BETWEEN FIVE LINES
Helena Jerman

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The development of ethnicity in Tanzania with special reference to the western Bagamoyo District

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Helena Jerman
Abbreviations

AA      African Association
ARPC    Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners of Native Administration
BC      Bulletin de la Congrégation de Mbanda
BDB     Bagamoyo District Book
BRALUP  Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, University of Dar es Salaam
CCM     Chama cha Mapinduzi
ENHAA   Seminar on Ethnicity and Nationalism: Historical and Anthropological Approaches
EALB    East African Literature Bureau
EAPH    East African Publishing House
ERS     Ethnic and Racial Studies
HGF     Holy Ghost Fathers
IDS     Institute of Development Studies
JPA     Jipemoyo Project Archives
KUAS    Kyoto University African Studies
MC      Les Missions Catholiques
NAI     Nordic Africa Institute
SIAS    Scandinavian Institute of African Studies
TAA     Tanganyika African Association
TANU    Tanganyika African National Union
TDB     Tanganyika District Book
TNA     Tanzania National Archives
TNR     Tanganyika/Tanzania Notes and Records
Ar.     Arabic
Fr.     French
Lit.    Literal translation
n.n.    No number
Pl.     Plural
Port.   Portuguese
Sing.   Singular
Sw.     Swahili
Zi.     Ziguia
Glossary

akida \( (\text{Pl. } maakida) \) during German rule: African or Arab administrator of an area
bago \( (\text{Zi.}) \) thicket, forest
baraza council or meeting
diwani \( (\text{Pl. } madiwani) \) coastal ruler of Shomwi or Shirazi origin
fundí \( (\text{Pl. } mafundi) \) specialist (in e.g. blacksmithery or teacher of selo
hongo tribute, tax
isi \( (\text{Zi.}) \) space of land, country
jadi ancestral obligation
jamii society
jembe \( (\text{Pl. } majembe) \) hoe
jumbe \( (\text{Pl. } majumbe) \) headman
kabila moja 'one tribe' (an expression)
kabila \( (\text{Pl. } makabila) \) 'tribe'
khanga wrap-around cloth, dress worn by women
kingaru name of honour in e.g. Umiono
kinu mortar
kisazi puberty rite
kiwiri \( (\text{or } kivili) \) form of cooperative labour
kodi tax
koo clan
litwali \( (\text{Pl. } maliwali) \) during German rule: Arab or African, governor of a town, usually a district headquarters
lugba language
madarasa ya Kiislamu Islamic classes
maji water
mchi pestle
mila na desturi traditions and customs
mganga \( (\text{Pl. } waganga) \) specialist of traditional medicine
mgeni \( (\text{Pl. } wageni) \) foreigner or stranger
mgongo species of tree
mkole species of tree
mndewa \( (\text{Pl. } wandewa) \) headman
mrima the ports of the mainland littoral opposite Zanzibar
mtama sorghum
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mitara</td>
<td>(Pl. mitara) lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwali</td>
<td>pubertal girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwigazi</td>
<td>(Zi.) mother's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwiko</td>
<td>taboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mzee</td>
<td>(Pl. wazee) elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mzimu</td>
<td>ancestral spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nchi</td>
<td>space of land, country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngoma</td>
<td>form of music. The word has many connotations depending on the context in which it is used (e.g. dance, drum, ritual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngoma ya selo</td>
<td>specific ngoma performed at rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngoma ya mkole</td>
<td>specific ngoma performed at puberty rite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pazi</td>
<td>Zaramo clan-leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pombe</td>
<td>beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ramli</td>
<td>(or lamli) divination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shamba</td>
<td>field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tambiko</td>
<td>offer rite or ancestral rite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamla</td>
<td>traditional title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tariqa</td>
<td>Muslim brotherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukabila</td>
<td>'tribalism'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utamaduni</td>
<td>culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vigego</td>
<td>children believed to bring misfortune on their kin in pre-colonial Uzigua would they be let to live</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vyuo</td>
<td>Koranic schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakili</td>
<td>'tribal' agents during the British period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zaman</td>
<td>olden times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zikiri</td>
<td>(Ar. dhiker) ritual of Muslim brotherhoods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zumbe</td>
<td>(Zi.) (Pl. mazumbe) headman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have retained the m-, u-, and wa-prefixes of words in Swahili in direct quotations. The wa-prefix is also used in Chapter II:3 for etymological reasons. We thus get Mzigua [a Zigua man or woman], Wazigua [a number of Zigua persons], Uzigua [land of the Zigua]. I thus write Zigua using the root of the word only.

Non-English words will be designated as Zigua, Maa or other. If no designation follows the word (or sentence) it may be assumed to be a Swahili word.

Swahili plural is used. Arabic terms in Swahili speech will be given the plural -s.
Origins of my study

When starting to read a study one often wishes it would begin with a wider framework. The present work, *Between five lines*, began as a part of the Bagamoyo Project (1975-1981), a culture research project which was set up through the cooperation of the Academy of Finland and the Ministry of National Culture and Youth in Tanzania. An extensive methodological examination of the Bagamoyo Project and its various parts has been carried out by a number of scientists.¹ In the following I will give a brief outline of this project.

The Bagamoyo Project soon became known in Tanzania as "Jipemoyo" [to give oneself heart]. This was an apt name: the Project aimed to realize the development potential of the residents of the western Bagamoyo District in the Coast Region of Tanzania. In other words, Jipemoyo encouraged villagers to take initiative in solving their own problems by utilizing their own resources.

Jipemoyo was the first bilateral cultural research project in Tanzania conducted between the government and an academic institution. The project was also the Academy of Finland's first bilateral cultural research project with a developing country. The coordination of the two countries' bureaucratic procedures was, admittedly, a challenge and a demanding task.

A pilot project with the aim to study the role of culture in the development process Jipemoyo was coordinated by two directors, one in Finland and the other from Tanzania. From their previous experiences of culture research in Tanzania both considered that the Tanzanian political situation provided excellent conditions for conducting research along the lines of participatory research. On the other hand, it was felt that research should prove its productivity not only on the academic desk but in improving living conditions of the communities being studied. This approach would arouse interest in research among the villagers, the decision-makers as well as among the officials.

The Participatory Research Approach which aimed at involv-
ing people in the research process was consistent with the Tanzanian policy. This declared self-reliance and the right and obligation of all people irrespective of their rank in society to participate in their own development and to make their own decisions.

General political strategies created on the national level for the whole country are however seldom applicable to the particular circumstances on the local level. Thus, participation meant communicating in people's homes, working in the fields or participating in rituals and informal and formal meetings. An important procedure of the participatory approach included also seminars on various problems in the villages. In the seminars the villagers were able to present their own views on the development of their own conditions of living. Another method used was feedback received from research documentation: radio programmes, photograph panels and film shows. The villagers expressed their views and commented on the contents of documentation. In this way the informants made an important contribution to the analysis of the collected material. Their participation in the research process thus resulted in a more effective collection and interpretation method.

*Picture 1. Display of research material. Photograph boards at the researchers' house. Miono. – Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.*
Picture 2. "Do not forget to listen to the radio program Utamaduni wa Mlanzania" [the culture of the Tanzanian]. – Poster Ariadna Donner 1976.
Picture 3. The local historian Mzee Timoteo Kambi is interviewed by Daudi Kitolero. Miono. – Photo Helena Jerman 1977. JPA.
Moreover, the approach required a variety of methods. Archival studies, for example, were important for historical documentation supported by note-taking and interviews on oral traditions. Involved in an academic and bureaucratic project and facing practical problems the researchers had to give priority to practical rather than theoretical research. Participatory research included participatory training and planning.

The research team of Jipemoyo consisted of two Tanzanian researchers, several Tanzanian research assistants and three Finnish counterparts, two of them being full-time researchers. Other researchers, both Tanzanian and Finnish were associated with the project on a temporary basis. By adopting a broad view of culture the Jipemoyo was able to cover a wide spectrum of phenomena. The main areas which we studied were pastoralism, small-scale village industry, the promotion of village-based music and dance, the establishment of a traditions' archival and cultural documentation centre for the Ministry of National Culture and Youth, and the development of ethnicity.

I joined Jipemoyo as a half-time administrative secretary in late 1975. By that time I was an assistant to late professor Arne Runenberg in Helsinki doing research on ethnicity as a phenomenon. In 1976 the Academy of Finland provided funds for me to work on a full-time basis in the Jipemoyo Project. The Finnish research director had to make extended visits to the Bagamoyo District regularly and the amount of administrative work increased from day to day not to speak of an increasing archival task.

During the initial stage of a project there is a tendency to make far reaching assumptions which however, are easily forgotten. The Jipemoyo Project was no exception. In a research staff meeting of the Ministry of Culture, during the preparatory phase of Jipemoyo, the directors and some of the Tanzanian researchers discussed "what role the ethnic groups should play in a culture study and what their role is in the development of a national culture as a whole" (Swantz, 1980, 12). It seemed that "ethnic societies" in the western Bagamoyo District, in comparison with many other ones in Tanzania, had retained their ethnicity in a
considerable degree. At the same time cultural integration had taken place between these societies (ibid.). Tribal units had officially ceased to exist as territorial units after Independence in 1961. 'Tribal' identity was of course still a factor to count upon. Although "ethnic societies were not to be the focus of study" Marja-Liisa Swantz suggested that each of the researchers should specialize in one of these 'societies' in order to "understand the ethnically articulated features of the sub-cultures" (ibid.). Thus, an initial design of the Project brought about some preliminary individual research plans and reports which took one or several ethnic groups as basic research units (Kitolero, 1975, Kiyenze et.al., 1975, Donner, 1975).

The ethnic group approach, however, proved impractical for different reasons. First of all, as the Project proceeded it never became clear how an ethnic group was to be defined. Or was it to be defined? Secondly, for the villagers in the research area the history of a specific area was much more important than the history of a 'tribal unit' (UTA 1976/55). Thus, in a field situation it was not plausible to ask e.g. "are you a Doe craftsman" or "are you a Zigua dancer" since our focus was on people as villagers rather than ethnic groups.

Necessarily, a historical analysis of the development of the 'societies' in the research area formed one of the components of the theoretical task of Jipemoyo. Such an undertaking would include a preliminary analysis of the factors which had affected the development of ethnicity in Tanzania from pre-colonial times to the present day in order to study the dynamics of ethnic processes in the research area. The research team agreed that – as soon as my other work in the project would permit – I could begin with this task. Nine years earlier I had visited Tanzania for a few weeks as a member of an official Youth Delegation from Finland. A visit to Bagamoyo town made an indelible impression upon me.

Before joining the research team in Tanzania I prepared myself with theoretical reading, elementary language studies in Swahili and co-editing with Marja-Liisa Swantz the first issue of the Project's publications. Participation in a Nordic Research
Course "Minority, Culture and Society" in 1976 in Airisto in Turku greatly inspired me⁵ to prepare a paper on aspects of ethnic terminology and identification questions in connection with the villagization process in the Bagamoyo District. A travel grant from the Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (Nordic Africa Institute) finally made it possible for me to go to Tanzania for field research in the Bagamoyo District. I spent about four months in Tanzania beginning from late March 1977.

Initiated in 1977, my research was, however, subordinated to my other activities in Jipemoyo. After my fieldwork I was supposed to return to my secretarial and administrative duties within the Project. All material produced during the Jipemoyo Project including field-notes, tapes, transcriptions, negatives, slides, cine-films, progress reports and minutes, were duplicated for archiving both in Tanzania and Finland. The originals were to stay in our host country Tanzania and with copies deposited in Finland. While being in charge of this work I had the opportunity to follow up the research process partly due to close contact with the team members in Tanzania.

At the official completion of the Project in Finland in December 1979 the project was evaluated by both national and international scientists during a conference called "Participation, Needs and Village-level Development". During this seminar with participants, mostly Africanists from research centers in e.g. Germany and Ireland, involved in participatory research, the Tanzanian and the Finnish Project leaders as well as the research team members presented their research findings of various parts of the Project.⁷

The Project had broken the boundaries of normal academic research because it embodied, in the Tanzanian director's words, a new form of relationship between a developed country - donor of aid - and a developing country - recipient:

The developed country ceased to condescend and the two nations cooperated in a spirit of give and take /.../ the project has indicated that the villagers and the rural population at large have quite substantial development potential in their own traditions and customs.
What is required is to tap this potential. The project has further indicated how this might be accomplished using participatory approach, training and planning.

According to the Tanzanian director, the Jipemoyo Project was a thorough study which needed careful consideration by all those who have rural development at heart. For this reason he felt that the project was just a beginning. This encouraging evaluation of the project's experiment was a remarkable case in point.

From a totally other (academic point of view) this was, also, by no means the end of our research. First of all we had to apply for funds in order to write up our respective thesis. At the same time a lot of material exchange and material processing (including visual material) and double-checking of archive codes lagged behind. Due to the long distance between Tanzania and Finland the substantial research material collected had to be sorted out without face to face cooperation.

**Geographical and demographic features of the Bagamoyo District**

The Bagamoyo District in the Coast Region of Tanzania is a typical East African coastal area covering almost 9000 sq.km. Being close to the equator and close to the Indian Ocean the climate is hot and humid. Rainfall is irregular (between 800-1000 mm a year) which means that the vegetation is mostly bushland and park savannah. There is sparse woodland to the west and grasslands only on the coastal plain and the floodplains. Two large rivers, Ruvu and Wami, flow through the district. In the past the latter served as a barrier between the northern and southern parts of the district. "Miombo" woodland can be found in the western part of the district which is sparsely populated mostly because of the prevalence of the tse-tse fly. The area has two rainy seasons which in principle allows two harvests a year. The principal crops are maize and millet, while paddy is being commonly cultivated on the coast and the floodplains. There is a rather large proportion of rough grazing land for cattle keeping. Coconuts and cashew nuts are the most important cash-crops. Cotton growing which was introduced by the Catholic Mission in the end of the
Map 1. Bagamoyo District.
Map 2. The Research Area of the Jipemoyo Project.
1800s has declined since the 1960s (Sitari, 1983, 11-14). 

The largest town in the district is Bagamoyo which at the time of the project had about 6,000 inhabitants, while the total population of the district was about 136,000 people.

There were fifteen villages in the research area. The three largest were Lugoba (3,622 persons), Miono (2,363 persons) and Msata (2,593 persons) whereas, for example, the villages of Diozile II and Mindu Tulieni had a total population of 318 people. There were 70-400 houses in a village which often had two or several centres. Despite villagization, most people continued to live in the same place or region where they were born.

The natural increase of population in the Bagamoyo District, 3.5 per cent was exceeding national average by one per cent and the age distribution was almost the same as in the whole country (16 per cent were under 5 years and 25 per cent were between 5 and 15 years). This was naturally due to the great proportion of children in the population. However, one population characteristic, among others, was considerably different from the national average. Muslims constituted more than 70 per cent of the population which was much higher than average in mainland Tanzania, about 34 per cent (Sitari, 1983, 15).

Fieldwork and archival studies

The Jipemoyo Project covered the area of Msoga, Msata and Miono divisions in the Bagamoyo District. Most of the empirical material I collected for my study covered only a few of the villages of these divisions. At my arrival in Tanzania the Project had been under way for two years. The aims of Jipemoyo were known among the villagers.

I did most of my fieldwork in Miono. I stayed in this village, most of the time with Philip Donner, project researcher and ethnomusicologist, Daudi Kitolero, one of the Tanzanian project assistants, and Philip's family. An artist, Philip's wife Ariadna documented village life with unique drawings.

As a member of the Donner family my presence in Miono and its surroundings caused little more than ordinary curiosity
among people during the first week of my stay. In this way I made a leap of at least half a year ahead being able to start my fieldwork as soon as I had been introduced to the chairman of Miono and brought my introduction letter to the District Development Director in Bagamoyo town.\textsuperscript{11} I had several occasions to discuss topics related to what can be broadly called ethnicity when visiting homes and receiving people to our home and our yard\textsuperscript{12} or participating as an observer in lessons of \textit{ngoma ya selo}\textsuperscript{13} and in other happenings.

Our periods of fieldwork in the western Bagamoyo District generally lasted about two weeks at a time before we returned to Dar es Salaam for archive and library work and project meetings. During these periods I lived in Mbezi village, about twenty kilometers from Dar es Salaam. Together with some other project researchers I also spent a week in Lugoba with visits to Msata, Msoga, Mindu Tulieni and some other villages in the research area.

In the following I will give the reader a short description, supported by a number of photographs, of the 'general features' of Miono, the village in which I did most of my fieldwork.\textsuperscript{14} People in this village had come from a number of small, nearby settlements. There were a number of \textit{madarasa ya Kislamu} [Islamic classes], two schools, a dispensary and an administrative center. The houses were made of wooden poles and mud and the material of the roof was grass or, corrugated iron, depending on the wealth of the family. This pertains also to the walls of the houses, many of which were plastered with cement from the inside or the outside (mud, wood and grass were obtained locally whereas corrugated iron and cement could be bought at a distance of 60 km). Apart from the main house and yard of a family, there were generally separate small buildings for bathing and storage and/or cooking. A number of daily activities took place in the back- or frontyard: pounding grain, hulling beans, washing the dishes, doing school homework. As most paths go through the yards, people were in frequent contact with each other. News spread quickly.

The most difficult problem of the village was the lack of drinkable water: during dry seasons there was only highly saline water from Wami, not suitable for human consumption. As was the case with other villagers in the Bagamoyo District, most people in Miono were cultivators. The hoe jembe and the machete panga were the usual instruments. Outside the harvesting season a number of people were engaged in and got part of their income from blacksmithing, carpentry, pottery and handicrafts, such as basket- and matweaving. There were also constructors, water-fetchers and beer-makers. Both women and men did the hoeing and sowing, women and children did the weeding of the field shamba. Women also fetched water and fire-wood. The latter was a necessary but tiresome task. Wood was scarce because of dense population and to find a bundle of wood demanded a walk of about five kilometers. Food was cooked on open fire on three stones ukumbi.

In Miono, as in the other villages of the research area, men, women and children slept on the grainfields during harvesting, to watch for wild pigs, apes or birds. From small huts on stilts, *changa*, they could see the area. The families produced a great deal of food themselves: the main staple food was *ugali*, a thick porridge cooked on maize flour with gravy prepared of vegetables. Fish was brought from a fishing village, Sadani. It was for sale together with a number of other products, e.g. fruit, traditional medicine, cloth, pots for cooking and handicraft items such as stools, on the weekly market day. Meat was bought from the pastoralists who lived close to Miono.

Swahili was used as a general communication language whereas Zigua was used in the homes and in rituals (Kwere and Doe were used in the same way, depending on family relations in the research area as a whole). Maa-language was spoken among the pastoralists.

There was a daily bus connection to Bagamoyo and to Dar es Salaam which, however, during the heavy rain period was interrupted.
In a sense, my fieldwork went on during my entire stay in Tanzania because, in short, ethnicity, permeates a 'plural society'. Thus, I could not avoid participating as an observer of this phenomenon in a larger social context. This strongly affected my theoretical frame of reference of the dynamics of ethnicity.

The office of the Jipenyo Project was located in the facilities of the National Museum in Dar es Salaam. There were two District Books on the Bagamoyo District from the British colonial period in the library of the Museum. On one hand, these were not complete compared with the microfilms at the National Archives. On the other hand, the files of the National Museum contained some supplementary information. The library of the East African Section of the university of Dar es Salaam provided opportunities for library work. I later supplemented my archive studies in Finland consulting copies of microfilms from the Bodleian Library in Oxford. These microfilms, produced by the National Archives of Tanzania, covered the "old" District Book, Bagamoyo District Book I, Bagamoyo District Book II, and the Provincial Commissioners Reports 1931-1961. Philip Donner's notes from The Holy Ghost Fathers' Archives in Paris supple-

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Picture 10. Food is cooked on open fire on three stones ukumbi. Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.

Picture 11. Temporary shelter, changa, for guarding of shamba [field]. Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.
mented the research material submitted by Jipemoyo team members to the Jipemoyo Project Archives, including the material I collected myself.

Aims of the study

Having presented a brief description of the origins of *Between five lines* I will now give an outline of the aims of my study and how it will proceed.

The title of the study, *Between five lines*, refers to the picture\(^{16}\) of an elderly man's hand drawing lines in the sand of his yard. According to this man, each line symbolizes a people or, more specifically, a person of that particular people. These have all confronted each other, in one way or another, in the history of the coastal society and its hinterland. Moreover, the range of lines are significant, they symbolize the order of these people and implicitly, ethnic processes.

The *ethnic composition* of the population of Tanzania has been the subject of several studies but *ethnic processes* have attracted the attention of relatively few anthropologists. The reason to this preference is obvious: neither in the past nor in the present have there been any significant conflicts in Tanzania which could be treated as inter-ethnic ones. The absence of ethnic conflicts is usually explained by the fact that the large number of Tanzania's dispersed ethnic groups are not large or powerful enough to constitute a threat to ethnic peace at the centre (see for example Horowitz, 1985, 592-595). On the other hand, in an ethnic respect, at the eve of Tanzania's Independence her population was more or less *heterogeneous*. Demographic facts from the 1967 census, which was the last one to use classifications based on "tribes", suggest that Tanzania consisted of some 120 ethnic groups. This is a frequently cited figure even today in both national (Tanzanian) and international sources. *What does this figure tell us?*\(^{17}\) It was this seemingly simple but in fact ingenious question that inspired the theoretical framework of my
study. The question is fundamental for the study of the development of ethnicity in Tanzania.

Beginning from the mid-seventies up to some ten years ago cultural politics in Tanzania focused on the investigation of how ethnic cultures are being integrated within the nation.\textsuperscript{18} During the Jipemoyo Project (1975-1981),\textsuperscript{19} culture, including ethnic processes was mainly to be seen as an integrated part of the policy of ujamaa and self-reliance which united the local elements to a high degree. In other words, the research upon culture sought answers to questions dealing with the use of the cultural forms of various ethnic groups in the construction of the socialist society,\textsuperscript{20} the possible function of the specific forms of culture and their impact on the economic and social relationships of the people.

My argument is, that the development of ethnicity is related to the development of culture. In other words, the relatedness between these two phenomena differ according to different social conditions: ethnicity 'reacts' to concrete historical experience. The role of ethnicity in the present period thus requires a historical analysis of ethnicity as related to the political organization, ideology and socio-economic structure in the country. Stating that ethnicity in its manifestations requires an analysis of its historical dependencies does not mean, however, that the stress is put on the reconstruction of the history of different ethnic groups. Rather some tendencies of the dynamics of social processes and their relations to certain facts (events) of the past and present are examined.

Admittedly, one of the tricky problems facing the analysis of various social phenomena is: How is it possible to picture with sufficient reliability the history of past epochs on the basis of synchronous ethnographic material. The material is actually the result of these past epochs! (Girenko, 1986, 7; cf. Owusu, 1975, 40 and Koponen, 1986, 67). In line with this, considering the problematic task of interpreting cultural phenomena Girenko says:

Even when scrutinizing an ethnic process synchronically it appears as a multidimensional phenomenon and a problem–complex in which interrelated processes go on and manifest themselves with a varying degree of intensity. (1977, 71)
As an example, Philip Donner’s and Juma Nasoro’s study *A Descriptive Summary of the Essence of Ngoma ya Selo* (1979) specifically outlines such interrelated processes which turned out to be the most important features of the *selo* in the village of Miono.

To make sense of the development of ethnicity it is necessary to clarify the interrelation between terms and categories used and the phenomena behind them, such as tribe, society, ethnic group and, above all, culture. The use of ethnographic material from the colonial time inevitably leads to the question: What is it that changes? How does social development express itself and what cultural forms does it take?

The very concept "African traditional society" was born from the contact with the Europeans. The establishment of the colonial system led to the formation of a new social order which brought about new cultural forms, new principles in human relations. This new condition was recognizable in a span of life of single individuals and was acknowledged by researchers first empirically and later methodically as a "point of departure" (Girenko, 1983, 20-21).

It would be inappropriate to study ahistorically the nature of cultural occurrences or ethnic groups i.e. without a reconstruction of their development.22 This is particularly important when studying the role of culture in the restructuring of Tanzanian rural areas. This does not mean that one underestimates the significance of ethnicity in inter-community relations. Shivji considers omission of this angle unrealistic:

> We are fully aware of ethnic consciousness developed over almost three generations of colonial history. This, in itself, needs to be *explained*, rather than be made an independent, but decisive, variable. (Shivji, 1976, 41)

While agreeing with Shivji that "ethnic consciousness developed over almost three generations of *colonial history*" (my emphasis); ethnic consciousness has in a number of cases actually developed over a much longer period of time. With the commencement of the first millennium A.D. we can talk about a beginning of the
formation of ethnic groups on the East African coast. This implies that ethnicity in the *objective* sense had always existed in Tanzania. To be more specific: when social status based on place of residence or membership in age organization and not ethnic status decided the position of an individual in the pre-colonial society (ethnicity being an aspect of culture) we talk about the existence of ethnicity in the objective meaning.

The main focus of the research problems is in the dynamics of social processes and their relation to certain events of the past and present as telling for ethnic processes.

In my historical analysis the shared knowledge and experience of groups of people, gained through their interaction in social and economic activities even before the colonial period, are considered to be fundamental for the development of a common culture. This interaction had effects on ethnicity through common cultural forms.

The socio-economic structures and ideological impositions from colonial times as a base for ethnic processes of another kind, "tribalism", not related to processes of traditional ethnic organizations, affected profoundly the development of ethnicity. In this case the imposition of a social hierarchy was followed by a cultural hierarchy.

What kind of trends do these integrative and disintegrative social and cultural processes reveal in the post-colonial period? Taking the Tanzanian situation as an example, where a new post-colonial society is being built, we can state the problem in the following way. The official Swahili language should represent a national Tanzanian culture, a culture which, according to Whiteley, is "in a sense, the sum of its regional cultures, expressed in local languages – more than a hundred of them – and tied to local customs and situation" (1969 (b), 101). Accordingly, concepts of e.g. *kabila*[^23] ("tribe"), ethnic group and ethnicity should be thoroughly examined. Folk evaluations which comment on *kabila*, stress that the most important component of *kabila* is *ngoma*, and the boundaries of the *nchi* [country],[^24] should thus be seen against, the 'injected' analytic evaluations on *kabila*, in order to reach a meaning of *kabila* as one of the key
concepts for ethnicity, which corresponds with the Tanzanian reality.

The primary aim of my study is to investigate to what extent ethnic group identity exists and how it is reflected in a social situation. The ultimate aim of the study is to indicate factors which influence the imagination of a common national identity. This implies a discussion on the way people look upon cultural matters related to ethnicity and local ethnic consciousness alongside manifestations of a national identity. The state’s relationship to tradition in a broad sense\textsuperscript{25} hereby considered to be an extremely important way of supporting Tanzanian national identity.

This study is divided into six chapters. \textit{Chapter One} lays out the theoretical points at issue for a study in the field of ethnicity as a phenomenon. It presents four different conceptual ‘approaches’ to ethnic groups or tribes as concepts in the anthropological literature dealing with Africa.

It suggests a distinction between two types of ethnicity based on the argument that, for an understanding of African pre-colonial, colonial and independence history, it is important to regard the social and the cultural as two relatively independent phenomena. These are, however, inconceivable one without another. It emphasizes that cultural characteristics gain social significance within a common social system of interaction.

It proceeds discussing the concept of culture, more specifically, elaborating on the nature of the relationship of society and culture. This discussion introduces a definition of culture developed by N.M. Girenko (1987) and used by me, implying that culture is a system of historically developed materially and perceptually accessible forms, in which social existence (life) is realized. It discusses the relationship between the phenomena of culture and ethnicity.

The final section of the chapter attempts to assess aspects of Tanzania’s national identity and culture beginning from 1961 to some twenty years later.

\textit{Chapter Two and Chapter Three} deal with the development of ethnicity at the coast of Tanzania, more specifically in the Bagamoyo District during the pre-colonial period before the
German conquest of Tanzania in 1889. Chapter Two describes the formation of the coastal societies and the islamization of the coast based mainly on analysis of recorded oral traditions and interpretations of them by early and modern scholars. It proceeds with a discussion on the socio-economic and political forces of the various strata of the coastal society and a closer examination of the ethnic history of the Swahili. This chapter lays emphasis throughout on the long-standing exchange of people and goods between the coast, the islands and the hinterland in a larger trading context of the maritime trade between Asia and Africa. This exchange had a strong influence on people's closer relations with one another, affecting ethnic integration.

Chapter II:5 outlines the major impact of the Ngoni invasion on the development of social history in southern and south-east parts of Tanganyika. The final section of the chapter examines the long-distance trade grafting onto the regional trade, emphasizing the important position of Unyamwezi in the trading network. Through porterage and exchange, people were exposed to coastal culture which in its turn absorbed elements from the people of the interior. Used mainly in the trading context the Swahili language spread quickly. It is argued that in the control of trade people used culture as a means of achieving economic and political goals. Cultural assets gained social significance and ethnic identification became increasingly important for people. This section concludes with the entrance of the Sultan of Oman who in 1840 moved his headquarters from Muscat to Zanzibar. A brief outline of the social and economic repercussions from this event will also be given.

Chapter Three begins with an introduction of Bagamoyo and its hinterland, outlining the socio-economic base of the area and emphasizing social intercourse between the various peoples as a result of trade and migrations. It discusses the perceptions of the people themselves in relation to one another as well as externally given ethnic identities. It will be argued that two apparently contradicting forces, fission and fusion, were present in the dynamics of ethnicity.

It then presents concepts of "lands" and nchi [countries],
more specifically a socio-economic definition corresponding with African perceptions vs. a territorial definition corresponding with European or administrative notions.

The third section asserts that, a basis of industry, handicrafts were closely linked with the development of ethnicity.

The fourth section examines the Kamba invasion into the Bagamoyo District and the resulting political and economic relationship among the parties concerned. It then returns to the functional role of the concept of *ncbi*, emphasizing its principle of social organization. It also outlines bonds of unity and common systems of authority in the regions around Bagamoyo. The section ends with a discussion about Zanzibar's extended authority over the hinterland, when the Sultan of Oman moved to the island. It indicates the complicated relationship among the Sultan's men, the coast settlement authorities and the hinterland authorities resulting in manifestations of solidarity between the parties concerned. It thus sets the stage for the subsequent claim for land by the Roman Catholic Missions.

The fifth section is devoted to a study of the economic and ideological impact of the Holy Ghost Fathers in the Bagamoyo District. It will highlight conflicts regarding land ownership based on oral traditions and written sources. It then provides a description of the subsistence of Umiono, a *ncbi*. It concludes with an examination of the Christian villages, suggesting that the converts came to live in an alien sphere of culture. Despite numerous setbacks of the work in the villages it will be seen that the most important effect of the missionary activities was on free tribal life.

The final section summarizes the main points of my arguments, suggesting that several integrating factors — a theme running throughout this chapter — marked the hinterland of Bagamoyo before the arrival of the Germans. Slavery and Islam is briefly discussed, assuming that the exchange between the coast and the hinterland had resulted in kin relationships. Islamic elements had spread from the coast to the hinterland through social relationships adjusting to local culture.

*Chapter Four* covers the period of German colonialism. The discussion will fall into six main sections. The first section of this
chapter will give a brief outline of the coastal warfare between the Germans and the Africans.

The second section will show how the German masters divided the protectorate into districts, subsequently introducing a policy of racial discrimination. The focus will be on the European concept of territoruality contrasting with local ideas, as well as the German classification of Africans into 'tribes'. It then makes a leap to the present, regarding particular applications of the concept of ethnic group as reflecting ideas and ideologies in a historical dimension. It then returns to the colonial warfare. Based on a historical account it will examine the relations between the rebels, the Holy Ghost Fathers and the Germans in the research area of this study. It will be seen that African culture in the sense of objective ethnicity was used as a tool of oppression by the Germans and the missionaries. This section ends with an attempt to analyze the ethnic dimension of the uprisings against the German control. Contrary to colonial accounts, describing the overwhelming number of different 'tribes' taking part in the warfare, it will be argued that the people who fought together against the German colonials in the Bagamoyo hinterland were culturally close to one another.

The third section suggests that German administration acted as a dissolver of social relations. It will lean on J. Giblin's argument (1986) that the decline of control by the people over their natural environment affected people's usual social relationships with consequences on their culture. Thus, the establishment of the akida system and the imposition of tax are regarded as 'secondary' factors, influencing the development of ethnicity. It will be seen that Swahili, the main language of the caravan trade during the pre-colonial period, strengthened its position as it became the administrative language of the protectorate. As a common language it became increasingly favoured by the public education policy.

The basic theme of the fourth section will be the Maji Maji rebellion which, as an ideological call by the post-independent leadership, is considered to be one of the major events in the formation of a Tanzanian identity.
In the fifth section we return once again to Islam as an integrating force in a racially and ethnically stratified society, being one political system. It will be seen that Islam, as an alternative system of cultural values, was welcomed by many youngsters whose existence was regulated by a belonging to ethnic categories. It is argued that Islam became 'Africanized' through the tariqas, Muslim brotherhoods, and their overwhelmingly African leadership.

In an attempt to clarify the arguments of this chapter the last section will summarize the main points discussed. It will assert that during German rule, in an ethnic dimension, two seemingly contradictory processes can be traced. Firstly, social disintegration and cultural integration and, secondly, a sharpening of cultural characteristics for different 'tribes'.

Chapter Five examines the western Bagamoyo District under British rule beginning from 1916. Carrying over the discussion from the previous chapter it will suggest that the dialectics of social processes and culture – content and form – being interrelated but reflecting basically different phenomena, is exemplified by the premises of the colonial society. It tries to demonstrate how ethnicity as a socially significant phenomenon emerged through interaction between groups in colonial society. The focus will be laid on the creation of this subjective ethnicity and how it was displayed during British native administration. The first section will include the following aspects of indirect rule and its implementation in the Bagamoyo District: the use of traditional institutions of distinct 'tribes' as a method of local administration, ethnicity as a base for political authority and district boundaries and created tribal divisions. More specifically, this section will show that the ideology of indirect rule and the construction of the social reality of the Africans by the colonial masters did not fit fact. The discussion will support the essence of my main argument of the phenomenon of ethnicity: ethnic groups are not socially homogeneous units, due to splitting and assimilation processes. On the contrary, splitting creates an ethnic group comprising different social communities.

The second section will examine more closely the use of eth-
nicity and the displaying of it through the native authority system. It then proceeds to discuss how the violation of culture on one hand, and the use of ethnicity on the other, encouraged tribalism. This section will show how cultural forms were given new contents in the native administration. It will be argued that the system of tribal divisions and the resultant adoption of it on all levels of life was manifested in an enhanced social significance of ethnicity among people. It was possible to manipulate ethnicity. It maintains that belonging to tribal units was a means of functioning in the colonial society and that increasing ethnocentrism enabled leaders to mobilize political power in it by appealing to a fictive common origin of its members.

The third section will discuss Islam as an integrating force in the sphere of religion as well as in the field of education in the Bagamoyo District. It will show that, in contrast to low attendance in schools supported by the government and the Holy Ghost Mission, the schools maintained by the Native Authorities were welcomed by Muslims. It gives an outline of the role of the majumbe, local headmen, who, in this process, had strengthened their authority through Islam. It will then give a brief outline of the aims of the African Association (AA) by examining more closely the Bagamoyo branch of this association – the forerunner to the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). It discusses the close connection between the Bagamoyo branch of the African Association and the Muslim brotherhood Quadiriyya, suggesting that Islam had an important role in the nationalist struggle in the Bagamoyo District. In this final section the goals of the political party, Tanganyika African National Union, is presented and the role of the only village-wide social institution in the hinterland, Quadiriyya, in the party. Juxtaposing the earlier political associations, the so called tribal associations with AA and TANU, the chapter ends with a brief resumé of the main events which led to the independence of Tanganyika.

*Chapter Six* covers a twenty year long period beginning from Independence 1961. Referring to E.J. Hobsbawm’s (1995) suggestion that "nations and their associated phenomena" should be regarded as dual phenomena, an attempt is made to adopt this
approach on the phenomenon of ethnicity. Rejecting ethnicity and nationalism as primordial attachments but historical constructions from above, it nevertheless emphasizes that people, as imaginers of these phenomena, are subjects of historical events. The basic theme of this chapter is then, how ordinary persons conceptualize ethnicity as citizens of Tanzania.

The first section will give a brief discussion, attempting to differentiate between a normative 'cultural capital' vs. an everyday 'cultural capital' of national culture, shared by people.

The second section is the most important part of the chapter. It introduces a method of 'evaluation analysis', the purpose of which is to analyze people's own and the researcher's analytical interpretations side by side with political interpretations of ethnicity and Tanzanian identity. Then follows a discussion of the concept of kabila [tribe], which had been brought up for administrative purposes during colonialism. More specifically, kabila became especially relevant on the coast, among the Swahili-speaking people. Suggesting there are apparently clashing considerations of kabila in present time among officials, on the one hand, and among ordinary people, on the other, this term will also be juxtaposed to the concept jamii [society]. This part is central to the section. It proceeds with a brief discussion on the symbolic expression of a society and Tanzanian identity as a process juxtaposed to Tanzanian history.

The following sub-sections i.e. The meaning of kabila, Cultural implications of ethnicity, Commonality and divisions, Kabila as "their way of life" and Schoolchildren's essays in Miono, represent an attempt to analyze how people in the research area conceptualize ethnic and national identity. It is argued that a specific relationship between clans and nchi serve to enable people to connect a number of rituals and traditions with specific ethnic identities. It will be seen that the concept of kabila, as understood in the administrative framework, is far from the meaning assigned to it by villagers in the research area. It will also be seen that ethnic group identification is used as a self-referent whereby informants emphasize the differentiation of people. Yet informants stress commonality. It is argued that ethno-
centrism among people is evident, when 'tribal' boundaries, different social modes of subsistence and language are brought into the discussion. Sub-section V:2:4 will illustrate how a pastoral mode of subsistence, together with political actions in respect to the public pastoralist question, separates the Parakuyo as a kabi-la from the Zigua and Kwere cultivators. The final sub-section presents case material illustrating schoolchildren's perceptions of being Tanzanians. It is argued that a differentiation between 'everyday sharing' of culture, one the one hand, and a normative culture, on the other hand, is a tricky matter.

Section five outlines the process of creating a national culture in the nation-building process. It will be seen that national symbols and Pan-Africanist ideas as well as elements from worldwide ideological systems were included in this process.

Section six begins with a general description of tribal thinking and ethnicity in the Tanzanian society, based on personal observations. It proceeds with a brief examination of the way ukabila [tribalism] is reflected in, above all, the press. It concludes with a discussion on leadership and ethnicity on the village level.

In the last section a final assessment of the multiple significance of ethnicity in the research area will be presented. The conclusion suggests that people seem to use different forms of the continuity of their 'community' and that these forms are specific aspects of all kinds of social phenomena encompassing people's whole existence. In this way the impact of national policy on local reality will also be considered.

Notes


2 Marja-Liisa Swantz and Philip Donner: Selostus Bagamoyo-projektin vaiheista (Maaliskuu-Elokuu 1975) Suomessa. Presented at the joint

3 This visit happened in connection with the Literacy Campaign in Tanzania. During this trip some of us had an opportunity to travel from Dar es Salaam to the south western districts of Morogoro, Iringa and Mbeya. We visited several villages and acquainted ourselves with different aspects of local community development.


5 This course gathered researchers conducting studies in the field of ethnicity in many countries under various conditions. Despite of this, ethnicity, as a phenomenon seemed to manifest itself in similar ways in a number of cases.

6 The researchers developed themselves urgent photographs for feed-back on the spot. For a presentation and discussion on the Jipemoyo Project Archives see, Ulla Vuorela: An Introduction to the Jipemoyo Project Archives, in *Jipemoyo. Development and Culture Research* 3; 1980 and, Establishing a Traditions Archive and Documentation Centre in the Ministry of National Culture and Youth, Tanzania. An Experiment in Archiving and Documentation, in *Jipemoyo. Development and Culture Research* 4; 1981. See also *Towards a Creation of a Traditions Archive and Documentation Centre within the Ministry of National Culture and Youth, Tanzania* and, *Experiments in the Development of the OASIS System for the Jipemoyo Archives*, by the same author. (Final Report, 1979, Section I and Section III).

7 The material of the project is extensive, cf. footnote 6 above.

8 For an extensive geographical and demographic account of the Bagamoyo District see Taimi Sitari, 1983.


10 *1978 Population Census*, (op.cit.).

11 My perception on the period of fieldwork as one without any particular problems is purely subjective, of course. Thus I can not point out possible problems which would be reflected in my research material, caused by my presence in the villages.

12 We shared our yard with the Ramadhani family who let the house for the Jipemoyo project.

13 *Ngoma* is the most vital form of music in Tanzania. *Selo* is a *ngoma* and it is an essential aspect of the traditional education of Zigua girls in the Bagamoyo District. *Selo* is also performed at other rituals related to the life cycle, such as at male puberty rites or at weddings (Donner and Nasoro, 1979).

14 See also Taimi Sitari, 1983. On Lugoba as a case-study see, Erään perheen elinolosuhteet ja maantieteellinen rytmi tansanialisessa kylässä [The living conditions and the geographic rhythm of a family in a Tanzanian village (summary in English)], in *Terra* 92:3; on Msata as a case study see, Msata – kylä Tansaniassa, in *Maapallo*, Number 2, 1980, by the same author.

15 The term plural society is here understood in a purely descriptive sense.

16 Drawn by Ariadna Donner, 1977. The contents of the ideas expressed in this picture are discussed in section IV.2.1.

17 Question quoted from Nikolai M. Girenko, 1977, 71.

18 See for example Anacleti, A. Odhiambo: *Cultural Integration and its


20 One example of this is Philip Donner's and Juma Nasoro's study, which aimed at creating methods to promote the village-based ngoma culture so that it would become a national art form reflecting and reinforcing Tanzania's socialist goals (Donner, 1979).

21 Cf. footnote 13 above.

22 See eg. Antoine Lema, 1993. In his study he looks at the socio-political origin of ethnic groups during 1870-1970 in Africa. The focus of Lema are some ethnic groups in different African countries. He suggests that historically they are products of colonialism.

23 Kabila (Sing.), makabila (Plur.). The Arabic origin of the word is in Roman letters qabila, and denotes a political kin group. Among the coast people who are Swahili-speaking, the word is roughly translated into "kind" or "type". A common English translation of the word, however, has been tribe.

24 Jerman, 1980, 42.

25 Ranger has recently brought to the fore a similar problematique in the context of Zimbabwe His remark concerns ethnicity and nationalism in Zimbabwe. He says that "the key questions for Zimbabweanists at the moment is precisely that of the relationship of the Zimbabwean state to tradition." (1993, 106).
THEORETICAL POINTS
AT ISSUE WITHIN THE FIELD
OF ETHNICITY

Until a large number of African countries had gained their independence in the 1960s and the nation-building processes in these countries had come under way the concept of ethnicity was unknown in anthropological research. Today this concept is widely accepted. Wim van Binsbergen rightly notes that a discontinuity prevailed "not only on the ground, in the political and economic aspects of the lives of the people we study in Africa" but also academically beginning from the late 1960s. A new type of anthropology of sub-Saharan Africa was emerging. This anthropology was blended with history and political economy. Analytically, at the ethnographic level scientists rejected tribe or ethnic group as the basic unit of study.¹

In the 1970s Fredrik Barth's definition of ethnic identity as a form of social organization was followed by an intensive debate on the concept of ethnicity. Barth's contribution emphasized the social boundaries which embrace ethnicity, not the cultural "stuff" which people place in it.²

In 1975, N. Glazer and D. Moynihan suggested that the new word "ethnicity" reflected a new reality and that a new usage reflected a change in that reality, in that the new usage was the steady expansion of the term 'ethnic group' (my emphasis).³

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Ethnicity as a concept was a challenge for further investigation of this phenomenon.4

Today, 'ethnicity' is an issue not only for anthropologists and sociologists. Other disciplines such as history and political science have rediscovered 'ethnicity'. Also politicians and mass media workers increasingly use the words 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic'. They often give it a negative connotation: national and international conflicts are primarily labeled ethnic. The concept of ethnicity is elusive and the phenomenon itself represents a theoretical challenge for anthropologists.

The concern of historians and anthropologists of the phenomenon of nationalism has in a considerable degree added important aspects to the ethnicity debate. According to Ernst Gellner (1964, 1983) and Benedict Anderson (1983) nations and nationalism are historically invented or constructed. This position enables us to assess the historical and cultural context for the phenomenon of ethnicity. For Gellner nationalism is a function of the industrial society and he is mainly concerned with the transition from agrarian to industrial society. In this new condition the cultural differentiation of the old agrarian society is manipulated or assimilated: a national culture is constructed. Like Gellner, Anderson regards nations and nationalism as by-products of modernization. There must be a common language for 'imagined communities', be they national or 'sacred'. Also Anthony D. Smith's contributions to the discussion on nationalism must be mentioned. In his view, the 'construction' of modern nations must be related to the formative role of premodern 'ethnic communities' (1995, 47-48).

