or geographical closeness. Society is in the sociological meaning artificial and indirect.[108] When it comes to the terms community and a tribe, community was for him more flexible than a tribe but he also included that the both had the same bases. Lastly, a sub-tribe for Nadel was a cultural and geographical unit whose members speak the same dialect and are often related to each other. He also noted the common livelihood in a sub-tribe, for example fishing.[109] The sub-tribes are not always in close terms with each other and Nadel wrote that this social gulf is sometimes hard to pass.[110] In Nadel's definition community is a wider and more fluent definition and the term tribe requires more congruent features. In summary, Nadel is highlighting territory, language, culture and kinship in his definitions, which he considered natural defining in comparison to political organisation. When it comes to the identity, the locals answered a group name – sub-tribe according to Nadel – when they were asked into which group they belong to, but they also added that they were all Nupes[111].

Margaret Read (1936) wrote her article about the Ngonis along the same lines. According to her, Ngonis were definitely a separate group as they had a clear identity of their own, their language and both political as well as geographical family groups. She continued that the Ngonis were however not a tribe because of the ethnic mixing inside the group. In a way she

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[107] Thurnwald 1929c, 375.
[108] Nadel 1935, 262-263.
[109] Nadel 1935, 248 and 274.
[110] Nadel 1935, 277.
[111] Nadel 1935, 257.

saw the Ngonis as clans which did not belong to the other tribes living in the area. They were clans with a centralised political system and strong aristocracy. A Ngoni was a Ngoni because of the political grouping and because of the Ngoni chief they had. A clan for Ngonis was something that told them into which tribe they belonged to.[112] Already here the difference between Read's and Nadel's definitions is very interesting. For Read tribes were clearly ethnic groups and the groups like the Ngonis were not a tribe because of the ethnic diversity. Almost all the aspects Read listed about the Ngonis as a separate group, such as the area inhabited, identity, culture and language, are the same Nadel listed as the features of a tribe. Only political organising separated the definitions from each other. In a way political organising was for both Nadel and Read something that did not belong to the concept of a tribe. For Nadel politics were in relation to artificiality and thus to the concept of a society and Read emphasised chiefs and their role in forming the political, not tribal unit of the Ngonis.

Bronislaw Malinowski (1930) saw tribes in a whole different way. For him a tribe was a political and economical unit whose members lived in the same area and had the same rules.[113] In a different text Malinowski (1973) adds that a tribe is formed through communal defence and it is a primitive form of administrative hierarchy, ceremonies and judicial and military leadership.[114] This definition is very analogous with functionalism, which Malinowski followed in his studies. However, although Read had studied under Malinowski in London School of Economics, she had different point of view towards the definition of a tribe.

Also occasionally terminological misunderstandings occurred. Malinowski (1929) and P. E. Mitchell (1930), who worked as a provincial commissioner in Tanganyika, got into a debate about terminology in their articles in *Africa*. Malinowski wrote advises to the colonialists in his article *Practical Anthropology* to which Mitchell responded in the following year. Mitchell cited Malinowski's idea to draw a map of the lands of different communities so that the lands could be divided again to family lands. Mitchell wrote about a tribe he knew in Tanganyika, Wasukuma, who lived in an area of about 20 000 quart miles[115] and which

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[112] Read 1936, 454-459.
[113] Malinowski 1930, 412.
[114] Malinowski 1973, 285.
[115] Circa 51 800 square kilometers.

consisted over half a million people. With that amount of people scattered in a wide area, Mitchell rationalised that it would have been impossible to draw a map of lands of any tribes like the Wasukuma. Malinowski's response to Mitchell was that he had confused the terms community and tribe. What Malinowski had meant had been the smaller communities, not *tribes* into which Mitchell was referring to. Malinowski continued that from a tribe, like the one Mitchell had introduced, could be separated five to six communities. The research could be made out of these units.[116]

Surprisingly, apart from this debate there was not any wider discussion about the terminological confusions among the anthropologists or administrators in *Africa*. Even so, in the journal many authors discussed how difficult defining the tribes or any other population groups was. For example, Read contemplated a lot the terminology and it's relation to the actual African population groups.[117] Also Captain Reed (1932), an administrative officer from Nigeria gave examples about these relations and about the difficulty to define particular groups. In the article he wrote about origins and the tracing of origins, and he introduced a variety of Nigerian peoples, whose internal connections he tried to follow. For him, cultural features like eating or refusing to eat a particular animal gave clues about the same origin between different groups. Furthermore, he also gave an example of the Ba'ajo of the Ful'be Waila and the Ba'ajo of the Wo'da'be. Despites the same name, Ba'ajo, the two groups did not acknowledge each other as kinsmen.[118] Lastly Reed explained that although Woja'be are, according to him, a true part of the Wo'da'be, the Woja'be group did not identify themselves to be Wo'da'bes. Thus Reed by-passed the Woja'be identity by his own conclusions. The same happened vice versa when Reed noted that the two groups who claimed to be from the same origin were not inherently connected according him.[119]

In the era between the world wars some of the misleading definitions were started to be corrected. The anthropological study about Africa got revised and shaped by the time and widening field of the studies. Although I did not find a definite way of using the terms, there were few occasions where individual cases were rethought and the definitions were rewritten. In Nigeria a government anthropologist, Dr. C. K. Meek (1934) noted that a tribe in Northern

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[116] Mitchell 1930, 218-219; Malinowski 1930, 412.
[117] Read 1936.
[118] Reed 1932, 424.
[119] Reed 1932, 425-426.

Nigeria had been called with a faulty name and that the tribe was not actually a tribe at all. The one in question was the group of Wurkum – or as Meek corrects, the Wurkun – which was thought to constitute a tribe. Meek however notes that the word Wurkun means "the people of the hills" and thus includes different distinct groups from both Bantu and Sudanic language groups.[120] However these kinds of corrections did not happen often in the articles and quite the contrary, the texts primarily gave the idea of finding new and formulating the unknown instead of deep surveying the correlation between European and African definitions. The authors quite seldom defined the terms they were using, or if they did the definition was unique in connection with other studies. In that way the separate articles and especially the separate terminological definitions remained disconnected and a wider, coherent definition was lacking.

A summary about the scientific definitions of tribes can not be made out of these materials. Mainly there seems to be some connection between communities and tribes in most of the texts, as the basic definitions for both were similar. The difference came up from the flexibility of the definition of communities or from the size of the group. Otherwise culture, language and the area inhabited were highlighted. Further on, ethnicity was pressured by Read, politics by Malinowski. When it comes to the wider discussions between both colonialists and anthropologists in *Africa*, there was for example the point about self-identification, which divided people in two. Nadel saw it as a distinct feature of tribes, but Captain Reed trusted more to his own interpretations than to the internal tribal identification. I will continue the discussion about colonial views to the definition of tribes in the chapter of Definition for the division of tribes.

3.2. Use of the communal terms by the colonialists

In the model of indirect rule the British assumed that every person belongs to a tribe – and only one tribe – in Africa[121]. How the administrators saw these tribes and whom they thought to belong to them reflects from the every day use of the term. The basic assumptions of

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[120] Meek 1934, 257.
[121] Women were not counted, but they were usually supposed to belong to the tribe of the man. Lentz 2000, 137-138.

traditional, internal tribalism mirrored to all the spheres of the contacts between the British and Africans; especially visible those were in the administration. As I have already noted, in the 1920s the reports were structured more in the bases of tribal division by dividing the discussed sections to tribes. This character of the reports fainted during the years towards the end of the 30s. As well the use of the term itself decreased during the years a bit: as in the beginning of the 1920s it was extremely widely used, the discussion about Africans was not so tribe-based anymore in the late 30s. Even though, the tribal character of the Africans remained as the main supposition of the British throughout the two decades. In the reports the word tribe was more often used than any other term to describe the population groups. It was used to distinguish different groups from each other and the tribes were seen as opposing units. When people from two different groups were put into the same school dormitory, it was also mentioned in the reports.[122] The tribes were the counter-powers towards each other and the preponderance of one tribe was tried to be balanced by other tribes. Thus the outnumbering of the Turkana in the force was necessary because of the "punitive measures against the Samburu".[123] The term hence worked mainly as a dividing force.

Furthermore, there were also some kind of "top" tribes, without a term of their own, but which consisted tribes in them. These were for example the Wanyika, which consisted nine tribes, all listed in the report[124] and the Pokomo which again consisted the Malakote and the Malalulu[125]. On the other hand groups that were termed as tribes included again tribes in them. For example the Kikuyus and Gallas were called tribes in plural[126] as well as in singular[127]. In these cases the alleged sub tribes are not mentioned. Anyhow, in this way the term tribe yielded to consider both the bigger and smaller branches of alleged ethnic groups. Thus tribes consisted tribes. In this kind of terminological fusion it is hard to deduce from the term itself which kind of group is been discussed.

The case of the Somalis is especially interesting. Within the Somali, the Telemugger were considered to be a branch of the Ogaden Somali[128]. In 1933 the commissioner wrote again

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[122] NAD 1935, 74.
[123] NAD 1934, 126.
[124] NAD 1930, 90.
[125] NAD 1934, 33.
[126] The Kikuyu tribes mentioned in NAD 1925, 83, Galla tribes in NAD 1926, 25.
[127] The Kikuyu tribe for example in NAD 1928, 8 and NAD 1929, 11; the Galla tribe in NAD 1925, 11.
[128] NAD 1925, 15 and NAD 1928, 26.

about "Somali tribes" which had *divisions*, The Ogaden and Degodia[129]. So the widest unit, the Somali tribes consisted two branches, of which the Telemugger was again a subgroup. Both of the names, Telemugger tribes and Somali tribes were used in the reports[130] and so the term tribe included all the different sizes and levels of the Somali groups. However, in the Telemugger District report, the Telemugger was also used as a collective name for the Somali tribes in the area[131], which indicates that all the Somalis living in the district were not Telemugger, but were still called that. Apart from the size of the groups, the Somali was in a way also a byword to the Muslim religion. In the Northern Frontier Province, the tribes were divided into the Somali and the non-Somali which coincided with the Mohammedan, and the non-Mohammedan.[132]

In addition to the "top tribes", there was the terminological dilemma of *races*. Usually it is connected to wider groups of people, but in the reports it is also used to portray groups the same size than what a tribe would have been. Thus, occasionally tribes and races were used as synonyms. For example Galla and Rendile were referred to as "two races"[133] and the Teita as well as a race[134]. The Pokomos as such are described both a race[135] and a tribe[136]. The term was not used that often in the reports and neither was it defined. In the 1930s the use of the term race to refer tribes lessened and the term tribe and sometimes community took its place. In general the uses of different terms were not congruent in the reports.

Apart from tribes and races, there were also a variety of other terms in use in the reports. Such were terms as community, society, clan and people plus all the sub-groups of those. The main term used was tribe, but the different terms were mixed and the reports did not give any definitions to the terms in use. Although the use of the term tribe in the reports was continual and wide, it did not have a clear scientific connection to the anthropological definitions. On the other hand the term *clan* was more congruent within all the reports as well as with the scientific definition to the term. Anthropologically the term is related to the unilinear descent,

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[129] NAD 1933, 29.
[130] NAD 1929, 27.
[131] For example NAD 1928, 33.
[132] NAD 1931, 19.
[133] NAD 1926, 27.
[134] NAD 1927, 9.
[135] NAD 1925, 10.
[136] NAD 1927, 11; NAD 1931, 44.

kinship and ancestors[137]. In the reports, in relation to the tribes the term was used to describe the subgroups of tribes. For example in the report from 1934 where "the Kager clan of the Nilotic Kavirondo tribe" is discussed[138], the linear relation within the terms is obvious. In addition, internal identity in relation to the clans was also noted in the reports. This so called "clan consciousness" was especially noted in the areas of Kavirondo, where rising demands for clan chiefs or assistant chiefs were reported.[139]

So when a tribe seemed to be the general and extensive term mainly used to describe the main native units of the colonial administration, and clans were clearly in subordinate relation to the tribes, *community* seems to sway between the two. It was usually referred directly to tribes[140], although it was also used to refer smaller populations. In the report from 1930, the commissioner is writing that the Uasin Gishu Maasai "are too a small community to develop along the lines of tribal organisation"[141], which gives an idea that tribes and communities were seen similar groups of different size. It also refers that a tribe is something more firm and organised, whereas a community is a looser and vaguer group. The term community was also used for the groups which did not match completely with the idea of a tribe, for example because of the descent, but were seen to be some sort of groups anyhow. For example the Taveta were called a community of mixed origin.[142] Also the use of the term community was quite seldom and as for the other terms, it was not given a clear definition in the reports.

As it comes to the father of the doctrine of indirect rule, also for Lugard there was a difference between the terms. When he was writing about communities and tribes, the difference was more related to the idea of backwardness of the tribes. The evolutionary point still comes out as he wrote that the advanced communities differ from the backward tribes. So he usually connected the idea of progressiveness to the term community and referred to backwardness by the term tribe.[143] Apart from that, Lugard was also using the different terms in his books in different ways and it is relatively hard to find out the differences between "native races", "communities" and "tribes" from his texts.

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[137] See for example Encyclopedia of Anthropology (1976) or a Dictionary of Anthropology (1972).
[138] NAD 1934, 15.
[139] NAD 1933, 4-5.
[140] For example NAD 1926, 33.
[141] NAD 1930, 16.
[142] NAD 1931, 14.
[143] Lugard 1965, 202, 221 and 300.

In *Africa*, an assistant district officer from Nigeria wrote about the "Otu system of the Isa sub-tribes of the Edo people of Southern Nigeria". He continued that the Isa people are a sub-tribe of the tribe called Edo and that their language is a dialect of the language of the upper tribe as well. Again, when he wrote about the communities, those were according to him, smaller units of the sub-tribes. Communities were thus independent organisations of which some were "true clans" and others "village groups". These communities had their own chief. The author was very definite with his description and he actually even noted to the definition given in Notes and Querer on Anthropology.[144]

I will discuss the term people only in its connotation to the idea of nations and nationalism. Harries writes about the consistency of the ideas behind nationalism and tribalism and notes that there was the reflection of 19th century nationalism behind the organisation of colonial rule[145]. The way the administrators saw the tribes could be seen to be close to the European idea of nations. The groups they were writing about formed geographically bounded units, whose social intercourse was supposed to be more formal than natural. *Peoples* were not mentioned often, but when they were, they were again related to the same groups which the term tribe described. The reports mention for example the "Turkana people"[146]; "the Galla or Warhed people"[147], "the Nandi people"[148] and "the people of Sakwa"[149].

The confusing use of the terms was noted also at the time. A Lieutenant Governor Ruxton (1930) from Southern Provinces, Nigeria, wrote about the ills of European state in Africa. He suggested that the international institute of African languages and cultures should discuss about the vocabulary which is used in every day life.

> "Every year large numbers of anthropological reports are produced, the Secretariats overflow with them, but they are written by amateurs, District Officers, each using terms with a different connotation. Authoritative definitions are required of such terms

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[144] Butcher 1935, 149.
[145] Harries 1989, 87.
[146] NAD 1928, 19.
[147] NAD 1931, 22.
[148] NAD 1933, 19.
[149] NAD 1934, 170.

as tribe, clan, sub-clan, village, village-group, town, community, and so on. Such a vocabulary would be an invaluable aid to clear thinking."[150]

The terms tribe, race, clan and community have their varieties and an overall picture of the native groups remains vague. In summary, the same groups could have been called by all the terms tribe, race and a community and actually only the term tribe worked clearly as an umbrella term to all the others. Clan was on the other hand the only term clearly subordinate to tribes, although also community was often connected to smaller units. Community was also a kind of spare term for a tribe and used simply when the term tribe was not for some reason befitted.

3.3. Benefits of grouping people

Apart from the indirect rule and tribes as part of it, I also want to discuss the benefits of having people in clearly divided groups. The turn of the 20th century was time for the scientific world to divide all existing into groups, the movement that can be seen also in the external tribalism. Most of all the division – like tribalism in general in indirect rule – was about control. It was easier to control people who were divided into clear units. Every one had to belong to something. Thus tribes' and especially the chiefs' importance are noticeable in the registration section's information. In a case of a murder of an unknown native the identification leads to the information, which consist name, father's name, district, tribe and the name of the chief.[151] As Tignor writes, it was the best way of keeping the order to make sure that every single native was under one chief and that they lived in the specific area where they were registered to.[152] Thus in the reports natives were written about by writing about their tribes. Names or other individual features of the specific people were not mentioned, and usually the only thing mentioned about a native in the reports was his tribal origin. Besides, individual tribes were not usually handled at all in the NAD reports. If the natives were mentioned, it was usually about a criminal case.[153]

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[150] Ruxton 1930, 7-8.
[151] NAD 1928, 147.
[152] Tignor 1976, 153.
[153] See for example NAD 1931, 43.

When divided the subordinates were also easier to compare with each other. Being a member of a tribe meant also having certain distinct features of the tribe. I will discuss these stereotypes later in my thesis, but there was a direct connection between the stereotypes and the practical structures working in the colony. In the reports tribes were compared mostly in employment and in crime statistics. Comparison of tribes was easiest with statistical demonstrations. Tribes were put in order by occupations[154], number of natives employed[155] and movements of labour[156]. These kinds of statistics followed through the 1920s and 1930s and the number of employed natives and their inward and outward flow of the labour were compiled regularly. The reports gave detailed descriptions of different tribes and their behaviour as labourers. For example in 1927 the Kamba were accused of absence without leave, which annoyed the employers[157]. The statistics helped not only the administration itself but also the independent employers and settlers. This also tallies with Lonsdales presentation that the Natives Affairs Department was mainly established for the purposes of European employers in the colony.[158] Copies of these statistics were published in the press every month, and they were issued to the Labour Inspector, provincial commissioners, district commissioners and all the Champers of Commerce and Associations[159]. A wide circulation of the statistics shows how highly the information about labour was appreciated and further on, how highly the information about the labour force that was provided by different tribes and the constancy, and in a way, the quality of the labour force was appreciated.