The nationalism and nation-state debate has been closely linked to a debate on the social construction of 'tradition': The invention of tradition and the imagination of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger (eds.), 1983; Ranger, 1993). Taking Africa as an example the former concept maintains that traditions in the colonial society were invented by colonials and Africans. The latter suggests that traditions continued to evolve: they were imagined by many different people over a long time.5 Actually, the cultural contents of ethnicity has in the nineties become the focus of
research on ethnicity (cf., Tambs-Lyche, 1993).

In his Introduction to *Ethnicity in Modern Africa* (1978), Brian M. Du Toit conducted a historical review of the concept of "ethnic" (and its derivatives) and its use among anthropologists indicating at the same time that the authors of the book have used the concepts 'ethnic' and 'ethnicity' in different ways and at different levels of analysis. Du Toit paid attention to the lack of clarity in the use of the terms and concluded that "ethnic and its derivative *ethnicity* are a matter of social definition and /that/ they are based on ideological criteria," (including socio-behavioural, phenotypic and spatial criteria). According to his argument, such a definition

will always involve a self-definition and a categorization by others with whom one is in contact...Ethnicity then would refer to characteristics and attitudes of those who consider themselves (my emphasis) and are considered by others to form a distinct ethnic group. (1978, 9)

Similar statements can be found in a number of works dealing with ethnicity during the last two decades.6

Earlier approaches by Western sociologists and social anthropologists treated ethnic groups variously, in that theories and models explaining the response of ethnic groups to a larger social setting were generally related to trends in the social sciences (Royce, 1982, 34-52). Consequently, ethnic groups as cultural groups were considered in the context of assimilation and cultural change; as categories of interaction they were approached in the framework of "situational analysis"; as interest groups, the ethnicity derived was regarded as a purely political phenomenon. Ethnicity was comprehended through different analytic categories, an approach which later researchers have more or less implicitly dissociated themselves from (see e.g. Epstein, 1978, 2-4, 92-93, 96; Allardt, 1981, *passim*.; Tambs-Lyche, 1993, *passim*.).

For the purpose of the following discussion we can state that there is nowadays an almost universal agreement that ethnicity is a form of consciousness and that it is dynamic. The primary conceptual confusion besieging the term, however, has moved
around the ideological character of ethnicity, as well as the problems of its sources (cf. Goldsworthy, 1982, 108-109). In other words, the divergences focus mainly around "cultural" vs. "political" aspects as decisive criteria for ethnicity. In this respect, *primordial attachment* as a view of ethnicity emphasizes 'givens', such as blood-ties, language and religion as crucial factors for ethnicity. In contrast to this view, the *instrumental* perspective tends to belittle the importance of culture for ethnicity. Instead, ethnicity is in essence a way to achieve certain social or political goals. An example of this approach can be found in Kathleen Gough's discussion (1963) on ethnic conflicts in India. The primordialist approach has been developed in the *Ethnographic Atlas* of George P. Murdock et al. (1967), which contains a coded ethnographic index classifying cultures by categories such as subsistence economy, mode of marriage and family organization. The use of the *Atlas* to obtain information on various societies has resulted in numerous cross-cultural studies which, in the extreme, look upon groups abstractly. The instrumental perspective has principally been applied in comparative studies on ethnicity (Young, 1995, 73). Thus, since the seventies, a wide range of studies of ethnic processes stresses that 'ethnic' problems tend to be increasing the world over, because of intensified major socio-historical and economic changes.

While many approaches integrate both the primordial and instrumental dimensions, few make use of any possible analytical distinction(s) between two or several kinds of ethnicity (Cf. Trouwborst, 1975, 1). One who does is John Lonsdale: he has recently presented a distinction between two kinds of ethnicity: "moral ethnicity" and "political tribalism". He uses moral ethnicity to describe the way ethnicity is *imagined* by Africans: "the common human instinct to create out of the daily habits of social intercourse and material labour a system of moral meaning and ethnic reputation within a more or less imagined community". With the concept of political tribalism he means "the use of ethnic identity in political competition with other groups" (1994, 131-132). The two kinds of ethnicity proposed by Lonsdale can be juxtaposed to *subjective* ethnicity and its multiple significances
as developed further on in this study. As we shall see, the relatedness of the phenomenon of ethnicity with cultural factors may take different forms within different conditions.

I have earlier presented a view that a historical perspective and a conceptual distinction between the concepts of tribe and ethnic group (including the derivatives of tribalism and ethnicity) are important in ethnicity research within the African context.\(^9\) Stressing the importance of self-consciousness and self-ascription for the definition of an ethnic group and the social dimension of tribalism, the discussion did not then go beyond the adoption of "two offshoots" of ethnicity or ethnic awareness.\(^10\) In sum, the central argument was that ethnicity is either a) spontaneous (chiefly characterized by a feeling of "oneness" based on different elements), or b) "derived" or "reactive". The latter type is regarded either as a reaction to certain contradictions in society or it is attributed to claims which should arise at political or social levels but which appear at the ethnic level. With this I meant that tribalism as a social phenomenon to use Peter Rigby’s emphasis, has not necessarily anything, to do with tradition as culture in its essence (Rigby, 1972, 314).\(^11\) On the contrary, it was born and developed during the colonial and post-colonial periods. According to this argument then, which has been brought to the fore in slightly different conceptualizations by e.g. Elizabeth Colson (1967), John Saul (1979) and Wim van Binsbergen (1985), tribalism is not an inheritance of traditional culture. However, the cultural factor, which may be "ethnic" is used deliberately to achieve social ends (Skinner, 1975, 144-145; Hechter, 1979, 126).\(^12\)

**I:1 Tribe vs. ethnic group. Four conceptual 'approaches'**

Traditional definitions of ethnic group have always been made rather loosely without any closer analysis of the different elements of the phenomenon (such as language, ethnic territory, economic ties, certain cultural traits or ethnic consciousness). It is, however, possible to distinguish between four sorts of 'approaches' to ethnic groups and tribes as concepts in the
anthropological literature dealing with Africa. As a matter of fact, the main source of confusion in the study of ethnic processes in Africa is the use of these terms when referring to apparently incompatible phenomena (Cf. Van den Berghe, 1983, 221).

In short, the first approach juxtaposes the concepts of tribe and ethnic group. The second approach basically recognizes a distinction between these terms but fails to articulate them. The third approach makes a distinction between tribe and ethnic group explicit; tribe is considered to be a form of social organization. The fourth approach refrains in principle from using the concept of tribe.

A typical representative of the first approach is P.H. Gulliver, who treats the concepts of 'tribe' and 'ethnic group' as equivalents (1959, 61-63). He considers tribes as units which have a certain number of common characteristics distinguishing them from others. On the whole, such a definition corresponds to the traditional definition of an ethnic group.

Gulliver says that a general definition of tribe is

a group of people, possessing a common name, who are and recognize themselves to be relatively distinctive and different from their neighbours in their traditions, their way of life, their social system, culture and values, and their language. Such a group is often maintained as a fairly well integrated unit by an indigenous political system with its established boundaries to the tribal territory. (1959, 61)

Gulliver demonstrated with some examples from Tanzania that the fundamental characteristic of an ethnic group is participation in some political institution. However, as Gireenko rightly points out, the political institutions that Gulliver was referring to did not appear until the establishment of the colonial society (1977, 74). Consequently, Aidan Southall strongly rejects the criteria for tribe given by Gulliver, calling them "absolutely incorrect and fallacious" (1983, 65).

Gulliver's standpoint is referred to in several statements presented in works dealing with ethnic situations in Africa. One example is to state that tribe "means many things to many people" and then to start listing different criteria which are impor-
tant for ethnicity, such as a common territory, a common language, and so on. Although language as a reliable though not ideal criterion for ethnic unity cannot be called into question it does not solve the discussion on the epistemology of ethnic group and tribe.

Another consequence of Gulliver's reasoning is to speak about "local societies" (usually identified as 'tribes') (Lucas, 1974, 93-94). This is obviously an attempt to escape terminological difficulties.

The representatives of the second approach, while stating, for example, that "African tribal groups (my emphasis) are not survivals from the pre-colonial political world though they may acquire legitimacy through a myth of ancient unity" recognize in principle the distinction between the concepts of tribe and ethnic group and the processes connected with these. However, in their articulation, sometimes "for purposes of style", the actual concepts are used as equivalents, with the risk that a reader confuses or blurs the interpretation of social and cultural phenomena.

Thus the concept of tribe has often been used on too loose grounds, in that one often talks about processes and relationships between distinctive collectives which – despite historical changes – continue to preserve "this something fluffy" in an unchangeable condition.

The third approach makes a distinction between the concepts of tribe and ethnic group in that tribe, in short, is considered a form of social organization implying a stage of evolution, at least the period of pre-colonialism (Godelier, 1977). In this connection it should be noted that before the securing of the colonial society in Tanzania, political unity of the peoples in what today is the territory of Tanzania did not exist. There were different forms of social organizations which can be depicted as political societies as distinct from ethnic, economic, and social communities or communities based on confession. The last mentioned did not (necessarily) coincide with the political societies, and if they did, they coincided only to a certain degree. Hence, people from different cultural backgrounds have always been in interaction.
with each other (Kimambo and Temu, 1969, xi; Kimambo, 1969, *passim.*, Sutton, 1969, *passim.*; Girenko, 1977, 90). However, as will be discussed more specifically later, an *ethnic situation* existing in reality must be studied as a heterogeneous system of different stages in a social context. By this we understand for example, that the social organization of a concrete community at a certain point of time is determined by the history of its whole existence and is a result of a long-enduring process (Girenko, 1975, 19-20).

The succinct comment by J.E.G. Sutton (1969, 1-2): "tribes have thus been formed, transformed and broken down, but the people go on" can be related to the idea of *segmentation*, introduced in 1940 by E.E. Evans Pritchard.21 Segmentation as a process includes 'fission' and 'fusion' of social units: a process of tribal growth and spread (Sahlins, 1961, 342). In other words we talk about a phenomenon22 of new tribes coming into being and their splitting, whereby communities migrate to new places. An example from the Tanganyika District Book illustrates this phenomenon: the Yao who had been united in former times (their name being a toponym) split in "different tribes" named after different places, plains and hills within Yaoland (TDB, /85/).

However, tribes did not only spread – the assimilation process of people should be considered equally important. The pulsation process has often been interpreted as the spreading of an *ethnic group* and this mechanical image has in many cases led to the searching for a center of migration, i.e. the original home of an ethnic group or a center for the diffusion of some characteristics (Girenko, *op.cit.*; Tobisson, 1986, 86-88.;).

The main argument here is that ethnic groups are not socially homogeneous entities due to splitting and assimilation processes of different political societies. On the contrary, splitting creates an ethnic group which is formed of different social communities.

Furthermore, while there was no effective political authority which sprang from ethnicity, as far as south-eastern Africa is concerned, in cases where there was effective political authority, it depended upon knitting together fragments of ethnicities (Ranger, 1979, 63-65).
These viewpoints form the main argument for the present distinction made between the concepts of tribe and ethnic group. Consequently, although we can agree that the tribe as a form of social organization was included in a uniform statal socio-economic system (in our example the state of Tanzania), it should be noted that "it is precisely within the colonial structure that the ethnos /ethnic group/ and not in fact the tribe begins to acquire a social significance" (Girenko, 1983, 38). Arguably, the social significance of ethnic groups was not erased with independence.

A fourth approach could be called that which deliberately and wholly refrains from using the term tribe and its derivatives, or uses it within quotation marks, because of its derogatory connotations or because of the vagueness with which it has been employed in many works (see e.g. Southall, 1976, 276; Rodney, 1976, 248-249; Van den Berghe, 1983, 221-222). This standpoint can be defended on the basis of ideological reasons, but it is debatable whether it provides a satisfactory socio-historical analysis of the phenomenon of ethnicity (and the processes connected with it) in the African context.

As discussed elsewhere (Jerman, 1980, 52-53), ethnicity gets its meaning and significance in relation to the actual social context. Self-consciousness and self-ascription are the most important factors for the definition of an ethnic group 23 – in fact Crawford Young, stating that consciousness ultimately defines ethnos, says:

common cultural traits and linguistic similarity provide the potential for subjective affinity, but the ethnic group only becomes an actuality when its members grasp the meaning of 'we-ness' (1982, 74).

In this way ethnicity may ultimately be a problem of perception.

1.2 Two types of ethnicity 24

Let us now reiterate Barth's central message in his introduction to Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Barth argued that ethnic groups are to be seen as a form of social organization. The groups themselves are 'culture-bearing units'.

Furthermore, it is the "boundary /that/ defines the group, not
the cultural stuff that it encloses." Lines of demarcation – social in the first place but occasionally also territorial – are the essence of cultural pluralism. The cultural stuff may be changed within an ethnic group but the boundaries persist (Barth, 1969, 12-13, 15). Interestingly, in this paradigm the "cultural stuff" of an ethnic group is crucial for boundary creating, at the same time as emphasis is laid on relationship or contact with other groups.25 Barth writes: "The features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant" (ibid., 14). This means that ethnic identity is a self-perception of the ethnic group. Furthermore, Barth emphasized that ethnic identity is a primary identity:

> Regarded as a status, ethnic identity is superordinate to most other statuses, and defines the permissible constellations of statuses, or social personalities, which an individual with that identity may assume. In this respect ethnic identity is similar to sex and rank ... One might thus also say that it is imperative, in that it cannot be disregarded and temporarily set aside by other definitions of the situation. (Barth, 1969, 17)

Barth's important contribution to the study of ethnicity was that 'ethnic' groups must be studied not as isolated communities but in relation to each other. However, our study on the development of ethnicity inevitably raises questions about the social forces *behind ethnic boundaries*. What are the social forces generating ethnic boundaries, we may ask. What social and political implications follow if and when ethnic identity is primary in social interaction?

We approach this question by suggesting that the role of ethnicity in the African context today is different from what it was during the pre-colonial period and the colonial period. This being the case poses a number of terminological questions.

In the following we shall first of all distinguish between two types of the phenomenon of ethnicity.26 These illustrate, on the one hand, ethnicity in the pre-colonial time whereby ethnicity is considered an objective phenomenon. Ethnicity in this sense suggests cultural differentiation. On the other hand, we talk about
ethnicity based on consciousness during the late pre-colonial and colonial time. Admittedly, subjective ethnic consciousness as such occurred among people in the pre-colonial period, but we assume that ethnicity based on consciousness forms the base for ethnic processes during independence. The proposed move actually forces us one step further than a mere distinction made between the social and cultural dimensions of ethnicity, as called for by Charles F.Keyes fortissimo (1982).

The main cause for distinguishing between two types of ethnicity is based on the argument that, for an understanding of African pre-colonial, colonial and independence history, it is important to distinguish between the social and the cultural as relatively independent phenomena which however, are inconceivable one without another. In short, in an evolutilional dimension of the societal process social norms and practice shape culture at the same time that culture, in a functional dimension, as a direct perception, is considered a cause for social action. We will return to this. The undertaking is considered useful for the assessment of the real socio-cultural and historical experience in those countries which have inherited the colonial social system (Girenko, 1987, 135). In line with this, A.O. Anacleti calls for a "new" cultural approach to the history of Tanzania. Referring to the fact that by the time of colonial rule cultural rather than political integration had been going on, due to the formation of different societies into larger groups, his proposal is as follows: historical studies should as their starting-point take the scrutiny of these formations and the "extent to which their experience can be used for consolidating national unity and national culture" (1983 (a), 11).

According to Keyes, the significance of both the social and cultural dimensions for the interpretation of ethnicity can best be estimated in radical societal changes in which people from different social communities are brought together within a common social system:

Ethnic change is a dialectical process that begins when people experience a radical shift in their social circumstances (when they for example are incorporated in a new political order or when they
migrate). As people evolve new patterns of social adaptations to their changed circumstances they begin to reassess the saliency of the cultural basis of their ethnic identities. And as new cultural meanings are given to their identities, they also develop social patterns in accord with the premises of their identities. (1982, 3)

Although we can agree with Keyes that the process of ethnic change (whatever interpretation we give to this) as a result of a radical shift in the social situation in which people act is a dialectical one, we must, for analytical purposes, make the above-mentioned distinction between two types of ethnicity. In fact, the significance of ethnicity as a phenomenon changes due to "a radical shift in people's social circumstances". In the above-mentioned quotation by Keyes, it seems as if ethnic identities, in the sense of people being conscious of their ethnic identities, are ab initio established. This, however, was seldom the case in the pre-colonial societies of Tanzania (see for example Beidelberg, 1978, 231). Therefore, in our task to elucidate the development of ethnicity in Tanzania, the expression "re-assessing the cultural basis for ethnic identities" does not sound wholly accurate.

In sum, our expressed distinction between two types of ethnicity focuses primarily on the presence vs. the lack of a social significance of ethnicity for its bearers or 'outsiders'.

I.2:1 Ethnicity as an objective phenomenon

During the pre-colonial period ethnicity as a phenomenon in Tanzania can be regarded as an objective phenomenon, in the sense that it was an objective characteristic which united a group of people in the frame of a certain social system. An ethnic community was thus not necessarily a social unity – due to fusion of several social units e.g. lineages – although it was a result of it. The ethnic consciousness of different units could be weak or strong or even missing altogether, in that ethnicity was not socially significant. Ethnicity was thus a cultural asset rather than a social asset.

Anthropological literature dealing with pre-colonial Tanzania (and other African countries) offers us several examples which provide evidence that the primary identification for the pre-colo-
nial community was, for example, social identification with various social groups such as age groups, local groups and religious groups. Thus, for example, age organizations formed important integrating and incorporating institutions crossing various social units (see for example Skinner, 1970, 179-186; 1978, 191-192). Also marriage provided a means for the formulation and maintaining of explicit identities by reinforcing group identities on the basis of lineage (Turnbull, 1978, 102-104; Goody, 1970, *passim*.). Admittedly, a statement about the Makonde is illustrative. It indicates that the Makonde "of course" were not known by such a name in the beginning of the 19th century and they did not have any "tribal consciousness – *kabila* "tribe"/to them meant clan" (TDB /93/). As demonstrated by several scholars, people's primary identification with a certain territory today reflects, in fact, a distant shared past (see e.g. Tobisson, 1986, 117).

It can be noticed that in the autobiography of the famous Swahili trader, Tippu Tip, no ethnic characteristics are mentioned as pertaining for the inhabitants of different regions. In earlier Arab sources pertaining to the coastal zones of Tanzania, ethnonyms are practically not encountered at all, with the exception of the Swahili. Yet it is not quite clear if in this naming an ethnic meaning is expressed (Girenko, 1983, 38; 1977, 76). As Terence Ranger puts it: "ethnicity was more a matter of role than of origin" (1979, 64-66).

We can thus state that it was social status based on e.g. age or kinship organization, not ethnic status, which decided the position of an individual in the pre-colonial society and that ethnicity on the other hand was an aspect of culture (cf. Brass, 1976, 226; Girenko, 1983, 38). In this objective meaning, then, ethnicity has always existed.

With this in mind we can proceed and borrow Hanna Herzog's question (posed in another context but likewise theoretically valid in our task): "why and when is the social construction of reality made 'in ethnic terms'" (1984, 517).
I:2:2  Ethnicity based on consciousness

In the following, we claim that as a social phenomenon ethnicity emerges through interaction between groups in colonial society. The political system plays here the significant role asked for above. Following the approach taken by Herzog that "ethnic identity is not in itself a resource for political power unless defined as such in the process of political negotiation" (op.cit., 1984), gives a hint to a reply for why ethnic terms are used in the social construction of reality.

In the colonial society, which can be conceptualized as the result of a collision between traditional (in the sense of local African) societal structures and introduced alien ones, a second type of ethnicity permeates, based on consciousness.

The new state system introduced a concept of territoriality which contrasted distinctly with local conceptualizations in the sense that political boundaries acquired great significance. Not only did the encroached boundaries ignore objective cultural boundaries or patterns (Cf. Jerman 1980, 51-52; Young, 1982, 75). They also led to a break-down of traditional social entities as well as large nets of social interaction. These were replaced by new ones (Skinner, 1978, 194). Social stratification systems and ethnicity were altered by the colonial state.

In this process many and various groups based on cultural characteristics were gathered under one political system. This meant that within a broader population the basic social unit had to be a cultural one (regardless of its social bonds). We talk here about ethnicity based on consciousness. There are two conditions for such an ethnicity, namely (1) the colonialists' implementation of territorial divisions in order to administrate their subjects and, (2) the fact that the created cultural groups ('tribes') had unequal opportunities to social mobility. These factors, naturally, created "widespread perceptions" of cultural or ethnic stratification (Young, 1982, 76-78). Let us dwell on the operation of this phenomenon for a while.

It is possible to externally recognize, during this period, two cardinal processes – a ramifying of relationships on the one hand and a hardening of boundaries on the other (Lonsdale, 1977,
130). Thus, parallel to the process of local, regional, social and similar communities (which had been regarded as cultural communities) losing their distinctiveness in the new conditions, the institutionalization by the colonial administration of the "divide and rule" policy gave birth to another process, externally contradictory to the first. This process made people increasingly aware of the still-existing cultural specifics of their respective cultures. The cultural attributes of a certain people had to serve as indicators that the "people" in question belong to a specific group in contrast to another group who do not share these characteristics (Girenko, 1987, 133-134; Cf. Colson, 1967, 204).

Hence, cultural distinctions play a functional role only within a common social system of social interaction provided that there are several cultural groups within that system. As to social stratification, the cultural (ethnic) belonging was used as a main indicator for defining the position within the colonial system: the European category was the primary one in the social hierarchy (see e.g. Young, 1982, 76; Girenko, 1987, 134).

The classification and reorganization of cultures was realized in ethnic maps which included even creations of new ethnic categories. The maps included regional namings (areal namings became ethnic ones, for example) as well as social namings. A great number of cultural determinants such as "coloured" or "natives", and more veiled ones owing to the use of local languages, were born. A remark by Girenko very much to the point is that the representatives of these cultural or social communities were called tribes despite the fact that they did not belong to the same "taxonomic" level (Girenko, 1987, 133-134).

The groups which were "established" by the colonial administration were easily conceived as analogous to pre-colonial social communities and formations:

To indicate the fact of belonging or not belonging to such groups does not require a long time of practice because cultural characteristics, whatever they are, are evident and concrete. (Girenko, op.cit., ibid.)
Ethnic consciousness arose, based on these situations. Paraphrasing Gellner, this meant that ethnicity in the colonial society engendered ethnic groups, and not vice versa.

As Gellner wrote:

It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round. Admittedly, nationalism uses the pre-existing, historically inherited proliferation of cultures or cultural wealth, though it uses them selectively, and it most often transforms them radically. " (Gellner, 1988, (1983), 55)

It should moreover be stressed that the colonial administration emphasized ethnicity as the only legitimate base for political authority (Ranger, 1979, 82). Thus, those who formed in one way or another a part of the colonial administration displayed ethnicity (and used it) in the first place and caused this phenomenon to spread to the rest of the population. With the transferral of the ideology of European nationalism to Africa (Cf. Jerman, 1981, 43) the role of intellectuals and school people in advocating the development of local cultures was likewise not minor.

Elizabeth Colson writes:

Youngsters emerging from local village schools to compete for the scarce places in the few secondary schools of the country found themselves face-to-face with the youths of other regions. The secondary schools were forcing grounds for African nationalism, in the sense of the rise of African intellectuals against European domination. In that respect, they fostered the growth of larger identities related to territorial states or to pan-Africanism. At the same time, they posed the problem of which cultural and linguistic groups were to dominate within the state once power passed to Africans. Probably many youths found their explicit allegiance to particular ethnic traditions at the same time that they made their commitment to African independence. (1967, 204)

The transition to the colonial society ground away step by step elements of the traditional social life, resulting in collisions between these and new tendencies. The innovations did not strike all groups of people (the infringement on the traditional norms was sharpest in towns where the social and cultural inte-
igration happened faster). The traditional and the new often co-existed side by side. As the colonial system raised problems connected with the prioritisation of cultural forms and people were confronted with, for example, participation in alien institutions, it meant that cultural characteristics gained a social significance (Girenko, 1983, 38-39, 43-44, my emphasis; Cf. Saul, 1979, 9, 350).

Using a somewhat different terminology, Paul R. Brass specifies the conditions under which ethnic groups (ethnicity as an objective phenomenon in our terms) undergo the process of identity change which passes into subjective consciousness for them as ethnic communities (ethnicity based on consciousness in our terms) and/or political significance as nationalities. The core of his analysis is that cultural attributes distinguishing different groups from each other are necessary but not significant conditions for ethnic identity formation, i.e. ethnicity (1976, 225). When cultural symbols or characteristics acquire new subjective significance and consequently are used for the articulation of "we-ness" vs. "other-ness", it means, in short, that ethnicity manifests itself through culture.

Ethnicity as a process of consciousness required new cultural characteristics to arise. The phenomenon of being conscious of one's ethnicity (a social process) may itself be a cultural attribute (Bromley, 1978, 18; Young, 1982, 74). This happens when certain differences in cultural characteristics between two groups gradually are deleted — what remains or passes on, however, is the consciousness (see e.g. Nagata, 1981, 98-99 and Young, 1982., 74). This ethnic consciousness (which exists in a certain historical context) will, according to our argument, be actualized in a concrete functional dimension (in space and time) by the actual social context (Cf. Jerman, 1981). Ethnicity, as a form of consciousness and, according to Binsbergen, "primarily /is/ a process of self-definition among a set of people perceiving themselves /for example/ as sharing a common history of deprivation"31 can lead to, depending on the situation, social and political mobilization.32 Selected cultural factors are thus used and manipulated in order to strengthen an ethnic group. Admittedly, subjective eth-
nicty is in theory, comparable to nationalism and nation.

We have thus made a difference between two types of ethnicity: objective ethnicity in pre-colonial society and ethnicity based on consciousness in the colonial class society – which serves as a spring-board for a number of today’s ethnic phenomena. A very pertinent analogy between these two types of ethnicity is styled by Girenko, namely an analogy between mass and the weight of the mass or quality and its perception.

I:3 The place of culture in the phenomenon of ethnicity

One of the main points to hold on to from the foregoing discussion is that ethnicity manifests itself through culture. Cultural features such as language, customs and origin are hereby used for the articulation of contrasting identifications.

We have, moreover, stressed that cultural characteristics gain social significance within a common social system of interaction. Cultural (ethnic) distinctions play a functional role provided that there are several cultural groups within that system. As stated, this happened in Tanzania with the imposition of colonial rule when people were perceived in ethnic terms. In Ali A. Mazrui’s words, "Some groups in Africa did not realize they were a particular ethnic community until relatively recently" (1980, 65).

Given such a salient emphasis on culture in the formation of ethnicity, the task of defining culture and giving it a 'place' within the phenomenon of ethnicity becomes essential. Admittedly, there is a clear distinction between the use of the notion of culture – on the one hand, to identify the specific from the outside and self-identity and self-representation, on the other. It would, however, be a mistake to conflate these two practices of identity because this would lead us to regard culture, ethnicity and race as equivalents (Friedman, 1994, 174). Commenting on aspects of "Western essentialism" Friedman writes:

The essentialist notion of culture somehow became conflated with the notion of representation, making it possible to identify culture with ethnic identity. Thus what is contained in self-representation or representation by another becomes the essence or totality of what one is. (Friedman, 1994, 174)
In the following, some major tendencies in the study of the notion of culture which are of central importance for our study will be discussed. In connection with this, our previous emphasis on the need to differentiate between cultural and social communities is accounted for. Thus, our immediate main task is to elaborate on the relations between society, culture and ethnicity.

Tylor's introduction of the concept of culture in 1871, gave rise to a veritable waterfall of subsequent definitions and analyses of this complex notion. A century later, Morris Freilich, editor of the book *The Meaning of Culture*, which included papers on the notion of culture by such celebrities as Malinowski, Kroeber, White, Bennett and Barth, came to the conclusion that "the reader who has carefully studied these writings will yet feel that the meaning of culture has not been presented" (1972, 267). Since then, the evolution of the concept of culture has been thoroughly analyzed by E. Vermeersch (1977) and M. Mauviel (1983).

In recent years also the notion of culture has been increasingly questioned as a useful concept. In a number of cases anthropologists have even proposed a demise of the notion. Lila Abu-Lughod, for example, presents different strategies for "writing against culture". According to her, culture as an *analytical tool* emphasizes the "other" and can to a certain degree be compared to the notion of race (1991, 143). Such a standpoint rests basically upon an essentialist notion of what culture is (see above and, Cf. Brightman, 1995, 540). Tim Ingold, in his turn, suggests that the concept of culture in its application divides the *continuous* world people live in. He proposes that anthropology instead should recover the "foundational continuity" of social experience. In this way, he suggests, we might challenge an "alienating discourse" on culture and even dismiss this term.

Freilich states that "most discussions of 'culture' begin with Tylor's classic definition, go on to show some inadequacies therein, and make suggestions for improvements" (1972, 7). This is in itself a case in point.

As the conceptions of culture are generally based on some previous conceptions, Girenko (1983) considers it important to make an excursion into the history of the linking of nature and
culture to present a critical review of the development of ethnography. His main argument, to which we will return, leads to the conclusion that it is wrong to use relationships of human being/nature or nature/culture as a base for the analysis of the dynamics of culture. It is the society (the social system), the system of social relations and people's activities that will always form a uniting and decisive link in these contexts.

During the last few decades one of the issues in dispute in the discussion on culture has been that of the relationship between culture and society. Leslie White maintained the view that "culture is the name of things and events dependent upon symboling (sic) considered in an extrasomatic context" and "culture is clearly distinguished from human behaviour" (1972, 122). Radcliffe-Brown, in his comments to White - suggesting that White's definition of culture as a special kind of reality does not seem to be altogether clear - stated with irony that the study of culture as abstracted from society ("from social life as a system of relations and interactions between persons and groups") seems to be as possible as "to study music without reference to the societies which have produced music" (1972, 124). Mary Douglas (1975), developing further Radcliffe-Brown's ideas has similarly criticized Clifford Geertz' (1973) basic conceptualization of culture as a system of meaning, refuting culture as a basic concept in a social analysis. More recently, Barth has suggested that we have to make an effort "to show how the shapes of cultures are socially generated" (1989, 134).

We can thus state that in some definitions culture is comprehended as an independent phenomenon. At the same time, it is argued, that culture as a phenomenon in human society "can only exist in a concrete social collective" (Girenko, op.cit., 31). Interdependence between the social and the cultural implies, in Ulf Hannerz's words that there are "several ways of dealing with that linkage" (1992, 10).
1.3:1 Research on culture – the starting-point for our discussion

The Jipemoyo Project team was working under the consensus that central concepts like culture and development need to be defined in the context in which they are used and cannot be given general definitions (Swantz, 1979 (II) (a), 8). Without going into the problematic which this posed for each of the Jipemoyo researchers separately, we can first of all state that culture was taken as a comprehensive concept. Secondly, a common standpoint was that culture is directly related to productive forces, being both a fruit of historical development and a force shaping it (Swantz, 1977, 12-13). Thirdly, people's own conceptualization was considered to affect the meaning given to the concept of culture scientifically.

Marja-Liisa Swantz's discussion of the "scientific concept of culture" focuses mainly on the nowadays widely accepted assumption of culture being part of society which "takes diverse forms under diverse historical and natural circumstances" (see Swantz, 1979 (II) (a), 16-25). Her central argument on one of the questions posed by her: "how to use it /culture/ as a tool of thought" brings culture into focus as a system of significance.41

While admitting that such a standpoint does not solve the theoretical problem of what exactly culture is and how to study it, Swantz states that:

culture as a category of thought, as an idiom of society or a significance mediates from the study and practice of the comprehensive system of social field to a differentiated one in which a radical change has taken place in categories of understanding and in categories of practical activities. There can emerge a transfer of meanings from the old,42 to the new system but a conflict may also erupt which measures the strength of the 'systems' in question. (1979 (II) (a), 19-20)

Swantz suggests, moreover, that culture is tantamount to society when referring to the undifferentiated mode of social life, while the elucidation of more differentiated sectors of society (with the introduction of a market economy under capitalism and the restructuring of settlement patterns) calls rather for an analysis in
economic and social terms (ibid., 19). The conceptualization of culture as a system of "meaning" which changes through time via social (and economic) institutions consequently leads to the general adoption of the concept of culture as outlined below:

We looked into the people's own understanding of the concept of culture, analyzing the terms used for it, and their understanding of national culture in relation to tribal or ethnic culture. We used the term in its broadest sense, so as to encompass all aspects of social life and thus tried to avoid the narrow usage of the word which is common in the West. (Swantz, 1981, 23)

Inspired by the experiences of the Jipemoyo Project, Swantz considers that it is meaningful to examine the role the specific ethnic traditions play in the process of planned development. In other words, instead of asking what the role of culture in development is, we would first analyze the role of tradition in it. Taken this way, the researchers made a distinction between what people call their own ethnic tradition jadi [ancestral obligations] and, utamaduni, i.e. the definition of national culture by the Ministry of National Culture and Youth (Swantz, 1979 (II) (a), 21).

Thus Swantz, in her analysis of the popular concept of culture, notes that the Swahili word utamaduni has become separated from its origin among the general populace and has rather gained connotations from ethnic cultures (ibid., 11). If utamaduni did not carry the original meaning of "urbanization", neither did it have the same connotation as the word "tradition" would. It was, for example, clear that utamaduni has some sort of modern connotation, utamaduni relating to a developing society in distinction from local terminologies. How this is reflected and articulated in practice is demonstrated here by two everyday examples from the field:

A European wearing a kanga-cloth as other village women, when first time seen, is followed with women's comments: Maendeleo haya, this is development. (Swantz, 1979 (II) (a), 13)

The second example concerns a short episode at a local marketplace. When, during our fieldwork, two of us (Jipemoyo re-
searchers) were visiting the local market-place in the village of Miono, a man wanted to sell us a kinu, a mortar. He pointed to it and said that it was utamaduni. He obviously meant that the mortar's decoration reflected a local cultural pattern or it was an artifact that belonged to their culture (UTAf 1977/22.77).

To explain the background to such a meaning of utamaduni we must go back to the time of the independence in Tanzania. We will revert to this in connection with the discussion of aspects of national cultural policies and national culture in chapter 1:4.

A commonly accepted meaning to culture was not arrived at in the Jipemoyo Project. There were differences of opinion among the researchers as to whether culture should be looked upon as a category of meaning rather than of economy. Admittedly, some of the researchers presented concise definitions of the concept of culture for their individual studies. We can, however, conclude that the general conceptualization of culture as brought forth by Swantz considered the relationship of culture and society to be crucial for the development of culture, while the nature of culture per se in its relation to society denoted a "category of thought or system of significance" (affecting "practical activities").

Bearing upon the statement that the relationship between culture and society is decisive for the development of culture and on our previously presented argument that we must differentiate between the social and cultural as independent phenomena, we shall proceed by elaborating on the nature of the relationship between culture and society.

I:3:2 Culture and society
Returning to Freilich's comment (see above p. 66), let us now recall Tylor's definition of culture. According to him, culture includes all social expressions of the human being as a member of society (1871, I, 1),

that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (Quoted in Lévi-Strauss, 1963, 356)
Anthropologists held on to this concept in the late 19th century and the early years of the 20th. Now that the idea of culture as an independent phenomenon took root in science, the question was: what remains of earlier social communities? The basic principles and logic (for the evolutionary thinking) in the systematic studies carried out were adopted from the natural sciences (see e.g. Girenko, *op.cit.*, 28). Tylor’s definition called for further elucidation of culture. Girenko, for example, reacts like this:

> On the one hand culture includes manifestations of man and social order and on the other hand it is viewed as something different from society, as an independent phenomenon with its regularities and its relationship to nature... The ancient formula nature/human being is revived anew in the formula nature/culture. Moreover in the 1800s and the beginning of the 1900s culture was often considered tantamount to race. (1983, 28-29)

Likeness between forms of behaviour, customs and dwelling or ideological conceptions were considered by anthropologists during the first third of the 20th century as criteria for an actually existing dynamic, taxonomic unity. In form it was often identified with a society or was treated like a society (*op.cit.*, 30-31). Writing about contact situations brought about by colonialism, Royce states this same argument in other words: "The existence of a common culture /was made/ the defining feature of a social group" (1982, 54). The following quotation from Malinowski will illustrate this argument very clearly:

> The tribesmen are able to co-operate, to interchange services and goods, and to communicate with each other. This is possible because united by the same culture they use the same tools and goods,...most important of all, they speak the same language. (1976 /1944/, 255) (Emphasis mine)

Hence, cultural differences or similarities were identified with social differences or similarities (see e.g. Girenko, 1983, 28; Friedman, 1994, 173).
I:3:3 Towards a concept of culture for our study

Let us now proceed to examine a definition of culture suggesting that the phenomenon of culture is a specific aspect of existence of all kinds of social phenomena. This definition differentiates between social activity (resulting in material and spiritual values) and perceptually given forms (material and spiritual values). Let us first, however, recall the understanding of the concept of society as it is understood in the theory of historical materialism. According to this theory, society as a phenomenon is primary to the individual. The basic element of society is interaction, including exchange of ideas and things (Marx, 1973, 265). Individual customs and usages are shaped under the influence of social practise and social norms existing outside the individual giving the social context for every single individual activity. It is here appropriate to quote John Blacking's reflection on the connection between individuals/society:

Although individual personality is the most precious and (at least in children) lovable attribute, it cannot begin to develop without society and without some sort of tradition of communication by which people can refine and develop their thoughts and feelings by exchanging and reflecting on their experience through the use of commonly accepted symbols. (1985, 8)

Of the numerous definitions of culture, the following, suggested by Girenko, corresponds with the idea that social practise and social norms shape culture: culture is the system of historically developed materially and perceptually accessible forms in which social existence (life) is realized. In line with this, the forms of consciousness and their material manifestations (among a collective of people) are to a considerable degree conditioned by social reality and reflect this reality in different aspects (Girenko, 10.3. 1987). Culture as a form or a system of forms in which the societal process is directly realized can be "a form of realization between the terms of people, people and things, society and nature or a perceptually given form of the material results of these terms..." (Girenko, 1983, 32). The crucial point here is that culture is perceived by the human senses as a concrete thing; it
has a quality of being reflected in the sense-organs, whereas

a particular society in relation to a culture community manifests itself as a more dynamic phenomenon more subject to partitionment and more abstract than a community of people with a unity of cultural characteristics. (Girenko, 1987, 132)

As a corollary to the definition of culture above, it is stated that the concrete nature of culture is the reason why culture and nature have been regarded as opposites (and not society/nature in the first run). It is hence wrong to put the relationship of nature/culture as a basis for the dynamics of culture.

We can in short state that in a historical approach all factors leading to changes of cultural traits are after all always social. Society (as a multidimensional general process) stands as the anti-pole to nature and interacts with it, and strictly speaking not with culture or individuals. Thus, even changes in the milieu (nature) affect culture via social activity and social relations. An illustrative example supporting this argument is Giblin's study (1986) which geographically covered also parts of the Bagamoyo District. His analysis of the social, economic and political factors responsible for provoking famine between 1840-1940 suggests that while the root cause of African ideological disintegration was the colonial impact, it was, nota bene made indirectly. Giblin writes: "The direct impact fell on the relations which organized production and which ordered the interaction of the Zigua with their natural environment" (319-320).

The suggested definition of culture as a starting-point for the analysis of the development of ethnicity is based on the concept of form: the concept of form is used as a base for a systematization of cultural phenomena. In theory the form can, as it were, be separated from the real object i.e. the society. The form is apprehended as an independent phenomenon with a proper inner essence (see Girenko, 1983, 28).

Now, although one agrees that activities or modes of activities i.e. the content of culture is realized in material or spiritual values it should be noticed that the mode of activities and their
forms are correlated. A change of the content does not always presuppose a change of the form and vice versa. As in the latter case the change of the form tends to be perceived as objective. It is in fact perceived as an ideal model by the people themselves (whose native form it is) or outsiders. However, the general rules of culture as a system of forms do not function as an objective system; they function in the practice of social life mediated by this same practice. Thus, the factors of nature affect first and foremost activity and through it also the forms in which it is realized (Girenko, 1983, 32).

Arguably, Swantz's statement on the pre-eminence of cultural determinants becomes methodologically understandable in a functional dimension:

Culture needs to be taken as the total way of life which the history of society has shaped and which in turn has been influential in shaping its history. In this dialectical movement and relationship there is and has been an emergence of influential culture elements which have grown to be dominant...While we cannot discount the material base for the societal development process in an evolutionary perspective, in a life of an individual society or a group of people, especially within a kin society based on sociality, cultural determinants become pre-eminent. (1979 (b), 7; my emphasis)

As an illustration of the differentiation between the phenomena of content and form we can take an example from the Bagamoyo District and the Parakuyo pastoralists living there. The pastoralists' social system is based on age set. Owing primarily to the government policy favouring the cultivators, the pastoralists, urged by the government to be more productive, have been forced to sell their cattle in order to improve their economy. As a consequence they began to sell their cattle to the state (for example to parastatal organizations). Where did the money thus acquired go? To enlarge and rebuild their herds! Thus, the completely same function continued. The form of the Parakuyo's social structure was perpetuated i.e. the same form of organization. However, the content became entirely different in modern life (Rigby, 1980, 70-71).
I:3:4 Culture and ethnicity

When we consider culture as a system of forms in which society in reality realizes its existence (i.e. carries out its activities) in a given space and period of time, we can say that it /culture/ constitutes a relatively independent section of the social process – a section with regard to form (i.e. ideas in concrete forms, human beings in concrete forms aso.). In this meaning it appears to the researcher as a text, the content of which forms the entire social life and the history of concrete cultural systems or cultural complexes. The text establishes both similarities and dissimilarities between two cultures. Two ethnic groups differ from each other with regard to forms in their systems of social interaction.

Supporting the argument that ethnic groups ('tribes') arose under colonialism Peter Ekeh suggests that they were "substantial and notional expressions of kinship systems and kinship ideology entrenched in the slave trade era before colonialism" (1990, 661). According to him, kinship has been transformed into ethnic groups in colonial and post-colonial Africa. This means that ethnicity during colonialism grew out of cultural material provided mainly by kinship ideology. Furthermore, our argument that ethnicity 'reacts' to concrete historical experience makes Anthony D. Smith's idea about the role of tradition (in nationalism) relevant for my study.

Smith maintains that "nationalism derives its force from historical embeddedness". More specifically, tradition i.e. "subjective 'ethno-history'" including a particular community's milieu and events implies (always) some continuity with the past (1991, 356-358). Although Smith admits that the notion of tradition is elusive – to which we will return – he suggests that a deep collective identity like nationalism has its roots in what he calls an ethnic past – in our terms objective ethnicity. He suggests that these historical ethnic communities were neither fixed or static: they "form, flourish and dissolve, or are absorbed by neighbouring or conquering ethnies" and, "the ethnic ties has no absolute priority" (1995, 32-35).

As Jocelyn Linnekin rightly points out, the conventional scholarly concept of tradition, rests on the assumption "that a
core or essence of customs and values is handed down from one generation to another" defining a "group's distinctive cultural identity" (1992, 251).53 This idea is strongly challenged by the historian Steven Feierman. In his Peasant Intellectuals he shows how the "traditional" in modern peasant discourse can be "modern" in a relevant way. In his words, "(L)ong-term continuity and active creation are in fact compatible" (1990, 3). Thus, in the Bagamoyo District, in contemporary time, villagers use e.g. the concepts of jadi and utamaduni as two compatible notions54 in their discourse about social reality. In this respect, Smith's discussion on the cultural contents of nationalism as dynamic elements is equally relevant here. Thus an idea of cultural construction proposed by both Smith (1991) and Linnekin55 supports in a general sense the ideas outlined above. This idea implies that tradition is a selective representation of the past. Fashioned in the present it is affected by contemporary values and can be used politically (see e.g. Linnekin, 1992, 251).

It is a fact that the concept of cultural construction supports a number of widely divergent arguments (ibid., 254-257). Essential for our discussion is that both 'past' and 'present' should be understood within the framework of a large historical process. This being the case, my historical analysis of ethnicity as related to political organization, ideology and socio-economic structure obliges us for this very reason "to go back before colonialism and ethnicity"56 – ethnicity based on consciousness.

When we, beginning from chapter III, make a historical analysis of the development of ethnicity in Western Bagamoyo District, we will notice that, for example, the specialization of the economies and the professionalization of skills formed one of the main preliminaries which were decisive for the development of pre-colonial ethnicity. Keeping in mind our conceptualization of culture as a system of materially and perceptually accessible forms in which ethnicity manifests itself, we can state that the above-mentioned factors cannot per se be regarded as decisive for ethnicity (i.e. this was not a cause-effect). Instead, they led to an exchange of different needs and products between the economies. This exchange process led to social intercourse and
affinities followed by the mingling of cultures and the emergence of new cultural features common to large groups of the population. At the same time there occurred a consciousness of the social importance of specific ethnic characteristics of ethnic groups (of 'ethnic affiliation'). The fact is that the mingling of peoples stimulated many people to stress their identity and oppose foreign influence. This phenomenon can be juxtaposed to a similar situation prevailing in the twentieth century with the introduction of the colonial regime (Iliffe, 1979, 80).

We can thus state that cultural elements exist in a certain historical context and that they may be used (or not) within a certain social organization for ethnic group mobilization and thus provide a basis for the latter. Finally, it depends wholly on the historical context which cultural elements will be used.

I:4 Aspects of national cultural policies

Nationalism as a theory of political legitimacy requires, according to Gellner, that the political and the national unit should be congruent. More specifically, the ethnic boundaries of a state "should not separate the power-holders from the rest" (1988, 1). In this process, the very coincidence of the political and cultural "unit(s)", distinguishes the nation (an ideological construction) from the "agrarian society", a culturally differentiated community. The essence of nationalism becomes in Gellner's words the "fusion of culture and polity" (op.cit., 9-10, 13). These arguments serve as a suitable point of departure to assess aspects of Tanzania's national culture and national identity beginning from her independence in 1961 to some twenty years later. Gellner's point that nations are not "primordial" but historical constructions, an idea supported by several scholars today, is also discussed. From this perspective arises the vital question about Tanzania's ethnic past, its uses and imaginings.

Shortly after independence many African states established cultural ministries whose purpose was to reconstruct and promote African culture. The cultural ministries' efforts were, in short, to concentrate in promoting and reviving only a few man-
ifestations of culture. Culture was also associated with the past or equated with civilization (Anacleti, 1978, 4-5). At the bottom of this lay interpretations of the concept of culture which tried to describe the content of culture, so-called extensional definitions.59

Under the colonial administration, the "native" culture was used as a tool for oppression and degradation. One of the most characteristic features of cultural change for the population was the infringement on traditional norms in the social everyday culture. Not only was it forbidden, for example, for schoolchildren, to play ngoma.60 A colleague of mine remembers from his school years during 1958-1961 that their presence alone at a local ngoma would result in five strokes as a punishment. In this particular school, both songs and dances were, along with drums, imported from Britain (Personal information 6.3.1981). Julius Nyerere stated in his inaugural address:

Of all the crimes of colonialism there is nothing worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless – something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride. (1967, 186)

The positive functions of the ethnic heritage were consequently emphasized after Tanzania had gained its independence in 1961. President Nyerere stressed that "the best of the traditions and customs of all our tribes" should be sought out and made "a part of our culture" (op.cit., 187). The promotion of different aspects of culture during this time can be juxtaposed to the colonial tendency to emphasize 'tribal' characteristics. Whereas the latter regime used this policy for a division of the population, Tanzania's aims were opposite: a unification of the population.61

However, the function of national culture during the first years of independence promoted some exotic aspects of culture rather than the essence of it. A Ministry of National Culture (founded in 1962) was specifically instructed "to pool from all tribal institutions and customs in its effort to reconstruct what would have been a national culture." At this time, however, the promoters tended to interpret the national cultural development
as a return to the past, reviving the forgotten. As A.O. Anacleti, the Ministry's research director in 1978, says, the period can be seen as a time of cultural ambivalence. It was not until the Arusha Declaration that "there was a hope at last making culture the spirit and essence of the nation" (1978, 10, 23-24). Being a historian, Anacleti's task was hence to use research as an instrument for development.62

Julius Nyerere considered the Arusha Declaration "a declaration of intent". It was published in 1967 and implied in Nyerere's words that "we are Tanzanians and wish to remain Tanzanians as we develop" (1968, 315-326, my emphasis). This appeal for a Tanzanian national identity was clearly linked to state formation since the Arusha Declaration defined what socialism meant in the Tanzanian context: it provided a guideline to the people, the Government and the TANU63 "to which all future policy decisions could be compared" (Nyerere, 1973, 278). The Declaration strongly rejects the colonial division of people according to skin colour or their national origin or tribal origin. As an inclusive symbol64 the Tanzanian national identity was thus to transcend and subordinate other loyalties like tribal, religious and racial ones. Nyerere stressed in his Election Broadcast in September 1965 the importance of unity by bringing attention to the election regulations forbidding the use of tribalism and racism as well as appeals based on religion and sex in the campaign.

That this 'anti-discrimination' was one of the primary prerequisites for nation-building was explicitly demonstrated in the Arusha Declaration. It was also stressed by Nyerere in his numerous speeches and articles.65 Soon after the publishing of the Declaration the main sectors of economy were nationalized. In Mwongozo (i.e. the Party Guidelines which were drawn up some years later, in 1971) the appeals were extended: Mwongozo reminded TANU of its commitment for freedom for Tanzania and the whole of Africa. They advocated the people's leadership in economic as well as political matters including public participation in nation-building projects.

Tanzania (like other African states) was an artificial creation by Europeans. Yet, according to Nyerere, after decades of colo-
nialism it was the society that should form the basis from which the nation-building had to take the first steps to independence (see Nyerere, 1967, 18). This means, furthermore, that the Tanzanian national identity had to be constructed within a definite social space: when creating a national identity the links between the present of a national collectivity and its past was crucial.

Attempts at villagization i.e. to urge people to form village settlements on a cooperative basis had started already prior to the Arusha Declaration. Beginning from 1973 until 1976 this process was intensified: people formerly living in scattered settlements were gathered into new or old extended villages. The main aim of this villagization was to improve the living conditions of the people by providing centrally such services as health, education and water. Apart from being a huge human undertaking and suffering, it also radically affected the ethnic composition of the population. The pastoralists' integration into settled villages, for example, actualized the interdependence between them and the agriculturalists.

1:4:1 National identity
Orvar Löfgren's discussion (1989) on the construction of national identity displays the topicality of Benedict Anderson's famous definition of nation as well as Michael Harbsmeier's further development of that definition. Anderson's thesis runs:

It /the nation/ is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (1983, 15)

Harbsmeier considers Anderson's use of Victor Turner's communitas too broad or general as well as too narrow or specific to explain national identity and he suggests that:
National identity is – as opposed to other forms of social identity as an imagined fellowship – totally dependent upon the imagined or real approval of this identity as an otherness in relation to itself by others i.e. the other nations. (1986, 52)

Although a full assessment of the two above-mentioned ideas is not possible here I consider both ideas fruitful when discussing ethnicity with special reference to the specific nation-building process of Tanzania. Also, Philip Schlesinger points out (in line with Anderson's idea) that the relationship between past and present should partly be understood as an imaginary one "mediated by the continual, selective reconstitution of 'traditions' and of 'social memory'". In this process culture is forging the chain of identity between the past and present (1987, 260-261).

In the construction of a national identity there is a search for something distinctive of the nation in question as opposed to other nations. Hence national identity is directly linked to problems of state formation (Schlesinger, op.cit., 236, 253, 259-260). Although the latter point is not necessarily relevant in the case of ethnic identity, we may here reiterate from section 1:2:2, that as a social phenomenon ethnicity emerges (as does national identity) through interaction between different groups. Harbsmeier says: "Nationality is like music: it exists but you can only talk about it if you borrow the others' ears" (op.cit., 50).

Different cultural traits or ethnic symbols become nationalized by the process of selection, categorization, relocation and "freezing". These can serve as a basis for mobilization (see Löfgren, op.cit., 12; Cf. Brass, 1976, 239). Many examples of this sort of freezing can be mentioned in the case of Tanzania (see below chapter VI). Löfgren observes that one of the most interesting parts in this process is what is left out and he concludes by saying that the task of nation-building requires external and internal communication. This means that national identity markers are to be created both within the nation at the same time as that same national identity has to be demarcated in respect to other national units (Löfgren, op.cit., 12-13). We will return to this matter. In the following, however, we will present the foundations of the Tanzanian nation-building project which lay very much on a redefinition of the country's cultural heritage. Likewise the social
democratic utopia in Sweden in the 20s and 30s which attempted to redefine the essence of its national heritage by emphasizing the democratic traditions of above all the Swedish peasantry—Nyerere's second "post-Arusha" paper in 1967 called for the establishment of ujamaa villages on similar principles.

Nyerere described the traditional African family in the sense of villages of extended families as cradles of freedom, equality and unity. Three vital principles which ruled the traditional life welded the family into a social unit. These factors, based on certain practices and attitudes were: (1) an attitude of mutual respect and obligation which linked the members together, an attitude which might be described as love i.e. respect and obligation (2) common property (3) obligation to work (Nyerere, 1967, 8-9 and 1968, 337-339). The whole society was furthermore built upon these principles of ujamaa and it sustained it notwithstanding inadequacies in the traditional system like poverty and the position of women. The ujamaa village as a conception was, however, not to be understood as a revival of the old traditional settlements. Rather, learning from earlier failures the nation had to use the old traditional system and was to be built upon the three fundamental principles which permeated the customs, the man-

ners and education of the people (Nyerere, 1968, 337-340). *Ujamaa* as an idea was depicted in postcards and skilled handicraftsfolk carved pieces of art in wood symbolizing *ujamaa* and unity. Thus, large sectors of life among people were directly related to the so-called national culture.

An idea of nationalism based upon a shared history and culture, equality and a common destiny enables us thus to look at nationalism as a cultural process and/or cultural phenomenon.  

1.4.2 National culture

For Tanzania the construction of the national culture has been an important issue right from the beginning. The discussed aspects of national cultural policies presented above reflect the situation which prevailed during 1974-1982. At this time the ideology of Nyerere was strongly stressed. There were also serious attempts to define national culture. These ideas were initially put forward by Marja-Liisa Swantz, a development researcher who considered Tanzania as her research task and who raised the issue of the conceptualization of national culture. At the same time, researchers associated with the Ministry of Culture conducted research on national culture. The conceptualization of national culture in Tanzania in Swantz’s paper "National Culture – A Research Task" (1975) was based on the following argument. Since ethnic groups had developed specific cultural identities, studies covering these groups might have become divisive to the national culture. National culture was thus supposed to reflect the culture of all social groupings (*ibid.*, 1-2). Consequently, in the context of school curriculum teachers had tried to pick together different culture features under the pretext of a "national culture". Such projects had naturally their own problems (Swantz, oral information, 1977). The option to "go and pick up" customs and traditions and transfer them to various communities, for example, was deemed to fail. Specific traditions and customs function within the relations of specific communities: how do you recreate specific relations in new conditions? (Tambila, personal communication, 1987).

In fact the development of common traditions, customs and
values among various groupings of people takes place through their interaction in social and economic activities. Anacleti's main argument that common knowledge and experience gained through the interaction of people even before the colonial period and the differentiation of it to many parts of the country should thus be considered fundamental for the development of a common culture. Such processes, naturally, affect the development of ethnicity through common cultural forms.

The need to take a closer look at the processes which in Anacleti's words brought about an "unconscious cultural unity" provides culture research with a new approach. The study of what kind of trends these processes of interaction show in the post-colonial period becomes essential (1983 (a), passim). Thus one should not start from the whole in explaining local specifics, but on the contrary: studying the development of individual societies "we can be able to avoid making such communities objects of events rather than subjects of historical happenings" (Anacleti, 1978, 16-21; 1983 (b), 23).

Without claiming to solve the dilemma, such a stand-point is important when studying the development of ethnicity in Tanzania: the dynamics of social processes and their relations to certain events of past and present is considered telling for ethnic processes. Thus the investigation of which factors motivate or hinder a common national identity in a particular area could be the first step in explaining "the whole from the specific".

It goes without saying that the conceptualization of culture was not a question of mere academic interest for a country like Tanzania. Culture was analyzed for practical and political purposes. Anacleti suggested that culture can be regarded as an expression of the essence of the nation, meaning that culture reflects Tanzanians' struggle to maintain their unity as a nation (1985, 4-6). Such an emphasis on culture implies that it is an expression of what could be called "national identity":

Culture is an expression of the daily social activities of society that enable that society to identify itself as such and therefore differentiate itself from other nations. (op.cit., 5)
In other words, culture is something that people have created/create in their activity both in the past and present – and we could add – in their imagined community. Consequently it is considered that this 'production' enables the people in a society to hold a contrastive identity versus other societies.

The Ministry of National Culture adopted a broad view of culture. Anacleti's plea, "there is nothing which most of our people know better than their culture",71 defends well the argument that development has to start from people's own evaluation of their own situation and that a separation between so-called spiritual culture and its societal and material base cannot come into question (Swantz, 1979, 15).

When dealing with the issues of national identity and national culture (which often are used as interchangeable concepts) a national culture, unlike national identity is a kind of collective sharing which exists within a national cultural space (Löfgren, op.cit.). Such an interpretation can be juxtaposed to our discussion above where culture was described as the expression of the essence of the nation. Anacleti's argument that culture in this sense has the force to enable a society to identify itself as such and enables it therefore to differentiate itself from other nations supports in this respect both Löfgren's suggestions of sharing and Harbsmeier's point on the dependence of national identity upon the approval of this identity as a nation.

The following chapters on the development of ethnicity in Tanzania with the western part of the Bagamoyo District as a case study cover the pre-colonial period up to twenty years after independence. The analysis provides examples on how ethnicity manifests itself through culture. The arrival of independence raises two important questions: what is actually shared on a national level and how is it shared? Before dealing with this problem it is worth mentioning the paradox between the import of an international ideology for national purposes on the one hand, and the emergence of nationalism, on the other. Accordingly, Löfgren pays attention to the fact that the birth of new nations on the nineteenth-century paradigm can in a way be seen as the ultimate victory of colonial hegemony. Referring to the pioneer era of
Western national culture-building this ideology of nationalism could perhaps be looked upon as a "gigantic do-it-yourself-kit", a thesaurus of general ideas. According to this view every nation should have for example a common language, a common past and destiny, a national landscape (enshrined in the form of national parks) and a set of symbols (e.g. a flag and an anthem) (Löfgren, op.cit., 9).

Admittedly, nationalism as well as ethnicity are powerful symbols and unifying factors which might conceal different social realities (Gellner and Kon, 1989, 194). It is without doubt in the interests of policy makers to create a sense of continuity with a supposed past. A national culture should however not be regarded as a treasury of shared symbols or a project of inventing traditions (see Schlesinger, 260-261 and Löfgren, op.cit., 12). The problem is more complex than that.

Although agreeing that the past can be 'read' in several ways, Smith, for instance, strongly emphasizes that a particular community has its own past - "not any past" - with its unique events and people. According to him, 'inventions' may, as it were, be assessed as a modern recombination of a community's elements. The important issue in this process is, however, "to ensure their lasting success and popular acceptance" (1991, 358-359). He continues:

Traditions, myths, history and symbols must all grow out of existing, living memories and beliefs of the people who are to compose the nation. Their popular resonance will be greater the more continuous with the living past they are shown to be. (Smith, 1991, 359)

Apart from Ranger's important remark that the notion of invention "makes little allowance for process" Anacleti's afore-mentioned suggestion to approach individual societies as subjects of historical happenings is quite relevant here.

Furthermore, a condition for national identity and its continuity is that it exists as a cultural practice in people's life. A life they share from day to day.
Notes

1 Wim van Binsbergen (African Studies Centre, Leiden) has conducted fieldwork in Tunisia, Zambia and Guinea-Bissau. The quote is from his study "From tribe to ethnicity in western Zambia: The unit of study as an ideological problem" (1985, 181).


3 Glazer and Moynihan, 1975, 5.

4 The basic purpose of The International Conceptual Encyclopedia for the Social Sciences was e.g. to "facilitate the recognition and introduction of new concepts and terms growing out of contemporary social science research, especially of the third world" (1985, vii, my emphasis). Volume I of the Encyclopedia: Ethnicity: Intercocula Glossary. Concepts and Terms Used in Ethnicity Research lists 118 documents as a sample of the vast literature reflecting research on ethnicity /in the west/. Among these I found only one 'early' title (from 1960) which included the term 'ethnicity', namely an article by Immanuel Wallerstein: "Ethnicity and National Integration"; Cahiers d'Études Africaines, Vol. 1 (July 3), 1960. Although the compiler, Dr. Eric S. Casino (social anthropologist) states that the above mentioned list is not representative, his attempt was to find documents that represent "diverse points of view, ideological and geographical orientations, and disciplinary perspectives" (1985, 163).

5 This does not mean that no traditions were invented (Ranger, 1993, 84).


7 On a detailed examination of "primordial" and "mobilizationist" approaches to ethnic phenomena see, e.g. James McKay: An exploratory synthesis of primordial and mobilizationist approaches to ethnic phenomena, in Ethnic and Racial Studies Vol. 5, Nr. 4, 1982.

8 The distinction between primordialism and instrumentalism applies equally in the theoretical discourse concerning nations and nationalism.

9 An attempt to clarify my own understanding of the concepts which are impossible to disregard in the analysis of ethnic identity in a given context (1980, 40-63).

10 This conceptual distinction has been suggested by Marie Eliou, 1976.

11 Rigby stresses that traditional institutions and traditionalism always influence change and innovation in some way, but in different ways in varying structural and historical contexts. His research bears on two separate social systems, those of Baganda and Wagogo (op.cit., 320).

12 Binsbergen e.g. interprets this kind of ethnicity as an ideological response to the articulation of modes of production (1985, 222).


14 La Fontaine, 1969, 189.

15 Girenko, 1977, 75.

16 In another article (1976), however, his conceptualization of tribe tallies with Mafeje's (1971) theoretical position.


18 See emphasis above and e.g. Bates, 1970, 547.

87
19 Quotation by Girenko (1977, 74). See Girenko's discussion on this problem as treated by Cohen and Middleton in their Introduction to *From Tribe to Nation in Africa* (1970).

20 The tribe's self-sufficient economic life is based on subsistence agriculture, handicrafts, village industry, barter or livestock. As I have earlier (1980, 48-49) suggested this definition is adequate for our problematic, despite the vagueness of the criteria. For a penetrating analysis and survey of the history of the concept of tribe, see Godet (1977). Referring above all to Marshall Sahlins, he discusses e.g. the question of 'structural equivalence' of primary segments in tribal societies.

21 The analysis of eg the 'segmentary' process and the 'segmentary' system has since been dealt with by a number of anthropologists. See Marshall Sahlins, 1961, 322-345.

22 Girenko calls this process *pulsation* (1977, 85).

23 See e.g. Brass, 1976, 226.

24 A shortened account of the argument presented in the following two chapters has been published in Jerman, 1991 (b).

25 Cf. Helena Lindholm, who points at "circular reasoning" in this context. She notes that Barth emphasized the paradox, the problem between choice and ascription for an ethnic identity (1993, 15).

26 Suggested by Girenko, personal discussion, March 1987.

27 The theoretical approach proposed by Keyes to the study of ethnic change thus takes into account an understanding of ethnicity both a) as a common cultural heritage shared by a group and b) as a social manipulation process with the aim of achieving certain common ends (1982, 4).


29 Lema calls them "'ethnic' marking of peoples" and "'ethnic' management of the populations" (1993, 12).

30 See IV:2:1 and V:1:2. Here it suffices to mention that the process of classification of people resulted among other things in the crystallization of imputed stereotypes (cf. Wade V. Pendleton: Urban Ethnicity in Windhoek, 1978, 128-129, in *Ethnicity in Modern Africa*. Edited by B.M. du Toit). As to regional namings, see Chapter II:6. As to social namings, see Chapter III:1.

31 1985, 213.

32 See Binsbergen's extraordinary analysis of Nkoya identity in this sense. His frank and sincere description of his own involvement in the research process adds to the analysis a valuable aspect within the problematic of "units of research".

33 Friedman illustrates this position with an apt example, which I quote: "The way people play rummy in a particular fishing village need not have anything to do either with their self-identity or with the way others identify them" (ibid).


36 One of the strategies is ethnography of the particular. According to Abu-
Lughod, this strategy brings out similarities in all our lives and saves us from the sense of hierarchy connected with the notion of culture. Abu-
Lughod writes: "To say that we all live in the particular is not to say that for any of us the particulars are the same" (1991, 157). I find this statement challenging in so far as 'particular' could be substituted with 'culture', but then, the whole undertaking is senseless. The problem with 'particular', as I see it, is how to deal with it without the 'general'? And if so, we cannot escape the sense of hierarchy (Cf. Vincent Crapanzano, Ethnos, 1993:3-4, 393 in his review on Recapturing Anthropology. Working in the Present. Edited by Richard G. Fox. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1992).

37 Ingold, 1990, 29-30 (emphasis original) and, Abstract for plenary lecture:
The art of translation in a continuous world in, the Meeting of Nordic Anthropologists, 1990.

38 According to Gellner, 1980, ix; "the scholarly and intellectual activities which take /took/ place in the Soviet Union under the title of ethnografia ... can be treated as the equivalent of social and cultural anthropology in the West ... "; Cf. Skalnik, 1981, 183.

39 Barth maintains this position in Balinese Worlds, 1993, 6-7, 309 and passim.

40 Hannerz distinguishes three interrelated dimensions of culture: ideas and forms of thought, forms of externalization and social distribution (1992).

41 This interpretation is the result of a thorough examination (and a comparison of) Geertz', Douglas' and Kelle et Kovalson's treatment of the concept in question (Swantz, 1979 (II) (a), 16-25).

42 Obviously referring to the pre-colonial mode of life.

43 It is derived from the Arabic word tamaddun ["urbanization"] and has a rather recent origin in Swahili (Swantz, op.cit., 11).

44 Swantz, 1979 (II) (a), 10.

45 See e.g. Kiyenze, 1980, 28.

46 Much of the following is based, if not otherwise indicated, on Girenko: 1983, 32-33; 1986, 12-17, 19; 1987 (a); 1987 (b), 132-133. Any misinterpre-
tations in my analysis based on the above is naturally my responsibility.

47 Sarmela's argument (1971) in favour of a more systematic discussion on the interplay between ecology, diffusion, social structure plus historical and psychological factors which could give the folklorist a more secure ground for the mapping of cultural areas and cultural boundaries is here worth mentioning.

48 Culture, as a text, is here understood in a semiological context (Girenko, 1986, 19).

49 Ekeh uses examples from pre-colonial Nigeria and argues that kinship systems provided protection "against the dangers of the violence created by the slave trade". As a consequence kinship systems were strengthened (ibid., 682).

50 Smith, 1995, viii.

51 It bears noting that in an earlier article (1992) Smith's definitions of the notions of "pre-modern ethnicity" and "ethnie" (ethnic community) tal-
lied with traditional definitions with ethnic group, bordering on essen-
tialism. Thus, he has now altered his theoretical position.

52 This phenomenon is consistent with segmentation or pulsation as a pro-
cess as outlined above in Chapter 1:1.
53 In this respect Linnekin also includes in her discussion the notion of culture as understood in what she calls anthropology's narrative tradition.

54 On these: see above p. 69.

55 She works with similar issues in a Pacific context.

56 I borrow this expression from Ranger and Vaughan in their Introduction to *Legitimacy and the State*. They use it in a similar context — commenting on different scholars' argument who favour the *recency* of ethnicity in Africa (1993, 9-10).

57 An account of the argument presented in this chapter has been published in Jerman 1991 and 1993.

58 Daniel A. Segal and Richard Handler stress that although Benedict Anderson's book *Imagined Communities* captures specifically this idea — Ernest Gellner has put forth this idea three decades ago in e.g. *Thought and Change*, 1964, 150-153 (1992, 4).

59 See e.g. Camilleri, 1983, 10.

60 "...musical event which includes singing, dancing and playing on musical instruments. It is a totality which embraces the spectators, performers and their equipment — the appropriate actions as well as the resultant performance." (Donner, 1979, 30).

61 On this: see the discussion of the meaning of *jamii* [society] and *kabila* ['tribe'] in Chapter VI:2.

62 It bears noting that the research director before A. O. Anacleti, Israel Katoke, also was a historian.

63 Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) of Zanzibar joined in 1977 to form the party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM).


66 Changes in the distribution, location and grouping of settlements together with the organization structure of the rural areas following the villagization programme carried out in Tanzania 1973-77 in the Jipemoyo research context are described and analyzed in Sitari, 1983.

67 See Löfgren, *op.cit.*, 20. See also Tamás Hofer, 1991. *Ethnologia Europaea* Vol. 21:2. In his article "Construction of the 'Folk Cultural Heritage" he analyzes the process by which Hungarian national culture has been constructed and changed in the last century.

68 The Swahili word *ujamaa* can be translated as familyhood and is derived from *jamaa*, family. Nyerere described *ujamaa* in 1962 as "our socialism" which extends "beyond the tribe, the community, the nation, or even the continent — to embrace the whole society of mankind" (Nyerere, 1967, 162-171, quotation on page 171).

69 This approach leans on Örvar Löfgvist's article "The Nationalization of Culture" (1989). Concentrating on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of nationalist ideology and nation-states he discusses the problem of the making and constant remaking of national identity and culture, as an arena of contest between different interests.

70 See Anacleti, 1985, 4-5.

71 Anacleti, 1985, 20.

72 Smith uses this notion in the sense of a nation-state when he comments on French history vs. British history.

73 With this concept — invention — Smith refers, above all, to Ranger's and Hobbsbawm's theory of 'invented traditions' in *The Invention of Tradition* (Edited by Eric Hobbsbawm and Terence Ranger, Cambridge, Cam-
bridge University Press, 1983). This book emphasizes an invention of traditions rather than a continuity of customs during the past centen-
nium "of European imperialism, mass politics and cultural nationalism" (Ranger, 1993, 63; Ranger and Vaughan, 1993, 8). In The Invention
Ranger claimed the inventors /of ethnicity/ to be colonial administra-
tors and/or missionaries together with African collaborators. The term
invention emphasized thus in the colonial context a "conscious con-
struction and composition of tradition" (1993, 79). We may recall that
the notion of imagining in the discourse about nations as social con-
structions was introduced by Anderson in 1983, the same year that The
Invention appeared.

74 1993, 80.
75 The Participatory Research Approach (PRA), applied in the Jipemoyo
Project, specifically strived to include the people, amongst whom the
research was carried out, in the process of research. People were thus
believed to be subjects of making their history (see Marja-Liisa Swantz,
e.g. 1979 (I) (a), 25-29.
THE PRE-COLONIAL SITUATION
THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COAST

Although the historical records of the interior of Tanzania go back only a century and the oral traditions about 500 years, there is written material on the history of the coast dating as far back as 2000 years ago (see e.g. Chittick, 1974, 98-99). The area of Eastern Tanzania is one of the best documented in terms of early accounts of European explorers, traders and missionaries.

In the 1800s the economy of the coast rested on agriculture and fishing, on its position as commercial intermediary between the mainland and the Indian Ocean, and on the waterborne transport which distinguished it from inland economies. Many of the African inhabitants were doubtless cultivators. (Iliffe, 1979, 37)

It is the history of the coast which makes it possible for us to understand the process of social integration between the coast and the interior prior to the European colonization of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

The highly stratified so-called Swahili society, whose main characteristic was a highly developed system of communication,
spread its influence to the interior. This culture began spreading with the pre-colonial expansion of the trade in ivory and slaves (see Lonsdale, 1972, 25). However, its first ground-shoots appeared even before that.

The history of the formation of the East African coastal societies has been examined on the basis of linguistic material and written sources. The latter can be divided into two groups: "external" – i.e. of Arabic or Portuguese origin – and "internal"1 i.e. sources written on the coast in Arabic, or, more often, in Swahili. In addition, the results of the partly-finished large archaeological excavations on the East African coast from Southern Somalia down to the border between Tanzania and Mozambique are being used mainly for the reconstruction of the history of the populating of the region and the processes of Islamization.

In the following we give a presentation on population structures on the coast. The intention is to give an idea of the complex ethnic and religious structures, and above all, a basic picture of the socio-economic and political forces of the various strata of that society. A framework of the ethnic history of the Waswahili, based mainly on different versions of recorded traditions and interpretations of these by early and modern scholars, will also be given. The coastal culture and language had a strong influence on people's closer relation with one another and thus on common cultural processes in our research area.

II:1 The formation of the coastal societies

The analysis of different versions of recorded oral traditions² and interpretations of them by early and modern scholars³ confirm that migration from the Near East was an important part of ethno-genetic processes on the East African coast (Tolmacheva, 1980). Simple exchange, concentrating on food products, between the populations of the coasts of the Indian Ocean already took place before the establishment of regular trade. The economy of the various ethnically isolated groups of the East African coast was narrowly specialized along two lines: some groups had maritime occupations along the monsoon streams, whereas other groups
were involved primarily in cultivating cocoa palms on the islands and on the narrow fringe of the coastal area.

A long-enduring tradition of sporadic exchange of products developed into established patterns involving a substantial number of peoples. This included a common shipbuilding tradition to support trade among the islanders and the coast populations of the Indian Ocean in Asia and Africa. The maritime trade included an exchange of handicraft products (metal, glass and cloth) for such precious sea articles as beads, coral, sponge and products of a non-maritime nature, such as gold, ivory and skins of tropical animals. The connection between the trade zone of the Indian Ocean and that of the Mediterranean emerged two thousand years ago (Misiugin, 1967, 2).

Referring to the geographical classification presented earlier, i.e. "external" and "internal" sources, Tolmacheva offers us some principles of ethnic classification which are characteristic of each group of sources. The "external" sources in Arabic give comparatively early information as to both local population and territorial boundaries of local groups. Al-Mas'udi's material dates to the first half of the 10th century. The most important ethnical term of this era is zinj.\(^{4}\)

The ethno-cultural meaning of zinj has undergone numerous changes. Marina Tolmacheva summarizes:

Arabs, and Persians too, gave the name zinj to groups of the coastal population, Bantu-speaking groups who were negroid and...with traditional culture and norms. Only gradually were the zinj who had converted to Islam contrasted with zinj – infidel. Apparently the religious characteristic played a significant role both in the Portuguese use of the words Moor (used in relation to Muslims, both Arabs and Swahili) and Caffre (in relation to non-Muslim-negroes). (1980, 52)

The Portuguese travellers' and historians' descriptions generally mention Moors and Caffers as the population of the East African coast. We also know from Portuguese accounts from the early 1500s about the existence of various countries or "kingdoms" along the coast. It seems that the Portuguese historians named the countries according to what the indigenous inhabitants called
themselves. Guillain, clarifies the origin of the Portuguese name of the Moudjâou kingdom. Moudjâou stands for Mouiâo, which is further abbreviated as M'âo: a person belonging to the lâo country (1856, 390, 399). This is the case until today.

Diogo do Couto writes about the country Zimba and its inhabitant(s) Mouzimba (Sing.) a special anthropophagous group of "Cafres" at the end of the 1500s. This may confirm Guillain's derivation of the name, i.e. Zimba => name of the country; Ouimba (Fr. form) => people of that country (Wazimba in Sw.); Mouzimba (Fr. form) => person of that country (Mzimba in Sw.) (op.cit., 399, 406).

Rezende's description of East Africa in 1634 indicates that apart from the Moors (in Mombasa) there were also Caffres called Mozungullos, who lived in the interior on the mainland in the vicinity of Mombasa, and who had neither law nor king nor any other interest in life except theft, robbery and murder. The
fortress of Mombasa, which was situated on the east coast of Africa in Cafaria on an island of the Cafres, was intended to prevent the Mozungullos from coming to the island. It can be mentioned here that the Portuguese made a distinction between Arabs and Mozungullos:

Many Arabian Moors live both to the north and to the south along the coast belonging to the fortress of Mombasa. They are like prisoners of the Mozungullos Caffres, because they have to pay them a large tribute in cloth in order to be allowed to live in security. (Gray, 1947, 12)

Eastern African city-states rose and developed as a result of the coastal people's involvement in the ancient maritime trade over the Indian Ocean. V.M. Misiugin's detailed study comprises a critical analysis of local historical traditions, the written Swahili chronicles and the principal ancient documents. His analysis leads us to the conclusion that the aboriginal people had their own civilization based on slavery. Many settlements existed on the coast long before the Arabian immigrants came there for the first time. It is interesting to note that many essential culture elements among the populations of the East African coast did not have a direct relationship with Arab (Muslim) culture, but belonged rather to the larger common culture complex of the coasts of the Indian Ocean (for details see Misiugin, 1958, 143-146, 152).

II:2 The islamization of the coast

The process of increasing Islamic influence on the coast was first recorded by some writers of the 10th century. In the 14th century, the coastal towns and the islands were solidly bound to the Muslim world. They even led a "holy war" against the "infidel". Few things from the above-mentioned Arab writers' information find their parallels in the African sources (which are mainly in Swahili). The latter differ from them in content and chronology, and are as a rule anonymous. Even though the narration in the majority of these Swahili-language sources includes a hint on the history of the early Muslim period, it is of vital importance to note
that most of the information was given in oral form and was not written down until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

The process of collecting historical facts was scrutinized during the beginning of the 20th century by European scholars, such as C.H. Stigand and R.L. Pouvels, together with Carl Velten. Their analysis shows once again that the chronological view, the genealogical claims and the Muslim orientation of the narrative sources are a reflection of the oral historical tradition. There are several statements in the old chronicles explaining that the ancestors of the Swahili rulers – the founders of the early city-states on the East African coast – had migrated there from the Near East, mainly Syria, Persia and Iraq (see Tolmacheva, 1980, 52-53).

These assertions have been interpreted in various ways by different scholars. According to Neville Chittick and B.G. Martin, the long-term migrations explain the presence of such groups as the Washirazi and the Waarabu in the Swahili environment:

Apparent in the migratory trend of Arab holy families to East Africa was the movement of inter-related families and clans and prestigious segmentary lineages... In the islamized towns and ports and on the islands of East Africa the members of these holy families were willingly accepted. In their turn they brought social change. Certain patterns for successful migrants are evident; many of them apply equally well to other parts of the Indian ocean areas... Very often the new migrant obtained an honoured place as a counsellor or adviser to the ruler, particularly if the diwan or sultan or shaykh was seeking to add a new aspect of legitimacy to his rule... (Martin, 1975, 377-378)

Chittick relates archaeological evidence to historical, together with the support of J.S. Tringham's research:

The male ancestors of these people (Swahilisized people from the Bandir) would have settled on that part of the coast, calling themselves Shirazi in much the same way as Swahili people of Zanzibar do at the present day. (1965, 292)

Towards the end of the 11th century the first stone buildings were
erected on the coast and in the early 12th century the first mosques were built. Sir John Gray has presented recorded traditions about people called the Debuli who came to these shores during this period. According to Chittick's research findings, the Debuli were probably the earliest colonists of the coast before the Shirazi (1965, 289-290).

Of the numerous narrative traditions on migrations, many start from the Muslim period. Chittick's work on Kilwa (1965, 292 and passim) seems to confirm that the arrival of the Shirazi in the 12th century was the first phase in the history of the Muslim settlement. The new period is marked by the appearance of coins of 'Ali bin al-Hasan, who is identified as the first ruler of the Shirazi dynasty at Kilwa. Despite various speculations, it still remains unclear why legends and traditions concentrated real and mythical claims of Persian origin specifically around Shiraz (Cf. Tolmacheva, 1980, 54).

Shortly after the establishment of the Shirazi dynasty of Kilwa in the middle of the 13th century, a struggle arose with the neighbouring people in which economic rivalry seems to have been an important factor i.e. the control of the Sofala gold trade from the coast of Mozambique. Kilwa gained control of this trade, and became the commercial centre of the coast during this period (Alpers, 1969, 36-37). Most of the Islamic culture (architecture, coinage, pottery), the remnants of which can still be seen today, dates from the three centuries between "Shirazi colonization" and the arrival of the Portuguese. A general level of prosperity was the hallmark of the settlements along the coast. Although everyday products were locally produced or cultivated the whole existence of the settlements depended on trade. It should be stressed that the island communities off the East African shore and its hinterland, including small settlements and towns, had closer ties with Arabia and the Persian gulf than they had with the mainland (Sutton, 1974, 1, 11; Alpers, 1969, 38).
II:3 The development of a new ethnic identity, the Waswahili

In the coastal social life, the economic and cultural development resulted in uneven distribution of property among clans (families) and acculturation. Later came a deeper economic and proprietal division of society, and finally a class structure developed, founded on new economic grounds.\(^{14}\)

Along with the spreading of Islam into the old aristocracy, a common borrowed notion was born and spread – Washirazi.\(^ {15}\) Ancient social terms – names of lineages – were presented alongside generalizing terms waarabu and wasbirazi. In the late 1600s the lineage names were gradually partly substituted by harmonious Arabic family names. For example, Weyuni became Benu-Juni and Wapate became Batawiyna. It was during this period that the Swahili socio-judicial legends, stipulating the socially important order of various structures of the society, were transformed into legends (Cf. note 2). They dealt with the origin of dynasties, lineages and the whole societal structures of migrants from nearby Asian societies. The ancient documents must be considered unreliable in many respects. They do not offer very substantial grounds for a description of the political history of Swahili societies before the coming of the Portuguese. However, the word Sawabil, which gave the name to the common coast language and the common name of its population has a borrowed Arabic origin. Its early use in the forms Sawabil and Sawahili was contemporary with the use of the terms Arabu and Shirazi. The birth of the new concept Sawabil was also connected with the genesis of a new social category in the coast society. Originally Sawabil referred to the free but landless inhabitants of the coast, who adopted Islam. Socially, Sawahil referred to the lowest social strata, in contrast to the aristocracy claiming origin from Arabia and Persia.

But in due time, Misiiugin writes, the aspects of the ethnonym and the toponym\(^ {16}\) in these two terms indicating the coastal aristocracy were reflected in the term waswahili – analogous to waarabu and wasbirazi. The coast population started to identify itself with this term, i.e. stressing that they were Muslims and indi-
cating their right origin, real or imagined. Thus they wanted to show that they originated from Shirazi, be it a legendary group or not (1967, 3, 6-8 and for details p. 9).

Misiugin, was the first scholar to work out the genealogy and the class structure of the coastal Waswahili. He has shown that, according to the Swahili Chronicles, the population on the East African coast was divided into the following social groups:

- wenyi-mkuu [rulers]
- watu wa mji e.g. wazee, sheiks
- wana wa watu [children of population] i.e. noble, members of famous families; and among the citizens
- waungwana [free according to birth]
- wageni [from strange countries]

The lowest layer of the population consisted of slaves:

- watumwa wa shamba [agricultural slaves]
- watumwa wa nyumba [household slaves]

In line with this, John Iliffe notes that the coastal society was more dependent on slavery than any in the interior. Long-settled Swahili-speaking Arabs and Shirazi owned agricultural slaves (1979, 37).

It is rather clear that the administrative apparatus of the colonial periods demanded a definition of the Swahili per se. And much has indeed been written about the Swahili in terms of "tribe", "specific group of people", "conglomeration of tribes", "detribalized peoples", to mention just a few examples. Christine S. Nicholls says, for example:

By the beginning of the nineteenth century some Arabs were using it /Swahili/ to describe a specific group of people: those who inhabited the East African coast from the mouth of the River Juba in the north to Cape Delgado in the south. (1971, 19)

Thus even many scientists have had a hard problem in sorting out the possible answers to the question they had posed themselves: "Who are the Swahili?" (Cf. Eastman 1971, 228-236). W. Arens presents a number of descriptions which prove the difficulty to
locate an 'actual on the ground' group of Waswahili. Two examples will suffice here. Stigand noted in 1913 that the Nyamwezi of central Tanzania who were resident on the coast were called Waswahili. Hino\textsuperscript{18} writes that in the multi-tribal town of Ujiji, the Wanyema, who originate in Zaire were referred to as Waswahili.

In particular, the approach emphasizing the significance of cultural characteristics is controversial. The main concern of these researchers is to elicit the cultural components of a category of peoples (Arens, 1975, 426-428). I have in an earlier study (1980) stressed that looking for ethnic characteristics of a people does not lead the research very far. According to Nicholls (\textit{op.cit.}, 19-24), the Swahili were, in crude terms:

- affected by diverse people visiting the coast
- associated with peoples of the hinterland as well as with the interior of Africa, as evidenced by their traditions and practices
- highly influenced by the Arabs from Omani – although this impact must necessarily be examined separately as far as the mutually independent townships are concerned.

Arens' several writings on the Swahili represent a common view on the "problem" of their identity and constitutes an attempt to place the Swahili in a proper historical and contemporary perspective. Focusing on the changing "social estimation of honour"\textsuperscript{19} of the status group he examines them as an \textit{ethnic category} (my interpretation) over the past century,

Paradoxically enough, an overview of the last 100 years allows us to look upon the Swahili as an ethnic category, since it is about a century ago that they first were categorized that way. A common theme of ethnographic discussion on the Swahili has been the 'alien' or 'stranger' status of those described by others as Swahili.

Admittedly, it is important to make a distinction between Swahili identity as ascribed by outsiders, on the one hand, and Swahili identity as a self-referent, on the other. It seems that the reason why Swahili identity was seldom used a subjective identification depended largely on historical reasons: the Swahili category had a low status. When the term was used as a self-referent
it was closely connected with a Muslim identity.

Arens, in his diachronical analysis points out that the term Swahili was rarely a self-referent. He refers to early European travellers who comment on the system of stratification in Zanzibar. The writers perceived this system as being based on clear-cut ethnic differences. In this stratification system the Swahili were mentioned as either slaves or descendants of slaves from the mainland, who formed the lowest class of society. European explorers evaluated the Swahili in a very negative way. Richard Burton's description of the Swahili is in this respect no exception:

Though partially Arabised, the Wamrima, as well as the Wswahili, retain many habits and customs derived from the most degraded of the Washenzi savagery. Like the Wasegura\(^{20}\) heathens of Eastern Africa...the uncle sells his nephews and nieces by an indefensible vested right... (I, 1961, 36-37)

Although Burton's way of describing other groups of African people in Tanganyika and Zanzibar\(^{21}\) is not different in style from his description of the Swahili, his description of the Swahili\(^{22}\) indicates that originally there was no question of a distinctly identifiable group of people.

It is evident that the European attitudes towards the Swahili had a profound effect on the ethnic structure of the population in East Africa. It had clear repercussions, for example, on the census data for Zanzibar in 1931 and 1953 showing decrease of the Swahili percentage as an ethnic category and a corresponding increase in other ethnic categories. A person could easily change her/his Swahili ethnic identity to for example, an Arab one, since "Arab ethnic identity was already broad and vague, and easily adopted by anyone who could speak Swahili, professed Islam, and claimed an Arab ancestor" (Arens, \textit{op.cit.}, 433). A similar definition has traditionally been widely accepted as pertaining to Swahili. There are a few variations of this: The "Arab ancestor" is, for example, often substituted by Persian-Arab or Persian ancestor (see Eastman, 1971, 228).

While there are no clear reasons for the contemptuous atti-
tudes of the early travellers towards the Swahili, two documented motives seem to have contributed to the diminishing of the category of Swahili as a form of ethnic identification during the colonial period up to the years just before Independence (1961). Further on: (1) In 1919, the Arabs who had previously fallen into the same administrative category as the Swahili were reclassified by the colonial administration as non-natives and thus did not have to pay native hut tax. A change from Swahili to Arab identity occurred. (2) The colonial administration started employing the Swahili as local-level colonial agents. This naturally evoked hostile attitudes among the African population towards the Swahili per se.

Carol Eastman says that the common language plus coastal origin or contact somewhere in the past seem to be an integral part in defining Swahili (op.cit., 235). Arens, on the other hand, rejects such definitions, calling them abstract and urging for the "reality of the situation", i.e. he stresses that variability and not uniformity may be considered to be the hallmark of Swahili (op.cit., 428-429, 431). Yet, these attributes are not necessarily incompatible.

Marja-Liisa Swantz hits the nail on the head when referring people among the coastal Zaramo and people from the fishing villages to Swahili. These people use to say:

There are no Swahili. A Swahili man is either Zaramo, or Shomwi, Doe, Zigua, Kwere etc., but he is never just only Swahili. (Quoted from Swantz, 1986, 105)

Swantz emphasizes that Swahili generally implies coastal, but more specifically, adherence to Islam. The same source gives other examples indicating the importance of the place where the identification is given. According to an elderly woman, the Muslims in inland Pare were called Swahili. Also a Hehe from the coast but of inland origin called himself a Mswahili to distinguish himself as a Muslim (Swantz, personal communication, 1983).

Accordingly, Islamic affiliation has been regarded as the main characteristic for the Swahili. Religion thus plays an important role for group adherence. Also, when groups share a common
cultural tradition, religion seems to be the sole distinguishing characteristic dividing them. Ultimately, when Muslims are called Swahili in the inland and/or a person from the inland uses Swahili identity as a self-referent to distinguish himself as a Muslim, it is likewise the social context which is decisive for the expressed identification. This means that if the Muslim and Christian communities are equally strong in an otherwise 'homogeneous' local culture the expressed identification 'adapts' itself to the social context: You are a Swahili (it is implied that you are a Pare), so what you want to stress then is that you are not a Christian Pare.