Information about crimes was another widely discussed subject in the reports. Again, the information was divided into tribal sections and a lot of comparison was made between different tribes. Statistical numbers were easier to handle in clear units and also in this case the discussed units were the tribes. For annual comparison the natives were also handled as tribes and the tribes' progress was discussed from year to year.[160] These kinds of annual statistics gave the administrators the means to handle clear units, not only against each other but in a linear time line to see the change within a tribe. As the tribes were the discussed

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[154] For example NAD 1935, 233.
[155] For example NAD 1928, 108.
[156] For example NAD 1932, 161 and NAD 1933, 146.
[157] NAD 1927, 88.
[158] Lonsdale 1989, 28.
[159] NAD 1929, 109.
[160] For example the Kipsigis in NAD 1935, 9; and the Kamba of which the number imprisoned increased and the Kikuyu of which the number decreased in the year mentioned. See NAD 1925, 32.

groups, not the population of administrative units such as districts or divisions for example, the criminal statistics noted more clearly to the character of a particular group, not to the criminal figures of certain area for instance. When the increase of commitments to prison was highlighted, the tribes involved were mentioned.[161] In these kinds of criminal cases the generalization of individual actions was most noticeable. The tribe of the assailant, murderer or other offender of some criminal deed was the only thing mentioned about the person[162]. The natives imprisoned were also listed annually by their tribe to the reports. However the figures were not compared with the population of the tribe so the statistics were not comparable between different tribes.[163]

Also the stereotypes given to tribes helped the colonialists. For example the imagined differences in intelligence were comparable by pointing out the tribe of the successful and well-behaved people. By reporting that the students passing an examination[164] were from certain tribes, gives also the credit to the particular tribes. The same was seen happening in the recruitment of medical students. When the suitable candidates for the training programme had been selected they were supposed to stay at the hospital as hospital dressers so the different tribes and districts could be represented to the Medical Department.[165] As the Native Affairs Department worked also in the favour of the colonial employers, pointing out the co-operative tribes with "intelligent" and "hard-working" people cleared the native recruitment.

The benefits of grouping people are mainly the same as the benefits of indirect rule and the role of the tribes in it. Further on, the benefits of grouping people showed strongly in the labour field. As the department and its reports were linked with the colonial labour supply, control and tribal skills for work were highlighted. By classifying the natives, the administrators and settlers were able to select the presumed good workers or political mediators among the natives. As the individuals were representatives of their tribes, the tribes were also, and also in a higher degree, the representatives of the individuals. As I have showed, the way the reports put it, the crimes were not made by persons but by members of tribes.

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[161] NAD 1926, 52.
[162] See for example NAD 1934, 148. "During the year six Samburu were brought to trial for the murder of Mr. -"
[163] See for example statistics in NAD 1927, 55-56; NAD 1930, 73; NAD 1933, 95; 118; NAD 1935, 138; and NAD 1936, 135.
[164] NAD 1935, 66.
[165] NAD 1936, 62.

3.4. Tribes and the idea of developing human kind

Evolutionism and especially the comparative method have affected greatly to the idea of the existence of tribe and the structure of the indirect rule. It was not anymore the leading scientific doctrine in the 1920s and 1930s, but the effects of it can be seen especially in the writings of the colonialists. The 'golden age' of evolutionary social science started in the second half of the nineteenth century and lasted until the first decades of the twentieth century. By the 1930s evolutionary ideas rose again.[166] Herbert Spencer, Lewis H. Morgan and Edward Tylor were the most famous agents of classical evolutionism. Although there were differences between the scholars, they all believed in evolution of societies and cultures. They also believed that the different human groups can be differentiated between each other by their state in the development. Higher and lower societies were believed to be distinguished objectively. The means to do this were, according to Spencer, 'structural traits', which were used to distinguish the earlier stages from the latter.[167] Evolutionism thus applied also to smaller ethnical units, not only to races. For example Morgan wrote about the inequality of tribes[168]. The basics in classical evolutionism were the different periods of development; for Morgan and Tylor those were savagery, barbarism and civilisation, into which all the existing cultures could be divided.[169]

Comparative method was the basic tool in the evolutionary research. In the method, information from different cultures was collected and arranged into a line of the presumed historical sequences. Cultures were thought to resemble each other in different times, a culture would be seen as another one in thirty years time or a culture would be similar to what another was fifty years ago. Spencer, Tylor and Morgan made a lot of use of the comparative method.[170] These kinds of scientific lines and especially the comparative method can be seen in the background of the reports. As I will discuss later, the tribes were compared with each

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[166] Sanderson 1990, 2.
[167] Carneiro 2003, 15.
[168] See Carneiro 2003, 45 for the reference: Morgan, Lewis Henry 1964 (1877). *Ancient Society*, ed. By Leslie A. White. Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. Page 112.
[169] Sanderson 1990, 13 and 32.
[170] Sanderson 1990, 37.

other and measured with different kind of modifiers. In addition, apart from the scientific background, many settlers in Kenya came from South Africa, where they had learned the attitudes of disregard and these ideas came to dominate the social and judicial spheres in Kenya.[171]

Again, also Lugard used the method in his books. In the *Dual Mandate* he writes about the evolutionist ideas when he refers to the different African tribes in different stages of evolution; in the same book he also divides Africans into three groups by their state in the evolutionary line: to the primitive tribes, advanced communities and to the Europeanised Africans[172]. For Lugard especially chieftainship connoted a lot. In the *Dual Mandate* he wrote about the stages in human evolution and connected the idea of primitive tribes to the groups which did not have a chief. Consequently, he connected the idea of advanced communities to the tribes with "well-defined tribal institutions". This comes up also in the *Political Memoranda*[173]. For Lugard the political structure was a bigger measure of development than for example livelihood and he classified for example the agriculturalists to be among the most primitive tribes. Although agriculturists are, as I will show later in this chapter, usually considered to be among the "more advanced" peoples, Lugard considered the primitiveness to be highest among the people who were divided into family units. These were for example the agriculturists or fishermen.

But not only political organising lifted tribes to civilisation since even the people organised 'correctly' did not have written language or "any approach to culture".[174] Lugard also brought up the land tenure in connection with the evolution of social progress. He divided the tenure in communal ownership to hierarchical control and finally to individual ownership. He also added that "every stage of this process of evolution may be encountered".[175] Lugard also considered the Bantu to be a finer race than the "generally nomadic and pastoral" Hamites, as the Bantu were "no doubt" assimilated alien blood in earlier times. The alien blood was the point that made them different to other Africans. He continued with physical descriptions and added that many Bantu tribes had reached the state of social organisation which was led by a

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[171] Maxon 1994, 163.
[172] Lugard 1965, 195 and 72.
[173] Lugard 1970, 11.
[174] Lugard 1965, 75.
[175] Lugard 1965, 280-281.

firm leader.[176] Despite these measures, as Lugard writes, the final point in progress was the adoption of alien monotheistic religion which brought written language and more advantaged culture to the tribes[177].

It is interesting that Lugard noted the possibility of the native groups not have a chief. Although he clearly wrote about this, he based the idea of indirect rule to the idea of the use of the chiefs. Furthermore, in the reports the challenge of having a chief does not come up at all. Even when the administrators discussed the progress of Kenyan tribes or the state of their development, they did not question the existence of the chief at all. Having a chief was in that case considered natural and self-evident.

Ideas about evolution as well as the ideas introduced by Lugard about the progress of different tribes were highly visible in the reports. Civilisation and getting civilised were mentioned several times. In the case of the Kitui, the *distance from civilisation* is mentioned[178], and the Abakoria from South Kavirondo District are mentioned to be the least civilised natives in the area[179]. Also the Bakoria got the title of the least civilised tribe in their district[180]. The notes about civilising and civilisation are in keen connection to the ideas of evolution and to the comparative method. According to Broch-Due (2000), these kinds of divisions in good and bad natives were in connection with the ethnic politics of playing tribes against each other. She emphasises especially the relations between the Turkana and the Somali in which she has also noticed the point about industriousness and settledness. Turkana were bad, restless but at least hard-working while the Somalis were more settled but lazy.[181]

So the different tribes and their different skills and characteristics were compared with each other in the reports. In the comparison discussed in the reports, similar modifiers were emphasised over and over again. The tribes were compared to each other in the time dimension as well as in different categories. Thus the Elgeyo and Marakwet are seen to be in the stage of development where the Kikuyu had been thirty years ago[182]. Additionally, according to the report, the Emberre had good tribal organisation and were thus better than the

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[176] Lugard 1965, 68.
[177] Lugard 1965, 76.
[178] NAD 1931, 12.
[179] NAD 1929, 20.
[180] NAD 1930, 8.
[181] Broch-Due 2000, 80.
[182] NAD 1933, 20.

Chuka, whose headmen did not have a lot of influence over their people. Regardless, the Emberre had problems with agriculture, which pushed the administrators' attention to the Embu who had both good headmen and interest in education and agriculture.[183] The reports also emphasised the Kamba demand for individual holdings and the administrators regarded the tribe thus more progressive than the one of the Kitui.[184] Also the eagerness for work was one of the mentioned measures which elevated the Turkana in comparison to the Samburu[185]. When it comes to the Samburu, the point about development and its relation to the administrative goals is written black-and-white in the report from 1927. There the Samburu are told to be slow "to advance" despite the fact that they had been under the British administration for many years[186]. Physics is also mentioned in several cases. The Kipsigis are mentioned to be better physically than the Nandi[187] and the Samburu are mentioned to be in finer physique than the Maasai[188].

The reasons for tribes to appear in a certain point in the evolutionary line were varied, and the reports show some of the measures for the classifications. A wish for education, agriculture and interest for commercialism were some of the most often mentioned positive attributes. As the British saw themselves in a very high position in this line[189], the people seeming to be closest to the colonialists for example by their habits or livelihood were also considered the most developed. Also interest for medical services has been mentioned, but shop keeping, money, and labour supply were the most highly appreciated. For example in the report from 1924 these attributes are shown very clearly as the report emphasises the number of pupils, extension of agriculture, graded roads, medical skills and the cattle's protection from rinderpest.[190] The reporting from the Digo tribe gives a good example of the expectations of development. It praises development of manners, clothes, dwellings and cultivation of the Digo and commends of the work done for the alienated areas and roads.[191] Also settling down is mentioned as a sign of progress[192].

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[183] NAD 1924, 4-5.
[184] NAD 1931, 12.
[185] NAD 1926, 28, NAD 1927, 25 and NAD 1928, 37.
[186] NAD 1927, 24.
[187] NAD 1924, 6 and NAD 1925, 7.
[188] NAD 1928, 37.
[189] Berman 1974, 114.
[190] NAD 1924, 3; see also for example NAD 1928, 19-20 about Turkana and their wish for education and will to start commercial economics and NAD 1927, 25 about the LNCs role in provoking economic development.
[191] NAD 1925, 11.
[192] NAD 1929, 24.

These kinds of attributes of development were more widely discussed in the late 1920s than in the 1930s, when the subject was not handled in the same model. It seems that as in the 1920s the subject and the discussion about development was started and the administrative goal was to lead all the natives in to the road of development, whereas the 1930s were the time of more practical problems because of the depression and the growing needs of the settlers. As in the other fields of administration as well, the reports from the 1920s were more introductory, in the way that the administrators were getting to know their fields and in the 1930s wider and more general subjects were handled.

These measures are all connected to the colony's growing need of economic development. As in the report from 1927 was mentioned, the use of cash was highlighted and the colonial administration wanted to get the economical development started.[193] The young colony, its settlers and the mother country needed to develop the area self supportive and 'modernise' its economical field. First of all, comparing different tribes' "abilities" and will to work on the wanted fields helped the administration to structure the possible manpower and thus the tools for the economic growth. So the money, economic development and the value of work and commercialism were emphasised. This value of money was already a determinant for the classical evolutionism according to Carneiro (2003)[194] and visible also in the texts of Lugard as well as in the reports. In the reports the discussions about money also deepened towards the 1930s. The quality and quantity of production were discussed and the means for economical rise were contemplated[195]. Natives were wished to attend to the commercial life as much as possible and all possible ways of production and trade were appreciated at the time[196].

Secondly, agriculture, as part of the economical development, was highly appreciated aspect of the tribal cultures. As in the basics of evolution theory, agriculture was connected to the state of barbarism in comparison to the lower savagery[197]. The reports had their own section for the discussion about agricultural matters during the year and it was emphasised in the reporting of different tribes. Also many of the classical evolutionists highlight agriculture's role in the evolution of cultures. It was considered "the first and necessary stage from which

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[193] NAD 1927, 25.
[194] Carneiro 2003, 65.
[195] See for example NAD 1935, 105.
[196] For example NAD 1926, 36 and 38.
[197] Sanderson 1990, 16.

civilisation proceeds" and "the great moving power of civilisation"[198]. When it comes to Kenya colony, disappointing agricultural attempts[199], good agricultural achievements[200], and will for the development of agricultural methods[201] are all reported. In one case, when the colonial administrator wanted to show that a tribe was indolent and unprogressive, he described how they disregarded the agricultural shows held in the area[202]. In the reports relying to agriculture in order to pay taxes and to buy luxuries is considered as progress[203] and even native diets are wished to be changed in order to get more milk for manufacturing purposes[204]. As a livelihood agriculture represented progress from the lowest state of human kind towards civilisation. In consequence, the start of cultivation appeared for the colonists as the success of the European efforts to civilise the colonial lands. Of course behind the ideological and abstract means there was also the will to work for the benefits of the monetary development. The growth of agriculture benefited the colony and from the practical reasons it was also supported. The colony gained money by selling agricultural products and, as Wolff (1977) puts it, one of the goals for the British in Kenya was to import such products to Britain which would lessen her dependence of foreign import.[205]

The third measure of the evolutional and comparative points of view visible in the reports is the chieftaincy. It is also in connection with classical evolutionism. For example Spencer had divided societies into groups according to the hierarchy in them. Simple societies, according to him, were those politically headless, the second form was more hierarchical with one general head and several subordinate leaders. The third level had higher government and greater political integration, complex division of labour, laws, towns, roads and technology. The highest state for Spencer was that of the great civilised nations.[206] Carneiro also adds warfare in the measures of the classical evolutionists. He refers especially to Tylor who emphasised wars role in the making of nations. The idea is in connection with the chieftainship because Tylor writes about able and active chiefs who connect their people

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[198] See Carneiro 2003, 63 for the references of Waitz (1863:336) and Tylor (1916:215.).
[199] See for example NAD 1933, 86 and NAD 1930, 61. In the latter one physiological reasons were hypothesized to be behind the lack of will of preserving and growing crops.
[200] For example NAD 1936, 119 and NAD 1933, 7 and 81.
[201] For example NAD 1935, 5.
[202] NAD 1925, 6.
[203] NAD 1933, 78.
[204] NAD 1933, 85.
[205] Wolff 1977, 71.
[206] Sanderson 1990, 11-12.

through warfare.[207] In the reports this political aspect of evolution was highly shown. Good leaders and thus tribal goodness through the leadership were highlighted. For example the report from 1928 puts the idea to a quite unequivocal form. The Gurreh would have, according to the report, become a good tribe if they had a good chief. The lack of a "real chief" put the tribe however to remain in the disorganised state.[208]

When it comes to the developed or well-developing natives, the Kamba, Embu, Kavirondo and Kikuyu were most often noted into the group of good tribes. Again, development among these tribes is mentioned in the connection of labour, work, trade, education and goodness in political organising. The Kamba volunteered for labour and were considered to be loyal[209]; the Embu on the other hand were seen to be fast in imitating the more advanced economic development of the Kikuyu[210]. About the Kikuyu, the Native Tribunals[211] and the Local Native Councils[212] are commented. In the case of the councils, a list of different advances, such as registration of marriages, births and deaths and education committee were mentioned. However, the "stage of development" among the Kikuyu was still not in the point that the administrators would have trusted financing and running schools to them[213] and also the political agitation was worried about[214]. Tignor writes that the Kikuyu were more rapidly colonised than their neighbours and thus they gave more possibilities to the colonial administration to control. They were quite densely populated and that helped the British to spread their control over the people. The firm cooperation and the rising of certain strong mediators between the Kikuyu and the British affected also to the British attitudes towards the tribe.[215]

The tribes which were connected to the idea of underdevelopment had the lack of education, pastoralism and general lack of interest in "proceedings" in common. Again, connections with the Europeans were regarded as well important. The fault in living in Northern Frontier Province was, according to the reports, that the people had remained so long untouched by

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[207] Carneiro 2003, 66-67.
[208] NAD 1928, 32.
[209] NAD 1926, 17 and NAD 1929, 9.
[210] NAD 1934, 8.
[211] NAD 1935, 47.
[212] NAD 1925, 16.
[213] NAD 1932, 67.
[214] NAD 1931, 27.
[215] Tignor 1976, 11.

European progress and civilisation[216]. In the case of the tribunals and judicial proceedings, the "backward tribes" were those not litigious while the more "advanced tribes" used more tribunals[217]. Tribes that welcomed the new British ideas and working methods were always more developed than the ones who stack to their own ways. Old traditional manners were seen to be part of backwardness, and the use of tribunals was part of development[218]. Conservatism and disinterest for progress were backwardness, as in the case of the Suk, who refused to adapt the new methods in agriculture. This was mentioned several times in the reports.[219] Also Tignor writes that many administrators in Kenya thought that the Maasais' reluctance towards change was connected to the decline of the civilisation among them.[220] Laziness and disinterest for work were signs of low state in development. In the reports this was not equivocated and the concepts of backward tribes and their refusal from work were clearly connected.[221] These kinds of attitudes did not change during the twenty years.