II:4 Trading contacts furthering ethnic integration

The Portuguese stormed the town of Kilwa in 1505 and established a trading post with a military garrison on the island. This was the beginning to increased Portuguese economic impact in pre-colonial Tanganyika. Actually, Kilwa lost its seaborne trade to Sofala and because the Portuguese gained control of Sofala they made it a monopoly of their own (Alpers, 1969, 41; Cf. Iliffe, 1979, 36).

The Portuguese influence in East Africa was restricted to administration of the town of Kilwa from 1505-1512 and of Mombasa from 1591-1697. The other towns and the rest of the coast were only loosely under Portuguese rule. For example, there were no large agricultural settlements anywhere (Strandes, 1968, 273). Justus Strandes states that the Portuguese rule had no lasting influence whatsoever on the country, and East Africa today would appear the same even if there had been no Portuguese period in her past. (ibid., 278)

This sounds, however, too sharp. In the long run, the Portuguese political involvement with East Africa, with its repercussions on various alliances among the rulers of the coast, certainly did affect culture and hence ethnic integration (see e.g. Berg, 1974, 115-125).23 Jan Knappert states that Swahili poetry including certain types of songs were deeply influenced by Portuguese songs (1991, 107-111).
Map 4. Major Trade Routes in Pre-colonial Tanganyika.
The formation of an exchange network between the coast and the immediate hinterland began at the end of the 15th century. It is noteworthy that the network systems were developed over a long period by interior peoples (Sutton, 1973, 28).

Recorded traditions of the Yao show an active system of exchange within Yaoland and in the northern Mozambique long before any contact was made with the coast. This system developed in Yaoland as a result of the internal demands of the Yao economy for iron hoes. It linked up with the other exchange route originating from the coast, termed the "southern route" in the literature. Of the three general routes of penetration into the interior this latter trading network was dominated by the Zanzibar Sultanate after the establishment of the Omani rule on Zanzibar (Alpers, 1969, 42-45; Bennett, 1974, 210-211). It began in Bagamoyo with Sadani as the secondary branch. The "southern route" was actually one of the oldest routes – according to medieval Arabic sources it served as the trade route with Kilwa (Girenko, personal information, 1987).

While most of the sorghum, millet and other everyday needs of the coast were locally produced or bought from neighbouring people, the wealth and the whole existence in the coastal settlements depended on trade. Ivory, ambergris and slaves, for use by the rich townspeople and for export, were for sale along most of the coastline or its immediate hinterland. Portuguese sources in the 16th century record ivory, as well as honey and wax, being brought from the mainland to Mombasa and Kilwa (Sutton, 1974, 11).

With the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1698, the Omani claimed authority over the coast but this authority was sporadic. A long period of economic decline followed. From the middle of the 18th century the economic impact of the Omani began to affect the small independent Swahili towns (Alpers, 1969, 44-46; Iliffe, 1979, 36-37). The 17th and 18th centuries constituted, however, with respect to administration a formative period for the coastal society. Many of the coastal settlements had rulers called madiwani. They consolidated themselves as Shirazi. According to Girenko, they managed to do so by linking artificially their genealogies to this most legendary group in the eastern part of
Africa. The place was thus associated with a new kind of civilization (personal information, 1987). In this way a distinct coastal identity was formed at this time.

II:5 The Ngoni invasion

In the early 1840s a people called Ngoni penetrated large parts of the territory of Tanganyika. These people traced their origins back to South Africa, from where they migrated because of population pressures and unrest. During the Ngoni's expansion northwards, different peoples had in the course of time been included into them. The ease with which the Ngoni subdued other people was largely due to their superior military strategy and organization. Southern Tanganyika lived in constant fear of raids by the Ngoni, who built their ethnically diverse society by incorporating captives. One of the Ngoni groups, the Gwangwara, made extensive raids throughout the area between Lake Nyasa and the coast up to Uzaramo right until the imposition of German colonial rule (see Alpers, 1974 (b), 230-233 and Hatchell, 1935, passim.). A joking relationship between the Ngoni and the Zaramo was established after the so-called Mafite raids (see below III:4:3 and Moreau, 1941, 3-4).

It is noteworthy that many people imitated the Ngoni military tactics. The Hehe, for example, who due to their fights with the Ngoni appeared as a people in African history, succeeded in halting the Ngoni of Mshope in 1881. As a result of this event these two groups became joking partners (Roberts, 1969, 68-71). Helge Kjekshus stresses, that although the militarism of the Ngoni and subsequent atrocities were a fact, they have probably been exaggerated. I am inclined to agree with him on his distinction between the principle of incorporation and extermination, meaning that the Ngoni incorporated, rather than exterminated people (1977, 12, 19-21). The Ngoni invasion lead to the creation of large political entities and covered exceptionally large areas. The invasion thus had a major impact on the development of social history with effects on ethnic processes in the southern and south-east parts of Tanganyika.
II.6 Effects on ethnicity during the long-distance trade

The most active traders of the western plateau, the Sumbwa and Nyamwezi, who, according to Iliffe (1979, 80), were a "nineteenth century creation", penetrated to the coast around 1800, travelling through Ugogo. Their homeland was in Unyamwezi, in what are now the Tabora, Nzega and Kahama districts. The term Nyamwezi26 was given by outsiders and was applied to the areas and to various groups of people who occupied them in the far west inland of Tanganyika.

These groups did not, and do not, have any common institutions supporting their specific identity.

Differences and similarities among the Nyamwezi peoples27 are to a large extent the result of their environment. Most of the land is suitable for cultivation and settlement, but nowhere is the soil rich enough to be intensively cultivated or to support very dense populations by subsistence farming alone. The Nyamwezi peoples moved on a large scale over huge areas during pre-colonial times. This could explain their political disunity and the large similarities in culture of most of these peoples. No Nyamwezi group developed in isolation, but were all exposed to change through outside influences. Stimulated by the environment, the Nymawezi peoples maintained and developed contacts over long distances. They managed to do this through local networks of trade and through secret societies. In other words, it seems that the Nyamwezi's contact with the coast was only possible because of the intricate regional trade thriving in the interior.

According to Andrew Roberts, there was no serious competition for scarce resources, "calling for regulation by superior authority". Thus, there was little stimulus to form large-scale political units and there was no need for leaders to exercise authority over large numbers of people. There had long been trade in local products in western Tanganyika. Due to the Unyamwezi geographical position it was intersected by 1800, if not earlier, by routes for trade in various important commodities. The Nyamwezi not only acquired the habit of trade, but by exchanging their own products they acquired wealth with which to carry on business throughout East Africa. During the whole of the 19th century the
Nyamwezi were by far the leading African long-distance traders along the great central Tanganyika route, extending from the coast opposite Zanzibar to Tabora (Alpers, 1974, 14 and 1974 (b), 230). In a sense, Roberts remarks,

the local trade networks served the Nyamwezi in much the same way as the Indian money lenders in Zanzibar served the coastal traders: they provided the capital needed to mount a long-distance trading expedition. (1974, 122-123)

It is not yet clear when and why the Nyamwezi's first contacts with the coast took place and when they became aware of the international demand for ivory, a product that was used only for certain ritual purposes in their own communities. They were probably in contact with other people who were in direct contact with the coast through regional networks of trade. In other words, the system of regional trade facilitated long-distance trade. One could say that commodities were exchanged in a chain from the interior to the coast.28

The intercourse between several tribes, both inland and at the coast with its hinterland, which mainly took place in connection with trade, was noted by the first missionaries, Johann Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebmann. Rebmann writes for example during his first journey (1848) to Jagga (Chagga) that "traffic brings many of the powerful tribes into frequent contact" and that market-places served as meeting-places for different tribes (Krapf, 1860, 244, 353).

We know that in 1839 the Imam of Zanzibar, Sayyid Said, negotiated with envoys from Unyamwezi for the security of Arab caravans up-country (Roberts, 1974, 122-123, 125, 127). With the aid of the local population, coastal traders entered Unyamwezi, which in fact became the traders' inland base. From the middle of the 19th century the coast traders' headquarters were at Tabora, in the Unyanyembe chiefdom, and several Arab settlements formed, as it were, enclaves for trading in Unyamwezi because, according to most sources, the Nyamwezi resisted foreign culture.

The acquisition of elements of coastal culture was mostly superficial and only a few notables became interested in Islam.
When visiting the coast, the Nyamwezi stressed their rural origin against the urban character of the *mrama* coast (see e.g. Iliffe, 1979, 41, 80). At the bottom of the Nyamwezi's resistance to foreign culture lay the fear of loosing the trading nets. What they actually wanted was material culture i.e. cloth, guns and powder as well as spiritual culture i.e. written language. The wars between the Arab and the African traders concerned the control of trade: various economic and political arrangements including collecting of *hongo* [tax] (Bennett, 1971, 42 and *passim*). Culture was here used as a means of achieving economic and political goals. By symbolizing the contradictory relationship it gained a social significance. Hence, ethnic identification became increasingly important for people. Moreover, one is tempted to speculate that the reason why the Nyamwezi were developing such a strong cultural identity was their mode of living: travelling and trading (Cf. Iliffe, 1979, 80).

Rigby offers a similar idea in a comment on the Parakuyo: "the travelling by which news reaches all parts of the community very rapidly is an important factor in retaining a strong identity..." (1977, 95).

Despite the enclosed nature of the trading bases, absorption took place in Unyamwezi: the Ngoni invaders simply became a chiefdom among others here. Other inland peoples also were exposed to coastal culture for the first time. People migrated on a large scale from all parts of the country. The Yao, for example, settled along the 'southern' trade route. The coastal culture introduced literacy, new technology and Islam. People reacted to these new elements with acceptance, eclecticism or rejection. At the same time, the coastal culture absorbed elements from the peoples of the interior (Iliffe, 1979, 77-79). The Swahili language spread more widely than the Islamic religion, which nevertheless penetrated Uzigua and the hinterland during this period.

Thus, from the beginning of the 19th century Unyamwezi had a peculiar position in the trading network of Tanganyika. This had important socio-political consequences for the population living close to the trading routes and illustrates the mingling of
cultures and forming of identity during the period of the long-distance trade. Numerous people were settling along the trade-routes. People also formed settlements away from the trade routes for fear of passing caravans (Speke, 1974/1906, 40).

During this time many Tanganyikans became accustomed to wage-labour, commercial exchange, and the export of agricultural products. The regional trading network was stimulated as it was embraced by the long-distance trade system. The latter forced less skilled craftsmen to develop the quality of their products, but on the other hand the indigenous textile industries could not compete with imported cloth. Exchange generally took place irregularly at caravan halts and centres of craft production (Iliffe, 1979, 67-68).

From the ideological point of view, porterage was linked with high prestige in the society of Unyamwezi. Objectively speaking, however, the shift of focus from domestic tasks to external work became a destructive force undermining family ties. The labour shortage in the interior was made up by slaves who were purchased in exchange for ivory. On his voyage from Mombasa to Cape Delgado, Krapf writes on the small island of Sinda:

and here we met again with many trading people from Uniamesi who build little huts on the strand, and stay in them until they return homeward. The Uniamesi caravans consist generally of from three to four thousand men... These people had been seen here for several months; for they leave Uniamesi in September, and arrive in December at the coast; and return home again in March and April. (1860, 421)

It is noteworthy that the people of various ethnic origins travelling in the large caravans formed a special community of their own. Their particular way of life and interests were reflected for example, in songs, stories and clothing. Cotton cloth replaced leather and bark-cloth in clothing materials (see Raum, 1965, 169 and Hino, 1968, passim). Coastal influence appeared in the cloth worn by women, khangwa, earrings and hair-styles, whereas the kanzu [robe] and kofia ya kiarabu [Arab headgear] formed the coastal elements of men’s clothes.
When the Sultan of Oman moved his headquarters from Muscat to Zanzibar, which was an important market for Oman's commercial activities, the hinterland of Tanganyika was definitely opened for world trade. Zanzibar became the trade centre of the coast, coordinating export and import. Although slavery had old roots on the East African coast it was only in the 19th century that slave plantations were put into system here. The main products were cloves and copra, which were the island's contribution to the world market.34

When Sayyid Said settled on Zanzibar in 1840 he was followed by settlers and Asian financiers from Oman, who were encouraged by the new ruler to take up trade with East Africa. During the next two decades a colonial settler society on Zanzibar was formed. Under the Sultan's leadership this Arab dominated society was supported on "twin pillars of cloves and slave labour from the mainland". This society lasted almost without changes during European colonial rule up to the Revolution in 1964 (Alpers, 1969, 46).

Demand on ivory increased not only in India but also in Europe and America. At the same time European slave dealers'
need for their human commodities continued. These factors called for increasing penetration of the East African interior (Sutton, 1973, 25-26). It is clear that the accumulation of capital on Zanzibar was the main prerequisite for creating large Arab caravans on the island, aiming at trade with the interior. Alpers mentions that all the caravan trade towns of the 19th century mrima coast trace their origin to this period (op.cit., 45).

The relationship between the local and regional trade which consisted of exchange of e.g. livestock, foodstuffs and pots and, the long-distance trade should be mentioned. The former obtained its products from specific areas while the latter directly or indirectly connected the coast with overseas countries (Sutton, 1973, passim). Although the regional trade and the long-distance trade may be looked upon as two stages in the commercial activity of East Africa, Sutton points out that the transition from one stage to another took place at widely different periods in different regions of East and Central Africa. He argues that the two should be considered as grafting onto each other rather than being treated chronologically.

The economy of Zanzibar was partly ruled by external forces. The industrialized countries were interested in the products of the Indian ocean and in developing markets for their own manufactured goods. However, it is quite unlikely that the demand would have automatically initiated hunting for elephants and human beings in the interior, and the transport and exchange of these foreign manufactures. It was rather the joint effect of these two processes that strengthened the long-distance trade.

In the following we will focus on the history and the social setting of the Bagamoyo District. During this period there were important changes in the relations of production with subsequent social and political changes.

Notes

1 The extensive analysis of the "internal" sources has to a great degree widened our conceptions of the complicated and manifold processes which have influenced Swahili ethnic history (see Tolmacheva, 1980, 51-53).

2 The aim of the so-called Swahili chronicles was to demonstrate or confirm the relation between special lineages or whole social structures in the Swahili society (see Chapter II:3) and two of its highest categories, "Arabu" and "Shirazi". Misiugin writes:

"The records of the documents in old-Swahili writing (it seems that they were preserved essentially by oral tradition) were probably first made during the consolidation of the Portuguese dominion on the coast. After the Portuguese had been driven away and the Oman-Zanzibar sultans had seized power, the documents were translated into Arabic. And finally, with the securing of German and British colonial power, similar documents were written down by Europeans, on the basis of oral tradition related by local representatives. The oral genealogical tradition was filled with elucidations, insertions and so on, by transcribers and tellers from the parallel oral (practically non-existing in writing) Swahili tradition of historical stories and legends. This, as it were, the historical-artistic side of the Swahili chronicles, is based on material which suffered severely in the process of the spreading of Islam. Also, the account underwent changes under the influence of the philosophy of the Swahili society during the 17th and 18th centuries" (Misiugin, 1967, 7-8).


4 Al-Mas'udi calls the language of the coast likewise zinj. Although Ibn Battuta (14th century) talks about the Mogadishu language and Arabic language, the famous seafarer Ahmed Ibn Majid, as late as at the turn of the 15th-16th centuries, when the northern part of the coast was known as the "Sawahil", used the naming "zanfi". It is confirmed that
the *zunj* (alt. *zenj* and *zanji*) language belonged to the Bantu group of languages (*ibid.*).

5 Iao => Yao in contemporary English spelling.

6 Guillain, who surveyed the East African coast in 1846-1848 by order of the French government, uses Diogo do Couto as a source. Although he does not indicate a date for do Couto’s information he refers to the latter’s work *l'Asie* and specifically to the following sections within it: “décade XI, chap. XV, pages 77-78” and “l’ile décade, chapitre XVII, page 83”.

7 Sir John Gray gives the following explanation of *Mozungullos* [(Port.) Muzungullos; (Fr.) Mouzougullos]: “Mozungullos, is clearly a Portuguese corruption of the Swahili word *Wa-Langulo*. The tribe in question is evidently the Wa-Sania, who now live on the banks of the Tana River. It would appear that they have been ousted from the hinterland behind Mombasa by the Wa-Nyika and the Wa-Girama at a comparatively recent date. The neighbouring tribes call the Wa-Sania the ‘Wa-Langulo’ ... The ‘Monhicas’ (Wa-Nyika) do not appear in Portuguese writings until 1728” (1947, 22; Cf. Guillain who writes about *Les Mozoungalos*, op.cit., 464 and 622-623).

8 For details see Gray, 1947, 7-16.

9 We can note here that the Islamic sources’ treatment of *Jihad* is a form of ethnocentrism comparable to the glorification of the Kaiser’s magnitude as recorded in the literature during the German colonial period.

10 The two most important sources in Arabic, i.e. “*The Kilwa Chronicle*” and “*Kitab al-Zanj*” [The Book of *Zanj*] are both founded on early, mainly oral, tradition and in both of them the narration reaches the colonial period. A Portuguese version of “*The Kilwa Chronicle*” also exists, but it is considered to be unreliable and full of discrepancies (see Chittick, 1965, 277-282, for details).


12 R. Reusch has tried to work out their chronology and has sorted out five categories of migrants. According to him, the so-called Shirazi migration (the fifth migration in the chronology mentioned) began after the 10th century. Actually, the Shirazi genealogy is reflected in numerous documents and legends and Reusch’s chronology on migration is hence in contradiction to several confirmed other traditions (Tolmacheva, 1980, 54).

13 The 13th, 14th and 15th centuries

14 This and the following four paragraphs are mainly based on V. M. Misiugin’s summary of his dissertation on the basic features of the ethnic history of the Swahili.

15 Linguistically this notion is derived from the Persian *Sber* [lion], and Shiraz, the name of a town in Persia. It is connected to an ancient form: *muwensi-simba* [Sir-lion] (Misiugin, 1967, 7).

16 Terms indicating origins of name and place.

17 In this context Misiugin notes also that the old and nowadays seldom used suffix *kazi* gives a word the meaning of “female”. Obviously the word *bunjakazi* (which in modern Swahili signifies a female servant) originally denoted a female being, a person who is used in the household. This word is probably derived from *bunja* [youth, of either sex, i.e. a person who because of her/his age is not socially complete] (1958, 151).


19 Consequently, the Swahili are considered to be an organizational type
(Arens leans on Barth’s notion, 1969) at the same time as Weber’s concept of stand, or status group as a social category is mainly used and elaborated on them (op. cit., 429-430).

20 Wasegura ⇒ Wazigua [Zigua people].
21 See, for example, his description of the Zaramo in op. cit., 112.
22 Burton makes a distinction between Wamrima [the “coast-clans”] and Waswahili, a distinction which upon a closer look can be considered as more or less technical.
23 The inscription over the Entrance Gateway to Fort Jesus in Mombasa serves in this respect as an evidence of the political impact of the Portuguese (see Gray, 1947, 7-8).
24 Kjekshus warns us, however, of talking about the trade route. He says that there were no single and permanent route leading, for instance, from Bagamoyo to Ujiji and that we have to bear in mind that the caravans taking up to 5000 people over vast distances during months of time required huge food and water supplies. Obtaining these was not possible without connected networks of roads and pathways (1977, 122).
25 See his discussion of the Ngoni impact dealt with in numerous works (1977, 12-13, 19-21).
26 As to the interpretation of the term, there are various etymological variants (see Abrahams, 1967 and Girenko, 1975).
27 The following account is based chiefly on Roberts, 1974, 117-147.
28 This view is based on personal communication with A. O. Anacleto, 1983. The term "long-distance trade" is used here to refer to trading systems connecting the East African interior with the Indian Ocean (Sutton, 1973).
29 The ports on the mainland littoral opposite Zanzibar. Because of the term’s non-specific use by historians, Brown deals with the vast span of the coastline as three different regions. See his lengthy discussion on the meaning of mrima (1971, 25-34).
30 See also Bromley (1974, 60-61), for discussion about the relationship between individual migration and the reproduction of “fundamental ethnic features”.
31 Cf. Chapter II:5.
32 The trading caravans usually included a number of Swahili-speaking people from the coast. This language was used at least in the trading context in the linguistically diverse areas (Whiteley, 1969, 48-49).
33 See Chapter III:3.
34 By the early 1840s the United States and several European countries had established formal trading relations with Zanzibar (Whiteley, 1969, 45-46).
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROCESSES IN WESTERN BAGAMOYO DISTRICT

III:1 Introduction

There are a number of reasons why, specifically Bagamoyo, in the course of time became a centre of trade, administration and military force. The most important ones were the proximity to Zanzibar and the fertility of its immediate hinterland, its proximity to the rice-producing region by the Ruvu river and other ecological factors. The coastal hinterland villages became grain and vegetable suppliers for the urban centres. Kiyenze mentions Msata, Miono, Masugulu, Kiwangwa and the areas around the river Wami in Western Bagamoyo District as particularly important suppliers. The surplus of the villages was absorbed in exchange and not in consumption (1978, 48).

It is also evident that Sadani, 40 miles north of Bagamoyo, lapsed in importance as a mrima village because of almost incessant fighting in its surroundings. Lieutenant Hardy mentions (in 1811) that its growth as a trade settlement was hindered by disturbances in both Zigua and Doe countries (Brown, 1971, 118). Furthermore, Father Cado Picarda mentions Masai invasions in
the middle of the 1800s in Uzigua, including the town of Sadani. According to him, Sadani was saved by the Nyamwezi who stayed there in large numbers (the Nyamwezi were the most frequent porters). To protect the town against an expected new attack, the governor of Sadani, Bwana Heri, had a strong pile-work built around it (Picarda, 1886, 184; Brown, 1970, 71).

Despite slave trading conflicts during the late pre-colonial period by the Zigua, Zaramo and lowland Luguru, considerable trade and social intercourse existed between the various peoples. Already in the late 1960s Beidelman noted that oral history seems to suggest that the warlike aspects of inter-tribal relations in eastern Tanzania have been over-emphasized (1967, ix-xiv).²

According to Walter T. Brown (1971, 108-111), the most descriptive account of the Mwamba in wa Bagamoyo³ for the first half of the 19th century is a manuscript written by Lieutenant Hardy⁴ in September 1911. In his dissertation on the pre-colonial history of Bagamoyo, Brown quotes at length the passages relating to trade. I will borrow from that quotation the passage which comes closest geographically to the western Bagamoyo District of today:

Where there is a town called Wharmee (Wami) inhabited by a tribe called Maddoa (Doe) that are Canibals, there is also a town at its entrance called Atondar (Utondwe) inhabited by the Marimah (Mrima) tribe—there are several smaller towns on the River and a large (large) trade carried on to the Zugua Country and traders are obliged to fight their way through the Canibals country—Exports are Slaves, Ivory and Cattle — Imports, Surat Cloths, Iron, Lead and Copper Wire. There are several villages between this River and Sardan on the Sea Coasts, it bears nearly W. 1/2 S. from Zanzibar.

Mutche er fe me, is a River about 1/2 mile South of the branch Whindo (Winde), extends 10 days direct inland and 5 days further in a Serpentine form, has its source from a spring in a well at a place called Sha Rene where there is a very large town of that name inhabited by a tribe called Minduan, and above this are the Zezuan Tribes; the water from the spring does not come up strong and the stream is moderately rapid. Exports, Cattle, Slaves, Elephants teeth, and Amber occasionally. Imports Surat Goods, Iron, a little Steel and Copper Wire, Navigable for boats 4 days up. (op.cit., 109)
In his report, Hardy did not study "internal trade patterns" but wrote rather about the people and the goods involved in the trade between Zanzibar and the international market. Hardy's description above all raises questions about the dating of the beginning of the long-distance trade and about those who initiated it. It also seems to bear out the idea of meeting (discussed above in chapter II:6) between long-distance and regional trade at the beginning of the 1900s (Cf. Brown, 1971, 112-113).

Family formed the productive unit in the pre-colonial social formation of western Bagamoyo District. It controlled and possessed the means of labour while land was under the ownership of the clan⁵ (see e.g. Mwelupungwi, 1976, 39).⁶ As to the organisation of labour for production, there were also systems of cooperative work.⁷ Under both systems of labour organisation, the purpose of production was to satisfy the needs of the family: food, local beer togwa, seeds and reserves for the next season. The harvest was divided into two parts. From the harvest they made food and togwa and used them for reproductive rights. The second part comprised food and seed reserves for the next season. Both the instruments of labour and the work being done were within the full control of the extended family, and the family was also able to control the products of its labour.

B.J. Mwelupungwi states that there was no exploitation of labour in the area, other than within families i.e. male elders performed less work than the other family members (1976, 3-4). Mwelupungwi further suggests that the peaceful production relations of these people can be better understood by examining the society's superstructure. He says:

All Wakwere believed in one god mulungu, who stressed that families should not quarrel with one another, and those going against this should expect laana, curse, from mulungu. The presence of god and its belief may necessitate its representative in the area who after acquiring religious powers acquire economic and social powers as well /as/ to rule others. But for the Wakwere Mulungu this was not so, because he had no representative at either tribal or clan levels. Ritual ceremonies were done at family level with the head of the family taking lead. (ibid., 4-5)
The Kwere thus had no central ritual or religious leader. Neither did they have any central political, economical or social ruler except family heads.

Referring to our discussion on ethnicity as an objective phenomenon in the pre-colonial period in Tanzania (pp. 59-60) some points of the perception of the people themselves in relation to one another (e.g. as a result of migrations) and the surrounding 'new' society can be mentioned. Elders of today attach importance to the clan founding ancestors and consequently to the origins of tribes. The names of these were in most cases coined not by the tribe referred to, but by neighbouring people with whom at some point in their history they came into contact.

Firstly, three examples can be given here of this sort of labelling among people themselves. The Wakwere was a form of the same root as Wakwezi, meaning "climbers", i.e. good at climbing trees for coconuts or to escape from lions. The name of the Wadoe stemmed from Walowezi [settlers, intruders] i.e. those who have moved from their own place to another and do not go back even to visit – in sum who have rejected their traditions and customs. Wadoezezi meant hangers i.e. children of neighbour hanging around your house when food time.8

A mzee [male elder] in the Coast Region looks upon the Nyamwezi, for instance, as an upcountry people:

For us one language which we do not understand at all is that of the Nyamwezi, those friends of ours from upcountry. We don't understand one another ... I don't understand a single thing. Well, that's how it is with those people from upcountry. (UTA 1977/47)

Secondly, externally applied group identities were also often formed by linking people to a specific environment. This happened in many places in eastern Tanganyika, where mountains and plains were sharply juxtaposed. Krapf talks about the people around Lake Niassa in 1860:

On the elevated mountain-land itself, we find the Wakamdumda, literally highlanders... Besides these there are Wamuera and Wakambodo (or Wambodo), that is, south and north countrymen, clearly appellations derived from the Lake Niassa, and the suitability
of which becomes more striking when it is known that where the Wakumbodo begin the lake forsakes its northern direction, bends round to the north-west and west... (1860, 494).

Iliffe outlines this kind of external ethnic identity formation in the following way:

The Bondei, literally 'people of the valley'. To the south lived Ngulu, Kaguru, Luguru, Vidunda, Sagara, Matumbi, Ndengereko all literally 'highlanders', just as Khutu and Zaramo were 'lowlanders', Kichi were men of the 'waterless country' and Makonde inhabited a 'thick- et-covered plateau'. (1979, 9; Cf. Swantz, L., 1974, 32; see also Beidelman, 1967)

Thirdly, the merging of one group into another resulted in a variety of 'combinations'. Different factors e.g. political acted as dominating features marking out ethnic groups of either a 'looser' or more 'stringent' kind. Many names which evolved thus indicated names of chiefdoms or kingdoms.

In the end of the 1800s the inhabitants of the inner regions knew, for example, no such people as the Swahili. Members of caravans, be they Swahili or Arabs, were called waungwana [lit. free born i.e. people who could trace their descent]. The Swahili with its characteristic dialect, Kiungwana, which appeared in the end of the 1800s and which nowadays is spoken in the northeastern part of Zaire got its name precisely from the naming of the caravan members (Girenko, 1977, 82-83).

Travellers who drew maps without the knowledge of local languages were naturally forced to use interpreters, who usually originated from the coast. In East Africa, Swahili-speaking people participated in the slave-trade introducing new types of social and economic relationships and new cultural patterns including language. Similar patterns emerged all over the continent. Swahili-speaking people acted as guides for Europeans whereas in Western Central Africa the guides were Likongo – or Lingala-speaking, and in Nigeria people speaking Hausa. As a result of mutual misunderstandings, the maps contained notes such as "resident of that part of the river", "savages", "those who are to the south", "some cannibals", and so on.9
The Sukuma can serve as an example of this type of misleading simplifications from East Africa. There is plenty of literature on the Sukuma, but the name actually denotes only that they lived to the north. Sukuma means "northerners". The Nyamwezi, who are related to the Sukuma linguistically, got their name in the same kind of way: the name denoted a direction for the orientation of the caravan trade, i.e. it had a directional meaning (Girenko, 1977, 81).

We can state that ethnic groups arose in Bagamoyo District, like in the rest of the territory under specific conditions, although neither military conquests nor migrations automatically produced ethnic systems. It is, however, the political-strategic abstraction of all folk-groups having had "chiefs" with (unlimited) power that to a large extent has coloured the interpretation of the dynamics of the political and social organizations. This conception is based mainly upon the actual administration during the colonial period (but history goes back far further than that). Consequently it should once more be stressed that Tanganyika was not strictly chequered out in distinct, clear groups, although the description itself of the whole population process and the formations caused by internal and/or external forces may lend itself to that.

Kimambo's discussion of the formation and expansion of two communities on the Pare Mountains in north-eastern Tanzania illustrates the process of differentiation. He argues that trade and, above all, migrations in many directions were significant in this process.

The Pare people are essentially a group formed by the conglomeration and assimilation of people from many directions. Around 1750 A.D. North Pare was essentially a kingdom formed of districts. Its unity was both cultural and political. South Pare, on the other hand, held six small states and a number of independent clans, although they culturally belonged to a single system. Through the arrival of new settlers from Uzigua as well as individual migration, the North Pare and South Pare were gradually pushed near to each other. At the beginning of the 19th century, the segmentary political system of South Pare had spread to North Pare.
The long-distance trade created new markets on the routes which traversed Pare country. Coastal traders sought contact with political authorities on the Pare Mountains and supplied them with firearms. These could be used for raiding other groups. The ultimate aim was, captives for sale, a "market" which, by the late 1860s competed with ivory and iron. Increased economic activities resulted in trade rivalry between and within the chiefdoms, splitting them up.

Kimambo's main point is that there does not exist a "single origin" for a specific people. Also the formation of chiefdoms depended on political knowledge from more than one source.

Splitting was thus an important process for the development of ethnicity. It created (an) ethnic group(s) consisting of various social groups.

As well as these disintegrative consequences, which were detrimental to people's normal activities in society, there paradoxically occurred some important integrative consequences. The Swahili language spread and new village settlement patterns developed largely due to increasing trade. Arguably, two apparently contradicting forces were present in the dynamics of ethnicity: fission and fusion.\textsuperscript{12}

In the following some preliminaries which were decisive in the development of pre-colonial ethnicity in Bagamoyo District will be discussed. These are specialisation of economies and professionalism of skills, invasions and expansion, the political struggles with Arabs and the activities of Roman Catholic missionaries. First of all, however, I will introduce some 'territorial concepts' (and their relations to one another) which appear frequently in the text. I will try to do this with some examples.

III:2 Concepts of "lands" and "countries"

Uzigua [Zigualand] which formed a considerable part of the Bagamoyo District, deserves some comments because of its wide use in earlier sources. As a problem issue the following discussion pertains as well to other "lands" in the district, e.g. Ukwwere.

According to Father Picarda of the Holy Ghost Fathers,
Uzugua\textsuperscript{13} was one of the largest countries under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Zanzibar. He gives the borders of the area in detail:

It is edged in the north by the river Ruvu (on maps it is called Pangani) behind which stretches Usambara; to the west the Nguru mountains separate Uzugua from the Masai tribe; further down, the Wami river flows between Uzugua and Usagara; to the south Ukami which comes up to the town of Morogoro; to the south again, and beginning from Pongwe is Ukwere behind the river Wami, which likewise separates Uzugua from Udoe, a little country which is confined between Wami and Kingani; to the east a straight line to the Swahili coast where the free men of Wangwana reside. (1886, 184)

The sites mentioned by Picarda can easily be found on the map by Baur (another HGF missionary) drawn in 1882. This pertains also to the main places mentioned in the text.\textsuperscript{14}

Another 'modern' description of Uzugua, namely that by Giblin, together with his two maps: "Uzugua in 1880s" and "Uzugua under British rule" (no sources indicated) do unfortunately not shed new light on Uzugua as a conception, although the maps tally geographically with Baur's. Uzugua is consequently comprehended

\textit{as} the area of northeastern Tanzania which, lying between about 5.25 and 6°s latitude is bounded by the Indian Ocean on the east, the Pangani and Wami rivers to the north and south respectively, and the vast, arid Masai steppe to the west. Most of this area is contained within the 13,209 squaremile confines of Handeni District, though it also includes small portions of Pangani, Bagamoyo and Morogoro districts. (op.cit., 13)

Giblin adopts however the practice of naming an area according to the ethnonym: he refers to the whole area as Uzugua, "since the Zigua are by far the larger of the two /Zigua vs. Nguu/ groups". The dialects of the Nguu and the Zigua pertain to a common language among people sharing a common culture in this area.\textsuperscript{15} The close similarity of the Nguru [(Zi.) Nguu] and Zigua peoples is actually indicated by a man in the Bagamoyo District: "they have the same ancestor /Seuta/" (UTAf 1977/22.83).

But whose toponym is Uzugua in, for example, Giblin's case?
On the surface, the 'solving' of such a question may seem of little importance. However, when in the following chapters we come across differing notions as to territoriality, i.e. African vs. European or colonial ideas, we shall see that their application influenced the conceptualization of ethnicity as a phenomenon.

As will be argued later, we suggest that while the European or administrative notion (adopted by e.g. Gbibilin) was defined geographically, Uzighua in the traditional sense, was obviously considered a socio-economic space. There were no fixed boundaries for Uzighua in time. The whole of Uzighua, according to the elders, was made up of numerous divisions called nchi, some of which were large, others small (UTAf 1977/11.4-5). Generally then, the head of one nchi was one of the elders and every nchi had its mkubua wa inch = head of inch before there was any contact with the Europeans. According to the Bagamoyo District Book, each nchi, for instance Miono, covered several villages. For 'identification' of a certain person from a certain nchi, mitala (mitata) were formed according to different rules. For instance, by prefixing se for males and mla for females before the root of the nchi's name, in our case Miono, one got Semiono = man from Miono, i.e. man of Miono clan and Mlamiono = woman from Miono, i.e. woman of Miono clan (UTAf 1977/11.06). There was thus a specific relationship between nchi and clan.

It can be mentioned here that when the Germans placed an administration officer akida in what is today called the village of Miono, the name became associated with the village itself. The 'true' name of the village was, however, Kwedihondogo, formerly called Mhororo or Kwa-msagati (UTAf 1977/11.22, 32-33 and Picarda, op.cit., 185).

Suffice to mention here is that nchi formed an important aspect of ethnicity on the local level. A nchi had a socio-economic meaning and was obviously defined by the activities of a social group. The territoriality of these specific land spaces played, in this respect, a secondary role. Nchi probably was designated as a land space of the main clan (originator). Because other clans through intermarriage came to be resident there, people of a specific nchi, in telling their history today mention whose
clan land a certain *nchi* is (Swantz, personal information, 1994). It is therefore important to note that the Bagamoyo District Book (which lists 49 *nchi* in Uzigma) in a blurring fashion also calls them clans – but this should not be confused with the *ukoo* clan. Thus we use *nchi* here to denote geographical units, whether they coincide with clan names or not.

### III:3 Specialization and professionalism

Kiyenze shows in his study (1978) on the historical underdevelopment of traditional handicrafts, that handicrafts constituted the basis of industry throughout the pre-colonial period. Handicraft products were manufactured on a small-scale basis, and craft skills were usually inherited. Kjekshus also points out that functional specificity was an important part of the pre-colonial economy and that uneven distribution of certain raw materials like clay and iron can be seen as the initial incentive for exchange. In the same way the development of the skills of the *fundi* [craftswoman or -man] can be considered as another development trend connected with the specialized exchange economy. New needs and opportunities created new types of *fundi*. For example, the arrival of fire-arms and the need for their repair naturally led to the emergence of gunsmiths (Kjekshus, 1978, 117).

New needs and new opportunities also created new types of business. The Zigua, who early acquired fire-arms, had raiding for slaves as their main business, and this resulted in the founding of Zigua colonies in the Pare country. Since specialization and professionalism were part of an indigenous economy, we can agree with Kjekshus that these not only created individual *fundis*, but "associated entire tribes and villages with particular trades and handicrafts" (*op.cit.*, 1978, 117).

Various taboos and rituals especially in iron smelting, blacksmithing and pottery marked the social organization of handicraft production (Kiyenze, 1981, 62). The traditional iron industry, providing the instruments of labour (e.g. farm implements and arms), was of utmost importance. It also served as an index of the development of the productive forces in stimulating the production of
other fields of subsistence. The blacksmiths in the western Bagamoyo District obtained their iron from Unyamwezi by exchange up to the turn of the century. An old smith (born 1901) whose father and grandfather both had been smiths, related that his father and other iron smiths got *madonge ya chuma* => iron bars and "metal lumps" from the Nyamwezi in exchange for salt (UTAf 1976/16.17 KIN).

Kiyenze illustrates the interlinkages emerging in the process when handicrafts (pottery, woodcraft, plaiting) or agricultural work supplied one another with the products needed. Furthermore, he says, the Kwere, Ziguá and Doe blacksmiths did not imitate the designs of, for example, hoes brought by the Nyamwezi. They developed their own designs, which originated from their earlier wooden hoes (personal communication, 1979). This can be explained by the fact that the varying soil and moisture conditions decided the shape of hoes in different parts of the country. In western Bagamoyo District, the hoe designs by the Kwere, Doe and Ziguá blacksmiths were accordingly based on light soils (Kiyenze, 1981, 153). In line with our definition on culture we can say that the milieu affected local material culture via social activity despite social interaction between people of different ethnicities from different regions.
Also other handicraft products, such as special pots as well as craft training served the purpose of strengthening ethnic identity. Old women trained, for example, young girls in pottery. Because handicraft production arose from the needs of the community, the traditional pottery industry, produced a variety of designs. These products served many different social functions, such as cooking, water-fetching, water-storage, beer-brewing, grain-storage and boiling local medicine (Kiyenye, 1979, 11-18 and 1981, 157). Some of the pots among the Kwere and Doe of Bagamoyo District were used for various purposes and named accordingly. Thus, Nteleko was used for brewing local beer, Misungi for preserving local beer and Kimbugi for drinking local beer by respectable elders only (Kiyenye, 1981, 59).21

Furthermore, symbolic and ritual motives determined the designs of the traditional handicrafts.22 For example, the Parakuyo pastoralists used symbolically carved and bead-ornamented skins of large goats for ritual purposes. These are used also in present time. For example, when a girl is being circumcised as a mwali she has to lie on a skin (UTAf 1977/26.54-55).

Being part of a larger symbolic system of significance among the Parakuyo, the tradition of beadcraft had a great symbolic value. Also Kwere used beadornaments at girls' puberty rites and at the headman's installation rites. During the coming out rite mlao a girl was ornamented with bead-cloths, bands and strings of beads "which each had their special name, a related instruction and symbolic significance" (Swantz, 1979 (a)PR, 24-25).

Burnt clay figurines (in rare cases wood carvings) closely associated with particular cultural values were used in different rites among a number of people e.g. the Zigua and the Zaramo. These figurines had an instructive purpose and were used to teach social values to boys and girls during their puberty rites (Cory, 1956, 11, 28-29, 34).

In summary then, a basis of industry, handicrafts in the pre-colonial economy were closely linked with the development of ethnicity. Inherited knowledge of skills and their mastering were associated with entire villages or groups of people with unique local handicrafts or trades. New types of fundi and new types of
business were born in the exchange of products and services. Social intercourse in the local setting as well as in a larger context led, to a mingling of peoples on the one hand, and to a social significance of particular cultural characteristics pertaining to people who were associated with particular crafts, on the other.

Professionalism and specialization as part of the pre-colonial economy were related to ecological factors, varying soil conditions decided e.g. the design of hoes. Also social factors were crucial for the way handicraft products were made. Beer brewing, for instance, required specific pots. Symbolic and ritual aspects determined the design of objects for particular social groups. These objects were used in e.g. initiation rites of girls. Thus the relation between ecological, symbolic and social factors and the differentiation of people socio-economically and culturally were crucial in the development of ethnicity.

III:4 The Kamba invasion. Repercussions on the social and the politico-economic relationships in the Bagamoyo District

The incursion of Kamba hunters searching for ivory, caused the first major crisis in the recorded history of Bagamoyo. The invasion is referred to in oral history of both Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo (see Alpers, 1969, 49). Feierman’s valuable documentation on the Kamba also indicates the strong impact of the invasion on the mrima towns: the invaders constituted a threat. The Kamba came from the hills in the north (most probably past Kilimanjaro). Trading and famine are mentioned as likely reasons why the Kamba settled on the Kitui lowlands. It is further said that they were driven away by the Masai and the Kuafi, and that their customs were originally pastoral until they were surrounded by hostile tribes. Consequently the Kamba were confined to scarce land resources for extensive herding. They were forced to cultivate, not being able to rely solely on cattle.

Before the Kamba invasion, Shirazi had settled on the coast and traded with the local inhabitants. The Shirazi were traders of African or Afro-Arabic origin from the northern coast. They spoke
a Bantu language and shared to a large extent the culture of the people among whom they settled. They called themselves Shirazi for the prestige of being of foreign origin. So there was some sort of agreement between the settlers and the Zaramo (who controlled the countryside), although the extent of the utani relationship is difficult to define (Brown, 1971, 82, 89-90). It is worth mentioning that it is only with the advent of the Kamba into the area that the Zaramo appear in the historical picture of East Africa (Brown, 1971, 91). The Kamba attack forced the population in the region of the Bagamoyo town to unite against the enemy. A group of Shirazi rulers called Shomwi, who were to play a passive role in the Kamba war, asked for help from the Doe and nearby Zaramo (op.cit., 81-104, passim.; Brown, 1970, 72; and Nimtz, 1973, 125).

Many reports written in the 1800s and 1890s mention small settlements of Kamba in Unguu, Ukaguru and Uzigu. It is also clear from these reports that the Kamba’s occupation of the land and their raiding for food occurred gradually, and then became permanent. In the course of time the hunters did not allow other people to enter the forests. The indigenous population of the district could not go for ivory, gum copal and rubber any more – a fact which to a high degree affected their economy.

District officers during the British colonial period, claimed that there was no accurate information available on the original inhabitants and practically none on how they received and accepted other clans. A passage about the Kamba from the Bagamoyo District Book reads:

The Wakamba seem at least to have occupied the country between Manda and the coast. They were hunters by profession and lived in the forest of Kwedihondo (Manda) and Zalanginje (Kikwalli). They also occupied the Udoe country but appear to have left no signs of their occupation. Quasi-historical signs showing greatest antiquity are ancestral tombs generally denoting the burial place of the founders of the various clans. (UTAf 1977/11.07-08)

The ancestral tombs mentioned above were not necessarily built by the Kamba. In this area also Zaramo, who were intermarried with the Doe, hunted elephants (Swantz, Lt, 1974, 29-33). Obvi-
ously, relations between different groups were constantly changing. This may be the reason why, in the history of the Miono country the Kamba are mentioned not as invaders but as the first known inhabitants: "a race of hunters who lived in the forests of Kwedihondogo and Zalanginga. They have the reputation of having been a considerable nuisance to neighbouring clans and tribes." (UTAF 1977/11.21)

There are various and only slightly differing versions of the story of the origin of Umonio. They all have the main common motive: Umonio is said to be originated from Kwedihondogo. Some Ruguru /Luguru/ (Kami) men, were hunting in the area and murdered by Kamba. As a consequence the Kamba agreed to compensate the Ruguru for the murders with money. One of the stories has it that "they left the country never to return" (e.g. UTAF 1977/11.21-25). The country was thus populated by the relatives of the murdered hunters:

Baada ya muda, pale mahali walipozikwa wapwa watatu paliota miti ambayo kwa kilugha chao ilijulikana kwa jina la Minyonyo. [And in that place where the three nephews had been buried after some time trees were grown which were called Minyonyo.] (Kiwale, 1976)

Therefore the people who moved to that country called themselves Waminyonyo. According to Mzee Mchuka, these people were known as Waminyonyo up to the time of the German administration. Waminyonyo was then pronounced and written Wamiono, whereas the place where they lived was called Miono (interview 1976, Kiwale, op.cit.).