As I have already noted, the colonialists saw that the British ways and influence were the basis, both way and goal to and of development. Already Lugard was writing in *The rise of our East African Empire* that the reason for Kambas being good workers was actually the British supervisor, George Wilson and his efforts[222]. This kind of influence of the British was also highlighted in the reports. In the case of the Suk, "[t]he credit for this progress must be given almost entirely to Mr. Chaundy ---"[223]. Again, intelligence among a tribe was not enough for progress. It was supposed to be directed into the right channels, as the district commissioner wrote about the Nandis.[224] Change from old customs to the new ones were "natural" in the minds of the administrators, because the people were in close contact "with modern civilisation" and were thus part of the natural evolutionary development.[225]

The reports were not all about praising development and change. Couple of times the negative effects of the changes were also discussed in the reports. Especially the role of the education and the educated natives were contemplated and for example the difference between

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[216] NAD 1928, 26-27.
[217] NAD 1935, 47.
[218] NAD 1935, 47 and NAD 1932, 52.
[219] For example NAD 1936, 30 and NAD 1926, 21.
[220] Tignor 1976, 16.
[221] For example NAD 1934, 145.
[222] Lugard 1986a, 475-476.
[223] NAD 1936, 120.
[224] NAD 1933, 19.
[225] NAD 1926, 7.

generations in the native groups was a difficult subject to handle. Education had its effects on the relations between uneducated parents and their children who went to school. Already in 1926 the problem of children leaving their parents to move to towns or farms was mentioned and even the despise from educated youth towards their older, but illiterate tribal men was once noticed.[226] A point of view about the Europeanization as civilisation was given when the speed of progress was taken as an alarming sign. The colonialists were afraid that it might be affecting to the quality of progress so that in too fast development the natives would only become "bad imitation of a European".[227] In the 1930s this subject was not handled anymore at all.

3.5. Stereotypes

Characterising tribes is a strong feature in the structure of the administrative reports. Individuals were members of the tribes and group of natives formed a concise unit of a tribe with typical features. Also the distance between the administrators and subordinates affected to the creation of stereotypes. The subordinates that lived closer to the administrators were known better, whereas the ones living further were less known and remained strange to the administration. Anthropologist Mitchell wrote about this distance in his study about the Kalela dance: Stereotypes and simplifying grow when the social and physical distance grows. Mitchell connected his ideas about distance with the internal tribalism between individuals who identified themselves into ethnic groups, but the idea can also be applied to external tribalism. As such, not only physical distance between field administrators and natives, but also hierarchical distance affected to the information. When the lowest parts of the administration sent information upwards it went through conclusions, summaries and interpretations in every level of administration. From district commissioner the information went to the province commissioner and through him further to the governor. This way the information lost a lot of details on its way. Furthermore, the information was probably not that detailed in the first place because the district commissioners did not usually have that close relations to the locals. They changed their positions a lot and they seldom learned the

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[226] NAD 1926, 8 and NAD 1927, 3.
[227] NAD 1925, 22-23.

language of the people they lived with.[228] Furthermore, Berman (1990) notes to a former district officer, and takes cognizance on the trust given by the provincial commissioner to the minor administrators. In the facile way of putting it, the district commissioners could report as they liked about the natives as their word was always worth of more than that of the Africans'.[229]

The number and scale of the contacts affected to the style and authenticity of the stereotypes and suppositions about the tribes. The information about natives was shared between the Europeans and all the contacts had their effects on these information networks. Apart from the contacts between British and the natives, some of the stereotypes have their roots in the information given to the administrators by other natives. The stereotypes were about the character, skills in labour and economy, obedience and intelligence. The very same things as what have been mentioned as the qualities for "good" and "bad" natives and what have been noted in individual men. As Berman puts it, "[e]ach tribe acquired its own stereotype and was the subject of a considerable amount off administrative folklore."[230]

The characteristics like "cheerful", "carefree" and being "liable to curious fits of temper" (the Duruma)[231] are abstract and seldom reasoned. The reports are full of these kinds of notes without further connections or deeper discussions and the features like "shy", "pleasant" and "unstable" are hard to connect to any specific occasions. Apart from these, the reports give also a variety of characteristics easier to connect to the possible situations when the ideas behind the stereotypes might have been born. For example the Pokwot were told to lack the qualities of leadership[232]; the Pokomo were characterised to be "timid, shy, simple-minded, ignorant, unambiguous, unenterprising and lethargic"[233] and the Teita "good-tempered, tractable and pleasant"[234] although four years later they were also called unreliable[235].

In the structure of the reports these stereotypes were flings mentioned anywhere possible. The practical side of these stereotypes was the sharing of knowledge about the natives. General

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[228] Berman 1974, 76 and 102; Mitchell 1956, 22-31.
[229] Berman 1990, 95.
[230] Berman 1990, 206.
[231] NAD 1932, 17.
[232] NAD 1928, 15-16.
[233] NAD 1925, 10.
[234] NAD 1931, 14.
[235] NAD 1935, 164.

advices were given in the reports, such as to handle the Turkanas carefully[236]. When the Kisiis were seen "energetic and virile"[237] and as an active people "among whom it is a pleasure to work", [238] it was a clear note to the employees, settlers and fellow administrators with whom they should be in contact. In this way the reports worked very much as the information board for the Europeans in Kenya to learn about the natives. The characterisations did not need a lot of backup to be written down, as the case of the Gallas shows. The tribe gets very bad reputation in the report, as they are described "mean, despicable, treacherous, avaricious, cowardly, full of intrigue and quite untrustworthy." Furthermore, the text continues that "many still have never seen a white man" which, turned other way around, means that the white men have not seen many of the Galla.[239] The report is however lacking the information of the sampling out of which this summary was drawn from. Characterisations were made out of all the aspects of life, and even small things such as into what the natives used their money has been characterised and connected to represent the functioning of the whole tribe[240].

As I have already noted, according to the reports, intelligence as well as state in the evolution were in connection with how close the native ways were to the British practises. The Nandi were considered intelligent and in the same paragraph their interest towards agriculture was commented[241]. The Galla were seen as "intelligent stockmen"[242], which was in contrast to the Suk, who "are too lazy" to sell their stock themselves and profit from it, and the reports continue that instead the Suk let the middlemen do the selling[243]. Industriousness, employment and 'civilised' behaviour were the features looked for. Thus for example coastal people did not have a good image of themselves among the administrators. They were seen as careless people who did not take care of their lives or work. This was mentioned several times in the reports.[244] Justin Willis (1993) wrote about this and continued in his text that the Swahili became to be seen as a sort of vectors of moral disease in the coastal towns in the 1920s[245].

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[236] NAD 1926, 30.
[237] NAD 1924, 10.
[238] NAD 1925, 6.
[239] NAD 1925, 11.
[240] See NAD 1935, 56 for the detailed list about how the Kavirondo natives use their money.
[241] NAD 1934, 19.
[242] NAD 1925, 11.
[243] NAD 1934, 123.
[244] For example NAD 1925, 9; NAD 1926, 59; NAD 1927, 10.
[245] Willis 1993, 155.

Obedience and crimes thus were widely discussed in the reports. Stock thieves were reported by their tribes[246] and for example the Kamba were seen all liable to commit crimes of violence "in sudden passion"[247]. This particular point is interesting because Berman saw that the Kamba were considered loyal and good-natured[248]. On the other hand, in general helpfulness to the administration and good relations between the officers and natives were commended. The reports remark that the Rendille were prompt with their tax[249], the Turkana were obedient[250] and that they helped the officers[251]. The same was also written about the Kisii[252] and the Samburu[253]. Anyhow, just "tolerating" was not enough for the British and obeying without "true love" towards the Europeans was pitied[254].

Then, how were these stereotypes born? The contacts between the administrators and natives were important, but there were other sources as well. The district commissioners were the only British administrators who worked in close contact with local chiefs and they were advised also to travel around their administrative areas[255]. These contacts with the natives were the primary means for the administrators to learn about the local peoples. Apart from this, also the media had some influence on the creation of the stereotypes. Willis gives an example about the Swahilis. He writes that the East African Standard started to call almost everyone accused about crimes in Mombasa a Swahili. After that the police started calling all the criminals Swahilis as well.[256] Also, as I have already noted, some of the administrators had been working for the IBEA before the colonial time and transferred their ideas of the natives directly to the colonial administration[257].

Within the individual contacts, distinct features of different tribes were developing during the years. The reputation of different pastorals as fierce fighters for example had its roots in the early contacts between the British and the natives. In the case of the Maasais, as they could not resist the British penetration to their lands in the late 19th century, they joined the British

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[246] For example NAD 1924, 6; NAD 1935, 8 and NAD 1936, 17.
[247] NAD 1933, 13.
[248] Berman 1990, 206.
[249] NAD 1933, 28.
[250] NAD 1930, 23.
[251] NAD 1928, 19-20.
[252] NAD 1924, 10.
[253] NAD 1935, 15.
[254] NAD 1930, 23.
[255] Lugard 65, 135.
[256] Willis 1993, 111.
[257] Berman 1974, 92.

colonialists in a very early state. As the Maasais were helping the British in conquest, they gained the opportunity to raid especially the Kambas and Kikuyus.[258] Fighting together brought the Maasais and British closer together and defined the ideas about the tribe to the British.

The Kikuyu are a chapter of their own. The start of the relations between the Kikuyu and the Europeans was not the best possible. Tignor describes the early contacts between IBEA Company and the Kikuyus warlike.[259] The Kikuyu were among the first tribes to be in contact with the Europeans and had thus more time to adjust to the European ways than others. The most widely known stereotype of them, both between the world wars and even today, is that they are 'born traders'[260]. It was true that the Kikuyus were industrious in the commercial life: they exchanged products among themselves and traded with the Maasais and the coastal peoples.[261] Also Berman had noted the stereotypes and he adds that even thought the Kikuyu were thought to be intelligent and industrious, they were as well considered unstable and untrustworthy.[262] In the reports the KCA was not connected to the general stereotypes about Kikuyus, so it must have been seen as a separate organisation from the tribe. However the industriousness and will to work in the economic field must have pleased the colonialists. The ongoing interaction between the Kikuyus and the British kept also the internal attitudes alive. Although the start had been bad for the relations, the British also gave credit for the Kikuyu for the work they appreciated.

As the case of the Kikuyus show, a part of the stereotypes were in connection with the actual tribal determinants. For example different livelihoods included many stereotypes within themselves. As I have already mentioned, agriculturists were seen to be more clever and to a limit, more hard-working than others. Also the following of a certain political structure heightened the tribes in the eyes of the colonialists.[263] Furthermore, Lugards example brings up that even the wider ethnic connections had their characterisations. For example the Bantu were seen to be cleverer than the pastoral peoples[264].

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[258] Maxon 1994, 157 and Ambler 1988, 112-113. See also the article written by Richard Waller about the alliance between the Maasai and the British. Waller 1976.
[259] Tignor 1976, 19.
[260] NAD 1925, 20. I also noted this myself during my stay in Kenya 2000-2001.
[261] Tignor 1976, 12.
[262] Berman 1990, 206.
[263] See chapter 3.4.
[264] Lugard 1965, 68.

Stereotypes were in wide use during the interwar period in Kenya. The stereotypes connected with the natives in Kenya colony were also very similar to the stereotypes used to describe the natives in other British colonies as well. Brian Siegel (1989) has written about the stereotypes in use in Central Africa and claims that both the British and the Belgians had very similar stereotypes towards the same tribe in the copperbelt area.[265] Siegel also reasons the similarities of the stereotypes and their still ongoing use with the practices of indirect rule. During the colonial era the natives had to bend to the foreign control and this created a new way to behave and respond to the colonial rule.[266]

The stereotypes were in help to outline the African population in all the aspects of white dominance. The British needed information about the Africans in order to administrate them better, to use them as labourers and in doing business with them. The specified stereotypes about working abilities, intelligence, obedience and criminal characters are all useful in the point of view of this master-servant aspect. The collected information was also helpful for the white employers. The chiefs got the employees among their tribes[267], and one had to know from which particular chief, or from which particular tribe the employees were the best. The settlers' role was best seen in this point of view in Kenya. Berman highlights the role of the settlers, economics and the needed manpower in the production development. The peasantry were forced to supply labour power and there were even areas which were deliberately developed to be labour reserves. From these places natives were forced to enter the labour market by ensuring that the supply in the reserves did not meet the needs of the people living there.[268] Economical development needed men and good workers were got from the "good tribes". These kinds of arrangements promoted each other and furthered the typifying handling of the natives. Thirdly, the information was collected also purely for scientific purposes. At the time Europeans were just starting to survey the African lands and peoples, information was desperately needed. *Africa* is a good example of this. Many administrators and missionaries did extra work by studying the people they were living with and writing about them to the journal.[269] In the 1920s and 1930s anthropology also encouraged the researchers to do wide summaries instead of time-consuming detailed studies. For example

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[265] Siegel 1989, 350.
[266] Siegel 1989, 353-365.
[267] Tignor 1976, 7.
[268] Berman 1990, 37.
[269] A good example is Butcher 1935.

Thurnwald[270] wrote about concentrating into exampling representatives instead of picking up information from all possible tribes and their features.

4. Definitions for the division of tribes in the reports

4.1. Political organization

One of the main questions in my thesis is what made a person to be a member of a certain tribe. I discuss the problem by studying different options from political organising and culture to language and livelihood. First I will discuss political organising, since it is one of the most debated subjects about the character of the term.

In the scientific texts, as I have already noted, the role of political organising was discussed and it was the only clearly conflicting point in defining a tribe. For example Malinowski's student, I. Schapera (1928) wrote in *Africa*, that an autonomous tribe has their own area and their own chief[271] and as well Lestrade (1930) wrote two years later in the same journal that a tribe is a group, that is formed by people who have the same chief and furthermore, who are committed to their chief. He also added that the members of the same family or clan can belong to different tribes.[272] So for Schapera and Lestrade having a chief and being faithful to him are the main characters of tribes. These kinds of definitions had their effects also to the discussion and terminological definitions among the colonialists. As especially *Africa* was a forum for all the Europeans dealing with Africa to discuss matters relating to the continent, these definitions spread from occupational group to another as well as between science and politics.

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[270] Thurnwald 1929b, 221.
[271] Schapera 1928, 171.
[272] Lestrade 1930, 308, 311. See also the chapter 3.1. in the thesis.

The different types of political organising in Kenya are not described at all in the reports although the terms chief, headmen and elders are used very widely. The reports are thus discussing more the *recognition*[273] of the tribal leaders than the actual existence of them. Interestingly the organisation of the tribe itself does not come up as often as smaller units within a tribe. These little groupings and their sub-leaders are emphasised in the reports and the 'traditional' chiefs of whole tribes are seldom mentioned. Even quite small units of the tribal organisation and their leaders are recognised in the reports and for example the *Kitaiyat*, the leaders of the sections of Nandi clans are taken to be part of the official colonial administration. According to the report, hiring *Kitaiyat* to work in the police force ensured that the policemen would have authority among the tribe.[274] Again, the recognition of such a small native units shows that at least when it was appropriate for the administrators, the local hierarchy was recognised and used in the indirect rule.

Thus, in the reports political organising comes up especially in the discussion about the chiefs and headmen. Especially the headmen are presented as the leaders of the native groups, not as the co-operators with the colonial government. The possibility, that the headmen may have not been loyal to the colonial government[275] tells about the connection of the headmen to the actual native groups. If the headmen would not have had the respect either of the government or of the people, they would hardly have been recognised at all as headmen. Being a headman requires the recognition from at least either one of them.

Political organizing comes up also in the clear form of presentation of the tribes. For example the "Boran tribe" is commented for its good organizing and of the influential leaders it had[276]. Also the example of the Uasi Gishu Maasai[277], which I have already discussed in the chapter 3.2., shows very clearly the connection between the organisation and the concept of a tribe. Even though the chiefs were a firm part of the indirect rule, the colonial administration took them mainly as the traditional leaders of the local tribes. The district commissioner from Moyale complained that the old tribal organisations were loosing their tribal structure and that there was no firm leadership taking that place. He also continued that the only way for the

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[273] NAD 1932, 32. For example the provincial commissioner working in the Turkana area wrote about recognising the chiefs or leaders of each section of a tribe.

[274] NAD 1932, 115.

[275] This shows for example in the sentences like "the headmen have been loyal and obedient", which also indicates to the opposite possibility. NAD 1928, 36.

[276] NAD 1930, 20.

[277] The Uasi Gishu Maasai were considered to be too small a group to be a tribe. NAD 1930, 16.

administrators to work with the natives was to *find* good personalities among the young men and to make leaders out of them. These future leaders would take the place of the elders, who were loosing their leadership.[278] This note from the district commissioner is interesting because it is clearly indicating that there were particular elders leading some tribes instead of chiefs. Furthermore, the district commissioner added that it was the role of the white administrators to find new persons to lead the local groups. This notion also shows that the commissioners were aware of at least some of the local political structures and that the effects of the indirect rule to it were at some part noted. Furthermore, this sentence also brings up the fact that new individual leaders – the chiefs – were to be looked for, and selected instead of the selection done by the natives.

The connection between native groups and their chiefs was highlighted also in the attitudes towards changes in the political organisations. As every native had to belong to a tribe and thus every native had to be a subordinate to a tribal leader, the changes in this position were not pleasing the administrators.[279] It was part of the control to have all the natives under one leader and thus changes meant problems in the administration, or even loosing control. From the administrative point of view, stability in control was always easier than fluency in the native organisation.

As natives were seen to belong to political groups which were lead by chiefs, I want to point out also the concept of chiefdoms. The reports did not bring up the term itself, but at the time colonialists were using the term in other colonies in Africa. In the journal *Africa* chiefdoms were discussed for example in the case of Tanganyika. In the text, the Administrative Officer, R. de Z. Hall (1938) connects at least customs and the area inhabited in addition of the political leader to the concept.[280] Halls definition for chiefdom was thus close to the concept of tribe, although, as the name brings up, the political aspects are especially highlighted with chiefdoms. The fact that the administrators did not use the term chiefdom in Kenya indicates that although the concept of chiefs was connected also to the tribes in Kenya, the connotation was not as strong as in some other colonies. In Kenya chiefs were clearly leaders of tribes, in some other parts of the continent chiefs were also recognised leaders of chiefdoms as Halls example shows. This could also hint that tribes were not defined as purely political in Kenya

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[278] NAD 1930, 20. Italics mine.
[279] NAD 1930, 7-8; NAD 1935, 5.
[280] Hall 1938, 413.

colony as they might have been defined in other places. Also the difference in the concept of these terms is noticeable. Tribe is, however it is defined, a foreign origins term in African context. On the other hand chiefdom would indicate more directly to the area and people led by one person. In this way it would have been more clearly defined and also more purely connected to the natives than an ill-defined term with many indicators, the tribe. The Kenyan groups were noted not to be that chief-led as chiefdoms in general and this is why the groups also needed another, general and multidimensional term. Thus, the colonialists in Kenya decided to work purely with that term tribe.