As mentioned above, in response to the Kamba threat, the Shomwi, Zaramo and Doe formed an alliance and Brown notes that the Doe proved to be a decisive factor in the subsequent defeat and expulsion of the invaders (1970, 72; 1971, 82-98). The following story probably alludes to this occurrence. It was told one night by Mzee Mkumbukwa at Dege Pori's pombe place in Miono to my colleague Kitolero, some villagers and me. The main topic of the discussion of the evening had been the recent killing of a big snake mfune followed by a crocodile tale from older
times, zamani. The discussion then moved to makabila in Miono. Mzee Mkumbukwa stressed that there were differences between various makabila. According to him the most important were lugha, mila na desturi [language, tradition and customs]. Interestingly, he illustrated his statement returning mentally to zamani, with this story. It is therefore cited in extenso:

The Wakwere and Wakamba were fighting – first there were only Wakwere but then the Wakamba came. The Kamba were very fierce. Because they were so powerful the Wakwere lost the fight and the Wakamba stayed in Ukwere. Then a man named Tamla muwakambwe, Makame ya Shambi, came from Zanzibar; he was a businessman and Shirazi (he was a mixture). Since the Wakamba were feared by the people, he went to a place called Kibanduka, where he met a mtemi [chief] of Wanyamwezi. The Wanyamwezi were more fierce than the Wakamba; they were also cannibals. Tamla came to meet him in order to conquer the Wakamba. Tamla said that he would give Mtemi a Mitumba ya Nguo [bundle of cloth] if they conquered the Wakamba, so they fought against the Wakamba. (The Wanyamwezi were called Wadoe when they came here). The Doe, that is Wamilao, are cannibals. In certain areas where the Wakamba were conquered, the Wamilao ate them. Then the legs of the Wakamba were hung in the shelters. When other Wakamba saw the legs, they were afraid and said: these people are not fighting a war, they fight for nyama [meat]. Let us run to Kenya. The Wakamba left. Tamla was now like a chief, but he was bankrupt. Instead of the Nguo [cloth] Mtemi was given the Udoe area. The Nyamwezi became Doe. (UTAf 1977/26.26-28)

Many Doe settled in Bagamoyo after the war, and there are indications that some land compensation or economic concessions were granted to them. After the war, the ruler of the Doe, muene, had the right to demand tribute from other peoples (Brown, 1970, 72). Accounts of the recorded Zaramo oral history place the headman Pazi Kilama in the foreground of the Kamba war. He was said to be from Luguru country at that time ruling in Kutu country. He was a man who "considered himself to be the ruler of Zaramo territory". On the basis of Zaramo traditions Pazi Kilama drove out the Kamba with the help of the Doe to which he was related through his sister (Swantz, Ll., 1974, 33-34).
Although the traditional accounts of the Kamba war and the precise roles played by the Shomwi, Zaramo and Doe differ both in detail and interpretation, the essence of them is that a politico-economic relationship was born between the Zaramo *pazis* [clan-leaders] and the Shomwi *madiwani*. This was to last for more than 70 years. According to Brown, Simson Sammatta, a Zaramo who has written the most detailed version of the Kamba war\(^3\) says that the *pazi* was traditionally paid a *kodi* [tax] by "strangers" living on the coast. In addition, a yearly tribute *kanda la pazi* had to be paid for the use of the land. What is important is that the agreement was applicable almost throughout the coastal strip of Bagamoyo among the numerous Zaramo clans. This was the only time when they became politically united in their history (*op.cit.*, 1971, 100-104 and Nimtz, 1973, 126). As a result of the payment, the Zaramo installed their *jumbe* [chief], calling him 'Pazi haoni maji' [the Pazi who would not see the water] and the Shomwi installed their *jumbe*, calling him 'Shomwi haoni jua' [the Shomwi who would not see the sun]. Whether or not this event actually hap-
pened, it does indicate that the Zaramo and Shomwi recognized each other's different economic and political roles. (Brown, 1971, 105-106, with quotation from "Habari za Mrima", MS 39, Allen/Knappert Collection).

This system worked satisfactorily until the death of Sayyid Said. The new Sultan, Majid (1856-1870), made policy changes which strained the alliance. When the missionaries arrived on the mainland seeking land they caused the first serious strains to the alliance (see Brown, op.cit., 72 and below III:5:1).

III:4:1 Ethnicity in town and hinterland
Although most writers on Bagamoyo claim that it is almost impossible to estimate when the area became populated, it is confirmed that cultivators and fisherfolk certainly lived there before 1750. The earliest evidence of people's presence is found in the tombs of the first immigrants, the Muslim Shomwi madiwani, two of whose tombs are known to date from 1793 and 1813. These so-called Arabs emerged as a rich ruling class and played an important role in Bagamoyo's economic, religious, social and above all political life during the 18th and 19th centuries. The madiwani exacted tribute, for example, from local salt workers (Brown, 1970, 71-72, 74-75).

It seems that most explorers and writers, in describing population structures in connection with the history of African towns, have concentrated on the ruling and trading classes. Their interest naturally lay with these. Thus we find discrepancies worth mentioning in the information based on various historical sources. Although I do not want to emphasize the arrogant attitude of the early explorers it is appropriate to make a few notices of their world-views. Richard Burton's observation about Baloch34 forming the principal part of the "small garrison-towns", emphasizes their loudness in debate and turbulence in demeanour. Considering the views of the early explorers on the indigenous Africans as people this scarcely gives us the right picture. One indication of their world-views is that John Hanning Speke, in his introduction to Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the
Picture 18. The old cemetery in Bagamoyo. – Photo Helena Jerman 1968.
Nile, lists man under the heading of Fauna.

Knowledge of the indigenous population who settled in Bagamoyo from its hinterland is scarce. Stanley's diary entry of 13 November 1874 can perhaps be seen as a perception typical of the numerous travellers on their way to explore the interior of Africa:

Bagamoyo, Whindi and Saadani, East Africa villages on the mainland near the sea, offer exceptionally good starting-points for the unexplored interior, for many reasons.

As one of his reasons he claims that:

The natives of those maritime villages are accustomed to have their normally languid and peaceful life invaded and startled by the bustle of foreigners arriving by sea and from the continent, Arab traders bound for the interior and lengthy native caravans from Unyamwezi. (I, 1878, 70)

Brown notes that Zaramo, Luguru, Kami, Kwere, Doe and Zigua were all represented in Bagamoyo and that their socio-economic and cultural similarities contributed to the cohesion among them (1970, 78-79). It is obviously the above-mentioned inhabitants that Iliffe is referring to when he speaks of "free African" fishermen, cultivators and labourers. These groups in fact constituted the majority of the Bagamoyo population. He further notes that one-third of the inhabitants were slaves, known as Manyema originating from the Congo. As with most other emigrant "tribes", the Manyema (originally an externally ascribed ethnic identity) consisted of approximately twenty different Bantu-speaking groups. They readily adopted Swahili. The long distance from home, external ascription and differential treatment, resulted in these people's being welded into an ethnic group (Iliffe, 1979, 382; Nimitz, 1973, 242-243).

The Nyamwezi too, as mentioned in the foregoing, stayed in Bagamoyo and its surroundings semi-permanently or even settled there. Because they were travelling back and forth between the coast and the interior, the Nyamwezi did not – except those who settled there permanently – necessarily reach a group identifica-
tion in the way the Manyema people did. Unlike the Manyema, the Nyamwezi's different social status also prevented them from acquiring the cultural values and traits of the ruling Shirazi (Nimtz, *ibid.*).

The power was shared among a) Swahili-speaking *madiwani* of Shomwi or Shirazi origin, b) immigrant Arabs, including the Sayyid's *maliwali* and c) Asian merchants. This classification comes close to the one by Brown. It divides the Asian merchants into e.g. Indian settlers and Hindu merchants and Muslim Indians. These subdivisions specifically underline the religious rivalry among them. In a closer analysis, however, they show a common aim of this stratum: the town's economic basis had to be protected (see Brown, 1970, 76-78 and Iliffe, 1979, 382).

Although the nature of Bagamoyo made it an extremely heterogeneous community of ethnic groups, almost every African who settled in the town became a Muslim. According to Nimtz, this was probably because of the inhabitants' desire to assimilate into the community. The undeniably Islamic disposition of Bagamoyo was present from its very origin (1973, 128-129).

**III:4:2 Ethnicity in the local context**

Father Cado Picarda notes that the small villages in the hinterland got their names either from the "chief" *zumbe* or *jumbe* in the village, or from a "chief" in a nearby big village (1886, 297). However, the practice of classifying and designating villages and pointing out "chiefs" seems to have been a need and 'problem' for the missionaries rather than for the local inhabitants.

Using the same source as above we quote an excerpt from an interview of Father Picarda [P] with a local inhabitant [L]. The concepts in focus are the names of the places of origin, the village and the chief. Note the manner in which the questions are asked.

P: - From where do you come?
L: - From down there, down there!
P: - Where then is down?
L: - Among the Wazigua, down!
P: - But, we also, we are in Uzigua. Are you coming from north,
from south, from east or from west?
L: – I come from Miono.
P: – What is the name of your village?
L: – My village?
P: – Yes!
L: – It is down there!
P: – And what is the name of your chief?
L: – My chief?
P: – Yes!
L: – Well, it is the chief of the village!
(op.cit., 235-236)

It is interesting to note that this 'administrative' effort of naming and classifyng places and people according to personal names later found its parallel in the subsequent colonial administrative practices. It can therefore be stated that much of the 'traditional' correspondence between sites and "chiefs", although nowadays indisputable 'historical facts', stem from the missionaries' needs of mapping their 'own' respective areas together with cooperative individuals from the areas concerned. In another entry Picarda actually notes that villages often were named after a tree (see chapter III:5;2, p. 163). This is also confirmed by Mzee Timoteo Kambi (born 1894) on two different occasions during the Jipemoyo Project. He related that the village of Mandera is named after a tree with the same name (UTAf 1976/22.20 BKS; UTAf 1976/2.4 MLS).

Discussions and interviews with some wazee of the village of Miono reveal the importance of isi (indicating a certain geographical entity in Zigua and in Kwere37; in Swahili, nchi) for people's ethnic identification outside the coastal settlements. Accordingly, the origin of the name Umiono, which is a form of the word Minyonyo (the name of a plant) is intimately bound up with the history of the Miono country and the first Zigua there. The story of the origin of Zigua as told by Mzee Omari Mboko38 stresses that the Zigua (who all stem from a common ancestor, Seuta) spread in different groups from their common birthplace. These groups got certain isi. Mzee Abdallah Omari clarifies the meaning of isi in the following way:
Ahaa. In these groups of people one was of the opinion that things would not work out if everyone went wherever they wanted to. Instead they had to disperse in such a way that every person had a certain isi. So they divided themselves. They divided themselves. Always when you move, you are asked: 'Who is there?'. 'I am that and that one.' The people of Sunga say that: 'We are Sunga'. Do you understand? The Waluhanga answer: 'Waluhanga'. The Miono: 'Miono'. And so on.

And they divided piece by piece everything between themselves, until everything was finally divided. So. Although the isi was like that, it was the isi of Uzigua. This was because Seuta was the headman (of all of them). Well, bwana.

*Mzee* Hoseni Kilo, also draws attention to the existence of different isi. He even sets boundaries to the isi of Miono by naming bordering isi (which, however, could reflect the boundaries imposed by the colonial administration). He says:

We have lived in this area side by side with our friends. Our border goes – among other places – at Kwanyangu. Our border goes at Manda. Our border goes at Lupungwi. These are matters which go back to olden times...

The very area is called Miono. The neighbouring areas of Miono are, as I said: Kwanyangu – that is a certain area. Manda is another. Lupungwi is still another. Miono, however, stretches as far as to Wame /river/.

These reflections find support in *Mzee* Omari Mboko’s views of Miono surroundings during the German period.

It is evident that the most important geographical entity in pre-colonial times in the western Bagamoyo District was isi (Donner, 1996). This and the isi’s relationship to clans koo [(Zi.) lukolo] as important aspects of ethnicity of the villages was indicated on another occasion by *Mzee* Juma Mohamed:

The Zigua are clans – these are clans, it is only a matter of division of lands. But their practices are the same. (My emphasis)

We then asked: "Now, what are the clans themselves?" Juma Mohamed replied:

Clans because they are people, for they are mitara [lineages], somebody gives birth to somebody, somebody gives birth to somebody. Those are the real clans. But it is the very Zigua that is his mitara. If
you are Semiono and I am Semiono our mtara is one.

Somebody can be...eee...Semboga. You know he is a Zigua. But his mtara is Semboga, and his fellow Semboga is one clan. You meet another person called Semennyangu, that is another branch. So clans are separate but all together are Zigua.

The discussion continued for a while on the same lines. Then we asked:

What is the difference between those clans, what are their origins?

Juma Mohamed said:

Clans are branches, like those who come from far away. Now, here only Zigua settled, in general there arose changes for they were here for all. We no longer ask who is that, who is that. (UTA 1977/47)

Consequently, the relationship of isi and clan seemed to be decisive for a certain ethnic identification in western Bagamoyo District, which was populated by different ethnic groups. A man in Miono actually says that "Kabila is the name of the isi", indicating that the name of the tribe comes from the isi. With this statement, however, he seems to have adopted the colonial territorial conceptualization of isi: which primarily denoted a geographical unit and only secondarily "tribe" (see UTAF 1977/26.9).

Historically speaking, however, the case was quite the opposite. Mzee Juma Mohamed defines the coming into existence of an isi by stressing deeds performed by people, people's settling in an area as a result of these deeds and the importance of the relationship between the environment and the deed. In one of our discussions he said:

Some isi are called mpanga – it has its meaning...For there are deeds they /people/ did which mean they /people/ should occur in this country. And every country has its own meaning. Others came to settle somewhere ... they became agriculturalists there. They left this country mpanga. They settled there. Others killed animals, they went and cooked meat and sat somewhere. They ate there, that is how those countries are. They are quite related for all the Zigua, but there is a division, every country has its own environment and deeds which led it to be called that way. Now and this Miono...
there is no doubt... Mzee Ramadhani can tell you how it started. He will tell you this was that... and then until it came to be called Miono. (UTA 1977/47.3-4)

The last comment by Juma Mohamed in the excerpt above refers to the history of the Miono country in which "deeds and environment" play the main role (Cf. p. 135 above). Expressed in another way, isi had a socio-economic meaning and was most probably defined by the activities of a certain social group, clan, village or even a full tribe. There is evidence that elephant hunting in this way determined a group's right to a territory (Swantz, 1979 (a)PR, 55). This functional role of isi is still existing. The territoriality of isi played in this respect a secondary role. The European logic regarding ownership of land thus differed fundamentally from the African conception of the relationship between land and people (Cf. Oldaker, 1957, 118-124). In the former case allocation of land was based on e.g. British legal conceptions and in the latter case land tenure was taken up as a result of various deeds.

It is therefore interesting to compare the phenomenon of isi with that of an example from the Kuria. This people, living east of Lake Victoria, had ibiaro [province] as their main political unit in the past. Thus both today and in the past, the community meant the internal aspect of a province (which was otherwise defined externally): the province as "people at large", "the country", "public opinion", "the community we live in", rather than as a unit in a territorial or military sense. Like the Ziguia, the Kuria also commonly refer to themselves today by their provincial allegiances.

As a conclusion we can state that the isi were a network of land related through the Ziguia. They divided the area according to particular events or deeds. These had also a specific relationship with the environment. isi thus serve as a principle of social organization. As will be argued later (section VI:4:1) the importance of isi or nchi in the local context of today is almost decisive for a person's ethnic consciousness.
III:4:3 Bonds of unity and system of authority
The special social relationship of utani was an important common denominator for all the regions around Bagamoyo. Picard noted in the beginning of the 1880s that the regions of Uziguia had special fraternity relationships with certain regions in the neighbourhood. The people involved in these relationships were either of the "same nationality" or "different nationality" (1886, 294-295). Utani was likewise practised in Uzaramo with people outside Uzaramo as well as internally between Zaramo clans (Swantz L., 1966, 22). The integrational function of utani between different ethnic groups has been defined by Anacleti as a "social system which allows movement within the society".42 Lloyd Swantz describes pithily utani:

On the functional side, utani provides several useful services between ethnic groups and internally between clans.
1. It provided safe conduct, passport and hospitality when traveling. The Nyamwezi, Ndengereko, Digo, Doe and Ngoni have utani with the Zaramo. The Nyamwezi were often used as porters and needed safe conduct and hospitality when passing through Zaramo territory to Dar es Salaam, Bagamoyo and other coastal towns. The Ndengereko, Digo and Doe also needed safe conduct when traveling to towns or to work on sisal estates in Zaramo country. The Ngoni relationship may have come as a truce in battle. Some utani is known to exist between tribes which formerly fought one another.
2. Another functional use of utani was in burial practices. Because of various taboos, a family or clan member might not be allowed to touch or bury his near of kin. Therefore the utani was under obligation to attend the funeral, contribute to the expenses, and in the case of the Zaramo, to make the actual burial arrangements. He also would get a share in the property of the deceased.
3. Marriage between external utani was thought well of and special considerations in the bride wealth payment were made.
4. An utani friend was preferred to a relative as a master of ceremonies and shaver of the heads.
5. There may also have been some ceremonial or social function included in utani; for, it is recorded that a Zaramo utani representative attended the installation of the Mtemi (title of a chief), of Unyanyembe in the Masasi District. (1966, 23).

The precise nature of the pre-colonial village political systems in
the region of Bagamoyo is difficult to state. The District Book of Bagamoyo indicates only that the system of traditional government in Uzigua consisted of a council of elders, and in Udoe there was a ruling family who had the right to rule the whole of the Udoe country (UTAf 1977/11.45-47).

Although the information about the division of some five areas between ruling families or lineages in Ukwere is rather ambiguous, it can be stated that the ruling heads of all families seem to have been originally equal and independent. In other words, there was no centralized authority and the largest political unit was the lineage, whose head was chosen by the elders. Judging from an account of a headman Mwanamuhode we may assume that a headman's prestige and ability varied with his personality (Brain, 1962, 231, 238). Although there is no mention made of tribute being paid to Mwanamuhode, "servants fulfilled his smallest needs". Remnants of his and his son's graves still serve as places of tambiko [offerings] in the Diozile village (UTAf 1977/16.73-102 MLS). All in all, the families united in times of war or when faced by situations which demanded cooperation (BDB, II, /137/).

Almost the same can be said about the authority system in Uzaramo where each village or group of villages with a mndewa [headman] had autonomy and ruled its own affairs. A sense of community and cooperation prevailed between the villages (Swantz II., 1966, 18).

The Bagamoyo District Book gives a rather poor and contradictory picture of the system of authority in a ncbi. It can be understood from Mzee Juma Mohamed in Mino that people in the villages of one ncbi [(Zi.) isil] belonged to the same clan (UTA 1977/47.6). An excerpt from the Bagamoyo District Book gives us the following information about Uzigua's ncbi and their "chiefs":

Msonde was the father of Waligane. He came from the Handeni District, from the village called Kwagenja in the ncbi of Kwambaru. Although Msonde was never paramount chief of Uzigua, he was a powerful man, having the following ncbi's (sic) under his authority: Kikwazu, Ruhenga, Kwanghonde, Kwedigwani, Kwachengo, Kwango, Tungunguo, P-hozo, Kwa Alomwe, Zingo. If some of the
chiefs of other nchi were friendly with him, they were not under his authority but were, as he was, independent chiefs, such as Kolwa, Kingaru, Mwana-Kidire, Kingo, Mwana-P-hogwa and others. (ibid., 13-14)

It is strongly denied by the elders of the present day, that Waligane is the true chief of the nchi (of Mbwewe) in which he is now living. In proof of which it is contested that the nchi originally belonged to another family or dynasty from whom it was wrested by force. Further, according to Uzigua and also Ukwere custom, mwenye nchi ni anayezaa nchi, e.g. the person holding the highest claim to be the chief of Umiono is the Sa-Semiono (father of a Semiono), when his ancestor (i.e. mjomba, according to the matriarchy) is also a Sa-Semiono bora... (ibid., 15-16)

Picarda, on the other hand, notes that the zumbe or jumbe [chief]\(^{43}\) was always elected by his watoto [children]. Literally translated children, the word referred to a broader sense to the inhabitants of a village. This does not mean, however, that the title was hereditary – even a poor man could obtain this honour. It was also possible to obtain the title Sultan\(^{44}\) under whose suzerainty several villages or a whole nchi belonged (1886, 297). Thus there were few important variations as to the system of authority in the hinterland villages and settlements, and although they were politically independent in relation to nearby towns they recognized the towns’ commercial and cultural leadership.\(^{45}\)

The diwani or jumbe (different names were used in different places) ruled the coastal towns. They also led or administered their wards, together with their subordinate men, e.g. shaba, waziri, mwenyi mkubwa, amiri. Some of the common attributes of the position of the jumbe\(^{46}\) are dealt with below.

The position of jumbe was based on a process of acceptance (to get acceptance of his position, letters were sent to at least his own district, for example to minor officials and "less important peoples"). The symbol of his office was his regalia which came into his possession when he took office. The jumbe’s task was above all to settle disputes, and his succession was determined by a combination of inheritance and agreements. He had financial privileges and he wore a special turban and sandals and enjoyed specific roles in rituals. One village could have several
*majumbe*, each of whom had defined territorial jurisdiction within the village (see Iliffe, 1979, 36-38, 43 and Nicholls, 1971, 31, 38-41). It was in the interest of the *majumbe* to live at peace with their neighbours in the hinterland, because their economic prosperity depended to a high degree on their function as middlemen. They dealt with goods brought by people from the hinterland and interior. So, for instance, consultations with the hinterland people took place when a new *jumbe* was to be appointed in a coastal village (Nicholls *op.cit.*, 42).

By the beginning of the 1800s the Omanis were exercising only limited authority over the people on Zanzibar. Consequently, their role on the *mrama* coast was even more restricted (e.g. Nicholls, 1971, 31). However, as a result of Sultan Sayyid Said’s moving to Zanzibar in 1840, the setting changed. He sought first and foremost to control East Africa’s trade. Thus he also greatly extended the island’s authority over the mainland coast. The position of the *madiwani* changed in that their appointment normally required the Sultan’s personal approval. The *madiwani* also had to visit the island every year. Although the local systems of government were nevertheless allowed to continue, the inland people could trade with Zanzibar only through coastal middlemen, who demanded substantial fees (Iliffe, *op.cit.*, 42-43 and Nicholls, *op.cit.*, 314).

Thus the political Arab relationship with the villages usually involved alliances with local leaders to allow for the passage of caravans. If there was no leader, or if the local leader was not willing to cooperate, the Zanzibar authorities established an *akida*. He was a paid official, and he was a chosen warleader, responsible for keeping order and controlling public festivities. The *akida* was in turn subordinated to the *liwali* of a coastal town (Iliffe, 1972, 180). The *liwali* was often an Arab and was recognized or appointed by the Sultan in order to consolidate the latter’s position (Nimtz, 1973, 168-170).

Richard Burton notes that, in spite of the Zanzibari control, the *madiwani* continued to enjoy several privileges of extorting payments. They acted *de facto* as private traders and intriguers in Bagamoyo, forming one of several propertied groups. According
to Burton, the *diwani’s* chief income derived from passing caravans. Burton goes as far as saying that the plundering of caravans formed "the chief industry of the *mrima*". This information was however, given to him by people who served as both his porters and interpreters. Burton, not knowing the local languages, with the exception of some Swahili always underwent the risk of being tricked – his porters were often strangers themselves in the area they visited. Although Burton’s account is biased in this way the following description is detailed and can be considered reliable. Thus, he writes about the system of "plundering" caravans from Unyamwezi, once they had been induced to enter the village. Burton stresses the numerous middlemen taking part in the game. Those who came off as victors were always "the coast-clans, Wamrima and their headmen". Not only were duties to the government of Zanzibar claimed, but the *madiwani* also demanded six dollars as their own fee under various technical names, not forgetting one dollar for *ugali* [porridge] and another for the use of water. The *diwani* then handed over the owner of the tusk to a *Banyan* ➞ Asian merchant, from whom he had already received a bribe (called his "rice"). The merchant then bought the tusk at a price staggering below the price on Zanzibar (*ibid.*, 17-18 and 39-40).

Zanzibar’s authority over the hinterland (overtly only economic) logically brought about responses also on the political level, among the traditional authorities. Bearing in mind that local systems of government were allowed to continue, one has also to take into account the fact that the inhabitants of the coastal settlements and towns accepted Sayyid Said’s officials. The Sultan’s authority provided protection, theoretical or limited, against the hinterland peoples.

On the one hand, therefore, the relationship between the coastal towns and hinterland deteriorated. The Sultan could do very little about "disturbances" in Udoe, Uzigua and in Uzaramo, to mention just a few areas. People there could demand big passage fees from caravans travelling to and from the coast and so disrupt trade. The Sultan could in fact neither control the hinterland peoples nor assume responsibility for keeping peace
between them without employing large armies, which he did not possess. His only interest lay in having the areas behind the coastal settlements ruled by chiefs not hostile to his interests (Nicholls, 1971, 314-317). It goes without saying that the madiwani shared his interests.

On the other hand, in the course of time, various confrontations between the parties concerned, i.e. the Sultan’s men, the coast settlement authorities and the hinterland authorities, brought about several demonstrations of solidarity. More about this later. The madiwani and hinterland people, for example, allied against Arab control. Mission societies claiming for land also influenced these manifestations of solidarity. Moreover, the common relationships between the coastal peoples and the inland peoples expanded. In Iliffe’s words: "Growing solidarity later facilitated resistance to European invasion" (1979, 44).

III:5 The Sultan, the missionary and the African: coalitions, resistance and incorporations

Zanzibar was the centre of trade between East Africa and the outside world, but from the point of view of European commerce and politics, East Africa, in the middle of the 1800s, was a backwater. Europeans knew about the slave labour at the clove plantations on Zanzibar, but almost nothing about the vast territory stretching inland from the coast. The sole exception among Europeans as to "interest" was the activity of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) at Rabai on the hillside behind Mombasa (nowadays Kenya) – determined to stretch its influence inland. The starting-point for missionary activity in East Africa was, however, based on individual actions by David Livingstone (Oliver, 1952, 3-4).

The linguistic work of the first German missionaries Krapf and Rebmann (1847-49) laid a solid foundation for all who came after, as did their geographical work. Actually, their famous map of 1856 inspired Burton’s and Speke’s expedition of 1858. Livingstone’s conviction of the Zambezi region’s being most suitable for cotton growing combined the commercial and Christian
aspects: the growth of a steady trade with Europe was expected to relieve the poverty, "integrate the several tribes" and to kill the illegitimate trade by the legitimate. In his famous appeal in the Senate House at Cambridge in 1857, Livingstone spoke about the "open path for commerce and Christianity", referring to the search for a navigable river for steamships (Oliver, 1952, 7, 11). During their search for the best locality for mission work to begin, the representatives of the Universities Mission54 forcibly detained slaves from a caravan which they encountered. The aim of this action, which Henry M. Stanley called "commendable though impolite", was to use these slaves, and others collected subsequently in the same way, to initiate the holy work (Stanley, I, 1878, 76-77).

During the fifteen years, 1858-1873, in which the missions were slowly gathering their forces on the coast, the exploration of East Africa by European travellers proceeded rapidly. Conversely, the narratives of the explorers, geographers and merchants were of great help when determining the locations suitable as bases for mission activities from an ecological, political, social and commercial point of view. Even the numerous Arab settlements among the Bantu people in East Africa made a path for the mission activity. The local people were already accustomed to contact with outsiders (Oliver, 1952, 26-31). One of the Roman Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers who used to travel in Uzigua in search of suitable new sites for mission stations commented:

When we choose a certain unoccupied locality somewhere in the interior...the conditions to be considered are the following: we need in the first place not so much a picturesque locality but arable land, soil suitable for growing many different crops, and — with an eye to the natural growth of the Christian families — there must be a possibility of expanding the settlement. In this matter we proceed in the same way as the native chiefs do in establishing new villages. (Quoted in Versteijnen, 1968b, 23)55

The objective of the first Roman Catholic missionaries56, when they arrived in Zanzibar on December 22, 1860, was to establish a well-organized base for the liberation and education of slaves and to lay the pattern for future missionary activity as a whole.
The Sultan Seyyid Majid of Zanzibar, who had common commercial interests with the French (as well as with the British), gladly offered his protection and support to the French priests. Their charitable work would be to "look after the sick, to nourish the poor and to teach their converts useful trades", as they put it during their first audience with the Sultan. In his response to the priests, the Sultan expressed his desire to the missionaries that they "would one day be useful to him and his people" (quoted entry from a letter of priest Fava 17.7.1861 in Versteijnen, 1968b, i(a)).

Within a very short time, the Catholic Mission had opened schools and hospitals, the converts being almost entirely slaves bought in the local market. The increasing medical work, and other activities of the Mission favoured by the Sultan, soon assumed such proportions that in 1862 the Mission of Zanzibar was raised by degree of the Prelate to the status of Apostolic Prefecture Zanguebar. This prefecture stretched from Cape Guardafui, near Arabia, to Cape Delgado, Mozambique and had no limits in the interior (Versteijnen, 1968b, iii-iv). In 1886 the Mission of Zanzibar had one hundred and thirty-six pupils (Bennett, 1963, 59). This Mission was considered a bridge to the continent, and over the years several voyages were made to the opposite coast. An exploration trip made by Father Horner in September and October 1866 and financed by the Sultan consti-

tuted a major breakthrough in this respect (Versteijnen, 1968b, v).

In point of fact, during the pioneer period of missionary work, 1856-1885, foreigners, including missionaries, were able to come under the protection of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The missionary became recognized as a kind of chief by the headmen round about. There was a wide-spread opinion that the Sultan of Zanzibar and the British and French Consuls supported him (Oliver, 1952, 50).

III:5:1 Conflicts in land questions
Mission history sources hardly mention the resistance of the local population to the process of opening the first Roman Catholic Mission station on the mainland near Bagamoyo in 1868. On the contrary, one gets the impression that the coastal population opposite Zanzibar welcomed the missions. We are told that the Kingaru sent several invitations to the missionaries of Bagamoyo to visit his kingdom Ukami (Versteijnen, 1968a, (10) and 1968b, 7). It should be born in mind that Kingaru was actually a title, the highest rank, in the country of Miono and it seems logical that this applied to at least Ukami and Ukwere as well (UTAf 1977/11.33).

The Zaramo challenge of the madiwanti's right to grant land to the Holy Ghost Fathers caused a crisis in April 1868. As a matter of fact, the Zaramo had not been consulted about the decision to grant land in Bagamoyo town to the missionaries. The crisis was temporarily settled by the intervention of the Governor and the Sultan. The weak support of the latter among the people would soon be apparent again (see e.g. Brown, 1970, 72 and Nimtz, 1973, 126-127).

There were two more serious incidents before the Mission finally received 6 square kilometres of land for permanent occupation in outskirts of Bagamoyo town. The initiative of local inhabitants in starting planting on Mission land – probably supported by Arab residents who feared open conflict with the Sultan – was met by Father Horner with the destruction of their crops. Nevertheless, "all who felt they had been injured..." were
given compensation later. Secondly, an armed party of Arab slaves from Bagamoyo made an invasion into the Mission territory and forced a group of workers to flee. This resulted in zealous attempts on Horner's part to receive an unconditional act of cession of the Mission property from the Sultan, who resorted to diplomacy: he could not give too much to the French, because other Europeans would seek similar concessions (Bennett, 1963, 60-61).

It has been expedient for those recording mission history to simplify the problems of the controversies arising from the expansion of the missions. They have accused the competing religion of Islam of being the primary obstacle in spreading Christianity. The general attitude towards Islam throughout the history of the mission activities on the coast, appears in the descriptions of the first year of the Bagamoyo Mission. This is how the situation was seen through the eyes of the missionaries:

Naturally the steady growth of this christian mission in a densely populated moslem area, could not escape the eyes of some fanatic and jealous Arab residents and suspicious tribesmen. They not only
tried to instigate the population to plant on land previously ceded to the Mission, but also wanted to cross the plans for extension by occupying land *unofficially* ceded to Horner but of which the free use was not yet granted under hand and seal of the Sultan...On July 14, 1869 an armed group of Arab slaves threatened Mission workers...the French consul had to intervene, and the Sultan interfered. The case turned out in favour of the Mission. (Versteijnen, 1968b, 5; emphasis mine)

The preconceived ideas and the lack of understanding of African cultural forms marked the attitudes of the Holy Ghost Fathers throughout the years of their activity. These attitudes affected also the views on the social and political systems of the Africans. The missionaries' strong overestimation of the headmen's authority, for example, caused a lot of misinterpretations as to land tenure questions. The missionaries believed that once they had been allowed to settle in an area this gave them full private ownership of the land. Interpretations of oral and later, written agreements allowing only tenancy and usufruct of land caused controversies and disputes (Kieran, 1969, 355, 566; 1966, 228-230; 1971, 30). As a matter of fact the local population was not aware of the missionaries' intentions to assume the Sultan's rights when it came to land questions.

Bagamoyo, as well as Zanzibar, was predominantly Moslem, and the proselytization was naturally difficult for the Mission. This was already clear to the missionaries at an early stage - their attention was all the time turned to the interior as illustrated here in notes from a Chapter held at the Bagamoyo Mission, 2-9 June, 1870:

> There is absolutely no hope of being able to convert the Muslim populations, be they from Zanzibar or Bagamoyo or from any part of the coast occupied by the Muslims. (Versteijnen, 1968a, (10))

Although Islam generally prevented effective missionary work in the coastal area and its hinterland, indigenous religious institutions also provided resources for resistance. The Holy Ghost Fathers, like the Christian Church elsewhere in Tanganyika, found its first members chiefly among marginal people: freed slaves, children of ritual experts and sick persons. According to
"Reports of the Mandera congregation", the level of baptisms during 1898-1912 amounted to an average of 65 persons/year. The Father in charge at Lugoba Roman Catholic Mission, founded in 1911, said that Christianity seemed to make little or no impression on the Kwere, who seem to retain their conservative preferences for "wood and stones" (BDB, II, /278/). This accords with Versteijnen's claim that most of the freed slaves became Christians and that local Africans, mainly Zaramo, did not take advantage of the Mission. He quotes R. Mwaruka (1965):

Kwa kuwa chio kile kilifahamika kuwa ni cha mafunzo kwa watumwa, basi waungwana wote wa siku zile walikidharau. [Since that school was known as being for the education of slaves, all the freemen of those days despised it.] (Masimulizi juu ya Uzaramo, p. 127)

Christians in Uziga refused to abandon their marriage customs (Kieran, 1966, 164). Conversion to Christianity was in this respect comprehended by the local population as a matter of constraint.

Confrontations stemming from conflicts regarding land ownership which had begun in 1868 (see p. 154), arose several times in the area of the Bagamoyo town in the following decade. In these times, the Zaramo opposed infringements on their traditional rights. The madiwani, on their side, resented the prerogatives and the powers of the Sultan's maliwali representatives. Realizing their common interest, they joined forces against the Sultan and the maliwali. This alliance produced a Zaramo attack on the southern fringe of Bagamoyo town in 1875. The madiwani covertly supported the outbreak, which nevertheless was put down by the Sultan's forces with the aid of the British navy. Subsequently the Zaramo influence diminished. However, the madiwani maintained a very complex relationship with the Sultan. These multiple political tensions reflected the shifting strategical interests of both the madiwani and Zaramo. The same can be said of the Sultan and his representatives. In a way, all of the mentioned groups had a common aim in protecting the town's economic basis (Brown, 1970, 73; Bennett, 1963, 63-64).

The Catholic Mission's information on "chief" Kingaru unfor-
tunately does not give a complete account of the *de facto* reception of the missionaries by the local societies in the hinterland. On the 17th July, 1870, the old chief Kingaru (from Kinole in Ukami) sent a delegation to the Father in Bagamoyo to invite him to visit his kingdom Ukami. The delegation was followed by two others before Fathers Horner, Baur and Duparquet set out with a caravan on the safari to Ukami:

On August 11, at 10 a.m., the caravan left Bagamoyo; the guide in front, armed with gun and sword, and flanked by two flagbearers carrying the colours of France and the ensign of the Sultan. Followed some forty porters and the twenty princes /a delegation of the Kingaru/, while the Fathers Horner, Baur and Duparquet accompanied by Said Magram – all of them riding on donkeys – brought up the rear. (Versteijnen from Horner's safari notes, 1968b, 8)

The caravan was cordially received by the Kingaru and during the visit Horner negotiated with him and his "council of ministers" about a possible mission station in Ukami. One of the vital factors, in the discussion, was the guarantee of the security of the missionaries. The Kingaru answered: "I cannot guarantee your security except in the territories of Kinole, Utondwe and Ponera."

61 This disappointed the Fathers and, together with other factors, contributed to the failure of an agreement.

Later, when the Fathers wanted to make an attempt to found Mandera Mission they asked for the "mkubwa wa inchi". The missionaries were not taken to Kingaru of Ukami but to Kingaru Shomwii at Mandera in Uzigua. Kingaru


Shomwi then went to Kolwa, his relative and "chief" of Umiono, to seek his advice. The matter was of great importance: whether or not to admit the Europeans to their country. Kingaru Shomwi sought such advice because he was rather young when he was invested with his authority.

The difficulties encountered by the missionaries among "influential Arabs" were in deep contrast to the treatment
Kingaru, "the chief of Manda-

era", gave them from the be-

ginning of the mission (Pi-
carda, op.cit., 185). An entry in
the Bagamoyo District Book
compresses the 'history' in the
following way:

Kolwa was chief of one part of
Umiono. The founder of
Umiono was Mtgamoyo
whose sister's son was Mahim-
bo - The son of Mahimbo's
sister was Mwem Bonje whose
sister's sons were Kolwa and
Shomwi. Kolwa obtained in-
fluence as a Chief by obtaining
slaves and subjects in return
for assistance he gave others
in war. Kolwa's son was
named Maine who died in
1932. Shomwi had a son
Kingaru, who was chief of the
other part of Umiono
(Manda area), when the Mission
was founded at Manda in 1880.
Kingaru's son was Joseph Sefu
Kingaru, mtawala of Manda who
died on 2nd december, 1952. (BDB, I, /22/)

The quoted passage reveals the fact that a fast shift from matr-
lineality to patrilineality took place during a period of only two
generations. The title of Kingaru was subsequently inherited
patrilineally. This phenomenon is an example of how social and
political changes during the late pre-colonial period influenced
the social relations in the territory, and hence also cultural forms.

The way missionaries described their arrival in Miono coun-
try, can be weighed against the oral tradition concerning the
same event, as related by Muslim leaders in Miono in present
time. Drawing on oral tradition, Mzee Ramadhani Saidi Mdeha
told one of the Jipemoyo researchers that the missionaries' arrival
in Miono country was preceded by some unsuccessful journeys
Map 6. "In the Surroundings of Mandera". Source: Picarda, 1886, 188.

initiated in Sadani. The missionaries arrived at a place called Vuma and chose for themselves a hill called Bagamoyo. The elders of Vuma hesitated, and the local people accompanying the sheradhi declared that:

that person is going to bring us dini ya matata [trouble-makers' religion]. Thus he set off and arrived here. The local wazee feared him. He again continued his journey and went to explore there in Wami.

Mzee Mdehe explained that when the missionary returned from Wami he sent for the two old village wazee, Kingaru and Kolwa, and declared to them his wish to live in that area and to practise his religion. While the old men consented, they thought that they
would not give him land in a good valley, although they let him stay in the vicinity with the intention of keeping an eye on him. The Muslim leaders of today's Miono relate that the missionary lived and propagated his religion there. According to Mzee Mdeha: "He simply stayed there." As a consequence, some village wazee went to blame the two old wazee for having welcomed the missionary. These responded: "We have already welcomed him, but if we have done wrong in that let us come to an agreement on that matter and let them stay here in the future" (UTA 1977/76 PhD).

Seven years after the visit to Ukami, Horner set out again on a trip to study the possibilities of a new mission base, this time in the Nguru mountains. In Mhonda, 85 miles inland, a place was found.65

Land ownership conflicts were a consequence of missionary activities. The missionaries' claims for land resulted in local compromises: the Africans constantly had to act on the defensive.

Bearing in mind the non-existence of European ownership, the selling of land obviously implied accepting the buyers as members of your community: it implied that they were no longer dependent on you, nor, consequently, on your land. Recalling the

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functional role of tsi, a territory had a socio-economic meaning according to the African view on land tenure. Hence, controversies of conceptions on land: the European logic conceptualized land primarily geographically whereas land for Africans implied primarily a "space characteristics" i.e. an area for activities.

Our discussion has included two different views on land ownership i.e., the African and the European one. The first one is based on oral tradition and the second on written sources. Both views reflect their own interests, in this case, political.

III:5.2 Miono country
As mentioned earlier, Uzigua was made up of many divisions called nchi. The following description of one of them, Umiono,\textsuperscript{66} is largely based on the correspondence of Father Picarda of the Holy Ghost Mission in the late 1800s. We have already touched upon the wider aspects of the population in the Coast region and the socio-economic base of the western Bagamoyo District during the pre-colonial period.\textsuperscript{67} Picarda's description offers an account of the subsistence of a small part of it situated in the heart of the research area of this study.

There was a large and fertile valley in the area with the cultivations stretching as far as the Wami river, about 35 minutes' walk from the Mission. The local villages were often hidden in the bago [forest]. The first path did not lead to the centre of the village, but followed the edge of the bago. There were two fences, covered by lines making the gates difficult to access. A first gate lead to the atrium of the village and only after a second, narrow path, another fence, a second fore-court and a final third gate one entered the village. There were often four or five villages within a few hundred metres of one another. A village consisted of only about 15 round houses with straw-hatched roofs. Sometimes the houses were rectangular.

There was a special place outside the village, opposite the first entrance gate. This place was often in the shade of a secular tree which bore the same name as the village. Public village reunions such as shauri [council] or massa [judgment] as well as
dances i.e. ngoma were held here. It is interesting to note that even today, an old big tree in the village of Miono is considered very significant in the place where the Baraza ya chi Zigula [the Zigua Council] is held.68

Picarda writes that in the six villages surrounding the Mission, within a radius of two kilometers, maize and mitama [sorghum]69 were the usual cereals. There was also a wide range of other plants i.e. sesame, pumpkins, calabash, cucumbers, and different sorts of lentils and beans, manioc and to a lesser extent bananas, sugar-cane, saffron and ginger. Picarda indicates that rice was
rare; it was usually reserved for "chiefs" who could afford slaves for the maintenance of the rice fields (e.g. scaring away animals). For the wealthy, rice was used as an important commercial commodity. Tobacco, too, constituted an important article for export as well as for local consumption. Fruit trees were few and scarce. The production of *pombe* [beer] made of *mtama* was in the hands of the women. The land tenure system permitted people to cultivate whatever land was available (*op.cit.*, 234-236; Baur, 1882, 36-37). Consequently Picarda notes: "Those who think that here it is like in Europe, where every field has its owner, are very much mistaken" (*op.cit.*, 236).

By the time of the arrival of the missionaries in the area, iron had already replaced ebony as the raw material for making *majembe* [hoes]. *Mafundi* worked in small smitheries forging various arms, axes and hammers, repairing guns and working copper rings for women’s ornaments. *Mafundi* also made plaited baskets, mortars, shelters, mats (of palm leaves) and bedstead bases (of baobab rope). In Uzigua there were also professional *mafundi* of hunting, *makua*, who were not allowed to cultivate. Their weapons were guns, if they could afford them, bows and arrows, swords called *simé*,ºº spears and ebony sticks (*op.cit.*, 236, 258-259).º¹

In order to obtain products not locally available, such as cloth, soap, salt, guns, and gunpowder, the Zigua went to the coast. They brought their food products and ivory in exchange. These long-distance trips were both exhausting and risky, since there was perpetual danger of robbery. In fact one of the explanations of how Bagamoyo got its name alludes to assaults by robbers, when one had to throw everything and run. According to Kwere oral tradition, when the caravans from the interior were approaching Bagamoyo, robbers ordered the porters to "throw down their goods so as to save their life". At the bottom of this and other interpretations is a division of the word Bagamoyo in the version of *Bwaga* [lay down] and *moyo* [heart]º² (Kiyenze, 1978, 29-31, 57).

Sometimes, however, men from the coast circulated in the villages to exchange salt and hoes for sesame, rice, honey, antelope
skins and horns, tobacco and poultry. These transactions were, however, carried out only on a small-scale level. The pattern of exchanging products began to change with the arrival of the missionaries. Apparently, money was now introduced for the first time in the recorded history of the Zigua language area. People in the Miono country came to the Mandera mission station to sell the food products they had previously sold to the coastal settlements (Picarda, op.cit., 248-249). The remark of an elder to missionaries in the 1880s: "Well, you are our coast" (my emphasis), is of interest. The man said this when the missionaries were trying to buy children who otherwise would have been sent to the coast to become slaves for the Arabs. This was the fate of children whose teeth had not emerged in the customary order (Annales Apostoliques, 1886). The comment "You are our coast" clearly alludes to the close commercial relationship between the headmen and the missionaries in the Miono country. By 1882, in several parts of Miono exchange was replaced by Indian coins pessas (Picarda, op.cit., 357).