I will also note a few words about the role of native military organising in indirect rule. There were two different kinds of military organisations. The ones noted in connection with nomadic tribes were seen purely traditional organisations which had nothing to do with political unrest against the colonial administration. Samburu was one of the tribes mentioned in connection with the warrior organisations[281]. The way these organisations were described in the reports was however connected to the original idea of a tribe, not to the colonial hierarchy. The points that the organisations were not appreciated and the strict connection of those to the nomadic groups indicate that the concept was connected to the existence of tribes rather than to the fluency of their being in new political environments. The political organising as well as the measures to define a tribe are pretty much the same as the measures to define the tribes state in the evolutionary line. This connection has to be emphasised because it also creates the picture of the connection between the idea of tribes and tribalism and the evolutionary development. More so, these kinds of military organisations were organisations clearly separate from the colonial structure and thus apart from the reach of the colonial leverage. Their existence was noted but not supported by the administration.

Others, like the organising of the Kikuyu, were not discussed in connection with tribal structure and were thus taken as separate and purely political actors. Berman writes that the colonialists were keenly noting the political conditions in the reserves in order to spot hints of unrest in the areas.[282] This was anyhow different from traditional political organising. Unrest against the colonial administration was a reaction towards the foreign rule, whereas the organising in purely native environment was more linear development. In the concept of *us*

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[281] See for example NAD 1928, 37 and NAD 1934, 21.
[282] Berman 1990, 95.

and them the reaction towards the British stands up, although native internal development can be seen linear in all the circumstances.

Especially the movements in the Kikuyu areas were keenly followed in the reports. The political discussion about the Kikuyu started in the early 1930s, but in most cases peace and progress were emphasised more in the reports than uncontrollable native movements.[283] In 1932 the "political unrest" was noted also in the Northern Frontier Province, where the unrest was thought to be the result of the bad trade[284], and later the attention returned to the development in the central provinces. In 1934 the Watu wa Mungu –movement was highlighted but it was not directly connoted to the working of the Kikuyu tribe itself.[285] The Nandi protest was more attached to the tribe involved than the uprisings within the Kikuyu. Ellis (1976) writes that the Nandi protests prompted fast response from the government and that the attitude towards the tribe changed visibly. Nandi protest was "a movement of non-cooperation" in the early 1920s, which started developing from the passive resistance towards a more violent form. The result was all the way positive to the Nandi as the government removed the quarantine, returned alienated lands, reduced hut tax, and also the appointment of the clan headmen to work as part of the governing structure was one of the government reactions.[286]

Vail and White (1989) write about the British respond to political agitation in Malawi. The conclusions made from the Malawi experience can anyhow be taken as general responses of the colonial indirect rule to the native movements. The first effect of the rising was the deepening of the colonial distrust towards educated Africans, which was, to be noted in the case of Kenya colony, also seen especially in the 1920s in rising doubts towards fast "civilising" of the natives.[287] Secondly Vail and White note that the rising affected as tightening control through the local chiefs. The administrators wanted to control the natives through their own people and thus to be able to forestall unwanted movements.[288] Hence tribal political organising was taken as a matter of course in indirect rule and even in the cases

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[283] NAD 1930, 29.
[284] NAD 1932, 29.
[285] NAD 1934, 3.
[286] Ellis 1976, 569-573.
[287] NAD 1925, 22-23. See also chapter 3.4.
[288] Vail & White 1989, 168-169.

where the presupposition gave impetus to the tribal uprisings, indirect rule responded with actions that further confirmed the idea of tribal structures.

The native response to indirect rule, whether it was political or military, was a sign of the interaction in the colonial era. The fluency between the tribes, which also shows in the uneasiness to define the true character of a tribe, is most noticeable in the political sector of defining. In language, customs, livelihood, and in the area inhabited the internal and intertribal relations come up more clearly. Furthermore, political organising can also be connected to groups other than the tribes. Beemer (1937) uses terms nation and nationality when writing about Swazis, but all the same, the principals to define a group are the same as with Lestrade and his definition to tribes. The nationality belongs to all who are faithful to the chosen leader. When using the term nationality, Beemer got close to the description given by Nadel, who wrote about the difference between naturally compounded community and artificial society[289]. According to Beemer, the different clans became part of the Swazis through conquer or a more peaceful uniting.[290] They both see political organisation as more artificial and combine than naturally consisted groups. Political organisation can thus be seen as a definition for or against the term tribe. If being a tribe is connected mainly with culture the scientists usually use another term of political groups.

As the scientists took political organising to be part of the definition for a tribe, it was easy for the colonialists to agree with the general currency and define a tribe also with the political point of view. Furthermore, as I have already discussed, using the political aspect helped the colonialists also to connect the 'traditional' way with the indirect rule and thus justify the colonial administration. However, as political organising was not the only definition for the term, it did not have to be strictly followed. In the 'original' form, a tribe was a group following one leader, but during colonialism new, externally selected leaders came up. As long as the natives could be connected to these chiefs of the indirect rule, the modifier was fulfilled. Being a tribe in the colonial era was mainly, from this point of view, to follow a native administrator and thus to belong to the smallest administrative unit in the colonial structure.

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[289] Nadel 1937, 56.
[290] Beemer 1937, 56.

4.2. The area inhabited

Like I have been discussing earlier, one of the main ideas in the colonial structure was to put everything in place. Lugard wrote in the *Dual Mandate* that the tribal lands should be organised so that the political structure could be connected to it. Lugard also noted that the growing recognition of the conception of individual ownership is part of the natural evolution and partly due to the introduction of ideas of European land tenure.[291] The system of indirect rule was based on the fixed territories and the connection between these territories and the tribes. Lonsdale writes that the official lines of the administrative areas began to mark also the boundaries between different tribes[292]. This was also noticeable in the reports.[293]

Thus, for the British, every piece of land had to belong to someone. As Lugard writes, if the land did not belong to a certain local chief or a tribe, it was the property of the crown.[294] As the lands were property and the colonialists needed to know which belonged to whom, the areas of the tribes came to be important. In consequence, the tribes had to work in indirect rule through these geographical boundaries. This can be seen even in the names of the administrative areas. There were many districts named after tribes, the Kikuyu Province being the largest area named after the natives. Most visible this was in the 1920s and during the 1930s the number of administrative units which were named after natives lessened.[295]

The tribal areas were important in perceiving the population. The reports have continuing descriptions about the population of different areas, the relations between different groups and estimations about the population inside the geographical units.[296] The tribal boundary lines and their descriptions seem to be thus one of the most important parts of tribalism. When there is a description of a tribe in the reports, it usually starts with the information about the area where the people live. For example the Abakoria were reported to live on the Tanganyika border[297] and the Kikuyu in the districts of Nyeri, Fort Hall and Kyuambu[298]. In Nyeri the

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[291] Lugard 1965, 283-285.
[292] Lonsdale 1989, 28.
[293] See the appendixes 1 and 2.
[294] Lugard 1968, 648.
[295] See for example NAD 1925; Maxon 1994, 141.
[296] For example NAD 1924, 8.
[297] NAD 1934, 18.
[298] NAD 1924, 2.

connection between the 'original native areas' and the areas given to them by the indirect rule was clearest. One of the district commissioners in the province wrote that the natives had all the lands they had "ever occupied".[299] The idea of the original areas inhabited came up also in the case of the Kipsikis, who inhabited their "ancestral lands" according to the reports.[300] Also the original areas inhabited were mentioned in the case of the Galla[301]. Furthermore, to emphasise the connection between tribes and areas, the concept of the *country* of a tribe was introduced couple of times in the reports. The Luo country was seen to been in the South Kavirondo District[302] and the Samburu country[303] was mentioned several times as well.

The case of the Kavirondo is especially interesting. As I will also discuss later in the chapter 5.3., the people living in the area of Kavirondo were divided roughly into two according to the languages they spoke. Bantu Kavirondo[304] and Nilotic Kavirondo[305] divided the people living in the area a bit, but still clear tribes were not defined out of the Kavirondo people. In 1928 the Bantu Kavirondo got the following description: "[t]his district is peopled by a congeries of tribes or clans who, for lack of some more exact designation, are promiscuously and collectively known as Bantu Kavirondo."[306] So in this case the main modifiers for the group were the area inhabited (Kavirondo) and the language group (Bantu). Although the Bantu Kavirondo were not even noted to speak the same language, and as they were recognised to be from several different tribes, they were characterised congruently according to these qualifiers.

With people living stationary life the connection was easy. When a tribe had lived approximately in the same area, in permanent dwellings for the time British had been known the existence of the group it was natural to define them also through the geographical point of view. With groups living in a more mobile way of life, the definition confronted a problem. When discussing the concept of putting everything in place, Broch-Due writes that the people most 'out of place' in the colonial environment were the nomads. She writes that "[t]he colonial discourse of tribes, territories and fixity was the result of a sedentary vision bound to

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[299] NAD 1929, 13.
[300] NAD 1925, 6.
[301] NAD 1931, 22.
[302] NAD 1926, 96.
[303] See for example NAD 1936, 98 and 127.
[304] For example in NAD 1932, 8.
[305] For example in NAD 1934, 15.
[306] NAD 1928, 5.

a very European vision of nature. In this vision, nature is essentially predictable and controllable, generating notions of stable boundaries and identities."[307] This was not complained as much as one could have imagined. More the fact about pastorals and their unsettled life was seen in the characterisation and stereotypes about pastoralists and nomads. The fact that the nomads were moving around did not forestall the administrators to define them as tribes. On the other hand the administrators defined the areas inside of which the tribe was moving. So, even with the pastorals the government persisted to connect areas and ethnicity. P. D. Little (1998) notes the special role of the nomadic tribes in the indirect rule and by referring to several different studies, he discusses that especially in the Northern Kenya the goal of the administrators was to keep the tribes separate and in specific areas.[308] In the reports this can be seen as there were complaints about how difficult it was to follow the movements of the pastorals, especially in the areas of Northern and North-Eastern borders.[309]

There were also land grievances in the colony. A special organisation, the Carter Land Commission was established specially to resolve these land disputes.[310] Some of the disputes were reported in the Natives Affairs Department reports, but the subject was not highly discussed. Anyhow the year of 1925 was especially highlighted as a year of land problems. The exodus of the Akamba from the worse locations to the better ones was noted in the report.[311] In the next decade the disputes over tribal and clan boundaries were again brought up and the eager of native groups to have their own lands was emphasised. The movement was seen to be lead by young and educated men.[312]

The response from the administration to these kinds of grievances was to give the natives specially designated reserves.[313] Anyhow, the grievances were not the only reason for the administration to put up reserves. Lugard writes that the idea in reserves was to provide that the area would respond to the needs of the natives. He was also writing about the material and moral welfare, which will bring the discussion closer to the administrative control and arrangement of education and work in the area. Lugard also continues by introducing the ideas of Sir C. Eliot, who opposed the idea of reserves in all the other cases, but saw the

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[307] Broch-Due 2000, 60-61.
[308] Little 1998, 448.
[309] See for example NAD 1927, 20.
[310] Little 1998, 449.
[311] NAD 1925, 8.
[312] NAD 1931, 7.
[313] Tignor 1976, 32.

benefits only if there was an especially strong or weak tribe. Lugard discusses the subject rather deeply in the *Dual Mandate*, and from several different points of views.[314] When it comes to Kenya and to the reports, especially the Maasais were noted in relation to the reserves.[315] The reserves and geographical boundaries were also discussed in relation to the Kikuyu[316] and Samburu[317], although in Lugard's words, Sir P. Girouard had noted that only the Maasais had a reserve assigned to them by a treaty and the other reserves were not reserves in the real sense of the term.[318] Berman and Lonsdale note that in 1926 there were gazetted twenty-four reserves in Kenya colony.[319]

The very same year the fixing of the boundaries of different reserves started but the reserves in the Northern Frontier Province and in Turkana were not touched or delimited.[320] Especially this comes up with the strict rules about closed areas, like that of the Maasai reserve. The area was gazetted as a closed district in 1924 in order to keep unwanted people from other tribes outside the boarders. In practise this meant that any person wishing to enter the area needed to obtain a permit from the senior commissioner to do that. In 1927 this action was explained to be mostly for preventing stock traders and other unwanted to enter, not to forbid the movement of all outsiders.[321] A year later it was noted in the reports that the penetration of the Kikuyu to the area had almost stopped. Furthermore, the Kikuyu were discussed and especially the Kikuyus movement to the Maasai areas was fretted. The Kikuyus were seen to be becoming "more Maasai than the Maasai themselves" and the colonialists were afraid that they would give up the cultivation and become "uneconomic pastoralists on land set aside for the use of another tribe".[322] The regulations about movement across the administrative boundaries happened also elsewhere. For example the Lumbwa were controlled in the 1930s by their Pass Rules, so that their constant move across the district borders could be controlled.[323]

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[314] Lugard 1965, 323-326.
[315] See for example NAD 1931, 98.
[316] NAD 1929, 11.
[317] NAD 1925, 15.
[318] Lugard 1965, 326.
[319] Berman and Lonsdale 1992b, 116. See also appendix 2, map of the reserves in Kenya colony in 1929.
[320] NAD 1926, 7.
[321] NAD 1924, 14; NAD 1927, 15.
[322] NAD 1925, 7.
[323] NAD 1936, 162.

The locations and the connections between the 'original areas' and reserves did not meet each other as well as the administrators might have wished. An example of the false idea of the area inhabited is given by Vigdis Broch-Due. She gives an example of the Turkana who were expected to live in the Turkana District. Although the example is not from the era I am discussing in the thesis, it gives an example in the general level. In the late 1950s thousands of Turkana were taken to a Turkana District from central Kenya because that had been defined to be their original area.[324] She continues that fifteen years before the movement of the Turkana to Turkana District no one seemed to regard the District as the tribe's proper homeland. The idea of the movement was more that of control than that of 'repatriation'. The districts did not match complete with the tribal areas even in the reports. For example in the Baringo district, there were living the tribes of Kamasia, Njemps and the East Suk[325].

Also names were given to sections or groups of tribes according to the area where they lived. In the reports tribes or sections of tribes had thus even nicknames after the place where they lived. For example the Cherangani section of the Marakwet was called "the little people of the hills". Their area was also reported to neighbouring their "fellow tribesmen in the valley".[326] Bakoria on the other hand was a name given to a group of tribes: it meant all the tribes living along the Tanganyika border. Furthermore, even to this group of tribes there were given special characteristics, as being virile, excellent fighters and good workers.[327] In such a way the area had a people with specific characteristics.

These kinds of definitions connected one of the tribal modifiers to the others. In this way, although none of the tribes was defined with all the modifiers, the modifiers were anyhow mixed, so that a tribe was never defined only by one classifier. Tribe living in the same area was thus a tribe also because they had the same culture, language or a leader. Or, as in Zimbabwe, the area inhabited was also related to the political organisations of the natives, and living in the same area led to the expectation that the people also were led by the same person.[328] Connecting the environment and other aspects of being a tribe has also been discussed in the evolutionary point of view by Herbert Spencer. Sanderson (1990) brings up that Spencer was discussing the possibility that the environmental factors might affect to the

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[324] Broch-Due 2000, 53.
[325] NAD 1936, 19.
[326] NAD 1932, 20.
[327] NAD 1925, 6 and NAD 1926, 18.
[328] Ranger 1989, 121.

evolution of the people living in there. Thus by spreading to new areas the human kind has also been influenced by the changes brought by these movements.[329] Anyhow this note emphasises the area over other classifiers so it can not be directly connected to the general terminological discussion.

Tribal boundary lines were a means of control for the indirect rule. The reports show how the tribes were supposed to keep apart from each other so that conflicts would be avoided. On the other hand, if the people moved away from their tribal areas, it was seen as a threat against the governing structure. Controlling natives was easier with the knowledge of their exact living positions.[330] Also the mixing up of tribes was fretted by the colonialists. When a part of the population had to move temporarily to an area of another tribe the reports show that these conditions had to be changed as fast as possible so that the tribes could live again in their own territories.[331] It was easier for the administration to work through the geographical areas whereas the natives were not divided only, in a rather abstract way by ethnicity, culture or language, but also through specific and easily-defined practical lines. Combining tribal areas with the administrative areas showed not only that the tribal definitions of politics and areas were compatible, but it also structured the native units to a form which was understandable to the colonialists.

4.3. Language

Africans have been divided into three language groups, the Bantus, Hamites and Nilots, which were all mentioned also in the reports[332]. However, language did not seem to be so emphasised in the reports and although languages were clearly connected to the definition of a tribe, many variations were also seen. Occasionally the language of the tribe was mentioned in the reports, and there were notes for example about the Maasai language[333], but this kind of occasions were quite rare. There is the possibility that languages were not mentioned because

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[329] Sanderson 1990, 62.
[330] See for example NAD 1936, 17. Berman 1974, 247.
[331] NAD 1935, 13 and 39.
[332] For example NAD 1926, 28; NAD 1928, 6 and NAD 1934, 15. However the Nilots were mentioned only in the connection of Nilo-Hamites or Nilotic Kavirondo.
[333] NAD 1924, 12.

they and their relation with tribes were taken as a matter of course. The names of the languages indicate to this conclusion. The language names were the same as the names of the tribes for the colonialists, so it seems that it was not considered relevant to mention that the Kikuyu did speak kikuyu language. The language groups were mentioned even less often, the Bantu being the most noted of them.

The fusion of languages and thus the ongoing fluency in the tribal level was not a foreign idea for the colonialists. Language assimilations were noted couple of times in the reports, although they did not cane a lot of attention. For example the adoption of the language of the Karamoja within the Suk was noted in the report from 1931.[334] The same was repeated the following year, where the existence of special Suk language and customs was mentioned, but it was also added that some of the tribe – the pastoralists – did adopt the language of other cattle-owning tribes.[335] Further on, there is also a special term created for the Turkana adaptation of stronger hamitic features. In 1932 the report refers to the Turkana as being *hamiticised*[336], but the reports do not discuss the subject furthermore to tell which features this hamiticing included or how it was shown. Languages were easy to measure as tribal qualifiers, and thus the changes were noted also at the time by the administrators.

In other parts of Africa clearer occasions about the disconnections between the language and tribe were seen. Nadel wrote about three different groups, the Nupe and its subgroups, the Ébeye and the Gware. With the example of these groups he brought up the confusion related to the groups and their languages. The Ébeye language differed as much from the basic Nupe language as it did from the language of the Gware. Still the Ébeye were considered to be part of the Nupes. The Gwares, however, were not.[337] This means that other definitions were also needed to define the native groups. Common language did not pool groups under the same name in the case introduced by Nadel.

In consequence, language was not a modifier to be followed blindly. In the postcolonial era many scholars have noted that the single languages and tribes did not correspond wholly and hence a language was not a criterion to be used as the only definition for a tribe. Southall

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[334] NAD 1931, 24-25.
[335] NAD 1932, 33-34.
[336] NAD 1932, 31.
[337] Nadel 1935, 260.

writes in the *Illusion of Tribe* (1997) that language was not valid modifier anyhow, but it is even less noticeable when talking about groups which got together by conquest or assimilation.[338] Also Ranger (1989) brings up that a common language does not apply to the common ethnic identification. He notes to a situation where people speaking the same language disperse and do not continue to identify themselves within the same group.[339]

Although the basic assumption in the reports was that one tribe was using one language, this was also noted to be an uncertain criterion. The examples of assimilated languages within different tribes were discussed and although common languages were also recognised within a tribe, it seems that language was not a fundamental qualifier. The use of the language as a modifier, as fragile as it was, leads us further to the discussion about the meaning of the term tribe itself. As I have already noted, the colonialists needed a term which gave space to variable modifiers and which still could give firm and stable boundaries to the groups it defined. As the term tribe does not apply to similar native groups, the modifiers needed the freedom of the term. Language, in this point of view, is one of the most contradictory ones. On one hand, it was discussed as the obvious part of tribes, the natural feature of ethnicity. On the other hand the complexity of its use as one of the modifiers had been noted already with the language assimilations happening in the late 1920s and 1930s. Furthermore, language was not greatly discussed matter in the reports, which either indicates to its seemed obviousness or to its irrelevance in the relation to tribes. As, however, languages were emphasised in the education of the colonial officers[340], it is a lot more presumable that the connection between languages and tribes was mainly taken as an obviousness.

4.4. Livelihood

Major Orde-Brown, a provincial commissioner from Tanganyika wrote in *Africa* that the primitive African societies can be divided into hunters, pastoralists and agriculturalists. He continued with a definition that separated the pastoralists and agriculturalists from each other. The pastoralists, according to him, were those who were before the European contacts – this

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[338] Southall 1997, 47.
[339] Ranger 1989, 120.
[340] Lugard 1965, 133.

is what I consider he means by writing about their "pristine state" – nomads and "warlike"; on the other hand agriculturalists were those settled and who were thus "more peaceful and better organised socially".[341]

In the reports similar divisions and descriptions of the divisions are widely seen. The livelihoods of different tribes are introduced in all of the reports, both in the 1920s and in the 1930s. Usually the tribe was characterised by only one livelihood. For example the Boni were described to be mainly agriculturists, though they were still hunting as well.[342] The description shows how the administrators needed neat delineations of the tribes, and as the Boni were classified to be agriculturists – despite their "good deal of hunting" – the administrators got a clear picture into which group the Boni should be connected. The Pokoot were noted to be wholly pastoral[343], as well as the Galla[344]. The Samburu on the other hand were noted to be purely nomadic[345]. The only case when two livelihoods have been equally noted is that of the Marakwet and Elgeyo, who were described to be both agriculturists and stock owners.[346]

Also change from a livelihood to another was noted several times in the reports. For example the Elgeyo and the Marakwet were noted to move from pastoralism to agriculture in the early 1930s. These kinds of changes were supported in Kenya with growing education of agriculture in native schools.[347] In the same year, the Turkana were noted to have started to move towards agriculture, although it was added that being pastoralists was still preferred by the tribe.[348] Also the Local Native Councils were made to support agricultural habits as for example in the case of the Nandi, free ploughs were given to those who trained oxen for the purpose of the yoke of oxen used in cultivating.[349] In the case of the Uasin Gishu Maasai, the growing agriculture in the area was seen to be an effect of the growing intermarrying between Maasais and immigrants in the area.[350] Also the Somalis in Northern Frontier Province started to be interested more and more about agriculture in the early 1930s, which was also

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[341] Orde-Browne 1930, 13-14.
[342] NAD 1934, 33.
[343] NAD 1925, 12.
[344] NAD 1925, 11.
[345] NAD 1925, 15.
[346] NAD 1930, 88.
[347] NAD 1932, 19-20.
[348] NAD 1932, 32.
[349] NAD 1929, 62.
[350] NAD 1933, 60.

commended by the district commissioner of Garissa.[351] The change in livelihood thus always occurred towards agriculture. These changes did not affect to the definition of a tribe since the whole tribe was handled as a unit when writing about the changes. Hence the changes did not disband the tribes of the indirect rule nor did they affect to the concept of it. As the dates indicate, the changes were reported mainly in the 1930s. In the 1920s the first descriptions of the tribes and their state had been given and after that it was possible for the administrators to start to compare the development of the tribes. In consequence, in the 1930s the administrators started to introduce the actions of "progress" by which they meant the actions the colonial rule had achieved among the Africans. This comes up in the keen noting to the growing enthusiasm towards agriculture and to the growing cultivation in the native areas.

Ergo, agriculture was clearly the most noted livelihood in the reports and tribes were defined also through the inexistence of cultivation. The Samburu were noted to be not interested in cultivation and keeping their old habits of pastoralism alive[352], the Duruma were described as a 'simple pastoral tribe'[353] and the Luo were commented for their agricultural share of the total value of exports[354]. The Kavirondo tribes were a vague concept in the reports, but the tribes were, as well as other tribes, divided into agriculturists and pastoralists.[355] Even in the case of the 'pastoral tribes' like the Pokwot, also the small agricultural tendency is noted[356].

Apart from the simple dividing, the reports also emphasised the level of the cultivation habits and skills. If the natives were turning into agriculturalists, it was considered good, but they also needed to learn the 'modern' and 'right' skills in cultivation. The Agricultural Officer wrote that the Kiambu Kikuyu were too conservative in agriculture, although he also noted the "steady upward trend" in the cultivation work. For him, this meant especially the growing area cultivated, proper planting and housing and construction of bigger markets.[357] In the other way around, when the main livelihood was something else than agriculture, the cultivating habits are emphasised and brought up in a matter of a positive change. If the stock-owners for example had started to cultivate more and more, it was commended in the

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[351] NAD 1932, 106.
[352] NAD 1936, 114.
[353] NAD 1932, 17.
[354] NAD 1936, 125.
[355] NAD 1935, 68.
[356] NAD 1930, 88.
[357] NAD 1934, 101.

reports.[358] When the Nandi were noted to be chiefly pastoral, the few locations where agriculture had been started were added to the description[359], although the "excellent cattle sense" was commented as well[360].

Thus the change to agriculture was not the only thing the colonial government urged. The methods of agriculture and the progress in cultivating were as well noted and worked for. The "backward tribes" were those who did "still cling to the old methods of agriculture"[361] and the progressive tribes those who adapted the European ways to cultivate. The chiefs who encouraged progressive agriculture and for example cultivation under irrigation were commended[362] and the use of the agricultural instruments and grinding machines[363] were appreciated. On the other hand passivity to adapt new ways was also noted and fretted in the reports. The Kikuyu were especially discussed in relation to the subject and their backwardness in agricultural methods fretted[364]. Despite the point about evolutionism, agriculture had a more concrete benefit to the Colony. The Great Depression had its effects also in Kenya colony in the 1930s and since agriculture was the main source of income to the Colony, it was hoped to help the economic situation.[365]

The keenness in native agriculture and in the agricultural skills shows clearly in the descriptions the reports give about different tribes. Goodness and badness in cultivation are commonly viewed in the reports and the measuring of these was often reported as the statements "[t]he Akamba are not great agriculturists" or "[t]he Teita, however, are naturally agriculturists" indicate. In the same report the irrigation system of the Njembs is especially commented, and the excellent crops of the area are appreciated.[366] The administrators were writing directly that the natives were wanted to be more active in agriculture and, like in the report from 1933 it is put, "definite steps were taken during the year to urge the tribes to become more 'agriculturally minded'". [367]

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[358] NAD 1924, 5.
[359] NAD 1926, 19.
[360] NAD 1934, 121.
[361] NAD 1929, 57.
[362] NAD 1932, 101.
[363] NAD 1929, 7.
[364] NAD 1926, 46.
[365] Maxon 1994, 202.
[366] NAD 1925, 28-29.
[367] NAD 1933, 20.

The reasons for this keenness can be found not only from the evolutionary ideas, but from the economic development. Maxon writes that the colonialists hoped that the natives could have got to work to the agricultural fields. The agricultural development was hoped to help the colony and the native labour supply was wished to broaden the settler agriculture. The agriculture and prices of agricultural products were deeply affected by the depression, but growing enthusiasm towards it was hoped to relieve the situation.[368] Despite, the eagerness for the development of African agriculture had risen already before the depression. Lugard wrote in *Dual Mandate* (1922), that one of the objects of village schools was to improve the village agriculturists[369]. "Economically wasteful" ways of life were tended to be changed into more settled, and Ellis notes that for example the Nandi were wished to become sedentary agriculturists instead of the cattle raiding and constant movement.[370]

The livelihoods were not only ways to divide the natives into tribes, but they were also a way to characterise the tribes. Different livelihoods had their stereotypes and characterisations in the reports, and a person was easily defined according to his tribe as well as according to his livelihood. Especially the pastoral tribes were defined through the livelihood several times in the reports. They were considered conservative and disinclined to progress[371], and their "place in the scheme of things" was considered to be so different from that of the agriculturists, that it could never be the same. Schemes of administration and education were thus advised to be adjusted to the character of the pastoral people.[372] Furthermore the semi-pastoral tribes were considered to be better in settling their disputes and to be less corrupted than the agriculturists.[373] The agricultural tribes were considered highly litigious[374]. Furthermore, as it came up already in the discussion about the geographical position and tribes; pastorals and nomads were wished to settle down and to have permanent homes.[375] Now, when it comes to the livelihoods, the "nomadic instincts" were seen to cause most of the troubles[376] and being nomadic also meant that the work of the enterprise of the Councils could not be good. This is because the nomadic habits were seen to be all but stable and stationary which was the main

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[368] Maxon 1994, 202.
[369] Lugard 1965, 444.
[370] Ellis 1976, 560.
[371] NAD 1924, 8; 1925, 13 and 1926, 28.
[372] NAD 1934, 19-20.
[373] NAD 1929, 37.
[374] For example NAD 1926, 34.
[375] For example NAD 1935, 21.
[376] NAD 1933, 6.

character needed in the existence of the councils.[377] Also the point of view towards wealth was noted in relation of the pastorals, and the administrators wished that the natives could adapt the European ideas about money and wealth instead of the continuous collecting of cattle.[378]

When the livelihood did not match with the other modifiers of a tribe, the administrators yielded with the qualifiers to conclude the stability of similarly defined tribes. In the case of the Pokwot, the tribe was divided into two: the Hill Pokwot and the Plain Pokwot. From these, the first one was introduced to be cultivating small gardens and keeping some goats and cattle while the latter one were "almost without exception pastoralists".[379] The same was repeated both in the 1920s and 1930s, with the only difference that the tribal name Suk was later more often used. The two parts of the tribe had also different descriptions and thus different habits and characterisations described in the reports. According to the provincial commissioner, the two divisions had different hunting and fighting methods through different weapons and furthermore, he described that the agricultural Suk were "small of stature, puny, quarrelsome, and addicted to strong drink whilst the latter are of good stature". He also added that the latter did "prefer dancing to work"."[380] This is interesting because within one tribe, there were not only two different livelihoods mentioned, but the will to connect livelihoods with special characteristics seems to be bigger than the will to describe one tribe in one and stable way.

Obviously these divisions were not only the imagination of the colonialists. The livelihoods in the different areas had a lot to do for example with the surrounding terrain and climate. Also the African groups themselves highlighted sometimes the differences between each other. For example in the central Kenya the farmers differentiated themselves from the pastoralists and hunters. Ambler (1988) describes that this division from others among the agriculturists rooted from their close economics, culture and languages, which all were seen as a "sign of shared destiny".[381] In spite of these similarities between the colonialists and native identification, also failure classifications were made. Spear (1993) highlights that the Maasais

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[377] NAD 1928, 41.
[378] NAD 1924, 26.
[379] NAD 1928, 15.
[380] NAD 1924, 8 and NAD 1932, 33-34. See also chapter 5.3. for further discussion about the two names of the tribe.
[381] Ambler 1988, 35.

were not only pastoralists, as the administration in the 1920s and 1930s depicted, but some of them were industrious agriculturists as well.[382]

The fluency of using livelihood in the report shows that it was not especially important modifier – if one at all – for a tribe, although it was also used greatly in the reports. Because livelihood is mostly connected to other, more abstract characteristics, it can also be discussed as a characterisation itself, not a modifier to the term tribe. In consequence, there can be seen differences between actual tribal modifiers and other, more fluent and characterisation-oriented concepts. The way of using the concept of livelihood and the will to connect it with stereotypes and at points, cultural habits, indicates that it was not treated equally with the clearly modifying concepts of political organising and tribal area. And even if livelihood was used as an addition to the other classifiers for a tribe, it was not an uncompromising one. The administration was willing to yield in the definitions, at least in the way that the historical dimension in tribal livelihood was noted.

4.5. Culture

Culture is a very difficult term to define and so it is also hard to connect to the concept of a tribe. However cultures and cultural features were often discussed in the reports in connection with the tribes and thus it was also discussed as one of its definitions. Nevertheless, culture was never defined in the reports and thus it is hard to follow as a concept. Usually the things referred to by the term had a connection to the concrete actions in different occasions in the native lives, customs, and clothing and even in the structure of the dwellings.

The tribal custom was noted for example in the case of the Kipsigis[383] and the Maasai[384]. Also the concepts of "traditional customs" and "natural habits" were noted, and in the case of the Taveta, the traditional customs were the customs not supported by the colonialists. These customs were characterised to affect all the members of the tribe and thus stereotypes were

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[382] Spear 1993, 2.
[383] NAD 1936, 34.
[384] For example NAD 1924, 12; NAD 1927, 15-16 and NAD 1928, 20.

also born according to the customs.[385] In the case of the Teita something similar can be seen in the reporting, although the main custom noted was that of heavy drinking, which was related to them.[386] With the Boran the despised custom was noted to be that of proving the attainment of manhood by killing someone.[387] What the customs were exactly was not discussed in the reports. When it comes to the habits, those were noted in the case of the Laibons, who were according to the reports living closer to their natural habits than they had used to.[388]

Some of the administrators in Africa were writing articles about the cultures and languages of individual tribes.[389] In any point, mentioning culture, customs and habits in relation to the concept of a tribe indicates to a thought that one tribal unit was seen to behave among the same cultural ways. The customs also connected tribes to each other, and for example the Merille were seen to be akin to the Suk according to the customs that both of the tribes followed.[390] And as customs connected tribes, they also differed them. Circumcision was one of the things most clearly differing tribes from each other. The Kisii circumcised, for example, while the Luo did not, and this difference was highlighted in the reports.[391]

Lugard wrote in the *Dual Mandate*, that it was important that the native customs were studied by the colonialists[392]. Although Lugard reasoned his statement by the respect towards the native people and their chiefs, Ranger adds that the eager of the colonialists to work with customs and even invent traditions for the natives was mainly because of the benefits of the use of traditions in indirect rule. Ranger continues by acclaiming that the invented traditions were fault especially in their inflexibility. The Europeans saw that the African societies were conservative, static and clearly hierarchical. Furthermore, Ranger also brings up two different ways how the colonialists used the concept of culture. First of all, by accepting the idea that part of the Africans might get into a higher state in the colonial hierarchy, the colonialists also trained these natives in and to the neo-traditional context. Secondly Ranger notes the relations between the leaders and subordinates in colonial context. Thus the traditions were transferred

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[385] NAD 1927, 9.
[386] NAD 1928, 11.
[387] NAD 1927, 19.
[388] NAD 1936, 9.
[389] For example Captain Langley with his article about the Kono people in Sierra Leone. Langley 1932.
[390] NAD 1926, 28.
[391] NAD 1929, 19.
[392] Lugard 1965, 212.

to new context of hierarchy and made use of, so that the creation of the clearly defined hierarchical society in indirect rule might be accepted.[393] Vail notes that it was the chiefs who were the mediators of the invented customs to the native life. He notes that the administrators emphasised control as part of the old customs.[394]

Although in the reports the African cultures were seen conservative, they were not seen as static as Ranger acclaims. The adaptation and furthermore, the fluency in customs and cultures, as it was called in the reports, were noted also by the administrators. For example the situation with the Suk and their adaptation of the Karamoja customs was highlighted. It was also speculated in the reports that if the adaptation continued the two tribes would get closer to each other and the intermarriages and similar customs would affect also to the development of the languages.[395] Still, as the tribes were thought to have a distinct culture and, as Ranger shows[396], even invented traditions were connected to the tribes, culture as a modifier of a tribe was strong.

Culture, as the other modifiers for tribes were not however easy to use alone in defining the term. For example Harries writes in the *Creation of Tribalism* about the difficulty of defining tribes only with the cultural modifier. He gives an example from the Tsonga-speaking people and writes that there was not a specific Tsonga culture as the immigrants did not come from the same 'cultural pool'. Harries writes about the meaning of fluency also in taking culture as a determinant and notes that the "cultural markers exhibited by Tsonga-speakers such as diet, tools, clothing, custom and language were, moreover, marked by continual adaptations to changing social and environmental situations."[397]

Culture was hence as difficult a determinant for the term tribe, as it itself was difficult to determine. The fluency of cultures had been noted in the reports but cultures were however noted as a distinct part of the concept of tribes. In indirect rule the role of cultures was thus similar to that of the livelihood, as they were more *descriptive* than *qualifying*. Accordingly a tribe always had a culture, but a tribe was not defined specially through the culture. For the indirect rule political organizing and the area inhabited emerged as the most important

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[393] Ranger 1983, 220-221 and 247.
[394] Vail 1989, 15.
[395] NAD 1931, 24-25.
[396] See the discussion earlier.
[397] Harries 1989, 89.

qualifiers for a tribe – as they also worked as the most important tools for the colonial administration – and the other determinants thus diminished into minor importance. However also language, cultures and livelihood divided the natives. They were all used continuously in the reports to classify the different tribes and thus they all supported the basic division. It can also be seen that cultures and livelihoods were highly connected to the stereotypes and presupposes about the natives; to the development ideas and even to the abstract characterizations as I have earlier discussed[398]. It also seems that the anthropologists highlighted culture, livelihood and language more as the qualifiers than the administrators in the reports. Especially Herskovits and Thurnwald emphasized the role of livelihood as a qualifier for the term, whereas Nadel brought up especially culture and language.[399] Although cultures and livelihoods are also often discussed matters in the reports, they are brought up in the way that emphasise reasoning characterisations such as being a "lazy worker" or "trustworthy". This differs greatly from the anthropological studies.