III:5:3 Separation from tribal life – the Christian villages
During the first thirty years of mission work, the Roman Catholic missionaries made it their policy to have complete temporal as well as spiritual authority over the local members of the congregation in closed mission communities (Oliver, 1952, 52). With the founding of Christian villages constituting economic and political units, the Africans were literally speaking separated from their own socio-economic environment – the tribal society. Thus, the missionaries' undertaking brought about a separation of people also from their own culture.

The fear of Islam's dominance in the region meant that the hope of the Mission lay not in the adults but in the young. Picarda felt that the only means of winning them to Christianity was through schools and that the contact with what he calls the "gangrenous surrounding society" should consequently be the least possible. The children had thus to be lodged with the missions. The male pupils were chosen preferably from "chiefs' fam-
families", because the boys, once they had become chiefs themselves, would found new Christian villages. In Mandera, the first pupils were Doe, whose parents had promised their sons to the Mission from its very start (the HGF Mission archives do unfortunately not give any explanation to this). Doe pupils were followed by Kwere and Zigua (Picarda, op.cit., 368-369).

Mission documents from the Mandera area witness that Christianity had most success among the Kwere, who had not exposed themselves to Islam like the Zigua. The Doe, on their part, feared ("with reason") that catechist stations would not make their "bad" habits disappear (BC, No. 320, 284). In fact, according to several nineteenth century accounts from Bagamoyo and its surroundings, the Doe people — or part of them — had the reputation of being cannibals. The other peoples in the district are said to have feared them (BDB I, 47-48; Brown, 1971, 97; and Cf. Chapter III:4).

Boys and girls were educated mainly in the Bagamoyo Mission, which even by 1872 had the appearance of a small town rather than an ordinary mission. 73 The 50 houses built in the mis-
sion grounds harboured about 300 pupils and 30 married couples. The majority of the male children attended the elementary school, where they were taught religion, reading, writing and arithmetic. The rest were either enrolled in the seminary or
attended courses in agriculture, carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, tailoring and so on. The girls were taught cookery and handicrafts and child-care by the Sisters (Versteijnen, 1968a, (12)).

The aims of the various schools in Bagamoyo, Lugoba and Mandera were to "seriously contribute to the moral and material uplifting of the coast population and in time to provide true native leaders, convinced of the dignity of honest labour" (BDB, II, /283/).

A large proportion of the inhabitants in the villages consisted of slaves bought directly from dealers, with a supplement of freed slaves handed over to the missionaries by the British government. As soon as the converts reached marriage age they were transferred to the interior, where they were married off in groups and settled in new Christian centers (Courmont, 1886, 413 and Oliver, 1952, 22-23).

The Mandra Mission was no exception to this. Each couple was hereby provided with a plot of land and a hut, two hoes, two iron pots, two mats and material for Sunday suits. The couples worked for 5 days a week on the land and were paid a small wage in cloth and food. On the other two days they were allowed to cultivate their own field. Free outsiders were allowed to settle on the Mission land under the same conditions and regulations as the implanted families. If males, the Mission bought them a wife after they had served a probationary period (e.g. Versteijnen, 1968b, 14a and Oliver, op.cit., 52-53). The principle that "the negro should learn to be a useful member of society whilst taught the doctrines of Christianity" was thus effected by a mixture of schooling and manual labour. Moreover, the pupils were divided into three intellectual grades which were: (1) given a literary education, (2) instructed in a skilled trade, or (3) put to manual work only (Oliver, op.cit., 22). Since the system of creating Christian villages was regarded as the only possible means of converting the Africans, the Mission was ready to finance the "maintenance" of the converts. In Mandra, Picarda reckoned that one child would cost roughly 70 francs a year. The Fathers also became aware from the very start of the Mandra Mission that only by acquiring knowledge of the local language, kizigua, and
consequently making it the language of the Mission, could serious activity be guaranteed (Picarda, op.cit., 368, 366).

The Mandera Mission\textsuperscript{76} was situated in Umiono and the Christian village was built under the auspices of the missionaries. On the top of the hill – the healthiest site – was the missionaries’ house, surrounded by planted fruit trees of different kinds, and a chicken run, kitchen, school and store buildings – and naturally, the church.

The garden included different kinds of vegetables. Some eighteen houses of brick or stone were built in two rows for the converts, who consisted of 20 families (Picarda, op.cit., 356, 234-236). The whole village was so heavily fortified that even Picarda compares the Mission with a fortress. The reason for this was fear of "the influence of the witches' words on these ignorant and credulous peoples" and, above all, fear of intrusion by strangers, for example the Masai (\textit{ibid.}, 365-366 and Baur, 1882, 30-31).

In order to effectively separate the inmates from their own society, a tough time-table was created in the Christian villages, in addition to a special\textit{ disciplinary code}. The time-table for the married couples was as follows:

\begin{center}
\end{center}
5.45 a.m. Morning prayers in the church. Holy mass and Rosary.
7-11 or 11.30 a.m. Manual labour in the Mission's gardens or workshops.
2 p.m. Religious instruction or singing lesson. Work until 5 p.m.
8 p.m. Communal night prayers.

The *disciplinary code* was rigidly enforced upon the neo-Christian families and it forbade, among other things:

(1) leaving the village after work, which in practice meant never, since the code decreed: It is forbidden for married persons to leave the village to go to another one before morning prayer and after the evening's work, (and) above all during the night.
(2) inviting people from outside the Christian village after work;
(3) women visiting villages where *ngoma* was held or *pombe* distributed and on the whole visiting neighbouring villages, except on Sundays;
(4) inviting outsiders to their houses;
(5) visiting each other's houses – the married women or men could meet other couples only outside their houses;
(6) being absent from work without authorisation from the Mission (Versteijnen, 1968b, 14-15 and 1968a /18-20/).
With these regulations in mind it is understandable that

(it) was almost impossible to explain to a freed slave that he was really free, when in fact any attempt to run away from the station would have involved instant re-enslavement either by Arabs or by Africans of another tribe. Obviously the settlements had to have laws and the laws had to be enforced. (Oliver, op.cit., 53)

The work carried out in the Christian villages suffered from numerous setbacks. These were mainly of two separate kinds. Firstly, various epidemics and famine often led to migration and breaking up of villages. Secondly, a separation of Christian converts from their former society through a set of dogmas and prohibitions was a delicate undertaking.

Why then did the missionaries' approach to African adults and their community meet with difficulties? As we have seen, the basic unit which the missionaries considered the expression of Christianity was a family based on a contract between two individuals. The Holy Ghost Fathers did not question its sufficiency. Marriage in this sense did not bring larger units of people together. It prevented the growth of any consciousness of community among the freed slaves as well as among free Africans who were used to wider systems of social relationships (Kieran, 1966, 146-222, passim). It is true that the missionaries' ventures affected manifestations of and attitudes to several cultural forms on the part of the indigenous population. On the other hand it did not, in its essence, loom large into culture. More specifically, the impact of the Christian villages on the development of ethnicity, in general, should not be overestimated.

Although Christian villages existed until 1914 they were not given a very important role. Instead, the missionaries focused on, e.g. a large number of schools serving as missionary agents. School attendance could not, however, be described as voluntary: the Holy Ghost Fathers lent out money to parents in return for children attending school. Moreover, the parents feared that the schools represented some kind of disguised slavery. The parents preferred day-time schools for their children. Thus, there was a clear distinction between the school at the station and the rural
or catechism school in a village (Kieran, *op.cit.*., 66, 191-195).

Yet it is true that the converts came to live in an alien sphere of culture (Iliffe, 1979, 222-223). Through the exchange of goods for medical care, people in the surrounding villages learned the basics of Christianity. One has also to bear in mind that the Zanzibarian protection of the missionaries raised expectations. It had a wide influence also on the surrounding society, despite several impediments such as raids, famines and sparseness of population. Not only the Holy Ghost Father stations but also several others developed into real economic and political units, which were governed and directed by the missionaries and separated from the surrounding tribes. In the long run, the most important effect of the missionary activities was on free tribal life (Oliver, *op.cit.*, 51, 66-67). Oliver remarks that even the foundation of fairly modest mission stations required the assistance of hundreds of Africans. The transportation of their supplies became an industry in itself (*ibid.*, 50-73).

It goes beyond the scope of this study to define and specify the impact of the Holy Ghost Fathers' economic and social activities on each of the ethnic groups (mentioned in the missionary sources) who represented various cultural forms. The evidence for this is not sufficient. A rather important observation can, however, be made albeit with some reservation: although the missionaries were considered as trading partners and patrons they were not allowed to interfere with local ideology. The defiance of the Zigua on the missionaries' prohibition of infanticide is an outstanding example of how the integrity of the Zigua elders' ideology was seldom challenged by the new religious system of the Europeans. 77

It was with the imposition of German rule that local ideology began to loose ground by 1900. At the same time hunger and disease had a direct impact on the ecological relations: German colonialism acted as a solvent on social relations and culture. The Spiritan mission stations, expanding rapidly after 1906, aimed at providing "each tribe" with a mission of its own (Kieran, *op.cit.*, 390; Versteijnen, 1968b, 43-44). This undertaking was thus consistent with the subsequent policy of the colonial administration,
'ethnic division' being one of its main pillars. The Lugoba mission station was set up for the Kwere "tribe" in Ukwere in 1911 as a branch station to the Mandera station in Uziguia. The station in Ukwere intended to serve the needs of Uzaramo as well.

III:6 Notes on inter-ethnic cooperation on the eve of colonial intrusion

As outlined, several integrational factors marked the hinterland of Bagamoyo at the outset of German colonialism. The relations between the hinterland and coastal peoples facilitated joint measures against, for example, missionaries' land claims. The development of large nets of social interaction was challenged or stopped by the establishment of colonial rule.

Nimtz argues that the ties between the chieftains of the coastal towns had gradually weakened during the 19th century. One of the possible reasons for this was the encroachments of the Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar (1973, 156-162). Raum is of the opinion that slavery, as well as Islam and porterage, accentuated the "comparative weakness of the tribal structure" and he states that Africans were taken out of their tribal context and placed in unfamiliar environments by these factors (1965, 166-170).78

For the purposes of the following discussion, we shall take a brief look at Islam and slavery in the late pre-colonial period, as the development of ethnicity in connection with porterage and its effect on the "tribal structure" has been touched upon in the case of Nyamwezi.79

The long-standing exchange of people and goods between the hinterland and the coast resulted, among other things, in kin relationships. It should therefore be emphasized that Islamic elements came to the coast and spread to the hinterland through social relationships adjusting to local culture. According to Marja-Liisa Swantz the acceptance of Islam was not a disintegrating factor. On the contrary, Muslim and indigenous forces occasionally united in resisting external pressures. This was a natural result of
their mutual interest at points of vital importance, even at times when the differences were considerable. Swantz says:

I consider the established kinship tie, in which the inland population provided the matriliney, to be one of the crucial points in understanding why the Islamic influences spread so rapidly at the start of the colonization. (1986, 99)

She gives several examples of how the new kin relationship still has both ritual and non-ritual expressions – in short, how Islam came to be absorbed by local societies (op.cit., 99-100).

The absorption of the forms of Islam were preceded by the appearance of different kinds of cultural features identified as Islamic. They became typical insignia not only of the coastal Zaramo chiefs but also of other traditional authorities and headmen in the Bagamoyo District, e.g. among the Kwere (Swantz, 1976, 137 and personal information 1986).

Despite the long Arab contact with East Africa, the Arab slave trade

formed only one pillar upon which the degrading business was built. The other was the establishment of a typical colonial plantation economy, utterly dependent on slave labour, on the French island colonies of Mauritius and Reunion, in the middle of the Indian Ocean. (Alpers, 1974 (a), 5-6)

Slavery also increased as a result of plantation agriculture in Zanzibar and on the mainland. By 1800 the coastal society was more dependent on slavery than were any other societies in the interior. (Iliffe, 1979, op.cit.).

Actually it seems that the effect of slavery on the tribal structure is difficult to appraise. Not only did slavery exist in several forms but the coastal slavery which implied a system of personal dependency included both newly-arrived plantation slaves from the interior who did not know the language on the coast, Swahili, and slaves who were born on the coast (Iliffe, op.cit., 72). Regarding in particular the slavery institution among the matrilinear societies, which actually dominated the western Bagamoyo District area, slavery was rather a form of pawnning in the
context of the so-called traditional agricultural slavery (Koponen, *op.cit.*, 60-62). Hence it does not seem that slavery in this form had effects on the tribal structure.

The analysis above suggests that the splitting of 'tribal entities' (facilitating cooperation with the Germans) is not the sole driving force behind the development of ethnicity. To be more specific, such suggestions disregard culture as dynamic and hence the variable nature of the ethnic group formation phenomena. We cannot state that slavery, porterage and Islam – important circumstances characterizing the Bagamoyo District – had a specific impact on the 'tribal entities' in this area. The relationships between the coastal towns and hinterland were complex, demonstrations of solidarity between the parties concerned were common. What emerges as important in this context is therefore inter-ethnic cooperation rather than indications of strong or weak tribal structures.

**Notes**

1 The main items were salt, rubber, copal, ivory and slaves.
2 Cf. Chapter II:5 on Ngoni.
3 The Swahili word *muambao* was used in the past as a non-specific term for a geographically undefined but large coastal area. Occasionally the term is used today by the people on the coast around Bagamoyo e.g. in Bunju. *Muambao* could be compared in meaning with the word *pwant*, which is used frequently today (Brown, *op.cit.*, 33-34; Swantz, personal communication, 1994).
4 This chronicle, found by Brown at the India Office Archives in London, confirms, according to him, "what had been speculation about the extent of commercial development along this stretch of the East African coast" (Report by Lieutenant Hardy with accompaniments. Marine Records 586. India Office Archives, London, 1911.)
5 B. J. Mwelupungwi who carried out his field research in five villages of the Bagamoyo District (Lunga, Diozile, Mboga, Makombe and Mindu Tulieni) uses the concept of clan instead of a local term. Felerman (1990, 57), on the other hand, defining the most basic unit of peasant social reproduction in *Peasant Intellectuals*, escapes the whole word. He writes: "Peasants pictured local society as composed of a great many small groups, each based on patrilineal descent." Admittedly, the concept of clan is used widely in anthropological literature. Following e.g. British usage, anthropologists have defined clans and lineages as descent groups (Bohannan, 160-161, 1964; Harris, 1968, 337). According to this interpretation, clan is a large kinship group tracing descent from a common founder, a matrilineal one if descent is traced through females and patrilineal if through males. There exist other
variants. Clans contain lineages — i.e. smaller kin groups often considered subgroups of clans who trace descent from a known common ancestor. However, ethnographic reality is more complex than that: clans may contain clans and lineages may contain lineages. Clans are also distinguished in terms of totemic prohibitions (Harris, 1968; Nlaywel è Nziem, 1980; Stamp, 1991; Whyte and Whyte, 1989). In short, the debate on the analysis of kinship and descent patterns centres on clan as a construction. Ecological, political and economical factors together with 'emic reality' should accordingly be given far more weight (Winthrop, 1991, 78).

6 S. E. Mwerangi also suggests that in the pre-colonial time affinity played a major role for how land was distributed. His study (1975) based mainly on oral tradition covered the village of Kisemo close to the Bagamoyo District (Notes from Mwerangi, 1975 in UTAF 1977/17.KM).

7 See Kiyenze, 1978, 44-45 on "Lumbuya" and "Kiwiili" among the Kwere and Doe and Mwelupungwi, 1976, 3-4. See also UTAF 1977/11.104-106 about mutual help in cultivation.


9 On names on ethnographic maps and the confusion regarding their interpretation see Allen F Roberts, 1989, passim.

10 The early explorers' incorrect conclusions about the administration in East Africa have served the same purpose. E.g. "The several tribes in East Africa present two forms of government, the despotic and the semi-monarchical" (Burton, II, 1961, 360).

11 The following account is based on Kimambo, 1969, 15-16, 27-28 and 1974, 16-35. One has to bear in mind, however, that this is just an example, and that generalizations should not be made from it either historically or geographically.

12 Cf. Chapter I above.

13 As a concept Uzigua is somehow problematic. One is left with several questions as to its origins and also, for example, regarding its wide variability as a toponym, notwithstanding that toponyms belong to the more stable elements of a language (Ol'derogge, 1977, 14, leaning on Westphal, 1962).

14 See Map 5 above p 125.


16 Se and mla are kin-related prefixes.

17 The prefixes kwa, kwe and di [by] indicate that a homestead was named according to the person who at a certain time was the head of it.

18 A lengthier discussion on ncbi is given in section III:4:2 on ethnicity in the local context.

19 According to Kjeulosus' research, the transition from wooden to iron agricultural implements among many peoples in Tanganyika happened sometime during the early 19th century (ibid, 82). Wooden sticks were, however, still in use during the "Village Survey of Skills" in 1965 in the Bagamoyo District (BRALUP, Dar es Salaam, 1965).

20 The designs of the hoes made by the blacksmiths in different parts of Tanzania are still crucial for the agriculture of the country. See Kiyenze, 1981, e.g. 78, 87 and 111-112 on the importance of local needs in the production and design of different implements and handicrafts.

21 The names are given here in Doe.

22 See Swantz, 1986, passim and, B. K. S. Kiyenze, 1981, 164-170 on the symbolic aspects of design in traditional handicrafts in Zaramo and
Makonde societies.

23 The 'documented' time of their arrival varies by roughly 100 years (between the early 18th century and the first half of the 19th century), and therefore the origin and development of the long-distance trade is affected in different ways, depending on which standpoint one takes. See especially Feierman, 1974, who argues in favour of the earlier period suggesting that the caravan trade replaced earlier trade in which the Kamba participated.

24 Kitui is the Kamba area (in southern Kenya) which is most vulnerable to famine, and it is also the one from which Kamba migrants in the south of Tanzania usually claim their origin.

25 Feierman, 1974, Document 5, Doc. 6, Doc. 7, Doc. 10. Cf. Krapf, 1860, 144, 352-353, who mentions the Kamba's engagement in trade with the coast as well as the interior, which certainly made them compete with the Shirazi (see below).

26 There are differing standpoints as to the Shirazi and their culture. The above-mentioned standpoint is from Spear (1984, 300) and tallies with, for example, Girenko's view expressed above on pp. 109-110.


28 Miono country => Umiono which is located in Uziguia.

29 Cf. Picarda, 1886, 185; and Kiwale, 1976.

30 Home-brewed bear.

31 This snake had recently killed a man in Miono. On this and subsequent ventures: UTAF 1977/26.15-24.

32 Sing. kabila. Note the common English translation "tribe" of kabila. See "Aim of the study" footnote 23.

33 Sismon Sammatta, Masimulizi Makuu ya Uzaramo, 1945, unpublished MS.

34 The Sultan of Zanzibar maintained small garrisons of mercenaries, mainly Baluchi, who were an Indo-Iranian people from Baluchistan. These soldiers were all commanded by a Jemadar and their main duty seems to have been to act as a kind of police force, both in Zanzibar and in the small mrima sites (Nicholls, 1971, 255-256). Brown notes, however, that they owned big land-holdings in the town surroundings and thus had economic power, besides emerging as a considerable force in Bagamoyo's political affairs during the second half of the 1800's (Brown, 1970, 76-77).

35 According to Roberts, the Zigua probably dominated the country west of Bagamoyo and Pangani even before 1850 (1969, 62).

36 The name of a district in Congo.

37 For Kwere, see Muro, 1979, 20.

38 Philip Donner's discussion with Mzee Omari Mboko and Mzee Abdallah Omari in Miono (Manuscript, 1996).


40 Ibid.

41 Ruel writes that "The community of interest shared by the members of a province was clearly expressed in its ritual institutions" and he mentions, for example, the age sets and the existence of incaama, a ritual council or "conclave". These ritual institutions "can all be described by Kuria as the 'community' ititongo. The term is a different one for the normal word for ibiaro [province] although in territorial extent it is usually to the latter group that it refers." (Ruel, 1962, 14-17 and pas-
sim).
42 Personal information 1.3.1983.
43 This was in fact a honorific title and the allotting of it conferred the right
to wear special insignia and to sit on the 3-legged stool in reunions of the wazee [male elders].
44 Actually this was an Arabic term applied generically by traders to those
whom Burton, for example, referred to as "reguli and roitelets, the
chiefs and headmen, whose titles vary in every region" (Burton, II,
1961, 360).
45 A detailed description of the roles of the dominant and subordinate sectors of Bagamoyo's political system can be found in Nimtz, 1973, 137-
176.
46 Pl. majumbe.
47 Oman's ruler from 1804.
48 Akida, pl. maakida. Liwali, from the Arabic walli, [governor]; pl. maliwali.
49 Burton, I, 1961, 17, 38.
50 Cf. Chapter III:1 p. 124. According to Burton's own words, in "Lake
Regions of Central Africa" he learnt Swahili and collected "about 1,500
words in the three principal dialects... namely, the Kiswahili, the
Kisaramo – which includes the Kik'huu – and the Kinyamwezi". He
did this during six weeks in Tabora in the northwestern part of
Tanzania while waiting for the return of his companion, the explorer
John Hanning Speke, from an expedition northwards in 1858. Later,
when arriving in Zanzibar he resumed his studies of Swahili (Gray,
1958, 157, including quote).
51 E.g. Iliffe, 1979, 43.
52 For example the Shambaa, who fought with the Zigua, had influence in
the appointment of madituwani and as an outcome of their "alliance"
against the Zigua and their raids, the Sultan established two garrisons
a short distance inland behind Pangani. As a matter of fact the Sultan
had to keep on good terms with the Shambaa because of the great
inland caravan route from Pangani (Nicholls, ibid.).
53 Sent out by CMS.
54 This mission was the "result" of Livingstone's exploration trips.
55 See also Picarda's description of the landscape of Uziga, where the
Mandera mission was founded. He mentions, for example, some
places having thick clay soil, eminently suitable for brick manufacture
(1886, 184-185).
56 The missionaries belonged to the French Roman Catholic Order of the
Holy Ghost. The full name of the order was La Congrégation du St.
Esprit et de l'Imé. Coeur de Marie (Bennett, 1963, 54).
57 Tanganjika, 1944, passim; Baur, 1882, 95.
58 Versteijnen, 1968a, (16); Iliffe, 1979, 218, 221, 231.
59 It is interesting to note that the British, after being convinced by the
French that the latter did not intend to threaten the independence of
Zanzibar, supported the Holy Ghost Mission throughout its period of
activity, by giving slaves and money to the Mission.
60 The missionaries talk simply about "chef" or "roy" [chief, king] when
referring to persons in charge of the indigenous local administration.
In the case of Kinjaru, they occasionally also use the attribute king.
61 The quotation is from Father Horner's safari notes. For this and the fol-
lowing paragraph, Versteijnen, 1968b, 10-10b.
62 Miuwala [local headman or chief].
63 According to Brown, there are, besides the town of Bagamoyo, at least
eleven other sites in Tanzania called Bagamoyo (1971, 7-11). Vuma is a place near Miono in the research area. It would be interesting to examine the origin of the names of the sites called Bagamoyo. What kind of connections with Bagamoyo town might such an investigation reveal?

64 No explanation found to this term.

65 As already mentioned, the first Roman Catholic Mission base on the East African mainland, near Bagamoyo, was founded in March 1868. The Bagamoyo Mission was followed by the missions at Mhonda in 1878, Mandera in 1881, Morogoro in 1882, Tununguo in 1884, Ilonga in 1885 and Matombo in 1897 (Versteijnen, 1968b, 34, 43), spreading more than a 100 miles from Bagamoyo. At the turn of the century some of these missions had formed several new bases.

66 I have chosen to describe Umiono because of two reasons. Firstly, the Holy Ghost Fathers' written sources provide unique historical material on this area. Secondly, the present day's village of Miono - a part of former Umiono - serves as one of the main research sites of the Jipemoyo Project. I did a considerable part of my field research in Miono.

67 For a more extensive description and analysis of the socio-economic base of the area the reader is recommended to acquaint herself with Kiyenze (1978) and Mwelupungwi (1976).

68 Hence a woman told one of the Jipemoyo researchers that it was impossible for her family to enlarge its house in the direction of that special tree. If that would happen, she said, it would no longer be possible to call together the meeting (the meeting is called upon before attending the Baraza kubwa, the official village meeting) (Utaf 1977/22.53).

69 There were 22 local varieties of sorghum.

70 Picarda mentions only this singular form. Baur uses the form zimé (1882, 44).

71 Cf. the implements of Zigua, recorded in 1977, as concrete symbols of kabila, section VI:2:3.

72 "Lay down the burden of your heart" is another interpretation. Another one is "Be quiet my heart", alluding to the feeling of the caravan porters when they had reached the end of their long trip from the interior. On this and other interpretations of the word Bagamoyo, see Walter T. Brown, 1970, 69-70.

73 In the course of time, the Bagamoyo Mission grew to become probably the largest landowner in the area. The total land holdings of the Mission amounted to at least ten large plantations (Nimtz, op.cit., 258).

74 In Mandera, Picarda writes, the syllabus comprised reading, writing in Roman and Arabic letters, history, geography, arithmetic and singing, in addition to the catechism (op.cit., 369).

75 Versteijnen notes, that "Apart from the freed slaves harboured in the five interior stations, some five hundred ex-slaves – including children born out of ex-slaves parents – were taken care of by the Mission of Bagamoyo in 1886" (1968a, (24)).

76 The Mandera Mission had three cotton-buying posts in operation at Mbwewe, Kibindu and Mkange, and a modern ginnery was responsible for providing the "upkeep" of the Mission. Many non-indigenous shrubs and plants provided the missionaries with medicines and drugs for the Mission dispensary (e.g. Versteijnen, 1968a, (22)).

77 See Giblin's analysis of the event which tells us about the different views of the missionaries and the Ziguan elders on infanticide in Uzigua
(1986, 310-316).

78 What Raum means by "comparative weakness of the tribal structure" is not explicitly stated, in that he neither gives any examples of a different situation being earlier prevalent nor states from whose point of view the tribal structure was weak.

79 Chapter II:6.

THE GERMAN PERIOD
GERMAN COLONIAL
RULE AND ETHNICITY

There are many descriptions of the beginning of German colonial rule in East Africa. The core of the events comes out well in August H. Nimtz's following account:

Under pressure from European encroachment on his empire, the Sultan of Zanzibar in April 1888, granted the Deutsch Ost-Afrika Gesellschaft permission to collect customs duties along the section of the coast which included Bagamoyo. Angered because they had not been consulted on this agreement and along with growing antagonism of the townspeople that was engendered by subsequent actions of the Germans, a number of the madiwani decided to wage a war against the new encroachers. (1973, 155-156)

The Germans falsely called this resistance "The Arab Revolt", a rebellion of slave traders frightened of losing their economic position (Müller, 1959, 370). The reason for this was that a war against Arab slave traders was politically convenient in order to get money from the Reichstag for the German endeavours in the colonies (Iliffe, 1979, 91). According to F.F. Müller, even rebellion as a term is not accurate. It was not a rebellion against a foreign power but a defense struggle against an intruder. Thus, whereas the German propaganda talked about rebels Müller prefers to call them a freedom army or freedom fighters (1959, 431, 433-438). In this respect, Glassman's point, that the 'uprising'
was not only an anti-German resistance movement should be mentioned. At the root of the social rebellion lay deep social tensions which had been growing over the previous two decades in the coastal towns opposite Zanzibar (Glassman, 1988, 483). Glassman gives the following reasons to the growing conflict:

The indebtedness of the local Swahili-speaking elite, and their political marginalization; the growth of institutions of the Omani state at the expense of the authority of the majumbe; conflicts over the status of slaves; the growing claims of villagers and upcountry folk to more active roles within the urban communities. (op. cit.)

Thus, many people who fought against the Germans were deeply involved in struggles to form a new society. The uprising, which actually involved many sectors of the heterogeneous coastal society (ibid., 93) and included both people from different cultural backgrounds from the caravan trade and about two-thirds of the madiwani of the coastal settlements, failed after about a year. Koponen's argument that the taking of the whole territory of German East Africa, target by target, happened with relative ease, should in this regard be mentioned. Accordingly, the blueprint of the country was unknown for the Africans and the territory as a non-existing entity could not be defended. More specifically, African leaders and their peoples acted within small-scale societies, whether they resisted, negotiated or collaborated, and not in terms of the visions of Europeans (politicians or soldiers, for example) (1994, 87-88).

Defensive alliances between different groups were, however, attained on the coast and in Unyamwezi, where the societal change had been most far-reaching (Iliffe, 1979, 107). Thus people's participation in the coastal resistance occurred already within larger social 'boundaries' than those of their small-scale societies and was followed by inter-ethnic integration.

**IV:1 Introduction**

During the first phase of German colonialism the regime used its bands of gunmen to maintain authority over compliant leaders:
the resulting "local compromises" meant that African societies established their relationship with the colonial government in terms of existing political practice and without serious violence to their structures. What is important to note is that the "local compromise" collapsed during and after the Maji Maji rebellion (Iliffe, 1979, 117, 119-120). Moreover, the "local compromise" between German administrators and local collaborating leaders in Uziga did not satisfy the Germans: a second and more intensive phase of colonial domination began only after the imposition of taxation (Giblin, 1986, 232).

The coastal warfare between the Germans and the Africans reached its peak in 1889. Two leading personalities emerged in the resistance, which otherwise was not centrally organized: Abushiri bin Salim from Pangani and Bwana Heri, the ruler of Sadani. Although neither of them recognized the Sultan of Zanzibar, both believed that the Sultan had been forced to betray the coast. In the beginning success accompanied Abushiri's moves and the German East African Company was driven from all coastal towns, controlled now by local forces, except for Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam. Bwana Heri still held Sadani. The German government had to assist the Company by sending troops, which arrived in May 1889, led by Major Wissmann, a former explorer. In the clash of 8th May, 1889 at Abushiri's camp close to Bagamoyo, about a hundred people lost their lives. This was followed by fighting on the 6th of June with the siege of Sadani, and on the 9th of July when Pangani was captured. Fighting took also place in September, October and November 1889, with heavy losses involved. Meanwhile, Abushiri's troops were disintegrating, partly as a consequence of the distrust that some headmen felt for him. Abushiri was relying on Arab support: descendants of settlers in Zanzibar before Sayyid Said's arrival. These "Old Arabs" (Cf. III:4.1 p. 138) lived on the mainland coast. Abushiri gradually lost his coastal support, and was captured and hanged in December 1889.
The southern coast was occupied within a short time—the coastal resistance was suppressed and accordingly over. In October 1890 an agreement was signed between the German government and the Sultan to sell the coast for 4 million marks and on 1 January 1891 the German government replaced the Company as ruler of German East Africa because the Company had failed to contain the coastal resistance. German East Africa became de jure a crown colony.

The Germans went on with their violent conquests over the many population centres next to the caravan routes. The most
famous resistance, which lasted seven years, was that of the Hehe under their leader Mkwawa in the southern highlands. With his death in 1898, all the population centres and the main communication routes came under the control of the Germans.

IV:2 A division of the territory and its people

The German administration created the first territorial administrative structure and though the new system of government retained some institutions from the previous era it, by 1913, divided the protectorate into 19 civil districts (one of which included Bagamoyo), two military districts, and three provinces or residencies. These were directed and supervised by commissioners i.e. district administrators (Nimtz, 1973, 178-179). Not only did the Germans divide the protectorate into districts, but they also introduced a policy of racial discrimination. The population was divided into "whites and coloureds" and the latter were furthermore subdivided into "natives" and "non-natives" (Nimtz, 1980, 110). Africans, i.e. "natives" were classified into several ethnic categories.

The administrators' strategy was to act on the principle of "divide and rule" the people. Hence, along with the "maintaining of order" in the districts, the military administrators had to protect them from incursions by other tribes (Admiralty, UTAf 1977/25.2-6; my emphasis). This new concept of territoriality contrasted sharply with local ideas and the implementation of the new administration structure brought effects in theory as well as in practice. Information on "tribes" residing in different districts was neatly tabulated according to different characteristics. The population was classified according to a detailed system which was described in a handbook on how to collect information about natives.

Our discussion on ethnicity as a concept in Chapter I well justifies in this context a look at ethnicity 'from above and from below' in this period. A leap to the present, regarding the application of the concept of ethnic group, is also made.
Map 8. The Division of German East Africa in 1914.

IV.2.1 Ethnicity from above and from below
Information on "tribes" drawn from the German official account at the beginning of the 1900s in German East Africa stresses eight main characteristics which can partly be considered as having been chosen for strategic reasons. These are:

A. Name of tribe.
B. Population. Number of men fit for bearing arms.
C. Muzzle-loaders, other arms.
D. Military traditions.
E. Attitudes towards German government, its influence and tribal organization.
F. Language.
G. Dwelling places, how far defensible.
H. Manner of life and subsistence, cattle, donkeys.

In the following, extracts from tabulated information about Zigua "found" in the districts of Bagamoyo, Wilhelmstal, Tanga and Morogoro are presented:

A. Waseguha: on the Wami River and as far up as the Pangani: most thickly settled in Pangani District, in the regions of Mbegu, Ruguru, Mgambo, Maka.

C. Many muzzle-loaders and about 2000 of them are stamped. Former weapons: spears, bows and arrows in leather quivers; swords in leather scabbards. These are being superseded by muzzle-loaders: weapons are smuggled in from Zanzibar. Kipumbwe, on the coast...is considered the principal smuggling place. (Bagamoyo District)

D. Waseguha are more warlike than the neighbouring tribes. Formerly carried on many feuds amongst themselves and with their neighbours...(Bagamoyo District)
Internal fights formerly, many over slaves and cattle-stealing. Repeatedly defeated and robbed by the Masai. Unwarlike. Surprise attacks at dawn, or ambushed. (Tanga District)

E. Not really dangerous but restless, and from their habits are inclined to intrigue and revolt...Tribe's present organization has been introduced by the Government. The main divisions are under Akidas and the villages under Jumbes. There are many magicians. (Bagamoyo District)
Civilized, not easy to manage, have perpetual alliance with Uzeguha. (Morogoro District)

F. Kizeguha, akin to Kinguru. Swahili widely spoken. (Bagamoyo District)

H. Agriculturalists and stock-breeders. Cultivation of maize, Guinea-corn, beans, sweet-potatoes, manioc, pumpkins, cucumbers, sesame, ground-nuts, tobacco. (Bagamoyo District) Famed for their drunkenness. Diligent farmers, maize, manioc, millet ... (District of Wilhelmstal)
The following story conveyed to me by an elderly man in a coastal village brings us down to the local level. It is noteworthy that a member of one of the "tribes" after almost 100 years includes in his story socio-economic elements which have been left out of the descriptions of so-called plural societies. With this he gives considerable historical "weight" to the "mass".

I quote my field notes:

"After this he bent down and drew 5 lines in the sand. He pointed to the first and commented: "Mstari wa kwanza ni badala ya Mzigua." [The first line represents the Mzigua.] "The Mzigua was the muanzishi [founder] of the nchi hiti [this country]."

Then he took the panga [machete knife], shoka [axe], upinde [bow] and mishale [arrows] and said: "Wote wageni, yeye ndyie mwenye kiti. Hana ubaya." [All are strangers but he is the chairman. There is no evil in him.]

He continued: "Mstari wa pili – ulichoma badaala ya Mwarabu. Mwarabu akaja yeye peke yake. Siku mbili tatu akawa tajiri kabisa. Kikombe kimoja cha chai atakuuza." [The second line was drawn to represent the Arab. The Arab, he came by himself, in two or three days he became very rich. He will sell you one cup of tea.]

Then he pointed to the third line and said: "Mstari wa tatu ni Mhindi. Anataka utajiri. Akapata shilingi 100. Anaweeka duka na wote mtatumia pale pale, hapotezi kijinga." [The third line is the Indian. He wants wealth and he has got 100 shillings. He establishes a shop and you will all use it there. He does not lose money through stupidity.]

When pointing to the fourth line, he said: "Mstari wa nne ni Baniani. Mwenye kutengeneza na vyombo vyake. Mkulima yeye anamtengenezea nyumba mkamlipa." [The fourth line is the Baniani. He is the one to make things with his tools. The cultivator makes him a house, and he (the cultivator) paid him.]

Finally he pointed to the fifth line and said: "Mstari wa tano badala ya Mzungu. Hao ni wajanja. Jadi yetu ndyio aliyoipuza. Akitoka kwao maskini akawa tajiri. Ametuanzishia mashule. Ametuvuruga mawazo." [The fifth line represents the mzungu [the European]]. These ones are shrewd. However, he despised
our ancestral obligations. He departed from his home as a poor man and he became rich. He has founded schools for us. He has mixed up our minds.[(UTAf 1977/22.109-110).]

It is interesting to note that the general content of these ideas can be traced to the period when the Catholic Mission and a consequently growing trade activity involving 'foreigners', i.e. Arabs and Asians as well as Europeans, penetrated the immediate hinterland of Bagamoyo, causing changes in the traditional relations of production. Actually, in an entry of *Les Missions Catholiques* (1886) I have since found a passage written by the missionary Picarda, of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Mandera, a nearby village, which gave a new shade, 'shaped by history', to the quoted reflections. Picarda's discussion with an old chief of the Zigua, as he called him, touched upon the question of the unity of races. Declaring the inferiority of the black race to all the other races, the "chief" gave Picarda the order of humanity according to the
Zigua. Like the *mzee* mentioned above – who was speaking in 1977 – he talks about the categories of *Bwana* [man], excluding the Zigua, but he puts them in the opposite order. That is, he begins with the white man ("le Blanc") who "is next to God and who outclasses all the others" and ends with the Arab, who

only cheats people and steals women. Everything of his has its origin in Europe. He does not know how to prepare rifles, nor cloth, nor gunpowder, nothing of value. (1886, 269).

Bearing in mind that this account\(^{14}\) was written almost 100 years ago, the view of the "chief" can be explained. During the pioneer period of missionary work, the missionaries and other Europeans were recognized as kinds of chiefs by the headmen round about, and they were also felt to be under the protection of the native political authority of Zanzibar (Oliver, 1952, 50).

**IV:2:2 African culture as a tool for oppression**

Kieran (1966) gives an interesting historical account of the relations between the 'rebels', the Holy Ghost Fathers Mission and the Germans at the outbreak of the fight. The account reveals prejudices against Africans by Germans and missionaries. African morality and intelligence were not only questioned, they were condemned: African society and its culture forms had not only to be controlled and changed, they were also to be forbidden or eradicated. As stated earlier: culture in the sense of objective ethnocity was used as a tool for oppression.\(^{15}\) All the same the account serves as an illustration of the dynamics between the parties concerned in the very heart of the research area of this study.\(^{16}\) It is scrutinized against the accusations towards the Holy Ghost Fathers for helping the Germans even before Wissmann attacked and burnt Abushiri's camp in May 1889.

According to Kieran, it is difficult to say where these accusations originate from. Among the related events there are some which indicate the missionaries' sympathy with the rebels' case, while other events indicate clear betrayal of the rebels' trust in the missionaries. Accordingly, even if the Holy Ghost Fathers sympathized with the rebels at first, a gesture that accorded very badly
with the German presentation of the fight – a fight between Islam and Christianity – it is a fact that Bishop de Courmont (the Vicar Apostolic of Zanguebar), in June 1889 approached the Germans for help (op.cit., 293-295).

Cooperation between the missionaries and the Germans became more extensive as a result of Courmont’s belief that Abushiri planned to attack the Holy Ghost Fathers’ stations. This, in turn, also lead to a growing distrust between the rebels and the missionaries.

Like Abushiri, Bwana Heri waged guerrilla warfare against the Germans and after the execution of Abushiri he was left as the leader of the resistance movement in Uzigua. His guerrilla tactics were very successful. In spite of the fact that the Germans not only pillaged a lot of villages but also burnt a great number of them, they did not manage to capture Bwana Heri, the rebel leader.17 When Bwana Heri invited Zigua leaders to talks at Sadani in October 1889, and the Mandera Mission was told by one of the leaders that it would be attacked, Wissmann was notified and German troops arrived at the Mission within a week (Kieran, 1966, 297). According to Schmidt, Bwana Heri and his “hordes” seriously threatened the mission station in Uzigua (1892, 152).

The subsequent communication between the rebels and the missionaries failed. Courmont fully supported the German view that this was a struggle between Arabs and Europeans and “his” Mission of Mandera thus refused to believe Bwana Heri’s assurances of friendship (Kieran, op.cit., 297-298).

In January 1890, Gravenreuth paid a visit to Mandera Mission with a hundred men and called together all the Doe and the Zigua at the Mission. His resolution to them stated that all the Zigua and the Doe hereafter were considered German subjects and that as such they had to obey and submit to the German leaders on the coast. The Africans were not permitted to have any contacts with the rebels of the coast, or their villages would be burnt down. Moreover, no wars between the villages were permitted. All should unite. The Mandera Mission added the following articles which were ratified: (1) Infanticide is forbidden and anybody convicted of this crime will be severely punished; (2)
Witchcraft accusations will no longer be permitted; (3) Disputes should be settled either with the big chiefs who observe justice or at the Mission and in Bagamoyo. Finally, Gravenreuth claimed that as a sign of submission the Doe and the Zigua of the Mandera Mission were to follow him on his punitive expedition, i.e. to find Bwana Heri. On his departure two days later, Gravenreuth established a military picket comprising about 30 men (BC, op.cit., 717-718).

From then on, Mandera was used by the Germans as their operational base during the fighting with Bwana Heri in Uzigua from January 1890 up to his surrender in April 1890. Bwana Heri in turn declared war on the Holy Ghost Fathers in March the same year. It is also very likely that the Germans succeeded in finding Bwana Heri's camp merely with the help of the Mission (Kieran, op.cit., 297-298). Wissmann had already sent a reconnaissance group from Bagamoyo across the river Wami to Uzigua in order to get information about Bwana Heri's place of abode.

Close to Sadani, in thick bush, the Germans suddenly "bumped into" the boma [fort] of Bwana Heri and a fight took place, won by Bwana Heri and his followers (v. Behr, 1891, 323). On January 4th 1890, Bwana Heri's fortress at Mlembule withstood artillery for 3 1/2 hours. Wissmann considered that this fight proved to be the most obstinate he had participated in hitherto in the region (Schmidt, op.cit., 171).

Bwana Heri retreated deeper in Uzigua. Although he was never militarily defeated he had to surrender formally18 due to the hard consequences of the German depredations: starvation both of the local population and of Bwana Heri's soldiers (e.g. Temu, 1980, 100).

Besides, the Germans' threats and orders on the local population only worsened the situation. The local population was prohibited from having anything to do with Bwana Heri: he and his followers were neither to be welcomed as guests in the villages nor be given food. Adherence to these prohibitions was guarded by the military picket in Mandera. Accordingly, Lieutenant Langheld succeeded in putting to rout a group of Ziguas and Arabs (Schmidt, 1892, 152). Reward was promised to those who
were willing to cooperate – the others were to be punished (see e.g. BC, *op.cit.*, 717).

An old man in one of the villages of the western Bagamoyo District remembers an order from the Germans right after the defeat of the Abushiri uprising:

The German authorities ordered every Ziga traditional leader – the *Zumbe* – to go to Bagamoyo town to pledge loyalty, on behalf of all the Ziga, to the German authorities. The *Zumbe* from Pongwe Kwedilima took with him one cow to Bagamoyo town as a gift to the German colonial officials. Such *Zumes* (sic) were automatically made permanent *jumbe* (sic) so as to serve the colonial administration. (Quoted in Kiyenze, 1978, 83)

The pressure exerted on the local population, described above, were only an initial stage towards a subsequent administration of divide and rule. Thus, Wissmann,\(^9\) who created a force of mercenaries (built around a nucleus of Sudanese soldiers), the *Schutztruppe*, imposed his own "ethnic" on it. It stressed a division of ethnic groups by dividing soldiers into ethnically homogeneous companies "to make use of the Africans' sense of kinship and ethnic solidarity". But it also called for the use of one language, Swahili, as the standard language.\(^{20}\)

**IV:2:3 The ethnic dimension of the colonial warfare**

Colonial warfare (which includes revolts and uprisings against the German control) in pre-colonial Tanzania has been dealt with by a number of researchers. Kjekshus (1977), who argues that the colonial warfare must be regarded as a "major cause of the destruction of the local economies of Tanganyika", thus emphasizing the economic aspect, also points to the conventionally termed tribe-nation axis of the colonial wars. His map of military operations (altogether 84 locations) covers the period from 1888 to the Maji-Maji uprising in 1905. A table\(^{21}\) gives information on these early colonial battles as to date, place, tribe, leader, tribes participating, destruction i.e. material, and body count i.e. number of deaths.
It is interesting to note that Kjekshus several times takes up the question of "inter-tribal cooperation" in connection with his analysis of the colonial warfare, his point of departure being the common observation of "the lack of unity among the African peoples...". At the same time he questions whether "ethnic co-operation" during the actual period had been paid enough attention by current researchers (op.cit., 146). Leaning on Schmidt's description of the surrender of Bwana Heri, he notes that the number of tribes cooperating is "overwhelming" and e.g. that Bwana Heri expanded his intertribal contacts while the fighting was going on. Schmidt writes:

(F)ollowed by three drummers, beating a long roll of drums on giant drums (negro drums), then white flags followed by soldiers, Arabs, Beluchis, slaves, Wanyamwezi, Wazigua, all possible kinds of tribes. Most of the people are very well dressed, many Arabs stylishly clad, some negroes are covered by stand-up tufts of feathers in their war decorations. (1892, 180)

If we take a closer look at the "tribes" counted in the capture of Sadani, e.g. Segua, Wadoe, Nguu, Swahili and Wakami (Kjekshus, op.cit., 188), we can easily see that at least Segua (Zigua), Nguru and Wakami (Kami) claim the same origin and are the same people, while Wadoe (Doe), if not matrilineal, had much in common with the above-mentioned peoples in terms of political systems and material culture. Undeniably the Germans considered the Doe "cunning and secretive". More interesting is, that the German records, in point of fact, provide information on cooperation between "tribes". E.g. the Doe obtained poison for arms from the Zigua and both groups were influential magicians.22

To underline the "overwhelming" nature of tribal cooperation during this critical period in Tanzania's history is thus to resort to the view on 'tribes' taken by writers during the colonial period – a period which actually not only created 'tribes' to facilitate administration but tried to show that Kami, Nguru and Zigua were very different from one another. The image of Zigua supplied in 1891 by the Lieutenant of the Schutztruppe, von Behr, which sharply contraposes the Zigua and the Swahili, does not in
this regard miss its aim and probably formed the core of the information about different "tribes" compiled by the German official account:

These territories are populated by the Waseguha, a proud and war-like people. They have resisted all Arabian influence and preserved their African characteristics as opposed to their neighbours, the indifferent and demoralized Swahili population in the Districts of Bagamoyo and Pangani. The Waseguha's hereditary chief is Bana Heri ... an elderly man with a white beard and an intelligent expression of the face. His features and dark brown complexion reveals that he is a Negro although he has a special taste for dressing Arabic and in his behaviour imitates the Arab. The Waseguha have always successfully been able to resist the Arabic influence... (Behr, 1891, 320)

The tough resistance against us, displayed by the population in Useguha and above all the population in Sadani, shows how different this people is compared to the rest of the Swahili population. In the fight between the Germans and the Arabs, the Swahili-Arabs did not want to take side neither for the one nor the other fighting parties, but were always inclined, without an initiative of their own, to join the stronger part. (ibid., 327-328)

One can thus challenge the consistency of the above observations about Zigua. If the Zigua were so remarkable in resisting all Arab influence, as it is said, how can one explain that they followed Bwana Heri, a Shirazi ditwani from Sadani who "in his behaviour imitates the Arab"?

In our previous analysis of the development of ethnicity and its connections to trade, Islam, the Swahili culture, the specialization of economies and professionalization of skills, invasions and expansions, we have shown that the people de facto had 'cooperation' during the pre-colonial time. The colonial warfare happened within the Africans' common social reality. This is a fact that certainly should not be overlooked when further research into the development of ethnicity is being undertaken. Kjekshus' significant query should therefore also be seen against this pre-colonial background. In sum, the people who fought together against the German colonials, in the Bagamoyo hinter-
land, had a common social history and were culturally often close to one another.

IV:3 Colonialism as a dissolver of social relations and culture

Referring to culture as a system of materially and perceptually accessible forms in which life is realized we will in the following lean on Giblin’s argument that German administration acted as a dissolver of social relations. The political power was taken away
from the traditional leaders and Uzigua was pushed to the periphery of the colonial economy (Giblin, 1986, 309). The decline of control by the people over their natural environment had severe repercussions on their social relations with consequences on their culture. The root cause of cultural dissolvement was the direct German impact on the people's productive and ecological relations. This impact resulted in famine, epidemic decline of population and loss of land to tse tse flies and locusts in Uzigua. These factors in fact upset the interaction of the people with their own environment. Giblin argues that the changed productive and ecological relations "brought the effects of conquest into every household".

From the case presented above we can state that the imposition of tax, and the establishment of the akida system should, in the final run, be regarded as "secondary" factors influencing the development of ethnicity. Accordingly, the "immediate link" between German conquest and the disintegration of traditional ideology can be found in the disruption of ecological and productive relationships (seasonal work rhythms were for example interrupted).

By taking into consideration the points at issue, including the territorial division and the ethnic classification of people, we shall now consider some factors which, through the imposition of German rule, affected ethnicity in the Bagamoyo District. Given the general framework this section will dwell upon German colonialism as a dissolver of social relations and culture.

Many areas of life were encroached upon by colonial rule. the main ones were the new system of government, the colonial imposition of tax, compulsory labour, the gradual abolition of slavery, and the education system. We shall scrutinize the main inputs of each of these factors' on the development of ethnicity.
IV:3:1 Changing relationships
The colonial imposition of tax in 1898 obliged household heads to pay tax on each house under their control, in the villages as well as in the towns. The economic effects of taxation were seen immediately: livestock, crops and other products were sold and people had to exchange their labour power for cash wages. Severe famine was no excuse for not paying tax – it was taken in kind: people were deprived of their scarce food (Giblin, 1986, 233; Iliffe, 1979, 120, 132-134). The political effects were equally pervasive. The collection of taxes (which often happened by force) was incompatible with the ideology of reciprocity in Uzigua: household heads did not have the cash resources to pay taxes for their dependants. In this way the patronage of the household heads was more than severely threatened. Moreover, due to the absence of "chiefs" in the coastal rural area, including Uzigua, collectors called maakida were posted to some of the districts further inland. The whole system of imposing maakida as tax collectors had a severe impact on the social structure and through it on culture in Uzigua (see Giblin, ibid., 233-234).

The Germans took over the pre-colonial coastal titles of liwalt, akida, and jumbe, but changed the functions of these "administration officers": they were completely responsible to the new rulers. The majority of the appointed maakida were literate coastal men and were thus "foreigners" in the districts in which they were posted. The reason for appointing maakida was to curb the powers of indigenous headmen. Although there also were maakida of native origin (the Germans presupposed them to be headmens' sons), they can be regarded as outsiders due to the colonial requirements of special school attendance for them. The maakida became all-purpose field agents (Giblin, op.cit., 262; Iliffe, 1972, 180-181 and 1979, 209).

According to Giblin's informants, indigenous sons of local notables were "hidden" and the headmen were unwilling to send their sons to school. Boys were initially sent to the Bagamoyo school. Later small schools were built in some of the villages e.g. in Kwamhororo and in Manga. Instead of the sons, "servile dependents" were sent to schools. Thus the German
attempts to create a literate hereditary leadership actually caused the replacement of ruling lines by former dependents and slaves (op.cit., 264-265).

By 1905, most of the hinterland and the coast were generally administered through the maakida. They and the maliwali, who assisted the administration at district headquarters and served for example as advisers on local law and custom, were both paid by the government, while the majumbe were unpaid headmen of one village or more. Unlike the maakida they were often elders of these villages, and according to the Bagamoyo District Books they were chosen by the Germans from the ruling families. They assisted the maliwali and the maakida in the collection of taxes and had other administrative functions as well (Admiralty, 1916, 18-19; Raum, 1965, 174; UTAf 1977/11.45).

Last but not least, the basic distinction of "whites and coloureds" was reflected in the allocation of higher administrative posts. These were allocated explicitly on the basis of ethnicity and race, which meant that access to such positions for non-whites was in practice non-existent. The maakida and the majumbe were required to know the German language while the maliwali were exempted from this obligation. Contrary to the Bagamoyo hinterland where the whites were not represented among the authorities, they held practically all authority positions in the town of Bagamoyo. Only one person, Amur b. Nasur, who was one of the five nominated members of the Kommunal Verband [Communal Unions] was non-white (Nimtz, 1980, 102-103). He and another Omani Arab also served as liwali.

Many people fled to the coast in fear of tax collectors. From the turn of the century the "Mandera annual congregation reports" mention the influx of people coming to the Mission. Due to famine and the burden of paying taxes, desperate people came to the Mission and asked for food in exchange for work. The Mission thus became an alternative source of protection, but this also resulted in indebtedness to it. People were even forced to pawn their children to the missions (BC Vol. VI, 1899-1900, n.p.; Giblin, op.cit., 338). The number of baptisms increased at the sta-
tion. This was noted with satisfaction at the Mission, especially as to the Zigua, who had always been regarded by the missionaries as defiant. However, in a few years, most probably, we assume, due to the new system of government mentioned above, there was a change in the number of converts to Christianity in the district in favour of Islam (see BC, op.cit., 650; BC Vol. X 1905-1906 n.p.).

IV.3.2 Repercussions on local culture
Bagamoyo’s importance as the leading commercial town and harbour declined due to the building of the central railway: as a major port, Dar es Salaam increasingly took over the export trade. The middle merchants in Uziga lost their monopoly over commercial contacts also, due to a growth of Indian *maduka* [local trading centres and bazaars] in Uziga. Indian immigration was informally encouraged by the authorities (Mangat, 1969, 46-55, 95). In 1900 some 35,000 porters arrived in Bagamoyo and 43,880 departed for the interior of Tanganyika; the corresponding figures in 1912, due to the building of the central railway, were 851 and 193 respectively. Thus a distinct colonial economy emerged by the early 1900s (Iliffe, 1979, 129, 137).

One sphere of life which the railways affected was the local craft industries which, as we have mentioned before, constituted the basis of industry throughout the pre-colonial period in the Bagamoyo District. The crafts included pottery, basketry, mat and rope-making, woodcraft, bark-cloth making, salt-making, fishnet making and canoe-building (Kiyenze, 1978, 52). Due to the introduction of European manufacture, domestic weaving and iron-smelting, for example, were extremely rare by 1914 in Tanganyika in general (Iliffe, 1979, 137-138). Mass-scale imports invaded the rural areas. Bagamoyo District was one of the greatest areas to which imports were directed in the country. Kiyenze mentions that the blacksmiths in the Bagamoyo District suffered most through the import of cheap European hoes. The imports during 1899-1901 increasingly consisted of items which affected adversely the traditional iron industry (Kiyenze, 1978, 103). Decreasing demand, combined with the urgent need to raise
money for the payment of colonial taxes, forced many craftspeople to engage more and more in cash crop production or to work on European plantations. People had to migrate to distant places (Kiyenze, 1985, 78, 84-85).

As a consequence social relations between different groups of craftspeople suffered. The craft of pottery belonged to those crafts which suffered least because of imported substitutes. The traditional pottery products were superior in terms of preserving the heat of food and cold water (Kiyenze, 1985, 78, 84-87). But the potter needed the hoe of the smith. This meant that not only specific crafts like smithery declined, but also social relations between, for example, the potter and the smith suffered. Local culture was undermined.

Let us take an example of blacksmithing. To visit a blacksmith at work in western Bagamoyo, could not be done without being escorted by either the father or the uncle of the blacksmith, who was believed to know the taboos in the forging process. The death of a blacksmith, we are told, gathered a big number of people for the mourning ceremonies, which lasted for ten days (in comparison with "normal" mourning of 2-5 days) (Kiyenze, 1978, 57-59). The deliberate undermining of the position of the blacksmith had thus inevitable repercussions on social life and on local culture. An excerpt from an interview conducted by B.K.S. Kiyenze with two blacksmiths at Makole in the Bagamoyo District will illustrate the crucial importance of the social relations between the traditional crafts in pre-colonial time.

The peasant-cultivator and the potter all need the blacksmith's hoe, the mason needs the blacksmith's axe and machete with which to cut down the poles for the house; and the hunter needs the blacksmith's spear and arrows. (Quoted from Kiyenze, op.cit., 58).

According to Kiyenze, most of the early blacksmiths in Western Bagamoyo used to "originate from Zigua families or clans" (1978, 59).

In this context it is therefore perhaps not farfetched to associate the 'implements of Zigua' which make "a Zigua a complete (real) Zigua" (as considered today by an elderly man) with the
Picture 34. A blacksmith's workshop in Makole. Mzee Masegedu demonstrating operation of traditional drill. – Photo Philip Donner 1975. JPA.
craft of smithery which 'belonged' to Ziguans formerly. The iron industry, as we have seen, first and foremost dealt with the production of the instruments of labour, i.e. farm implements, and weapons. We shall return to this matter in connection with the way ethnicity is manifested today in the western part of the Bagamoyo District.

The population declined in the district from the end of the 1800s. This was very evident especially in the area of Mandera which had always suffered from drought. The threat of famines was constantly present in Uziga (Giblin mentions four major famines between 1884-1907). Frequent food shortages had shaped peoples' social relations and productive activities. For example, marriage patterns and modes of exchange, created wide networks of interdependence. Around 1909 and onwards, changing settlement patterns and population movements together with mortality from starvation and Christian villages breaking up were evidence of disturbed famine relief mechanisms. They indicated collapsing social and political relationships (BC, Vol. XI 1907-1908, 514-515 and Vol. XII 1909-1910, 735). Due to this, Giblin claims there was a graduate breakdown of cultural beliefs of the Zigua in the vicinity of Mandera between the mid-1890s and 1910. He mentions the Zigua elders' views on vigegeo, children who were believed to bring misfortune on their kin would they be let to live. While the elders were unanimous in this issue in 1883 some of them held quite opposite views in 1900. This meant that they, at least in Mhonda village, were willing to hand over vigegeo to the missionaries. In some other places elders let the colonial government take care of vigegeo. Ecological catastrophes had deep social and cultural consequences. Communal practices such as eating together in the evenings (a practice which did not only have a redistributive function) declined rapidly. The decline of these gatherings, in which binding social relations were manifested and cultural knowledge was transmitted, led to the disintegration of the ideology. Change in the content of culture brought about change in forms.

Hence, it cannot be overemphasized that the destruction of the social relations meant that also the pre-colonial culture
(including customs and beliefs) could no longer explain or remedy disasters of, for example, epidemics. Local or domestic relations of reciprocal obligations, as well as wider patterns of regional inter-dependence, broke down.

Taxation and the above-mentioned changing trade patterns effectuated a withering away of domestic slavery. Taxation forced household heads to dissolve relations of patronage. Not only were slaves emancipated.\(^{34}\) People also created and reinterpreted social relationships based on institutions which had prevailed in the pre-colonial society. Thus, as an outstanding example of a labour relation, *kiwiri*, (or "kiwili"), was transformed in its content during this period. *Kiwiri* as a cultural form of co-operative labour covered a whole village or sometimes even neighbouring villages. It formerly implied mainly co-operative harvesting (Giblin, *op.cit.*, 240-255). After work, people drank and ate together:

> The people were said to drink or eat the *kiwili*. It was necessary for every adult to participate in the *kiwili* since at one time or another he, too, was likely to require the services of this form of co-operative labour. (Kiyenze, 1978, 44-45)

However, little by little, *kiwiri* turned to the task of getting labour for various agricultural tasks (Giblin, *op.cit.*, 255). Muro's findings from the village of Diozile I reveal thus that *kiwili* in modern time includes farm tasks like weeding and digging (1979, 105-106).

Traditional domestic slavery was one thing, slavery another. The Germans stopped the slave trade, but not slavery itself. The Germans exploited slave labour by e.g. hiring slaves from their masters as workers (Koponen, 1994, 331-336).

Compulsory labour was introduced around 1905, but was not extensively exercised in the Bagamoyo District. A labour exchange existed, however, in the town. It was operated by the district office and aimed at supplying workers to various coastal plantations (Nimtz, 1973, 185). The building of the central railway brought many people onto the labour market. Whereas new communication nets led to ethnic integration and to the development
of a social significance of cultural groups because of the German policy, they at the same time led to social disintegration. Iliffe mentions a list naming people from 52 different "tribes" living in 1910 in Pangani South native reserve (a dormitory settlement for sisal estates) (1979, 162). An enforced social separation between pastoral and agricultural people occurred with the setting up of a reserve for the Maasai people. The exchange of grain, weapons and wives for meat and milk between these two groups was thus made difficult (see Raum, 1965, 173).

IV.3:3 Repercussions on education
The German administration largely controlled education. Besides fifteen mission schools, by 1903, there were eight government schools and twelve local authority schools in the colony (Whiteley, 1969, 59). One of the tasks of the schools was to train African personnel for lower posts in the public service.

Swahili was adopted as the administrative language and the government-based education policy favoured Swahili at the expense of the vernaculars (Raum, 1965, 204). Although missionaries generally favoured local languages, fearing that Swahili might promote the advance of Islam, they realized that Swahili enabled people to make themselves understood not only in almost the whole of German East Africa but also in British East Africa, the northern regions of Portuguese East Africa and within the Congo. In fact, the omission to use Swahili in mission schools lowered the attendance of pupils. As a common language, Swahili increased rapidly and its importance in commerce was underlined.35

The active participation by people of the inner regions in the system of the caravan trade during the pre-colonial period can explain the large spread of the Swahili language and its strengthened position during the colonial period as well as later. Since most porters came from the inner regions of Tanganyika and often remained on the coast they already after a generation added to the number of Swahili speakers there (Girenko, 1977, 83-84).

Handicraft was taught both in government and mission schools. The district schools in the Bagamoyo area at Sadani,
Mlingotini and Mbweni were run by Indian and Baniani teachers. Most of the pupils who attended the courses in handicraft belonged to Indian families. Crafts taught like laundry, cane-making, journery, cobbling, smithery, plumbing and book-binding were supposed to offer services to the colonial administration rather than to promote local industrialization (Kiyenze, 1978, 131-132, 136).

Koranic schools in the Bagamoyo District suffered from the competition with government schools. The wealthy Indian trader Sewa Hadji contributed to the increased number of official schools by donating the Sewa Hadji School in Bagamoyo (also called the Bagamoyo school) to the imperial government. An extract from the contract of donation in 1894 stated e.g. that the school would be placed "under a German School master" and that it would be "free to wit; without any distinction to all persons wishing to attend it" (BDB, II, /269/).

As an independent educational system, Islamic teaching, which would have provided an alternative to secular learning in Bagamoyo, was weakened owing to the German policy of employing a Koran teacher in the Bagamoyo school. Muslim education suffered: by 1900 the number of Koran schools fell from 30 to four in Bagamoyo (Wright, 1968, 626). Muslim gains, however, resulted from the colonial policies through the employment of Muslim troops by district governments, the use of coastal Muslims as maakida and, as mentioned earlier, the adoption of Swahili as the administrative language (Nimtz, 1980, 12-13; and below IV.2.5).

It is beyond the limits of this study to investigate the reasons why Islam became stronger after the Maji Maji wars (see below). In the following, however, after considering the Maji Maji wars' impact on the development of ethnicity, we shall give a few words on the background of the subsequent prohibition, from about 1909 to 1911, of the performance of dhikr (Ar.) or zikiri (Sw.), the main ritual of 'Muslim brotherhoods. The ritual, to be performed twice or more a week is – according to the popular manual Zimam al-salikin – considered to be more important than the five pillars of Islam. It completes them (Nimtz, 1973, 185-187;
1980, 125). Soon after the dissolution of the ban a new turning-point in German policy occurred towards the practice of Islam: it subsequently effected the development of ethnicity in the Bagamoyo District.

**IV:4 The Maji Maji rebellion**

The Maji Maji rebellion (1905-1907) is considered to be one of the major events in the formation of a Tanzanian identity, as well as the most powerful anti-colonial movement in East Africa. It began among the peoples living in the south-eastern region of the colony and spread over an area of 26,000 sq km of the southern third of Tanganyika (Mwanzi, 1985, 166-168). The *cotton growing scheme* introduced by the German administration has been explained to be the main reason for the outbreak of the violence. The scheme interfered with local subsistence farming. Thus, it provoked violence.

The people concerned, the Matumbi, ruled by *maakida* and forced to grow cotton by the Germans, began to uproot cotton when the 1905 picking season began. Their resistance and the united actions needed for it came to be supported by a prophet named Kinjikitle Ngwale, who took the title of Bokero (Iliffe, 1979, 168). He built a spirit hut around the cult of possession spirit Hongo and started with the help of assistants to distribute *maji* [water], a medicine. This medicine would protect people against European bullets. Inter-tribal unity was the essence of the prophet's teachings and the Bokero-cult was said to have retained special qualities needed for widespread resistance.³⁸ The meaning of the *maji* changed with the spread of the uprising into areas where Hongo and Bokero were unknown. The movement entered into areas with completely differing social and political structures. Unseen interplay arose between the societies.

Although the Maji Maji rebellion did not directly strike the Bagamoyo area, it did not involve only the people within the area where it started, as earlier resistance had: it affected everyone of the colony estimated 4 million people who lived in Tanganyika at this time. The effects were not only those of violence but also
of hunger and disease and the total deaths were estimated by the Germans to be about 75,000 people. Because of the deaths caused less directly, by routing of villages, the fatalities of the wars are considered by historians to be under-reported (Iliffe, 1969, 20; and 1977, 187). Superior fire-power gave the German *Schutztruppe* military superiority. Their scorched-earth policy, eventually resulted in a severe state of famine. This systematic destruction of villages had been successfully adopted by colonizers during the early resistance, for example in the Bagamoyo District. It is said to have caused more deaths than the war itself.

Historical records strongly emphasize that people belonging to different linguistic and cultural groups achieved considerable unity in their resistance during the Maji Maji war. But, as Iliffe writes, these various people *had* been much mingled by trade, migration and marriage, an important fact which should be equally emphasized. This means that cooperation between various peoples did not begin with the Maji Maji wars, as rightly noticed by Kjekshus (1977, 150). However, to quote Iliffe:

For the history of Tanganyika, the significance of the movement lay primarily in its attempt to enlarge political scale (Iliffe, 1969, 26).

The character and the origins of the uprising have been described by many researchers as a national war of independence rather than a rebellion (see e.g. Bell, 1950, 38). The movement has been considered Tanganyika's "first collective political experience" in which the response to a "call of the spirit" was the driving force (Nyerere, 1967, 189). Accordingly, the Maji Maji rebellion used as an ideological call by the post-independent leadership of Tanzania should be taken into account when ethnic processes are scrutinized. This rebellion constitutes an important part of the history of all the people of Tanzania including the Bagamoyo District. It certainly has influenced ethnic consciousness in the whole country.
IV:5 Ethnicity and Islam

Because the *maakida* were non-locals they could not establish ties of reciprocity with the people whom they had to administer. One of their many methods to gain authority was their adherence to Islam. Ideologically and socially Islam enabled the *maakida* to adapt to greater colonial influence. As teachers or as prayer leaders they obtained local followers, particularly among former slaves or dependants who were in search of new patronage holders (Giblin, 1986, 267-268, 274-275; Cf. Mrozek-Dumanowska, 1984, 23-24). Islam became an alternative to former cultural and
political authority and conversion on a large scale occurred in the German period. This is noted to have happened especially after the Maji Maji wars, and in the Bagamoyo District primarily among the Zigua (Nimtz, 1980, 66-67; BC, No. 320, 1910-1913, 283-284). Thus, Islam, as an alternative system of cultural values, was welcomed by many young people. An elderly man's statement in the Miono village of the Bagamoyo District well illustrates this observation. Born at the turn of the century, he had turned to Islam. When I asked him if he considered himself a Zigua he declared in a convincing way:

Yes, but I do not follow the old customs and traditions anymore. Mimi ni Mwislamu [I am a Muslim] and since I became that, I left all the other traditions and customs. I want to lead one mode of life. You cannot sleep in two beds at the same time. (UTAf 1977/22.46-47)

At Mandera (as in Mhonda, Mbwewe and Manga), Islam was thus introduced in 1900 by the first coastal akida who had built a mosque there. It was likewise a Swahili-speaking man from the coast, Bwana Omari41 who introduced Islam in Miono. Local Muslim leaders in Miono related to one of the Jipemoyo researchers how Islam had come into the area:

/The Germans/ took some /Arabs/ into their service and sent them to act as akida here in the area of Miono. The akida who was sent here was a Muslim and our forefathers, at that time, were not yet Muslims. Thus, he told our local forefathers: 'if you do not have any religion you have to become Muslims.' (Donner, 1996)

It is furthermore told that when the mosque had been constructed the above-mentioned forefathers assembled and were taught the basics of Islam. A son of one of the wazee, Mzee Abdallah Mchuka, was sent to Sadani "to read the Koran" in order to afterwards enlighten his kinsfolk (op.cit.). A notice, in the Bagamoyo District Book in 1928 mentions the headman of Miono, Mchuka bin Bamira (appointed a subordinate native authority by the British) who thus must be the above-mentioned "son" (op.cit., 167).
Mosque construction in the various villages in the area implied ideological as well as political struggles between the *maakida* and the Roman Catholic missionaries. Because the *maakida* had the power to close Christian as well as Koranic classes, the building of government schools, often run by Muslim teachers, was favoured. Changes in local cultural practices were imposed on the people, for example in the observance of food prohibitions (Giblin, *op.cit.*, 279).

The fact that the German administration associated Islam with the Maji Maji movement does not explain the growth of Islam after the wars. Nimtz writes that one reason for the success of Islam could be the ideological vacuum created by the defeat of the Maji Maji wars. Missionaries as well as officials noted that the "intensity of Islam propaganda has increased significantly since the Great Rising in 1905". The German adviser on Islamic affairs C.H. Becker pointed, however, to the lack of information on the number of mosques or other statistics to support this claim (Becker, 1968/1911, 38-39). Yet Becker, leaning on missionary reports, occasional notices and personal inquiries, presents information which both indicates a decline of Islam in general (e.g. in Uzaramo) and a growth of it (e.g. in Uzigua). He says that the Ziga's small villages in the hinterland of Bagamoyo were accessible to Islam in contrast to the secluded sultanates of the interior. On the other hand, Islam in Uzaramo was declining in spite of "numerous conversions to Islam". Thus, Islam was abating in Uzaramo because people were abandoning Islamic dietary laws (*op.cit.*, 40-41). Anyhow, a clear change in colonial policies towards Muslims occurred (see Nimtz, 1980, 13).

Simultaneously with the establishment of one of the branches of Quadriyya on the coast, the "Mecca letter affair" took place in 1908. A letter sent from Mecca with anti-European overtones caused alarm within the administration in the southern part of the colony. The letter (which was said to have been found at the tomb of the Prophet in Madina) predicted the end of the world. Becker describes the excitement which was prevailing in Lindi (on the southern coast) when the first report of the letter was confirmed there. The person reporting it compared the mood
with that before the Maji Maji uprising. Becker writes:

The mosques were full to overflowing, and even the women were taken to the services. The zikri (zikhir) which had long fallen into disuse rang through the stillness of the nights. The lay Muslims, who were not adhering strictly to the prescriptions of the Sharia, were to be treated as unbelievers – they were to be denied water. For this reason, the letter created an intense religious excitement. That it did so is not surprising considering that it proclaimed the imminent end of the world in words which were scarcely disguised: 'The Hour of Judgment is close at hand,' 'This is the Last Warning' etc. The Kingdom of Mahdi was not far away; all human beings would then become Muslims, the sun would rise in the west, but above all, the rule of the unbelievers would soon come to a stop. (op.cit., 60)

Becker held a sceptic attitude towards the letter and thought that the Protectorate reports looked at the movement too much from an European standpoint: "such letters" had frequently turned up in the Dutch East Indies since the 1880s (ibid.). Yet, the German governor suspected an Islamic and even Pan-Islamic movement whose ritual was zikiri behind the dissemination of the letter. The prohibition of zikiri thus took place. Accordingly, some field reports, for example from the Bagamoyo administration, explicitly recommended a reduction of Islam's expansion. By 1914, following a survey concerning the penetration and influence of Islam in each district, the German government got an insight into the importance of tariqas. Through them and their overwhelmingly African leadership, it is argued, Islam was "Africanized". As a matter of fact, brotherhoods were most active and they formed the central political institutions in the Muslim community (Nimtz, 1980, 63, 71-72, 74, 76).

Consequently, a number of reciprocal services and common interests marked the cooperation between the colonial government and the Holy Ghost Fathers. These comprised land acquisition matters and education (the government favoured the schools of the missions). The missionaries also offered professional skills to the Germans as well as refuge to Germans from British warfare (Versteijnen, 1968 (b), 37-38). These reciprocal services underwent a turning-point in 1915 – after the outbreak of World
War I. The anti-Islamic sentiment then stopped. Turkey was one of Germany's allies and formed moreover the centre of the Muslim world. An effort to attract the Muslims to its side against Britain resulted in German East Africa being described as "the ally of all Islam" by the declaration known as Fetwa. This was read to the Muslims of Bagamoyo and posted up at the German District Office (Versteijnen 1968 (a), 38).

Here we have to specify what Giblin is aiming at in his prominent argument when he stresses that old ideology was replaced by Islam. Swantz argued that Islam's capability of joining forces with the traditional systems in the coastal hinterland implied that Islam proved *in essence* to be socially integrating and the cultural adaptations were made within the local social frameworks. The German activity to socially disintegrate the population not only into hierarchies but also into cultural (ethnic) categories implied that belonging to such categories was decisive for people's existence and status. Islam thereby acted as an integrating factor in the development of ethnicity and caused loyalty between people torn by disruptive forces (1986, 98-99, 102). It can be mentioned that, on the other hand, tensions occurred between leaders of the Swahili society who had gained access to posts within the administration and the more radical *waalimu* who were excluded or wished perhaps to be excluded from the colonial framework (Iliffe, 1969, 194).

**IV:6 Conclusions on imposed ethnicity and expansion of social networks**

The German colonial policy hindered and denied Africans to control their productive and ecological relations. As a result people in the western part of the Bagamoyo District had difficulties to maintain their usual social relationships. This was reflected in a number of cultural forms. The new administrative structure, the geographical division of the protectorate into districts, the boundaries of which ignored previous nets of social interaction, embedded also for repercussions on ethnicity. In a racially and ethni-
cally stratified society the masters imposed strange social identities upon the population. The subdued population was separated from the European administration by colour, culture and class (Cf. Nimtz, 1980, 85). We can distinguish two main processes in the development of ethnicity in the Bagamoyo District during this time. In short, the first one is characterized by fusion whereas the second one represents splitting of social units.

People had formerly, in tough living conditions, such as famine, relied on their networks of interdependence. Enforced tax paying, however, compelled them now to migrate long distances in search for work. As a consequence social networks between various groups of people suffered severely. Yet, the new social system which emerged in confrontation with the colonial power gave rise to large nets of social interaction. When new social and economic networks replaced old ones, conditions for inter-ethnic integration were created. Moreover, the object of all African peoples in German East Africa, whether they negotiated with the Germans or resisted them violently, was the same: "to retain as much power and independence as possible" (Iliffe, 1975, 296). In other words, local ethnic features faded away as a result of an expansion of social networks within the territory. This process was to a large extent supported by Islam and the Swahili language.

When Islam was introduced by the maakida into the hinterland of Bagamoyo various components of Islam had already been assimilated into many local societies in this area. Islam became a cohesive force binding together people in living conditions which were characterized by disruptions.

The Swahili language was widely spread in the Bagamoyo District already in the late pre-colonial period. Besides being the language of the Swahili, it was more or less widely spoken and understood by the Zaramo, the Doe, the Kwere, the Zigua, the Nguru and the Nyamwezi. Among the Kami only males spoke Swahili (UTAf 1977/25.18-28). Its status as the administration language during the German colonial period and its wide use in schools made Swahili a considerable asset in sharing elements of a common culture.
Yet, as notified previously, another process, externally contradictory to the first one, can be discerned from the turn of the century and onwards. This process made people pay attention to the still existing cultural specifics of their respective cultures. Due to changing relationships in the administrative structure this process was strengthened. It affected local culture and underpinned the social significance of ethnicity. The 'tribe' held a position within the ethnically and racially stratified society. The German concept Stamm [tribe] became in an administrative sense a precedent to the smallest administrative unit "tribe" or kabila during British colonialism. Imposed ethnic identities hereby supported ethnic consciousness in accordance with the German tribal classification model. This means that the established system of social organization in German East Africa brought about a social process in which existing cultural elements either gained or increased social significance. Considering culture as a form or a system of forms in which life is realized we suggest that colour, caste and class articulated in groups of natives, non-natives and 'tribes' decided the social position of a person in the colony. Individual rights or lack of rights emanated primarily from these premises.

In an ethnic dimension we can thus trace two seemingly contradictory processes during German rule: social disintegration and cultural integration on the one hand and a sharpening of cultural characteristics for distinct 'tribes', on the other.

Notes

1 Nimitz's dissertation The Role of the Muslim Sufi Order in Political Change: An Overview and Micro-Analysis from Tanzania (1973) and his book Islam and Politics in East Africa, The Sufi Order in Tanzania (1980) have been valuable sources especially for those parts of my study, which relate to Islam and the development of ethnicity. Admittedly, his book emphasizes the political importance of Islam. Bagamoyo in Tanzania, as a major Islamic center in East Africa, was the primary focus of his studies. Nimitz did his field research in the 1970s.

2 All income and expenditure in the German colonies had to pass through the legislative and accounting procedures of the Reichstag (Ilfie, 1972, 37 and 1979, 95, 148).

3 See F. F. Müller on the systematic conceptual bewilderment characteristic for German colonial perceptions of the whole situation. The purpose was to confuse the whole matter (1959, 22-23). See also Chapter XIII and XIV, op.cit. According to Müller, the Germans thus tried to
describe a freedom struggle of a whole people as a rebellion of some slave traders ("blood-suckers", "human parasites" were but some namings for them) who had nothing to do with the actual area (op.cit., 370, 393; my emphasis).

4 Glassman's standpoint is therefore in sharp contrast to authors writing within the so-called nationalist framework who explain the rebellion of 1888-89 by a preoccupation with a "defense of African tradition" against German intrusions Glassman says that these authors "transformed the defense of the tradition into proto-nationalist virtue" (op.cit., 5-6).


6 Where not otherwise indicated, the following account is mainly based on Iliffe, 1975, 296 and, 1979, 93-96, 98-116; Brown, 1970, 81-82; Kjekshus, 1977, 187-188.

7 Anleitung zum Felddienst in Deutsch-Ostafrika Dar es Salaam, Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Rundschau, 1911.


9 The man told me this story during his longer discussion on the meaning of kabila, not reproduced in this quote.

10 Cf. I:2:2 Ethnicity based on consciousness.

11 He had brought them from inside his house earlier, cf. footnote 10.

12 D. Kitolero, a Jipemoyo research assistant who was present on this occasion, explained to me afterwards that Bantani means "mixed Indians".

13 B. K. S. Kiyenze has translated the Swahili passages into English. According to Marja-Liisa Swantz "he will sell you one cup of tea" in the third paragraph should run "even one cup of tea he sells to you".

14 There certainly are other versions of this account, each of them reflecting ideas and ideologies of their time/narrator and it would be interesting to scrutinize and compare these versions.


16 Kieran's passages dealing with the area around the Mandera Mission in the Bagamoyo District are reiterated and interpreted here by me.


18 Wissmann regarded Bwana Heri as an honorable enemy and at the formal surrender Bwana Heri and his followers were asked to rebuild Sadani and other sites which had been destroyed during the capture of the town. Bwana Heri was "replaced as the Sultan of Sadani" (v. Behr, 1891, 327-328).

19 He became the first imperial commissioner in the colony.

20 The Seminar für Orientalische Sprache at Berlin University expanded the teaching of Swahili during this time. It supported the line taken by Wissmann by sending researchers to study the ethnography of the coastal peoples (Gann and Duignan, 66, 1977).

21 This table covers, however, only the period between 1889-1896. On the shortcomings of the utilized material see 186-187, op.cit.

22 Information about "tribes" in the German official account 1911. UTaf 1977/2519, 23.

23 Giblin showed inter alia that by destroying the social and economic base of pre-colonial insurance German colonialism caused an ecological disaster in Uzigua. James A. Giblin: Famine, Authority and the Impact of Foreign Capital in Handeni District, Tanganyika 1840-1940. The
University of Wisconsin, Madison 1986.

24 For this and the following paragraphs: Giblin prefers to use the terms ideology and ideological in his thesis. I have chosen to use the terms culture and cultural in some contexts for my analysis when referring to his findings, when relevant for my theoretical discussion.

25 The Annual Reports between 1893-1899 of the Mandera Congregation in the Bagamoyo District mention alongside hunger, drought and smallpox the calamities of locust invasions.

26 For this and the following paragraph: Giblin, 1986, 319-322.

27 The basic qualification of appointment was literacy in Latin script.

28 Dubbeldam (1970, 12) describes a similar situation for Mwanza District in the northwestern part of Tanzania.

29 The Kommunal Verband were established in coastal districts from 1901.

30 We shall return to this matter in section IV.5.

31 Sing dukari.

32 The pre-colonial famine in 1884-1885, the early colonial famines 1889-1896, 1898-1900 and 1900 (op. cit., 323-324).

33 For this and the following paragraph: Giblin, op. cit., 350, 374, 322, 338-339.

34 Many dependants, though, according to their status, remained with their sovereigns.


36 The first government school was established in Tanga in 1892.

37 For an extensive analysis of the tariqa => the Muslim brotherhood or sufi order, and its importance in political change, see Nimtz, 1980. According to Nimtz, the tariqa (literally the “path”) was the primary means by which Islam penetrated the East African interior. The tariqas of East Africa are ranked in importance. The largest, Quadriiyaa, is divided into independent branches, three of which are the most important. One of them had its origins in Bagamoyo, brought there in 1905. It spread throughout the region (Nimtz, op. cit., 55-70).

38 Iliffe, 1979, 169-170. For a penetrating analysis of the Maji Maji wars see ibid., 168-202. The following is mostly based on Iliffe’s analysis.

39 Iliffe’s famous statement quoted in almost all writings on the Maji Maji wars (see Iliffe, 1979, 191).

40 On other methods, see Giblin, 1986, 267-273. Among these we can mention that by imposing heavy tax demands and thus exploiting cultivators’ labour, the maakida undermined the self-sufficiency of the households. People were often forced to pawn themselves and their relatives or dependants to the maakida. In this way Islam indirectly offered material advantages in that adherents gained political protection and access to commercial relationships (op. cit., 322-323).

41 Donner, 1996. Most probably, Bwana Omari is identical with akida Sangay mentioned by Giblin, op. cit., 262.


43 His source being Rev. Martin Klamroth, a Lutheran missionary.

44 Sing. mwalimu => Muslim official teacher attached to a mosque. Mwalimu means also schoolmaster, learned man, teacher.

45 Note the common English translation “tribe” of kabinata. See “Aims of the study” footnote 23 on page 47.
THE BRITISH PERIOD
BRITISH COLONIAL RULE AND ETHNICITY

When Germany in 1919 renounced all rights over its overseas possessions, the German territories came to be administered under the League of Nations Mandate. Britain was to control German East Africa, with the exception of Ruanda and Urundi. The colony was now renamed Tanganyika and it remained under British rule until 1961. The policy of the British was indirect rule which, according to Iliffe, was based on a historical misunderstanding:

The British wrongly believed that Tanganyikans belonged to tribes; Tanganyikans created tribes to function within the colonial framework. (1979, 318)

Indirect rule was established for administrative purposes. The system was also defended by paternalistic phraseology: to preserve the "African mind" and the "African atmosphere". Furthermore, matters which can be defined as political calculations were invoked (Iliffe, 1979, 318-322).

The British fear of growing nationalism among Africans was genuine. It was considered that the German use of maakida accelerated the disintegration of tribal custom and that tribal organization had been seriously weakened by the African up-risings and wars against colonial rule. The tendencies for disintegration of the "native society" had thus to be stopped (Hailey, I, 1950, 212-213). Austen's apt definition of indirect rule deserves to be
quoted here. It was "a safely non-nationalist basis for African political development" (1967, 593-594).

V:1 Introduction

The British capture of Bagamoyo took place in August 1916 with the routing of German forces. An account given in the Bagamoyo District Book reveals in its details of European suffering and British heroism that the take-over was a bloody one, despite the fact that German women and children took refuge in the Holy Ghost Fathers Mission before the bombardment began (BDB, II, /63/). Men in the district were ordered by force to join the British Army. People born at the turn of the century like Mzee Michael Pilla could still remember this during the Jipemoyo Project (UTAf 1976/16.18 KIN). Another elderly man in Miono, in his turn, relates the event in the following way:

Well, war began. The English fought against the Germans. This was, you see, a colony of the Germans... we saw that the Germans made our forefathers carry loads. They went there to prevent the English from crossing the border. Whipping them, they forced /the forefathers/ to carry ammunition boxes on their heads. They were in big trouble.

We saw how our forefathers were being punished. It did not take long before we saw the Germans flee. The English chased them... The Germans moved away...then the English began to rule the colony. (Excerpt from Donner's interview with Mzee Omari Mboko in Miono, 1978)²

To begin with, the way the native population was perceived resulted in a division of the country i.e. Britain took over the German system of districts which they modified several times until 1961. During 1920-1961 the number of districts was increased from twenty-two to fifty-seven. Because tribes (in the sense of ethnic groups) were considered to be natural groupings of people, the aim was to unite, as far as possible, separated entities of a tribe (whatever that might mean) under one chief and to place the tribal entity so formed within one administrative district.³ Various writers have mentioned several other causes lead-
ing to the reorganization of the districts such as changes in the concept of local government and improvement of communications (e.g. Thomas, 1971, 14, 108). We can, however, point to arguments which essentially go deeper into the motives of the reorganization of districts by taking a look at the system of the native administration.

For the purposes of the following discussion we reiterate the two main processes in this period. Firstly, the process whereby local, regional and social communities (which had been regarded as cultural communities) lost their distinctiveness in the new conditions. Secondly, the process which manifested itself for people in the importance of the still-existing cultural attributes for their respective cultures. As claimed earlier in this study, ethnicity as a socially significant phenomenon emerged through interaction between groups in colonial society. We shall in the following sections focus on the creation of this subjective ethnicity and how it was displayed in the Bagamoyo District in the framework of the native administration. It can be once more underlined that this kind of ethnicity should be seen against the background of the development of social and ethnic processes during the pre-colonial and the German colonial periods.

Considering the abundance of books and articles published on the British administration in Tanganyika, we shall not go into detail about the wider framework here. Suffice it to say that many of the conditions which prevailed under German rule were not improved during the British colonial period. People were e.g. oppressed by tax and labour demands.

The trends of economic and social development continued with little change. Hence, as during the German rule, the principles of pre-colonial famine prevention were violated during the British period. The same ecological conditions and chronic food shortages and famines persisted and even worsened. Already by 1933 peoples' own social and economic networks had collapsed as a result of the colonial destruction of social, political and economic institutions. Remaining networks were narrow.

People sold their crops in order to pay taxes. An outstanding example is the most severe famine of this century in Uziguia in
1932-34. Giblin suggests that although the impact of drought and locust plagues should not be underestimated as reasons to the famine, the fact is that the population was poorly prepared to endure them (386-387, 493-500). This famine is still remembered among people who survived it. An old man born in the village of Kwadirima during this famine Bushi said, that food during Bushi was called mdudu (the name of a tree). People ate the roots of it. (UTAf 1977/22.39; Cf. Giblin, op.cit., 493).

V.1:1 The colonial regime and traditional social institutions
At the beginning of British rule it was the former German maakida who retained control of everyday affairs. A turning-point in the administration happened, however, when the colonial masters in 1922 expressed their intention to base the system of local rule on the use of the indigenous institutions of the country (see e.g. Hailey, IV, 1951, 16). In 1925 the districts were grouped into eleven provinces. They were reduced to eight during 1931-1958 and then increased to nine and remained so until the Independence each under a Provincial Commissioner who was responsible to the Governor. The District Commissioners were in turn responsible to the Provincial Commissioner for their districts. There were several changes in the administrative system: districts were abolished, split, merged or new ones were created. Also names were changed (see e.g. Nassor, 1973, 1-3). The procedure closely followed the system which had been in force for about twenty years in Nigeria. This pattern of governing colonies has been associated with the name of Sir Donald Cameron, Governor of Tanganyika, 1925-31. Cameron ordered the District Officers to establish "chiefs" and to form "tribes". This was opposed by Charles Dundas who, due to his long experience in East Africa, recognized the tribal conglomeration which was the result of e.g. numerous migrations. Dundas called for the development of village and regional policies rather than the scientifically advocated creation of "tribes" (Graham, 1976, 5).