Carneiro notes that social relations and customs were also one of the determinants in evolutionary thinking. Both Morgan and Spencer had their notes about customs in the evolution line, Morgan more from the point of view of property and its role in evolution, while Spencer was discussing the appropriate modes of feeling and thinking common to different stages in societies and evolution.[400] In this point of view the term tribe was needed to define the cultures, not the cultures to define the tribes.

Accordingly, although the cultures and tribes did not always match in the colonial reporting, as did not the other modifiers with the native groups, cultures and tribes were at least deeply connected. As the tribalism did not start from the discussion of cultures, the connotation of those in the African context was strong in affecting to the forming of tribes. As I have discussed, the Kikuyu tribe were seen to have Kikuyu culture and Kikuyu habits. The cultural features were also seen to go along with the area inhabited, language and livelihood. Although some features were also adapted from tribe to tribe, the concept of a tribe and culture were strongly connected in the reports.

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[398] See especially chapters 3.5. and 4.4.
[399] Herskovits 1930; Thurnwald 1929b and c; Nadel 1935, 262-263. See also chapter 3.1.
[400] Carneiro 2003, 66.

In conclusion, the whole concept of change and cultural development was not so black-and-white in the colonial era. Although the colonialists thought that the Africans were in a lower state in evolution, and although they wished certain changes to happen in the living and working of the natives, all changes were not considered good. As Ranger points out, the whites were afraid of too fast and big changes. He notes that some of the whites started to feel dislike towards the consequences which the changes had effected.[401] Although there were changes happening both internally and externally within the tribes, cultures and cultural origins were seen to be in definite connection with the tribes. In the reports, cultural lines did thus indicate the consistency of a tribe and a distinct culture, although the role of cultures was not highlighted as much as the role of political organising and the area inhabited was.

5. Consistency of tribes and ethnic groups

5.1. Political organising

> "The only form of Native Authority natural to them is the head of the *Manyatta*, both chiefs and native tribunals being entirely artificial creations and as a consequence the former have very little authority and the latter need constant supervision and education as to their duties".[402]

The above reference discussing the Suk is taken from the administrative report from year 1924. It leads us to the questions about the consistency of native hierarchy based on the colonial regime and the organisations which existed before indirect rule. As it clearly shows that the administrators noted also the faulty of chieftainship within some of the tribes, the questions *how* the idea of politically organised tribes was connected to the idea of traditional native groups rises. Although for Lugard chiefs and their local support was one of the first

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[401] Ranger 1983, 251.
[402] NAD 1924, 8.

rules in indirect rule[403], many of the chiefs working in Kenya were not chosen nor even respected by the local tribes. Without the natives' obedience towards the chiefs and the chiefs' obedience towards the British hierarchies, the chiefs were useless for the indirect rule. This was a big dilemma to the structure. Without a trusted leader the British officers could not really work among the locals and on the other hand the chiefs were of no good without the support from below. Further on, the locals did not get their voice up without a chief who would work for them.[404]

Tignor notes that at first the administrators had the assumption that all the African tribes had an individual leading figure, a chief, to rule them. Because of this, the colonialists also sought such individuals to put in lead of the tribes. Although Tignor claims that the administrators eventually noted that most of the Kenyan tribes did not have traditionally individual chief-like leaders, they retained the post of the chiefs because it was convenient for the indirect rule. As this indicates, there were also differences between the roles of the chiefs between different tribes. Tignor writes that within the Kikuyu the chiefs played a strong part but within the Maasais and Kambas their role stayed smaller. The chiefs affected especially to the changed inside the Kikuyu society, for example in the spheres of economics and politics. Tignor also continues that the Kikuyu chiefs were especially important in the development of education and wage labouring. Because the Kikuyu were more cooperative in these spheres with the colonial government, they were also closer to it than the Maasais and Kambas, who stayed thus more autonomous.[405] Furthermore, about the Maasais Tignor notes, that when the Maasai reserve was established, the administrators tried to structure similar administrative hierarchy to the reserve as existed elsewhere in the colony. As the Maasais failed to respond to the demands, the role of the chiefs, tribunals and Local Native Councils stayed stillborn. However, as Tignor continues, as the young Maasai *morans* were competing in their bands for leadership position, the colonial regime started to use this native way with the indirect administration. When these individuals became elders, they also started to work as the chiefs in the indirect rule.[406]

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[403] Lugard 1965, 220.
[404] Lonsdale 1989, 7.
[405] Tignor 1976, 42. For example none of the groups Tignor is discussing in his book, the Kikuyu, Kamba and Maasai had chiefs before the indirect rule. Tignor 1976, 3.
[406] Tignor 1976, 63.

Apart from the Maasai *morans*, the nearest status of people to be called a chief was found in the western Kenya, among the Luos and Luhyas. In Lonsdales account, everywhere else the local groups did not have a hierarchical status of a chief.[407] From these two the Luhyas were a tribe clearly formed by the administrators as I will discuss later. The fact that the chiefs did not exist in the pre-colonial groups in Kenya was noticed also after 1924. The report from 1926 referred that among the Turkana the leadership was traditionally entrusted to councils of elders.[408] Also the struggle that the administrators were going through to organise the natives can be seen in the reports, and for example in 1935 there is a note about how the widely spread tribes were tried to be pulled together under a local authority.[409] As the chiefs did not have traditional grounds for their status, the selection had been done in other ways. Both Berman and Lonsdale have noted that there were many chiefs and headmen who were actually the former African servants of the British in the colony and had thus nothing to do with the traditional native political leadership. Berman however continues that later on more and more efforts were put to the appointment of chiefs.[410]

There was thus a change happening during the twenty years in the appointment of chiefs and more so, in the duties of them. At first the colonialists put the chiefs into a minor role as tax collectors but after the First World War the chiefs got more and more duties and at the same time their independence decreased. This also distinguished them more from the local people.[411] This chance was discussed also in the reports. The weakness of the native authorities was noticed by the British but it was also noted that the chiefs were at fault because they lacked personality[412]. The personality came up quite often in the reports and it was one of the reasons the British had for the failure of the institute of chiefs. As the tribes lacked proper leaders, the British continued to look for "outstanding personalities".[413] Thus the reports note the difference between "real chiefs" and the ones that did not have authority[414].

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[407] Lonsdale 1989, 13.
[408] NAD 1926, 30.
[409] NAD 1935, 9.
[410] Berman 1990, 54; Berman and Lonsdale 1992a, 87.
[411] Maxon 1994, 197.
[412] NAD 1936, 21.
[413] NAD 1930, 20.
[414] NAD 1928, 32.

What complicates the situation even more is the variety of ways how the administrators used the terms chief and headman. Hailey (1979b) points out that at the time the terms chief and headmen were confused and for example people with the actual status of a headmen were called chiefs[415]. However, no matter how the leaders were called, the locals usually refused to acknowledge them. In the report from 1930 the commissioner was complaining that the natives were doing all they could to get rid of the headmen coming outside of the group.[416] Furthermore, the relations between locals and their official leader were described in the reports as "strained"[417], and even anxiousness to break away from the influence of the chief was noted in the reports[418]. In these kinds of situations, in some cases, the chiefs got assistant chiefs, more closely selected among the people[419].

When it comes to the Tribunals, Berman writes that their status was similar in the indirect rule than that of the chiefs. They were not born in direct development from the traditional ways of working in the native groups, but more so, they worked as integral part of the colonial rule. Anyhow, Berman also adds that for a minority in the native groups, these new ways of domination were a way to gain power and wealth, which they would not have gotten before indirect rule.[420] Tignor continues from the idea of additional power. He emphasises the amount of natives, who were interested about these new possibilities provided by the foreign rule and were thus willing to collaborate with the British.[421] He also notes that especially the Kikuyu chiefs were active in using this new power in their position within the tribe. They established para-administrative and military organisations and used them to get through changes which were favoured by the colonialists. Tignor notes that these kinds of action led fast to the corruption, and even to struggles within the colonial hierarchy.[422]

In some cases the foreign administration structures also strengthened the power of the local officers. In Nyanza Province a chief was noted to create disorder with the tribes in his location – the Luo and the Bantu, which were not defined clearer – and used the faction for

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[415] Hailey 1979b, 93.
[416] NAD 1930, 6.
[417] NAD 1936, 7.
[418] NAD 1935, 5.
[419] NAD 1930, 7.
[420] Berman 1990, 216.
[421] Tignor 1976, 21.
[422] Tignor 1976, 53.

his own support.[423] The district commissioner from West Suk had noticed that by actually electing elders to the tribunal from the village elders, the tribunals would be closer to the local customs and the units would also get more popular.[424] There were even cases where the British were claiming that elders working in the tribunals were ignorant of the native customary laws[425], although in other cases the traditionalism of the tribunals was highlighted[426]. With the Suk, the Native Tribunal was not even established, because it was noted that the concept of it would have been too strange to the natives. Instead the local matters were disputed by the Elders of the *Manyattas*.[427]

In the case of the Local Native Councils, the supposed consistency of the local groups and official political organs – which were equal with the tribes – was again interesting. But the British also admitted their faults, time to time, and the individual cases were also tried to be solved. For example the two councils, Elgeyo and Marakwet were established separately because of the assumption that they formed two different tribes, the Elgeyo and the Marakwet. Since the British found out that the people themselves – according to the reports – considered being part of the same group and the Marakwet preferred to be called Elgeyo as well, also the councils were amalgamated to each other. During the very same year another amalgamation took place, now the members of the council wanted to get together with another council, but in this case deeper surveys of the ethnic relations were not mentioned.[428]

It is wrong to assume that the role of indirect rule as a changing factor in relation to the chiefs and their status among the locals had not been noticed during the colonial times. A lecturer of colonial administration from the London School of Economics, Doctor L. P. Mair (1936) wrote in *Africa* that in preserving chieftainship the British might overlook the degree in which the modern circumstances are changing it.[429] Anyhow, Mair was one of the persons who raised the question of the local response to indirect rule up. When the structure of chiefs got wider, the locals adapted the idea of having someone speaking for them to the British. This was one of the things the British called "growth of clan consciousness". The population also wanted the chief to be from their own group, someone they knew and trusted. Chiefs from

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[423] NAD 1928, 6.
[424] NAD 1935, 54.
[425] NAD 1935, 51.
[426] NAD 1930, 36.
[427] NAD 1925, 18.
[428] NAD 1931, 27-28.
[429] Mair 1936, 306.

other clans or groups were disliked. The locals wanted even each clan and sub-clans to have assistant chiefs if the full chiefs were not required.[430] These kinds of attempts to get a chief to the groups which were not officially recognised were in connection with the wider political attempts in relation to the structures of indirect rule. Different groups started claiming for independence through their own chief or through some other official channels. The Abatura people for example established their own tribunal after their requests for a chief had been rejected.[431]

Mair noted also to the wider discussion about the existence of chiefs. In his view, "---many administrations which purport to have adopted Indirect Rule have not looked beyond one single factor in the native institutions concerned, namely the hereditary principle."[432] Mair wrote in the general level, and he noted that all the European colonial governments, which used the concept of local leaders somehow in their rule, gave the chiefs new duties which did not belong to their duties before. Mair also points out the chief's position as the subordinate of the British rule.[433] Beneath these claims Mair anyhow has the assumption of traditional chiefs working for the indirect rule.

As the concept of a tribe was fluent and gave space to the multidimensional definitions of these groups, it was also easier to connect it to the variety of native groupings existing in Kenya in the colonial era. The concept of the chief was the most difficult one as the Kenyans did not follow individual leaders as such before the indirect rule. However, in twenty years the role of the chiefs within both the indirect rule and within the natives changed and the native chiefs became more and more influential. There were varieties between different tribes, but in general the chiefs became more recognised within the natives and they also got more power from the British administrators. The administrators were also flexible and, as the example of the Maasais shows, learning more about the natives helped also the colonialists to develop the administrative structure to work within the native lines. Flexible use of the native structures and development of the concept of a chief enabled the working of the indirect rule. Too rigid use of leaders chosen from the natives would have otherwise done more damage to the colonial rule, than helped it.

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[430] Examples of chiefs requested for groups which were not officially tribes: NAD 1933, 4-5; NAD 1936, 7 and 9.
[431] NAD 1932, 6.
[432] Mair 1936, 310.
[433] Mair 1936, 312-313.

Chiefs were also important definition for the tribes and thus the concept was not readily discarded. Even though the administrators clearly noticed that the supposed political units did not exist, the structure with native leaders working in the colonial hierarchy still continued. This persistence to keep up the idea of chiefs and politically structured tribes shows the value of political organising for the British administrators. Indirect rule needed the chiefs to work and thus the concept of tribe was built on the existence of these chiefs.

5.2. Territories

Like many scholars have already noted, the political territorial units of indirect rule did not correspond with the existing social lines in Kenya. Even the colonialists did not consider the districts to match completely with the tribes and in many cases they were reporting which different tribes were living in a certain district. In the Gurreh district for example there was the main tribe of Gurreh, but also a number of smaller tribes or sections of tribes, which were living also in the areas of other districts[434]. Another example is from the Embu district where the Embu were considered to be the oldest inhabitants, and the Mbere, the Chuka and the Wimbe, - which was a section of the Meru – the newer ones.[435] The difficulty in matching administrative, tribal territories to the reality had its roots in the pre-colonial times and in the constant movement of people. Ambler writes from the example of the Migwani society that first of all in the pre-colonial times communities were not defined in territorial terms and secondly that the aggregation of relationships was far more important than distinct areas. Even when there were noticeable areas, the extent of those continually fluctuated through the movements of people.[436]

However, the tribal territories were also considered stable and clearly delimited units. The Kikuyu 'penetration' to the Maasai Reserve was disapproved[437] and "The Turkana living in Samburu" were considered a problem[438]. Apart from the rather stable tribes, the case of the

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[434] NAD 1928, 32.
[435] NAD 1928, 9.
[436] Ambler 1988, 18-19.
[437] NAD 1935, 22; NAD 1936, 23 and 38.
[438] NAD 1926, 17.

nomadic tribes made the situation even more difficult. In consequence, the Northern Frontier Province rose up as a case of its own. The province consisted – as the reports indicate – a wide diversity of small tribes. Despite the disjointedness of the tribes, the officers had done some work to define the territories of the tribes living in the Province and furthermore, in comparing the information with the administrative units. Sections of tribes were living in number of different districts and there is a long list in the report from 1928 trying to organise the tribes and their sections territorially. For example in Wajir District there were living Ogaden Somalis and sections of some other tribes and in the Telemugger District there were living the Telemugger section of the Galla and some "river tribes". Even the district that was named after the Samburu was not inhabited only by them.[439] When it comes to the movements, the reports consisted a lot to complaints from the northerly provinces. Mainly they emphasised the movements of the Turkana, although they also noted the other tribes. The Turkana lived in the areas meant for others and as the commissioner wrote, "it is not easy to anchor them". The movement made administration difficult and especially the penetration of the Turkana to other administrative areas was considered a problem. The establishment of agricultural activities to the area was hoped to be a solution for the movements.[440] Also the Suk moved around and did not care about the administrative units according to the reports. The "unauthorised movements" continued from area to another and was considered to have been worsened by their other nomadic habits.[441]

The differences did not exist only in between official tribes and their official areas. Omosule (1989) writes about the case of the Nandi-speaking peoples from the point of view of language groups. The administrative areas did not correspond to the language groups either, and the people speaking one language may have lived in the area of several different districts and even provinces.[442] As languages and tribes were closely joined in the reports, these kinds of differences were not mentioned in the reports.

The differences between tribes and their official areas were seen also in the clashes that occurred between natives and the administration over the native areas. The reports bring up examples of the conflicts between the administrative areas and the areas the natives thought to

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[439] NAD 1928, 26-27.
[440] NAD 1936, 17-18.
[441] NAD 1924, 8.
[442] Omosule 1989, 76.

belong to themselves. The case of the Kikuyu is one of the most known. The European settlers spread mainly to the areas which the Kikuyu had inhabited earlier and the sudden overcrowding brought new arrangements for the Kikuyu. The followed dissatisfaction of the Kikuyu was noted for example in 1936, when the Land Commission had suggested an area for the landless Kikuyus to live in[443]. The followed political unrests within the Kikuyu are considered to be partly a consequence of these land quarrels[444]. There is also a note about the Suk and Karamoja who were claiming for the land from Turkana. The question was about 45 miles (approximately 72 kilometres) which the Suk claimed for themselves.[445]

The neither administrative nor tribal lines established by the administrators were static. Although the indirect rule was based on certain stability, the administrative boarders were changed several times during the interwar period. There were also some tribes which were moved from one area to another[446]. In 1933 the Kikuyu and Ukamba provinces were united into a new Central Province and the districts within the new province were also reorganised[447]. The Kikuyus were pushed from their areas to the less populated areas of their "kindred tribes". These changes were for "general good", although some disadvantages, like the worry of the other tribes for their land, were also noted.[448] For the colonialists, the change of people and territories like this was good if it was started by the British. In comparison, and as I have already discussed, the independent movements of the natives were disliked in the reports.

The difference between the tribes and their areas is especially noticeable in the way statistics and general discussions were based in the reports. Although there were clear administrative units, many notes were made of the tribes, not of the inhabitants of certain areas[449]. This seems first illogical as the natives could have been more easily followed through practical, geographical borders, but one has to remember the connection between the Natives Affairs Department and the labour supply in the colony. Now, although the administrative lines divided natives in a concrete way, tribal divisions helped the colonialists and settlers to define

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[443] NAD 1936, 11.
[444] Maxon 1994, 203.
[445] NAD 1935, 40.
[446] Move of the Laibons from Kericho District to South Kavirondo, NAD 1936, 9; move of the Uasin Gishu Maasai from Kisokon to Mara area in Maasai reserve, NAD 1925, 17.
[447] NAD 1933, 9.
[448] NAD 1934, 9.
[449] See for example NAD 1929, 108; NAD 1932, 161; NAD 1933, 146 and NAD 1935, 233.

and characterise the natives. The employers needed especially the information about characters, working abilities and attitudes, which were connected to the tribes, not the areas. By writing about tribes instead of the areas the administrators also show that they did not see the tribes and their areas as equal as they should have been.

5.3. Identity

Basically there are two ways of contemplating identity and the consistency of tribes and ethnic groups through it. Some of the scholars, like Cohen and Odhiambo (1988), claim that the identity of tribes and other groups were reinforced by the administrative units[450] whereas there are also studies saying that tribal identity existed also in the pre-colonial times. Although the first point of view has more support than the latter one, there are also some following the idea of pre-colonial tribal history. According to Justin Willis (1992), for example, identity of the level of tribes or ethnic groups did actually have some importance in pre-colonial times in some parts of East Africa. In his text about the north-eastern Tanzania, he refers to the hidden implications of tribal identities before European influence.[451]

In the reports there are several examples of situations where there was confusion between the natives and their supposed tribes. Especially the case of the Kavirondo District is noticeable. In the reports the area is considered to be Kavirondo and when it comes to the people living in there, the reports usually refer to Bantu Kavirondo[452] or Nilotic Kavirondo[453] without further explanation which tribes the reports are noting to. The tribes of the area were in general handled in a very loose way. The Bantu Kavirondo were seen as widely scattered clans, impossible to *reunite*, although the reports claim them having will for that.[454] In the report from 1928, the unclearness of the people was bypassed by the notion that because of the "lack of some more exact designation", they are called Bantu Kavirondo.[455] The British were long in search for the name of the people in the Kavirondo area. Cohen and Odhiambo write that

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[450] Cohen and Odhiambo 1988, 32.
[451] Willis 1992, 193-195.
[452] For example in NAD 1932, 8.
[453] For example NAD 1934, 15.
[454] NAD 1932, 5-8.
[455] NAD 1928, 5.

many possibilities from WaKavirondo, WaPagaya, Waruguru to Jaluo were directed to the Nilotic people in the area and one theory is that the proto-elites of the people started to identify themselves to outsiders as the Luo. The Maasai had a strong part in the creation of the name and contacts between the people now called Luo and British. The writers claim that the first Luo words recorded to the western literature were provided by the Maasai. The name Luo was also pushed by the Maasai who were in contact with the early traders and administrators. It was the 1920s when the name Luo started to be used wider among the people themselves.[456] In the reports the name Luo is used from the beginning coherently through the 1920s and 1930s, although it was mentioned quite seldom. Sometimes only the name Kavirondo is mentioned[457]. The concept of these Kavirondo tribes[458] is thus not very clear. It referred to the area and the people living there, with the notion of their wider ethnic contacts, the Bantu and the Nilotic.

From the Kavirondo we get to the concept of Luhyas. The Luhyas were neighbouring Luos and Kisiis and were in close connection with the concept of Kavirondo. Luhyas are also the most famous example given by the scholars about the creation of tribes both in Kenya and within the whole Africa. As the British called the area and the people living there *Kavirondo*, also the people there started to adopt the name, but mostly when referring to the area, not to themselves. The word Luhya is probably meant for all the Bantu Kavirondo.[459] The name Luhya comes from the Maasai, the old rivals of these people. The Maasai word behind the name means enemy and the British started to use the name for the populations they had earlier referred to as Bantu Kavirondo.[460] In 1967 a Kenyan historian, Bethwell Ogot (1967), wrote about the origins of the people known now as the Luhya, and referred to the history of the people by writing that it was the North Kavirondo Central Association that first adopted the name Baluyia. Nonetheless, at the time the name was rejected by the elders and eventually it was only after the Second World War that the name started to be generally used.[461] Southall concludes from these studies and from his own experience that the Luhyas came into existence as a tribe somewhere in between 1935 and 1945. Southall also writes that the

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[456] Cohen and Odhiambo 1988, 33.
[457] NAD 1929, 57.
[458] For example NAD 1934, 177.
[459] Southall 1997, 42-43. In the text Southall refers to Günther Wagner and his study The Bantu of North Kavirondo from 1949 (London).
[460] Lonsdale 1989, 19. In Southall's text another explanation – again referring to Wagner - is given, in which olu-hia means the fire place where the old men of the clans met every day to discuss events and news. Southall 1997, 43.
[461] Ogot 1967, 138-139.

creation of the tribe was in contact to the previous organisation as the North Kavirondo Central Association and Bantu Kavirondo Tax-payers' Association and the general administrative frame in Kenya. Furthermore, Southall notes that the group of Samia were as much Luhya as the others related to the tribe when it comes to the language and culture, but as they scattered both to the areas of Uganda and Kenya and in Kenya furthermore in Central district instead of the North Nyanza where the other Luhyas lived, they were dropped from the tribe.[462] In the reports Luhyas were not mentioned in the 1920s and 1930s at all and the people of the area were noted to as Kavirondo or Bantu Kavirondo.

There were also other cases in Kenya where the people of the tribe did not identify themselves with the name of the tribe. In these cases the British failed to notice the possible meaning of the name itself. As in the case of the Kamba, the Kamba speakers in the 19th century used the word *Akamba* in relation to the place to mean the people who lived there. For example people of Migwani were seen as *Akamba a Migwani*. Local or tribal identity was not in connection with the word as such.[463] These misunderstandings happened everywhere in British Africa and for example Southall notes to Nigeria, where the name Yoruba was taken from the neighbouring tribes. The word was used to mean trickiness by the natives. Yorubas themselves do not recognise themselves to be Yorubas, but refer to other tribal names, like Oyo and Ifena.[464]

However, there were also cases where approximately the right people were gathered inside one tribe. Omosule writes that the Kalenjins[465] should actually have had a common name earlier because they had their own traditions and culture. Anyhow they started to be called the Kalenjin only in the 1950s. He writes that the administrators called them earlier the "Nandi-related peoples" or the "Nandi-speaking tribes" instead of recognising that they were an individual unit.[466] Omosule is also using the term 'Kalenjinization' in his article about Kalenjin and the formulation of the group. He emphasises the administrative structures which were in essential role in the creation of the group Kalenjin.[467] For Omosule this is very

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[462] Southall 1997, 42.
[463] Ambler 1988, 32.
[464] Southall 1997, 43.
[465] Kalenjins are seen to be formed of eight different groups, which are the Kipsigis, Nandi, Elgeiyo, Marakwet, Pokot, Kamasia, Terik and Sabaot. See Omosule 1989, 76.
[466] Omosule 1989, 75.
[467] Omosule 1989, 81.

interesting point of view, because he emphasises the naturalness of the Kalenjin through their culture, but on the other hand highlights the administration which eventually created the tribe.

Another example is from the Tana River, where the Boni lived. In the reports it was noted that the Boni actually called themselves the Wata.[468] These differences were in a strange way sidestepped, or better to say, they were not cared about. Another example of this kind of an attitude was the text about West Suk District, inhabited by the Suk, "or to give them their *real name* the Pokwot".[469] The same happened with the 'Korokoro tribe', of which the district commissioner wrote that "[t]hey call themselves Munyo, a word also used by all the other tribes in the district when speaking of them."[470] The report does not tell from where the officers had got these names, or why the names Suk and Korokoro were used, although the real name was admitted to be something else. Further on, also the form of the names changed during the time. In 1932 the provincial commissioner was still writing about the Suk, "or Pokoot as they call themselves"[471] as it later changed into the form of Pokwot.

In the articles in *Africa* the anthropologists referred often to the interpretations of the Africans about themselves and furthermore, to the group identities within the African groups. For example Eiselen (1928) wrote in his article about the disapprovals between two groups.[472] Lestrade on the other hand noted the rules in marriage between two of the tribes he was studying. According to the article the women from Venda tribe were allowed to marry Lemba men, but the Lemba women were not allowed to marry men from the Venda.[473] In Kenya the administrators noted a special clan or tribal consciousness rising and this was discussed especially in the early 1930s. The Galla were according to the reports developing their own identity[474] and also things like 'inter-clan jealousy'[475] were reported. A special clan consciousness was discussed in 1933 in a more negative tone since it was connected with the rising disorder inside the colonial administration.[476]

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[468] NAD 1934, 33.
[469] NAD 1928, 15-16. Italics in the quote are mine.
[470] NAD 1934, 33.
[471] NAD 1932, 33.
[472] Eiselen 1928, 421.
[473] Lestrade 1930, 307.
[474] NAD 1931, 23.
[475] NAD 1933, 41.
[476] NAD 1933, 4-5.

There were also contrasting notes about the idea of tribal identity in the reports. The Kikuyus were considered *too* conscious about their own tribe to the extent that they had "astonishingly little knowledge of any tribe but their own". The want for something "essentially Kikuyu" was handled with a hint of irony and contempt by the British. This shows especially in the sentence where the administrators describe the will of the Kikuyu to learn by saying that the Kikuyu were "too pleased" with themselves to concentrate on learning.[477] This is also interesting because although the tribes were seen as firm local units, the strong tribal identity was still regarded in a negative way. This also indicates that the tribal units and the concept of tribes were seen by the colonialists to be bigger part of the indirect rule than traditional units. Lonsdale comments the case of the Kikuyu by proposing that the Kikuyu were a potential nation rather than family of lineages. [478] Gulliver wrote in 1969, that the Kikuyu had no such unity in pre-colonial times as after that, and the area was inhabited by more or less autonomous communities with distinguished customs and dialects. These 'groupings' amalgamated eventually into the tribe Kikuyu.[479] Such groups as the Kikuyu were thus not *creations* of indirect rule as such, but they were particularly *tribes* of it.

When it comes to the tribal identity existing during the interwar period, the British were keenly highlighting the bad relations between different tribes. In the reports there are several examples of tribal enmities or even intertribal fights. The Degodia were for example noted to be enemies of the Gurreh[480], the Samburu with the Suk[481], the Kamasia with the Njemps[482] and the Turkana with the Rendille[483]. Furthermore, also intertribal raids were highlighted. For example the Lumbwa raided the Maasai and vice versa[484] and the Loita raided the Wasukuma[485]. The bad relations were noted also in the labour market. For example the district commissioner from Marsabit, Northern Frontier Province, wrote that the Turkana and Meru could not work together without fights.[486] The colonialists were also afraid that quarrels might start over water holes or over other practical things of the kind.[487] And since the tribes were shown as individual units which were mainly in bad terms with each other, the peaceful

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[477] NAD 1928, 8.
[478] Lonsdale 1989, 11.
[479] Gulliver 1969, 22.
[480] NAD 1925, 14; NAD 1926, 24.
[481] NAD 1925, 15.
[482] NAD 1936, 19.
[483] NAD 1934, 31.
[484] NAD 1933, 22.
[485] NAD 1936, 22.
[486] NAD 1935, 166.
[487] NAD 1935, 30.

situations were brought up in an astounded tone. In the reports from 1936 the peacefulness in Mombasa was marvelled. Because there were living many different tribes in the town, it was noticeable for the administrators that all these tribes lived in peace with each other[488]. There was also one peace ceremony introduced in the reports. It happened in 1934 between the Merille and the Turkana, and the basics of the ceremony were presented in the report.[489] Also in some other cases improvements in tribal relations were noted[490] and the influence of administrative or colonial forces was also often mentioned in the connection[491].

Apart from intertribal enmities there was one interesting notion in the reports about intratribal enmities. In 1928 one case like this was reported, when two sections of the Rendille were constantly in bad terms with each other.[492] This toughens the idea of the multilevel identities, emphasised for example by Ambler. In his example from central Kenya, there was some rough correspondence between some of the pre-colonial populations and present-day ethnic groups, but he also notes that this does not mean that the pre-colonial groups would have identified themselves according to the group as such. More so, Ambler suggests that the pre-colonial people identified themselves more according to the smaller local units, societies and social connections within the area inhabited.[493] Ranger (1985) goes along with Ambler in his writing about Zimbabwe. There were no ethnic groups as such and if there were some sort of groupings, the people at least did not consider to have belonged to a certain ethnicity or a tribe.[494]

The external structuring of tribes and their status comes up also in the discussion about Arabs. The administrators refused to grand tribes the status of Arabs[495] which clearly shows how strongly tribes and even ethnicity was in connection to the outside, colonial definitions. There were also cases when the natives did not recognise at all the tribal structures in which they were divided to. For example Willis is writing about the Mijikenda, a tribe that was *invented* in the 1930s and 1940s. Willis notes that the Mijikenda were divided into nine tribes and

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[488] NAD 1936, 20.
[489] NAD 1934, 35-36.
[490] The relation between Ndia-Kichugu and the Embu-Embere, NAD 1933, 12.
[491] For example the magnitude of the police force in peace keeping between the Maasai and Lumbwa, see NAD 1932, 22 and the presence of the King's African Rifles patrol in the fights between the Suk and the Samburu, NAD 1928, 28.
[492] NAD 1928, 28.
[493] Ambler 1988, 32.
[494] Ranger 1985, 4.
[495] NAD 1933, 14.

continues that the Mijikenda themselves did actually not always know what these nine tribes were[496].

In all, it is noticeable how much space tribal disturbances and discussions about intertribal relations and tribal identity got in the pages of the reports. For example the situation between the Merille and the Turkana was described quite widely in 1933.[497] The intertribal relations also brought up discussions and speculations about the natives and their connections in the reports. In the case between Somalis and the Galla the British officers doubted that the Somalis considered the Gallas as slaves, "although the Somalis carefully avoid the use of the word". The British saw the Somali concept of Gallas as "our children" as a euphemistic way of saying that the Gallas were slaves for the Somali. There was also the notion that the Somalis were marrying Galla women, although Gallas were not allowed to marry Somali women according to the Somali rules.[498]

Despise the notes about tribal identity in the reports, identity in the colonial times is very difficult to define. First of all there were no such things as being a Kenyan or African in the 19th and early 20th century Africa, into which one could compare the concept of being a member of a tribe.[499] Furthermore, people usually identified themselves to several different groups, which makes it more difficult for the researcher to get the general impression. Southall notes to an example where a clan living by the boundary between two different tribes announced to belong to both of them.[500] Anyhow, what is clear from the examples I have been discussing in this chapter, the identity was a far more multiple concept than what was required in the indirect rule and within the tribes. Although the concept of a tribe noted many different spheres of group existence, for example the language, culture and political organising, it did not give sphere for the individuals to move along the different lines of these modifiers. An individual had to belong to a tribe, and one tribe only, and movements, or multiple identities were not noted in the colonial administration. About this fluency and the interaction between native groups and the indirect rule I will discuss in the next chapter.

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[496] Willis 1993, 32.
[497] NAD 1933, 24-25.
[498] NAD 1931, 23.
[499] Southall 1997, 39.
[500] Southall 1997, 46-47.

5.4. Fluency

Many scholars have discussed the natural fluency between different social groups and the connections between different levels of social contacts in colonial Kenya. For example Ambler has given examples on how the local groups were constantly moving around their communal areas and who were thus also in constant interaction between other groups. According to him, people lived in small communities before the colonial rule. There were different levels of communality, as the kinship, territories and connections in different types of regional interchange, such as migration and trade.[501] Ambler has also introduced the contacts between the different groups in the highlands and plains of central Kenya. There was regional exchange happening in the area between the different communities with intermarriages, migration and trading of food, livestock and livestock products.[502] Ambler also noted to the Kamba who migrated and created new communities, all distinctive and autonomous.[503] Further on, Ambler continues with the Embu groups who similarly had their localised dialectal and cultural idiosyncrasies. A good example of the different "Embu" customs is model of the two different types of male circumcisions.[504]

Also Berman has noted the interaction between different tribes and he writes that between the nomads and sedentary pastoralists, there was trade and exchange of livestock and different goods happening. He also states to the different environmental phenomena, which affected famine or diseases, and which thus affected also to the growth of intertribal contacts. As he writes, the ethnic boundaries were "porous, with strangers securing entry by means of adoption, dept bondage and forms of clientship".[505] These peaceful trading connections were mainly bypassed in the reports, and there is only one occasion when they were noted. In 1935 it was mentioned that the Jie and the Turkana were in constant connections with each other. Jie were considered to be a sub-tribe of the Karamojong, but in practice they were in a close connection to the Turkana and for example made all the spears to them.[506] Also intermarriages stayed aside from the major subjects discussed in the reports, but they were

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[501] Ambler 1988, 156.
[502] See Ambler 1988, 57-67 and 74-122..
[503] Ambler 1988, 35-36.
[504] Ambler 1988, 45.
[505] Berman 1990, 50.
[506] NAD 1935, 40.

noted couple of times. For example in the 1920s the British had noticed inter-marriages between both the Karamojong and the Maasai with the Suk. Also many of the Maasai in Maasai Province had Kikuyu wives.[507]

Too close contacts and constant intermarrying was not only noted but it was also viewed with caution by the administration. For example the close contacts between the Suk and the Karamoja were considered a problem. The Suk adapted Karamoja customs, language and married their women.[508] The reports did not give any particular reasons for the condemnation of peaceful intertribal connections – especially as those were supported by the administration on paper – but the reasons can be found from the administrative control and even from the scientific stubbornness in the definitions. As I have already been discussing, the indirect rule needed stable tribes to work with and on the other hand, the scientific definition was easier and better structured with the notion of stable tribes. From my sources Lugard is the only one publicly noting the natural fluency between native groups and taking the consequences of the intertribal movements in account in his definitions. He discusses intermarriages in the *Dual Mandate* and notes that to become a member of an alien tribe comes into being only in the second generation after intermarriage.[509]

Migration was discussed in a far greater enthusiasm in the reports than the intermarriages or trade connections. Migration and uncontrollable movements constituted a menace to the colonial administration as the natives were thus not so easily administered. The intertribal movements were hence strictly fretted in the reports[510]. The same was seen with the separating groups in Kenya. Although the colonial rule also actually made some administrative reforms during the interwar years, especially with the administrative areas[511], the reports show clearly the attitude that the changes had to be started by the colonial rule, not by the natives. Especially the reports from 1935 handle more questions of separating units than before. There was for example the Wakolwe, who wanted to have a separate location, territory and political unit.[512] Again the Watachonyi and the Samia were clans in search for

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[507] NAD 1925, 14; NAD 1929, 59.
[508] NAD 1931, 24-25.
[509] Lugard 1965, 313.
[510] See chapter 4.2.
[511] NAD 1926, 7. See also chapter 4.2.
[512] NAD 1935, 6.

independent locations[513]. Usually this was in connection with the political influencing and the foreign chiefs. When there was a person ruling the tribe, who was not accepted by the tribal members, it affected to the separating actions. This happened for example in 1930 when the Widakho clan wanted to break from the influence of the chief they did not consider to be their own.[514] These kinds of cases were anyhow more noted than really discussed in the reports.

Also in the anthropological texts in *Africa* this fast social movement was seen. In many texts "tribal mixing" and the transfer of languages and cultural features were discussed. In these texts especially urbanisation and detribalisation were new points of view.[515] In some of the anthropological texts even new terms were created, as the *nube-izing* by Nadel with which he refers to the transfer of Nubi language and customs to the neighbouring tribes[516]. The veracity of the notion of stable tribes was in overall more discussed in the scientific articles than it was questioned in the reports.

The situations described in the reports and the discussion about native movements both in the reports and in *Africa* show that even if the administrators did not pay a lot of attention to the natural fluency between the native groups, it was at least noted. Furthermore, the native responds to colonial rule indicate to the growing interaction between the natives and the colonial administration. First of all the natives had to bend to the administrative units and work within the tribal structure to be able to control their lives. As the natives demanded recognition for clans and chiefs, attempted to border the communal areas to match them with the native identity, traditions and, on the other hand, with the indirect rule, all show that during the twenty years the natives responded more and more within the administrative limits of the foreign rule. On the other hand the British were not completely blind for the pre-colonial native structures. Anyhow, although the corrective actions the British made in Kenya, the basic idea of stable tribal units still can be seen through the two decades. Both in the reports and in the articles in *Africa* the will to find the origins of tribes was very visible. This also confused the use of the terms as the term tribe was not flexible enough to meet the ideas of new, amalgamated groups and usually these kinds of groups were called with different terms. For example the term community was used in this way and for instance the

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[513] NAD 1935, 7.
[514] NAD 1930, 7.
[515] See for example Richards 1935 and Hellmann 1935.
[516] Nadel 1935, 258.

Taveta were considered to be a community because the group had mixed origin[517]. The terminological flexibility was of course affecting only the internally amalgamated groups. The tribes created by British, like the Luhya, were surely recognised.

As Ambler writes, the foreign rule gave a basic ground for the evolution of tribes but after all "it was the local men and women who created and refined the new concepts of tribe"[518]. Lentz and Nugent (2000) agree in their article. The rise of the tribes was not completely British innovation, and the locals had their part in it as well. As a whole, it was fluent interaction between the two parties, structured by the British and moulded by the Africans. The natives in Kenya soon learned to use the administrative units and the concept of tribe culturally and politically to their own interests.[519] In simple terms, there was the interaction going on between the native groups themselves, the notion of this by the administrators, the creation of tribes and the interaction that started between the tribes, native groups and the British. Each of these affected to the others and created an ongoing movement which shaped the term of tribe, the native groups and the way the British saw the Africans.

6. Conclusions: Why the term tribe was needed?

Discussing the terminology behind terms tribe and tribalism was most of all a personal goal for me. After spending a year in southern Kenya and starting my studies of general history in Joensuu University I met the challenging mixture of the use of these terms. What were the tribes – as they called themselves – which I met in Kenya, and why was I told afterwards that these tribes did not actually exist? Finding the answer to this basic question took most of the time of my studying years, but for me, it was all worth it. Although my thesis will not answer to the greater question about the true existence of tribes and tribalism, I wish it clears at least one corner of the question. By explaining the roots of the use of the term I want to set up grounds for future discussions.

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[517] NAD 1931, 14.
[518] Ambler 1988, 154.
[519] Lentz and Nugent 2000, 5.

I have studied the indirect rule and the terminological use of the term tribe mainly through the history of ideas, attitudes towards Africans and through the ongoing comparison of Africans and Europeans that existed at the time. Although the scholars of history have debated tribalism and its course towards the present day tribalism – which is again studied mainly by the sociologists, social scientists and anthropologists – I was not able to find a clear definition for the term nor a consistent way of discussing tribes from the different sources. However, the subject has been debated, as I discussed in my first chapters, and the most important theories for me were the ones that connected indirect rule and the creation of tribes.

It is important to note that Kenya is one of the striking examples of differences between British rule and local realities. As I discussed, especially Hailey noted that the way Kenya colony was ruled was actually not in consistency with the theoretical frame Lugard had pictured, nor in direct relation with the practices in Uganda and Nigeria. As in every colony in Africa, there was not much information available about the local people and thus the colonial administrators had to take the position of semi-explorers to accumulate knowledge about Africa. So the administrators also became amateur anthropologists and started to write down their experiences about the natives.

The reports were the official channel to exchange information about the poorly known subordinates in the colony. The white men had to live and work in a strange continent among people they had a lot of suspicion and prejudice, but little information about. The reports gave them some kind of guidelines about the most important and frightening part of their post: the natives. The smallest bits of information – no matter how poorly reasoned - were still something. The reports could be seen as channels for the young, badly educated officers to exchange their experience and to support each other. The attitude shines out in the reports, and the complaints of the people the writer was living with can be read between the lines. All strange characters were noted and wondered about. Although the reports were first of all official notes on the administrative deeds accomplished in the colony, the reports were also characteristically notes on individual officers' experiences and wonderings. These notes were also affected by the long distances between the administrators and on the other hand, between the administrators and the locals. This first of all set the administration in different districts apart but on the other hand the history of ideas combined the administrators' ideas about the natives.

Furthermore, the reports were a way to get information about the natives for the European employers in the colony. This connection between the labour market and the colony's economic life was one of the leading lines in the reports and it seems that it also characterised the way tribes were defined and what qualifiers were highlighted in the definition of tribes. Stereotypes about personal skills and nature rose to a special role as the employers needed information of tribes they should hire.

Tribes were the most used term in the reports to define the natives and it was used in all the cases where the Africans were discussed. For example labour supply and criminal statistics as well as native characteristics were all discussed with the term tribe. Tribe was not only an administrative term for the subordinate units; it was also used to describe the stereotypes and characteristics of the natives. In this way it got a more human form and this shows that it was sincerely connected to the idea of pre-colonial, traditional native groups.

Also anthropological studies affected to the definition. In the scientific field, scholars did not agree on the definition of a tribe and corrections were made already in between the wars. Especially the role of political organising divided the opinions. For the colonialists the tribes were kinds of counter-powers to each other in colonial rule and the administration worked as the dividing force in between the tribes. The fluency of the term can be seen for example in its use to describe the "top tribes", the tribes and even the "sub tribes". Race and tribe were seen to be more similar whereas communities were usually connected to smaller or "more developed" groups.

The existence of tribes was in direct connection to the existence of indirect rule in Kenya. Tribes were created to present the administrative units on which the whole administrative system was based on. In the hierarchy of indirect rule the basic units were the tribes, lead by their chiefs. The whole system worked through these units and control was directed towards the natives through the tribal chiefs. This also started to affect to the natives and already in the 1920s there were occasions when the natives started actively work within the given structures. Thus the indirect rule in Kenya soon developed into a constant interaction between the British and the Africans and offered a new ground for the evolution of Lugard's doctrine.

As well as being a part of the colonial administration, the tribes were also the basic unit for the administrators to handle the natives. This can be seen in many different things, such as

registration, communal punishments and stereotypes. The ongoing scientific discussion supported the used terms and the idea of communal unity within Kenyans. Although the descriptions about tribal characteristics diminished during the twenty years, they still existed the whole time and strong stereotypes were connected to the tribes. The stereotypes were also in close connection with the idea of developing humankind and especially different livelihoods were connected to the idea of savage, stupid, lazy or agriculturally minded and hard working natives. The number and scale of native contacts, natives from other tribes and the information given by them all affected the stereotypes. The abstract stereotypes were seldom reasoned, although examples were given every now and then. The stereotypes were in direct connection with the "practical advices" shared by the European administrators. Furthermore, especially livelihoods were connected to different stereotypes, and the European style was connected to the intelligence of the native tribes. Over all, the stereotypes worked as the basic structuring of the subordinates. The stereotypes helped both the administrators in the indirect rule but also the white settlers and employers in the labour market. Arrangements were made for the "good tribes" to allow them to work.

As the indirect rule worked as a huge political organ in Kenya colony, the smaller units of it had to be political as well. The tribes were first and foremost political units inside the European administration. In the anthropological point of view the political organisation of tribes was seen more as an artificial way to form groups in comparison to cultural ethnic groups, but in the reports tribes were seen as the units following a tribal leader, the chief. Thus to belong to a tribe meant to belong to the smallest administrative unit in the colonial structure although the expectation that all tribes had tribal leaders also created problems. The chiefs were not trusted, and the tribes that were scattered to wide areas were difficult to connect under one distinct rule in a specified area. Anyhow the role of the chiefs grew towards the 1930s. Like the chiefs, also the tribunals and local native councils were an integral part of the colonial rule and working in these political units brought an opportunity for the natives to gain power and wealth in the colony.

The Europeans saw the Africans as counter people to themselves, Europeans having nations and cultures where as Africans had tribes and no cultures. The whole continent was seen to be "part of the nature", without speakable languages or industrial ways of supporting oneself. The development was however noted during the 20 years in the reports and the descriptions of tribes in the 1920s changed in the 1930s to the depiction of them towards the better

livelihoods and manners. Although the reports bring up the idea of civilising natives in Africa, the administrators were anyhow worried of making the Africans "bad imitations of the Europeans". The difference between the Europeans and Africans was thus still highlighted and the administrators wanted to keep the gap between the peoples of the two continents noticeable.

The evolution towards higher civilisation was highly connected to the structuring of tribes. It also highlighted the most important variants of defining the tribe: stable life in a certain area and political organisation. Further on evolutionism also brought up the livelihood which was more in connection with the economic development of the colony. For example Lugard highlighted the political organising, ownership and written language in evolutional progress. The political organisation played a big role also in the reports, but also industriousness and the skills in the labour field were discussed. Here the administrations' connection to the settlers, economics and labour market as such is very visible. Also other things, as agriculture, interest in education, commercialism and understanding the value of money were pointed out to be an important part of civilising. All these points were in connection to the development of the British colony and the mother country. They were in connection to the economical development and working of the indirect rule. Especially the movement towards agriculture was important and it was supported, as it was "progress", and an evolutional way towards higher state. Also the stereotypes were in connection to the livelihood and as agriculture was seen to be the best state of natives to support themselves, intelligence and other positive attributes were connected to agricultural tribes.

Defining tribes was extremely important for the indirect rule in Kenya. First of all the division helped the administrators to control the subordinates, to structure them and handle them as a part of the administration. This can be seen especially in the reports of the registration section. Secondly dividing and defining the tribes helped to compare them with each other which was helpful in the labour market, and gave basis for the comparisons in crime statistics and in following the progress of the natives. The evolutionalism and the comparative method connected to it were thus very visible also in the administrative reports. Although evolutionism rerose in the 1930s in the scientific field, comparative method was widely used throughout the 20s and 30s. The tribes became representations of the natives and the stereotypes connected to the tribes followed the natives down to individuals in colonial Kenya. When the colonialists knew in theory where every individual lived, whom he or she

lived with and most of all, who was responsible for the person, they were able to trace the structure of, and to define the otherwise, in their eyes, so unorganised mass of subordinates. In a very simple way of putting it, one was able to see the abilities and controllability of a person just by their tribe.

In the reports tribes were primarily defined to be political and geographical units, and only after that they were seen to be ethnic units with distinct cultures, languages and livelihoods. Thus the political and geographical modifiers were always needed to define a tribe, but the rest of the definitions were more flexible. The administrators noted the fluctuation of languages, customs and even livelihoods which thus could not qualify a person to belong to a certain tribe. The area on the other hand was an important part of the indirect rule and hence the fluctuation with it was not allowed. In this way the political organisation and the area inhabited were the modifiers for the tribes whereas cultures and livelihoods stayed only as ways to describe them. This differs from the anthropological studies I went through, because most of the anthropologists took ethnic origin, similar customs, traditions, language and culture as such to be the primary qualifiers for the term. Nonetheless there were disagreements about this even inside the anthropological field and my sources are not wide enough for me to conclude anthropological handling of the term.

As all lands were supposed to belong to someone the geographical structures were the base for both the defining tribes and defining administrative units. Thus well-defined areas bordered similarly both the tribes and the subordinate groups. This brought up the problem of pastoralists and their movements over administrative boarders. The reservations were the climax of the connection of tribes and administration in indirect rule. There were over twenty reservations in the 1920s in Kenya colony and some were even closed from other tribes, like the Maasai reservation from 1924 onwards. The attempt to keep the tribes apart from each other demonstrated the will of the administrators to structure the natives and made the tribal units understandable for the colonialists.

The term tribe was very useful for the administrators. Other communal terms did not have the flexibility of the term tribe to divide the natives in Kenya colony and the term fitted both to the administrative structure and to the presuppositions that the British had about Africans. One explanation for the use of the term tribe could be that the Kenyan groups were noted not to be led by chiefs and this is why the groups also needed another, general and

multidimensional term. Although there existed native groups into which the individual natives identified themselves, tribes and these native groups differed in the concept of limits. Tribes were defined by colonialists and thus they appeared as stable and organised units. On the contrary the different levels into which the natives identified themselves varied greatly from villages to wider communities, political units, and traces of languages, customs and trade. It is specially this natural fluctuation and variety of different levels in native life that is distinct from the tribes of indirect rule.

The use of tribes in the indirect rule brought up also the identity problem. There are several examples in the Kenya colony of groups that did not exist outside the highly artificial tribal context, such as Kavirondo or Luhya. Further on, some of the tribes did not acknowledge the tribal names given to them. For example the Boni called themselves the Wata. When it comes to the native identification, identifying oneself to the tribe was more important than identifying oneself to any other group. This comes up as the "clan consciousness" was despised.

Tribes in Kenya colony during the interwar period were basically tribes of the indirect rule. The concept was highly connected to the function of the European administration in the area and the groups were defined, structured and handled by the foreign administration. This did not mean that the natives would not have traditional groupings of their own at the time, but the consistency between tribes and native ethnic groups was not pure. Tribes worked as the mediators of native stereotypes, controllable administrative units and structured entities for the administration, employers, settlers and even anthropologists. The term worked as the basic tool to handle the native population in the strange continent and helped thus the British administrators to structure the subordinate masses during the colonial era. In consequence tribes were particularly tribes of the indirect rule.

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Appendix 1:

Provincial boundaries with some district boundaries in Kenya colony and protectorate. Drawn by Kervinen after R. M. A. van Zwanenberg (1975) and NAD 1931.
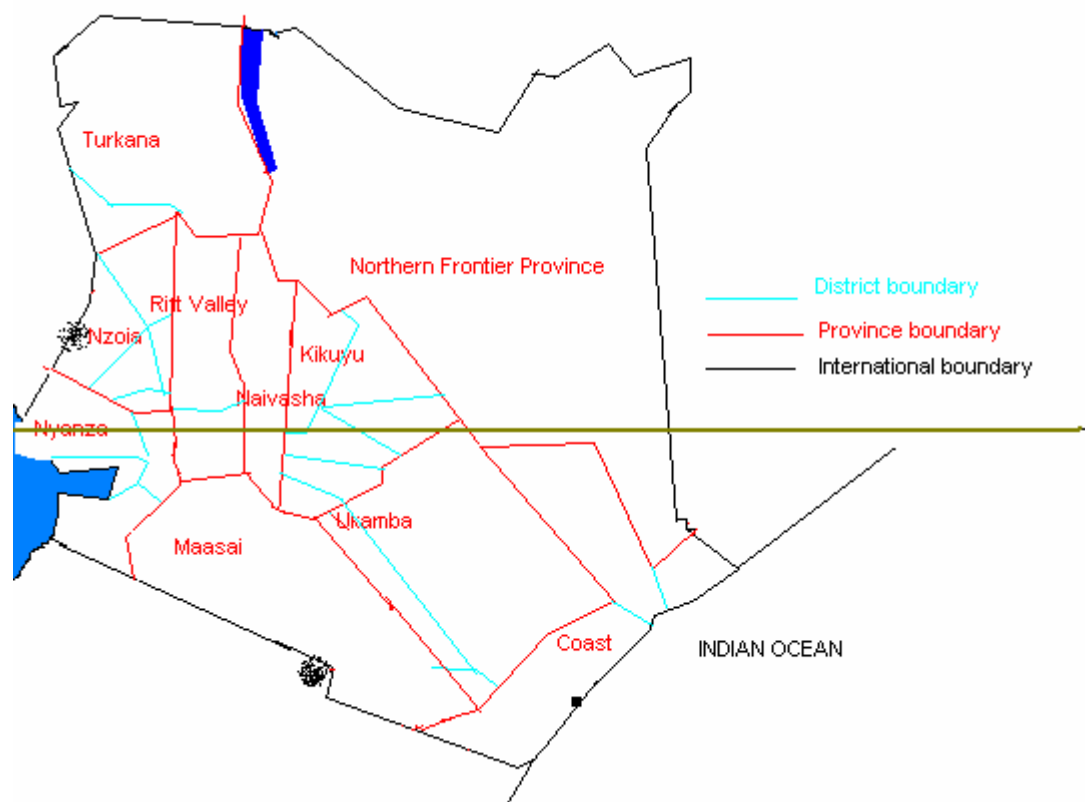
Appendix 2:

Native reserves in Kenya colony and protectorate. Drawn by Kervinen after Kenya governmental publications, annual report for 1929.