The system aimed at "making the fullest use of the traditional institutions of rule existing in African society" (Hailey, I, 1950,
212). Cameron assumed that "restored chiefs" would, in contrast to "alien" maakida gain support among local people and thus improve e.g. tax collection (Giblin, op.cit., 405). There is, however, an important point. We have to remember that the traditional system of artificially created chiefdom had a history which went back as far as to the German period and that it was entirely subordinated to the socio-economic system of the colonial ruler. Further social development of the traditional society took place within the system of native administration. The ethnographic materials collected in this period by colonial officers more often than not describe pseudo-traditional societies (Girenko, 1974, 59-60). The records also include falsifications of customs and traditions, due to certain resistance of the Africans towards the colonialists (Anacleti, 1978, 27-28). This means that the 'true' indigenous institutions called for above were not usually questioned, at least in the Bagamoyo District, where the akida system, as we have seen, had been imposed in the German period. According to Lord Hailey, native administration applied generally to the procedure by which a colonial government had gained control over the administrative machinery. Hailey writes that the most important element in this system was the supervision of tribal or other institutions which regulated

the domestic affairs of most African communities, the maintenance of law and order, the assessment and collection of native tax, the provision of local government services, and the establishment of tribunals for the adjudication of a wide range of the issues to which natives are parties. (IV, 1951, 1)

Although it is widely recognized that native authority, native courts and native treasury formed the nucleus of native administration, I would also like to draw the readers' attention to the fact that the native authorities exercised their responsibilities under the supervision of the colonial government and that the native administration was financed from the colony's general budget (see Hailey, I, 1950, 219). Besides the British usage of "native" and "non-native" (Cf. the German classification of people into "whites" and "coloureds") it should be born in mind that the posi-
tions of authority were allocated on the basis of race and ethnicity i.e. ascriptive criteria. As was the case during the German colonial period, the top post in the local administration i.e. that of the District Commissioner, could only be occupied by Europeans (Nimtz, 1973, 273-339).

It is evident, writes Girenko, that the native authorities were to be "isolated" from the traditional societies (these were to serve the interests of the colonialists). The strategy arose from the conflict of interest between colonial administration and local communities. This difference of interest between the native administration and the colonized society, "despite the formal preservation of tradition", is thus one of the main characteristics of the native authorities: "one part of the 'native' society was exploited by means of the other" (1974, 60-61). This proved to be the case especially in the Eastern Province, where the indigenous representatives of the native authorities changed from year to year throughout the first twenty years of British rule.

Bagamoyo District in the Eastern Province was among those areas in the colony in which colonial experience had shown that "there are no traditional authorities who are qualified to act as agencies of local rule" (Hailey, IV, 1951, 17). The administrators of the area found it therefore necessary to enable people to participate in the management of their own local affairs. Although the rulers admitted that there were no striking differences in tribal customs and that most of the inhabitants spoke Swahili (Hailey, ibid., and 313), they wrote at the same time innumerable notes speculating on ethnonyms and ethnic identification in the District and Provincial Books.

Eastern Province was in this context a veritable problem for the new system. We can very well visualize a District Commissioner sitting in front of his desk, biting his pencil and tearing his hair in order to make the facts fit the theory. In a certain division there should be a common culture for a group of people described in ethnic terms, which had to correspond to a social entity. The 'proved' existence of ethnic groups thus formed the criteria of what were considered basic social entities within a broader population (Cf. I:2:2). As a matter of fact district officers
in the 1930s took heart in their anthropological investigations — ultimately in order to compensate or even sublimate "a dilemma that could clearly never find practical solution". British professional anthropologists (Cf. I:3:3) called for serious research using the functional method instead of the so-called contemporary domestic anthropology (Austen, 1967, 603). In the case of the Bagamoyo District, ethnographic notes supplied by missionaries of the Holy Ghost Fathers were also used for analyzing "native" culture (UTAf 1977/11.94).

V.1.2 Borders and tribes
Our main argument that ethnic groups are not socially homogeneus entities, due to splitting and assimilation processes of different political societies, suggests that the commissioners' endeavour to identify tribes was a tricky matter. The task of coin- ing such groups was not easy. First and foremost, political bound- aries acquired a significance of utmost importance by ignoring objective cultural boundaries. Also large networks of social inter- action were broken (Cf. IV:3).

It is important to stress that boundaries between ethnic territo- ries must have existed before the European impact. The cre- ation of political and administrative boundaries and units, in the form of clear-cut territorial norms, did not, however, start before the colonial partition of Africa (and the subsequent founding of colonial regimes).

A look at the classification and number of "tribes" recognized in the Census of the Native Population in Tanganyika Territory in 1931 and the corresponding census of 1948 gives us the follow- ing information. In the census of 1931\textsuperscript{8} we find, besides a table of 101 "tribes" numbering over 1,000 persons each, a table of particulars of thirty tribes exceeding 50,000 persons, and of "six other tribes of special interest", making altogether 137 "tribes". A claim for such a classification was suggested by the Secretary for Native affairs P.E. Mitchell:

it shows the natives of the country in the tribal divisions which they themselves (not always understanding their interrogator) claim to exist. (1932, 9)
Whereas the number of "tribes" dropped to about 120 in the census of 1948, an ethnic map designed by Goldthorpe and Wilson in 1958 included only 40 "ethnic groups". Its creators stated that it broadly showed the ethnic situation in the territory in the end of the 1800s and did not reflect the European influence on the

*Map 10. East-central Coastal Area of Tanganyika. Dominant "tribes" according to the 1957 census. Adapted from J.L. Swantz, 1974.*
ethnic processes. This map, obviously, does not bear evidence of ethnic boundaries before the European impact. It is well known, however, that during this period, entire colonies of peoples were settled in the coastal and western zones from non-adjacent regions (Girenko, 1977, 77).

Due to these circumstances, the delineation of boundaries was admitted by the district officers to be a complicated question. Provincial Commissioner D.L. Baines, Esq in the Tanga Province labelled the "very definite aversion of anyone /local Africans/ to point out an actual boundary" an obscure custom (ARPC 1930, 1931, 79-80).

The defining of political boundaries, which was implemented in detail and documented in the District Book thus caused problems. When the commissioners marked out tribal units in the Bagamoyo District this caused trouble reflected in disputes over villages. Such disputes took place between, for instance, the Doe Native Administration and the Shirazi headman of the people in Winde (BDB II, /21/, 1926). This meant that once a boundary was drawn it was inevitable that some of the people found themselves on the 'wrong side' of the border. Because tribal boundaries, according to basic administrative principles, had to be settled and each tribe had to be under a chief, new ethnic identities were imposed upon people. Many of them, therefore, may have been forced to change ethnic identities, even several times, depending on how the borders were altered. The change of ethnic identities was one problem. But a more complex problem for people was the one of choosing an explicit ethnonym (Cf. Mazrui, above I:3). The dilemma is verbalized by a man from the Bagamoyo District who remembers having changed his ethnic "label" at least three times:

In the last census /1967/ I was counted Kwere... under different times I have been counted differently. I lived under Luguru and Zaramo. If you study them closely you will see that they are the same people. (Personal information, 1989)

When I then asked him the conventional question of what he thought himself to be in ethnic terms, he said: "This is an other
problem, because /the/ Luguru, Zaramo and Kwere are the same people."

An example of how people came to perceive the boundaries comes from the western part of Tanzania, where the development of the local administrative system resembled that of the Bagamoyo District:

They did not have these small boundaries... rather, for example in my home area S. the whole region was divided in say, only two parts, whereas at present it has about four districts... Now, these two parts had boundaries of course – in most cases the two leaders were related. So the boundaries, they never cared very much about them. They would just go there... so the boundaries were not very strict... they were not strict, they could be abolished any time. But when the Germans came, so they started dividing these people according to .. the tribes, the tribal question became open... they drew boundaries, saying now, the H they live in this areas, so they drew boundaries and the tendency in many cases was either to plant trees or to use rivers, or to use hills, or mountains. So they established very strict boundaries which were actually even written in the law, in the customary law or whatever it may be. They wrote it in their law. So, they established specific divisions. And of course they had then these provincial commissioners, they called them provincial commissioners and district commissioners and all these. So these were responsible for making sure that the boundaries were followed. And the people could not just move to live in another place. You could not do that in the colonial period. Otherwise you would face difficulties... and people were told really to respect them. And people learnt to respect them. They really followed them... (UTA 1981/5.2.)

An excerpt from the Bagamoyo District Book, quoted at some length, represents in its turn one of the confused and contradictory classifications – bound to fail:

It is not easy to describe the Wasigua as a whole owing to the fact that they appear never to have been united under one paramount chief. One important distinction is at once noticeable i.e. the Wasigua living in Bagamoyo District and the Wasigua living outside it. Of the former the name Wasigua implied a somewhat artificial unity... It is thus seen, that the Wasigua of Bagamoyo District are composed of at least 4 tribes: Wazigua, Wadoc, Wakwere and Waru/n/guru. (BDB, II, /35/; Cf. UTAs 1977/11.1-2)
This statement as a concrete example, actually makes our point — to differentiate between the social and cultural as relatively independent phenomena — particularly strongly. Thus, on the one hand, in the endeavour of identifying 'tribes' in the Bagamoyo District, differences between "tribes" were found to be small or altogether non-existent, and on the other hand, it was puzzling for the British commissioners to find out that many 'tribes' were far less culturally homogeneous than they had previously thought. The above thus contains the very essence of our main argument on the phenomenon of ethnicity: ethnic groups are not socially homogeneous units, due to splitting and assimilation processes in different political societies. On the contrary, splitting creates an ethnic group comprising different social communities.

The "population tribal units" in the Bagamoyo District (noted down in 1931) were divided into many areas: Ukwere, Uzigua, Uzaramo and Udoc were called the "four main tribal divisions", whereas Sadani, Mlingotini, Kaole and Winde were called the "coastal areas". According to the source these "coastal areas", were populated mainly by Swahili and Arabs. The ninth tribal unit was Bagamoyo Town. The population of the district amounted to 62,459 persons (BDB, II, /23/).

Despite statements in the Bagamoyo District Book on the disunity of certain tribes, the colonial documents contain very distinctive ethnic characteristics on tribes. Under the headline of Manners and Customs — tribal laws, social organization and land tenure — were outlined in detail. Apart from the acting district officer's notes, information was received (as mentioned earlier) from missionaries. One of them, Father Wallis of Ilonga, advised how "to ask /natives/ the right questions in the proper way" in order to receive information in clan matters (BDB, II, /87-90/). The betrothal custom of the Uzigua tribe was one example out of many which was noted down in detail in 21 paragraphs ending with a moral statement by the district officer concerning adultery in the last paragraph quoted below:

The Wazigua standards of morality are comparatively high: adultery and promiscuous intercourse are not lightly condoned. A young Girl who loses her virginity brings disgrace on herself and her parents. (BDB, II, /89/)
This sort of documentation was emphasized in applied anthropology and leaned on the functionalist tradition. Consequently, one of the tasks of the colonial officers, who were trained in anthropology, was to record living "traditional culture". During the twenties and thirties most of these records dealt with family, magic and economic issues (Kuper, 1993, 15, 32, 72-73).

V:2 The use of ethnicity and the displaying of it through the native authority system

After 1926 the main features of native administration included native authorities defined as "Chiefs or other natives or any Native Council or group of natives declared as such by the Government" (a variety of this kind of authority emerged due to local circumstances). Yet, in the following years it was several times admitted that in practice a chief had received greater power through the native administration than tradition would have allowed for, but that there also existed situations in which the chief did not make any decisions without consulting the "baraza" (Hailey, I, 1950, 218). Why? Having outlined the reasons in the preceding two sections we will illustrate the situation with some examples and then proceed to discuss how the violation of culture on the one hand, and the use of ethnicity on the other, encouraged tribalism.

V:2:1 Local headmen and the quest for ethnicity
The British could not find appropriate unifying traits for e.g. the Ziguas' historical and political traditions. Because native administration required 'pure tribes' (with a history) and boundaries demarcating their settlements, such disunited units (like Zigua) were a nuisance for the implementation of the theory of native administration. To override this discrepancy between theory and practice a new version of the Zigua tribal history was welcome. When majumbe were installed to replace the former maakida (their sphere of power was almost the same as their predecessors') they, obviously, with few exceptions, lacked a traditional
stand in their respective communities or areas. District officers compiling information on pre-colonial traditional administration naturally used information which emanated from the German system. Hereby the majumbe had differing claims to their areas or parts of them as well as to posts of authority.

Local disputes on occupying positions in the administration were reported also from Ukwere as local headmen called wandewa were installed when indirect rule was introduced. The appointment of Komba as mndewa after his father Kisuguru's death in 1931 gave rise to strong protests. In this case, the matrilineal custom of inheritance of authority had fallen into disuse with the advent of colonial rule (BDB, I, /68-69/, II, /138/).

In Uzigua, District Officer Bamfylde complained that "native custom would have been followed better" had a council of elders been formed in different parts of the area (BDB, I, /68-69/). However, in the nearby Handeni district (where the Zigua also lived), there were many places without any changes whatsoever: local leaders were as legitimate during indirect rule as they were during the Germans. On the other hand, there are also examples of the opposite. Hence individuals without influence could be chosen as majumbe, people whom the local villagers could manipulate or persuade not to follow enforced British demands (Giblin, op.cit., 407-408). The British, however, were entitled to reverse such tendencies.

The tribal government for the Zigua tribe comprising e.g. chiefs and sub-chiefs in 1928 may serve as an example from the Bagamoyo District Book:

Native Authority – Chief of the Waziguha: Waligane bin Msonde.
Subordinate Native Authority – the Headman of Miono: Mchuka b. Bamira.
Subordinate Native Authority – the Headman of Mkange: Abdalla b. Mluwa.
Subordinate Native Authority – the Headman of Mandera: Kingaru b. Shomwi.
Subordinate Native Authority – the Headman of Pongwe: Omari b. Bigo.
Subordinate Native Authority – the Headman of Kibindu: Mohamed b. Bigo.
Native Treasury – Mbwewe
Sub-Treasuries – Nil

Native Courts: First Class – Tribal Court of the Waziguha of Mbwewe: President Waligane bin Msonde.
Second Class – Court of the Clan Head of Miono: Mchuka bin Bamira. Court of the Clan head of Mkange: Abdalla bin Mluwa. Court of the Clan head of Mandera: Kingaru bin Shomwi. Court of the Clan Head of Pongwe: Omari bin Bigo. Court of the Clan Head of Kibindu: Mohamed bin Bigo (BDB, II, /148/).

The villages of the six areas i.e. Mbwewe, Kibindu, Miono, Mkange, Mandera and Pongwe (the number of villages in them varied between 1-12) each one with a "councillor", were reserved for the "Zigua tribe". Every village had its own jumbe. The majumbe and other headmen were generally chosen from families who traditionally had a leading position in 'their' village: The jumbe of the Miono village (the only village of the Miono area) was Jaffari Mchuka, son of one of the first converted Muslims at the turn of the century in Miono whereas the councillor of the Mandera area was Kingaru bin Shomvi, son of the pre-colonial headman who had welcomed the missionaries to Mandera.14

The native authorities were required to assess and collect a hut and poll tax. This tax had been modified from the earlier poll tax to include a sum to be paid on "plural wives" (Hailey, op.cit., 3, 215). The various headmen who were appointed to collect the tax of the "tribal areas" and the "village communities" in the Bagamoyo District received a share of the revenue (BDB I /187/). By giving the headmen, e.g. the majumbe the right to collect and assess tax the system allowed them to exert control over their subjects. Because ethnicity was emphasized as a base for political authority by the colonial administration it naturally put the tax collectors in a precarious situation. In other words, the jumbe had to extract money from his "own people" (who often did not have the money) being at the same time, entitled to a certain share of the tax money. Often the majumbe, were in their turn vulnerable to witchcraft exercised by their subjects. This shows one of the many contradictions in the native system of administration. As the jumbe needed to maintain and gain support among his local sub-
jects and, in addition, feared witchcraft, he tried to help persons who could not or were not willing to pay taxes, e.g. by hiding them (Giblin, op. cit., 429-432). This was, for example, the case when the District Officer of Bagamoyo threatened the jumbe as well as the local inhabitants of Mandera by announcing that the jumbe would be removed from his office and replaced by a stranger whereby people would be forced to migrate for wage employment (Giblin, ibid.). To gain benefits for oneself through tribalism one had to use cultural factors, in this case ethnic ones. The majumbe had indeed a mediative function. The problematic relationship between the jumbe and the local inhabitants regarding tax collecting was touched upon in a discussion about eating practices during an evening meal in Miono in 1977. An excerpt from Philip Donner's field-notes\textsuperscript{15} reads:

Then he told that here in Miono even in olden times people were not very hospitable.

D: – Why was it so?
N: – It was the time of the akida\textsuperscript{16} and there were many people around who came to pay kodi [tax].
D: – Was it called kodi?
N: – Yes, they used to say (shout?) wanthu wose wakalibe kodi kwa akida [(Zi.) all the people should pay tax at the local authority]. Then the jumbe came and he might say that he would have difficulties to collect the money in his mwango, and then he would be given additional time to collect it.
D: – What is mwango?
N: – Mwango wa jumbe ni nchi ya jumbe [mwango wa jumbe is the area of the jumbe].
D: – Mwango in Kizigua?
N: – Mnango.

Then he went on explaining about the "jumbe" that "wageni hawapati ujumbe uakida. Wana jumbe wenyewe" [the outsiders were not chosen a local leader by the akida. They had a jumbe of their own]. By "wageni" he was referring to "wakwere na wazaramo" ... Then he explained how the Zaramo would have a jumbe in their home area. In the end he pointed out that formerly the leaders were from the area but that nowadays they come from any place." (UTAf 1977/05.08-09)
Due to many serious seasonal famines the majumbe had few possibilities to build up wealth and could thus not provide patronage due to food shortage.

Although the native authorities of the Eastern Province, on the whole, were considered to function satisfactorily, the government was disappointed with many native authorities in the coastal districts, among them the Bagamoyo District. Clan and family systems of the coastal people were made scapegoats as "natives" were considered to dislike the "shouldering of responsibility."17 By the end of the 1930s the 29 "chiefs" and 124 headmen in the Bagamoyo District formed a diffuse system of administration.18

The headmen and the councils in Uzigma, Ukwere and Uzaramo were found unsuitable for employment as agencies of local rule. They were thus replaced in 1940 by "tribal agents" wakili. These did not necessarily have any traditional standing in the community.19 Some of the wakili had had long experience of 'tribal administration' from German times (Hailey, I, 314, 1950; BDB, II, /171/). The wakili were assisted by the former headmen, majumbe and elders. The reaction to the change on the local level was noted in a contradictory manner by the District Commissioner Bampfylde:

It is a notable fact that when the scheme was first put before the people no objections were raised at all. The people themselves seemed to welcome the proposed change, and the Headmen, although possibly they did not welcome the scheme personally, had no alternative, but to accept it with good grace owing to the approval of it by their own people. (BDB, II, /171/)

Recalling Girenko's argument about the "isolation" of the traditional society from the native authorities, even these wakili – elected by the villagers themselves, as interpreted by Hailey – were in many cases found to be ineffective by the colonial government. Hailey writes about the consequences:

the only alternative ... is to place on District Officers the responsibility for conducting what is in effect a system of personal rule, without the assistance of qualified subordinates (Hailey, I, 1950, 319).
Interestingly, in the official reports\textsuperscript{20} on the formation and functioning of the native authority system and, in later works on the native administration the descriptions used for nominated "non-traditional" headmen are restricted to a mere "responsible persons", or people with "personal qualifications". In line with this, numerous tribal headmen were found to be "unreliable" and "ineffective" (e.g. Hailey, I, 1950, 318-319; BDB I and II passim).

The \textit{wakili} system provided more room for competition for political office at the local level than when an \textit{akida} had been appointed by the government. The strongest claims for leadership were based on heredity (see Giblin, \textit{op.cit.}, 422-423). People compiled and even falsified genealogies of local history traditions. In Uzaramo, for example, the Uzaramo Union demanded the dismissal of a \textit{wakili} named Konzi. The charges against him were of three kinds: he had abused the elders, he had been impartial in court and, last but not least, he was only "half an Mzaramo". An investigation in 1951 showed that there was no evidence supporting the two first charges and the Provincial Commissioner confirmed that Konzi would continue in his office. The case was however not settled with this and demonstrations and actions (followed by e.g. convictions of riot) against the native administration policy took place during the following four years (BDB, II, /162-164/).

\textbf{V:2:2 Violation of culture: Orders and Rules}

The native authorities in the Bagamoyo District were given statutory powers. Although admitting individual responsibilities these powers were exercised under the supervision of the administrative officers of the government. The latter could thus require a native authority to issue, modify, change or cancel Orders or Rules, but they – the administrative officers – could also issue them directly (Hailey, I, 1950, 219).

The Orders and Rules related to various matters dealing with both cultivation of for example a special crop or for regulation of grass burning as well as native law and custom. This system regulated the whole social existence of people in a "tribal area" or/and the whole district. This implied a violation of social every-
day culture. The limit of bride price, for example, as well as the marriage of "immature" girls were regulated through Orders in the Bagamoyo District (see Hailey, op.cit., 321). A long list of Orders was issued by the native authorities under section 8 of the Ordinance in the end of 1931. A short description of some of the Orders is listed below:


Gambling was forbidden in public places and no persons were permitted to bring a spear, gun or other dangerous weapon to a beer party. No native may hold a ngoma without permission of his native authority and /or ngoma were restricted to be played by those who had paid tax. An Order which was specifically issued for the tribal areas of Ukwere, Uzigua and Udoe read that a free permit had to be obtained before brewing "to control consumption of beer". Not only was it forbidden for people to move to other "tribal areas" – the movement of livestock was also regulated by an Order: The movement of cattle, sheep and goats between tribal areas was prohibited without the written permission of the native authority from whose area the livestock was removed (BDB II, /179-181/).

V:2:3 Tribalism
The division of people into tribes was not restricted only to economic or political matters. Also cultural forms, for example music served to manifest the tribal divisions. The Tanganyika Broadcasting Company (founded in 1951) transmitted traditional ngoma music as tribal music (Donner, V, 1986). Ethnicity was also manifested in the appearance of representatives of the native
administration. Some of the assistants of the *wakili*, the tribal messengers, wore an embroidered badge on their "tunics" portraying the tribal totems of the four tribal areas: A lion's claw for Uzaramo, an axe for Ukwere, an elephant for Uzigua and the "insignia" of the Udoe (BDB, II, /175/).

What lay behind such emblems of office for "tribes"? A discussion between a couple of Jipemoyo researchers and old men of the *baraza la wazee* including the chairman of the Hondogo village (he was a clan headman) together with some notes in the Bagamoyo District Book offer us an interesting explanation of the headman's stool with carved symbols on it. What was the meaning of the stool and its symbols representing a tooth of an elephant, a crocodile and a frog?

According to the Bagamoyo District Book, the inhabitants of the *ncbi* of Yuma in Uzigua belonged to the clan Honero. The clan's sign was a stool called *kiti cha tembo* [stool of an elephant]. The oral tradition about this stool is presented in the following way in the Bagamoyo District Book:

*Picture 36. Utemaa wa Wubebe* [The chiefdom of Uhehe]. Shield of the chiefdom. Iringa, Iringa Region. – Photo Helena Jerman 1968.
Mwekambi of Sadani married a woman Kwakilumbi /Handeni District/ who bore him a daughter called Khaja. Mwekambi had two other children by a second wife. For these three children he ordered a carpenter to make 3 chairs (viti ya tembo) and when they were completed he ordered the carpenters’ hands to be cut off so that he should be unable to make similar chairs for others.

Khaja’s chair exists into this day, and is used at times of sacrifice. On Khaja’s reaching adult age she was made a chief by her father who placed a turban on her head and told her: ‘I give you this whole country from Sadani to Mkange, Vuma; from the Mwave to the Kibembe /a pool and hill near Mkange/.’ This woman Khaja left Sadani and settled near the /small/ Kukindu river. The jumbe of the present day is living at the same spot.

Khaja did not like the office of chief, as she was a woman. She accordingly sent for her relations at Kwakilumbi. On their arrival she made one of them chief and gave him her father’s name ‘Mwekambi’ and the title of tamla which is still used. (BDB, II, /41/)

The discussion with the old men revealed that the stool was related to tamla and was ancestral heritage. The animals on the stool were there to ”remind us” (UTA 1976/55). The men emphasized that the animals did not have any kind of leadership although the leaders who had claims for respect had to have these signs. The colonials, they said, put the signs for the leader, in this case, in the Kwere country.

It is interesting to note that, according to the Bagamoyo District Book, Vuma, being a ncbi belonged to the Zigua country and that, accordingly, people living there were classified as Zigua. However, in another passage of the book a district officer has noted down that in the ncbi of Vuma there was also a settlement of Kwere, an observation which came to the fore during the discussion. In the following one of the wazee tries to explain to the Jipemoyo researchers that Vuma is for the Kwere:

Vuma that’s for the wakwere. Their ancestral traditions are for the wakwere. Eee. Wakwere and that is the way how their law is and they made it in this way. (UTA 1976/55)

As the discussion went on the wazee were confused about the ethnicity of the leadership of the Honero who, according to them,
are related to the *ncbi* of Vuma. On the one hand, they stressed that both the Zigua and the Kwere were co-operating and were living together and that Vuma was Kwere country. They also shared the same traditions as the Kwere. On the other hand, they actively played down the ethnonym Kwere and emphasized the clan as much as the co-operation between people since the "frontiers of our living areas were bordering one another..." (UTA 1976/55). Who was the person having the stool? Finally one of the old men stated:

His clan is Honero. The king of Vuma. His clan is Honero. Sahonero /'sa' indicates a certain clan relationship/. Or Smlahonero. That's a woman. (UTA 1976/55)

Arguably, the emblems of office during native administration were symbols of headmen of different local clans. Certain clan symbols became symbols for whole 'tribes' to clearly mark out native authorities of different tribal areas.

This is an example of how cultural forms were given new content in the native administration. Another example, from Uzaramo, reveals how a specific clan symbol spread to tribal rites during the colonial period. Thus, the *Pazi* headman's clan symbol, a lion, spread to the Zaramo boys' *jando* rites. During the rite of shaving of hair the boy sits on a three-legged stool which is placed on a lion's skin (Swantz, 1973, 38 and oral information 1994).

The system of tribal divisions within the frames of the native administration and the resultant adoption of it on all levels of life thus produced a reaction among people: it was manifested in an enhanced social significance of ethnicity among people. It was possible to manipulate ethnicity.

Tribal associations had been formed already during German rule concomitantly with the dividing of Dar es Salaam into racial zones in 1912. One of the reasons was the colonial administration's order that tribes had to bury their members who died in hospitals. This trend continued with increased urbanism under the British. Thus jobs, housing and help in connection with illness or funerals took place within different tribal sectors in urban
Picture 37. Clan headman and his stool in Hondogo. – Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.
Picture 38. Crocodile carved on the leg of the stool. – Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.
environment. A "supertribe" embracing people from several 'tribes' from a common broad region functioned as a union in a town. The Ukami union, for instance, was founded in 1938 in Dar es Salaam. Interestingly, this union brought together Kwere, Doe, Zigua, Kutu, Vidunda, Sagara and Kami "for unity as in the past" (Iliffe, 1969, 146 and, 1979, 385, 389, 391). Belonging to tribal units was a means of functioning in the colonial society. Increasing ethnocentrism among various tribal units enabled their leaders — by appealing to e.g. a fictive common origin of the members — to mobilize political power in it. Arguably, a 'tribe' perceived other 'tribes' in their contest for political power or economic benefits. At the same time 'tribes' failed to recognize social processes analogous to those of the colonial state (Cf. Binsbergen, 1985, 222). Form and content of culture served social ends.

In Bagamoyo District the Zigua, like many other 'tribes', were organized into an union in 1951. Shortly afterwards, the union wished the wakili to be dismissed and it was decided that he would be replaced because he had "lost control over the people in his area". Instead three councils — in Miono, Kwaruhombo, and Kibindu — were set up and led by Rajabu Hatibu, Mohamed Mgaya and Hassani Masigi. These men were all Zigua, as stressed in the Bagamoyo District Book. Due to differing claims of authority by different clans in the area, resulting in complaints, often false, there were again cases of dismissals and new appointments by the Provincial Commissioner during the following years (BDB, II, /160-161/).

Throughout the decades of native administration there are many examples of repeated replacements of appointed "subchiefs" in order to meet "tribal customs" as well as changes in the lower structure of the native administration system itself. All these are thoroughly documented page after page in the Bagamoyo District Books. It is tempting to state that the inconsistency in administrative matters is almost consistent. Important people were "hooked" into the net of "tribal" affairs fed by the system of indirect rule. Ranger's apt statement about pre-colonial ethnicity (quoted in I:2:1) could here be turned upside down to suit a def-
inition of colonial ethnicity: ethnicity was more a matter of origin than of role (and the origin could be invented). With the beginning of indirect rule tribalism developed as a full-scale social phenomenon. In its essence it was incongruous with tradition and culture. The cultural factor (ethnicity) was, however, used for gaining social goals, either for the benefit of oneself or for a community of one's own.

As the positions of authority within the native administration were allocated on the basis of race and ethnicity the colonial society represented a specific kind of social structure. Cultural (ethnic) belonging was used as a primary indicator for defining the position within that social system.

Nimtz gives a few examples of how the British administration viewed the social status of people in Bagamoyo town and its surroundings. Starting from 1924 social ranking was as follows: Europeans were at the top followed by Indians, Arabs, Baluchi and Africans (1980, 110-117). It is particularly interesting that this ranking not only parallels the one given by the old chief to a missionary some 50 years earlier (see IV:2:1). It also confirms the rigidity of Bagamoyo's racially stratified society which had been introduced after the German takeover and further adapted by the British administration. The colonial social ranking had altered the pre-colonial social strata of power (Cf. III:4:1). A report on local government (1956) in Eastern Province referred to the unofficial members as "representatives" of "particular communities": African, Indian or Arab (Nimtz, 1980, 104). The hierarchy of cultures in the colonial society was thus a reflection of the social hierarchy. Potential members of the administrative colonial system stressed the fact that they belonged to a specific 'tribe' using it for political purposes. In this way ethnicity spread to others (Girenko, 1987, 134).

Recalling the tendencies of people to unite against colonial rule prior to the establishment of indirect rule we can agree with Giblin when he writes about the politics during this period. According to him, politics had "abandoned wider perspectives" which had been emerging in the decade before indirect rule (Giblin, op.cit., 414).
V:3 Integrating forces: Islam and the nationalist struggle

Although the new relations of interdependence suffered under the native authority system due to famines, Islam continued to be an integrating force and the *majumbe* consolidated their authority through it. In 1920, twenty years after Islam had been introduced in Miono by an *akida* (Cf. IV:5) an Islamic school was built there, again by an *akida* (Giblin, *op.cit.*, 392-396, 477-478).

Admittedly, the brotherhoods played a major role in the spreading of Islam in the coastal settlements. The Quadiriyya brotherhood led by Shaykh Ramiya, the first African *liwali* of Bagamoyo, was successful in establishing the celebration of the Prophet's birthday *Maulidi*. It became the most popular Muslim feast in Tanganyika and made Bagamoyo a major centre of Islam in East Africa. The reason for Ramiya's influence can be found not only in the spiritual benefits offered by him but also, largely, in his economic undertakings based on mutual obligations. Moreover, being an African himself, Ramiya, was considered by a majority of Africans in Bagamoyo to be "on their side" because of his personal qualities: he was supposed to possess supranormal gifts (Nimtz, 1980, 118-122, 128-129, 143).

The spiritual state of the Mandera mission was, according to its annual report, weak. It was claimed that the three tribes – Doe, Kwere and Zigua – inhabiting the territory of the Mission showed little interest in Christianity. The Government was also to be blamed considering the "disastrous matrimonial ordinance which ... practically permits polygamy and divorce".23 In 1923 the number of the catechists decreased from 27 to 17 followed by a subsequent decrease in pupils. The "violent and open offensive of Islam", in general, and Ramiya's assistance to his *murids* => the novices of the brotherhood, in particular, was considered to be the principal cause of the situation. This assistance, e.g. paying their taxes is said to have been a lure for the local Christians to convert to Islam.

In the Eastern Province, Islam acted as an integrating force not only in the sphere of religion, but also in the field of education. Such a claim may sound queer, considering that colonial "native education" tended to result in social and cultural divi-
sions, in Tanganyika as a whole. Islam managed to gather forces on the coast and was active in the political sphere during the last years of colonial rule, obstructing ethnicity. This supports our argument that Islam was an unifying force among the ethnic groups in the Bagamoyo District.

V.3.1 Ethnicity and education
As in the rest of the territory, early formal schooling in the Bagamoyo District had been in the hands of the Christian Missions. The government Bagamoyo school dated as far back as to 1896. The introduction of an educational system which was completely separated from the indigenous socialization system had thus taken place long before British colonialism. Prior to missionary schools and European rule, education in Africa took place in the homestead. It included the fundamental functions of socialization and training whereby young people were prepared for adult life mainly by relatives. Education was a life-long process. Different stages of educational progress took place in people's local environment and the absence of a demarcation of socialization and training was its main characteristic. In other words, theory grew out of practice.24

Missionary and colonial education stressed the importance of reading, writing and arithmetics. The school became a place "where you forget everything your parents have taught" (Anacleti, 29.4. 1983). The separation of the socialization system and the educational system come pithily out in the following comment: "My first words in English were: This is an apple! But it was not until 1978 in Finland that I saw my first apple!" (ibid.).

Under the British, the aim of the government's administrative policy in Tanganyika, to preserve the "tribal system" was integrated in the African education policy: native education. The Native authority system combined in its policy an assimilative approach with an adaptive one. The purpose of assimilation was to teach European ideology and practices while an adaptive approach,25 stressed African "tribal" customs and values (Iliffe, 1979, 338). These principles of education were laid out in a document called
Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa (1925) and remained in force until independence (Thompson, 1968, 17-20).

While maintaining Government schools, the government made, after 1926, efforts to persuade the native authorities to start schools of their own. These were to be financed by the native authorities (e.g. tax income) as well as by government grants. As we will see, these schools came to play – alongside Koranic schools – a significant role in the development of ethnicity in the Bagamoyo District.

The advocates of the adaptive approach considered agriculture to be important for native education. Hence, in 1933 it was agreed that agriculture should be included in the curriculum of all schools (Iliffe, 1979, 339). It was in the interest of the colonial administration to dispel the idea that "because a native can read and write he must therefore never do any manual labour" (BDB, II, /270/). Until 1948 racial segregation in education was practiced almost everywhere. The main reason for segregation at the primary level was language because vernacular was favoured. Separation persisted, however, also on the secondary education level although English was used here. On a religious level the Roman Catholic Christianity included an inter-racial religious group: the Goans (Asians), Europeans and Africans (Goldthorpe, 1962, 263, 265-266; Morrison, 1976, 77-78). Thus Western education, isolating the Africans from their own society and culture provided the means to obtain the wealth and power they desired. Formal education of any level was an advantage when looking for jobs.

In practice adaptation could mean, that school houses were organized by "tribes" (Iliffe, op.cit., 338-339). In one case the tribal approach to education meant that "spear throwing" and "tribal dancing" replaced football. Such experiments were seldom successful. The reasons could be conflicting opinions among the Provincial Education Committee's members on resultant syncretistic religious practices in the school. Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda served the needs of higher education of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, but not until 1951. It became a counterweight to tribal educational organizations. The Tanzanian stu-
dents of Makerere represented all levels of society (Iliffe, *op.cit.*, 341; Morrison *op.cit.*, 78).

The British administration's extreme difficulties to find a strong tribal native administration on the so-called coastal plain, was reflected in the educational situation. The issue of native education in the Bagamoyo District was considered "difficult" due to Islam's prevalence in the area. In the late twenties there was an increase of absentism in the government supported Bagamoyo school with a daily attendance of merely 95 pupils in 1928 as compared to 160-180 in 1925. The administrators considered that one of the reasons for low school attendance was lack of support from parents. They were aware that voluntary attendance in this school was difficult to maintain since it lacked Koranic instruction, covering the Islamic code of manners, morals and self-discipline. Also the British district officer in Bagamoyo was told that pupils had been heavily punished during the German time if they did not come to school and that parents had been beaten by German authorities if they hid their children. It was hence suggested that a Committee of Town elders be formed to supervise and encourage school attendance.

A District Education Committee was set up when the territorial ten-year-plan was approved of in 1946. This Committee was closely cooperating with native authorities, the government and the missions. During the next few years important decisions of the committee included the establishment of several Mission and Native Authority schools throughout the district in the villages.

During the end of the thirties native education remained largely in the hands of the Holy Ghost Mission in the Ukwere, Udoe and the Uziguia areas. A couple of flourishing village schools, supported by both the mission and the government, operated in these areas including Uzaramo. The number of pupils in each school varied between 80-160. Also a large number of cathetical centres operated in the Bagamoyo District. There were also numerous *nyuo* = 'Koranic schools in all larger villages in the Muslim areas. A *mwalimu* [teacher] taught the pupils the basics of Islam in his house.

The government authorities admitted that instruction in self-
supporting Koranic schools was of some use from a disciplinary and moral point of view. Apart from teaching the Koran to the schoolchildren the curriculum also included knowledge of Arabic script, which could open a gate to a vast literature. Yet, the strong Islamic influence was considered to restrain people from attending other schools (ARPC 1934, 55; ARPC 1939, 23; ARPC 1941 n.p.; ARPC 1950, 35). In 1939 the Provincial Commissioner maintained in his report that if secular instruction could be provided in the *nyuo*, these schools will go ahead rapidly and afford a cheap form of widespread elementary education which will feed the Government schools and provide a healthy discipline and education in manners which will be of great benefit to the community. (ARPC 1939, 14)

In 1944 the Koranic schools in the Bagamoyo District received assistance from the native treasury but the standard of tuition in Roman script in these schools was reported to be low. Almost all Provincial Commissioner reports during 1934-1959 claim that there was little demand for Western formal education in the Eastern Province due to the "strongly pro-Islamic character" of the Province.31

Why then did the schools maintained by the native authorities, attract Muslim children? In contrast to Mission schools, the Native Authority schools were preferred by Muslim children and secular education was complemented by Koran schools. The Muslim parents welcomed the establishment of the Native Authority schools and considered that their children in these schools were on equal footing with the other pupils. These schools did not demand proselytization. Although missionary schools were important in the educational structure of the Eastern Province — "schools, and more schools" were urged by the native authorities. Serious overcrowding in the classrooms were reported (ARPC 1944, 27-28; ARPC 1945, 29). The education in these schools was generally conducted on tribal lines (ARPC 1939, 24). The existence of native authority schools depended entirely on local initiatives. The headmen or local administrators engaged in the native authorities could make their voice heard when choos-
ing methods or syllabus (Thompson, 1968, 26). The elders in Miono were "deservedly proud" of their school, being one of the three Native Authority schools in the district (ARPC 1939, 24). In this particular case local people actually had power.

The willingness among Muslims to send their children to Native Authority schools makes sense when seen in the light of tribalism. The system of indirect rule stressed the revival of tribal chiefs in areas where no corresponding political organization had existed. This discrepancy resulted in contradictions which fostered competition for political posts on the local level i.e. ethnicity was manipulated and used to attain social goals. It was in the interest of adherents of Islam (often of Zigua 'origin'), who had gathered forces in the district, to enter this 'competition' for offices. The majumbe, who had strengthened their authority through Islam and created networks of patronage certainly welcomed Native Authority schools as a way of fostering the coming generation.

At the termination of the ten year plan in 1957 the Provincial Commissioners' report stated that there had been "improvements" in many inland districts. In reverse, they described the status on education in the coastal districts in the following way: "the story is very different in the coastal districts" (ARPC 1957, 41). Enrolment in primary schools was not spontaneous and headmen had to go round and persuade parents to send their children to school – however without success. By 1959 the existing schools were not full (ARPC 1959, 35).

The government found it appropriate to send its sociologist Mr. Cory to the Eastern province. He spent seven months in the area and found that the coastal area and the hinterland alike had "close ethnic relations" and a strong clan system despite a slow change from matrilineal succession to patrilineal in some areas. The custom of confining adolescent girls together with early marriage impeding school attendance was specially mentioned. Due to such customs particularly Bagamoyo was considered by the administration a "stronghold of austere tradition" (ARPC 1956, 38).

As pointed out previously, a significant process occurred during this period, that is to say, people considered that the existing
cultural attributes for their respective cultures were very important. This process was of fundamental importance for people's survival. Thus, the characteristic given to Bagamoyo as a "stronghold of austere tradition" could, at least partially, be ascribed to the system of native administration.

Looking at the country as a whole, there was a significant difference between Christians and Muslims with regard to access to formal education since Koranic schools were not supported by the government.34 Also in geographical and ethnic terms the quantitative distribution of educational opportunities was uneven. In areas where Christian Missions were strong Western education gained territory. The Chagga of Kilimanjaro and the Haya of Bukoba were, in this respect, given preferential treatment. These differences in access to education increased previous social conflicts in the country (Morrison, op.cit., 52-57). The elementary Koranic schools, could not compete with foreign-supported Christian schools, particularly not in the principally Muslim Bagamoyo District. Christians received better education and, were, consequently, more competitive when applying for low-civil service posts. An important reason to this was the adaptation of Roman script in the Christian schools. Literacy in Arabic script did not render low-level positions in the administration. What is of particular interest, however, is that it seems that Islamic education hereby acted as an integrating force, irrespective of ethnicity. During the last years of colonialism Muslims hoped that independence would offer them better secular education. This made them join the nationalist struggle earlier than the Christians (Nimtz, 1980, 88-89).

Although the British administration favoured the use of Swahili as a language of instruction, together with English, and it later became a means of spreading nationalism, the school material at the primary level emphasized alien knowledge (Morrison, op.cit., 63-64). This meant that the school syllabuses did not allow other potential factors than language to foster a common ethnic i.e. Tanganyikan identity. Only after many years the timetable allowed the schoolchildren to recognize their roots in their own country.
V.3:2 The African Association

In 1929 a society called *Umoja wa Wenyeji wa Afrika* (lit. The Association of the Inhabitants of Africa), known as the African Association (AA) was founded in Dar es Salaam. The members of this organization were mainly clerks and teachers who had studied together in Tabora or Makerere using a common language, Swahili. As its name indicates it was a colonywide African interest group (the first one) which worked "for promoting the welfare and advancing learning amongst natives of Africa". Arabs reacted a few years later after the AA had been founded, by establishing the Arab Association. This organization was, however, very shortlived (Nimtz, 1980, 152).

The third territorial conference of the African Association in Dodoma in 1945 attracted many representatives from all parts of Tanganyika, Zanzibar and Kenya. A number of resolutions were passed, including declarations on "Brotherhood", "White settlement", "Education and Schools", "labours", "the Mandate and Africa", "Britain and Africa". The conference stressed the necessity of doing away "with all tribal, religious, sectarian, economic, political, cultural, educational, territorial and other differences". Africa, it was argued, was "one country, and Africans are one nation, no matter where they live or where they are born".

The statements and demands embodied African unity. Admittedly, there was a strong pan-African vision as early as 1945. Its echo would be heard long into future.

Stressing the unity of all Africans (with the slogan "unity is strength") western-educated clerks opposed urban tribalism and concern for minor rural issues all of which, seen from their perspective, originated from colonialism. A territorial organization, the Association grew rapidly by establishing several branches throughout Tanganyika and in the end provided a framework for a nationalist movement unique in East Africa (Iliffe, 1979, 405-406). The African Association was the forerunner of TANU, an acronym for Tanganyika African National Union, which became the leading force in the struggle for independence in Tanganyika.

The Bagamoyo branch of AA was founded in 1939 by seven local men. Although all African ethnic groups of the town were
represented in the association, the Shomvi-Shirazi held almost half of the leadership positions. They constituted, however, a mere 10 per cent within the African population in the town.\textsuperscript{39} The reason to this was the branch’s initiator Mtumwa’s (a Manyema) special appeal to the Shomvi-Shirazi whom he considered the \textit{kwanzza wenyeki wa Bagamoyo} [the original inhabitants of Bagamoyo]. Five years earlier, in 1934, a group of coastal Africans had formed the Muslim Association of Tanganyika, which in the ranks of Islam probably was the first manifestation of nationalism in the colony. Often these people became also leaders of AA (Nimtz, 1980, 86-87, 146-147).

Due to colonialism and economic decline the diffusion of Bagamoyo's power structure of the 1800s (Cf. III:4:1) had been replaced by an hierarchy centring on its \textit{liwali} – normally an Arab or Baluchi. Hence, racial antagonism cut across the division between the former slaves and masters. Admittedly, the Manyema attended the Shomvi mosque (Iliffe, 1979, 384, 415). The Association was not formally forbidden to operate in Bagamoyo but the \textit{liwali} (who e.g. looked after the affairs of the Muslim community) a Baluchi, tried to prevent its activities. The Shomvi-Shirazi and the African community were united by their joint interest in removing the \textit{liwali} from his post. This intention had been expressed in a resolution at the Dodoma conference in 1945 in a strong appeal to Africanize the administration of towns and townships (Nimtz, \textit{op.cit.}, 148-149).

In the following we will see how Islam got a decisive role in the nationalist struggle in the Bagamoyo District. Where not otherwise indicated, I lean on Nimtz's book \textit{Islam and Politics in East Africa. The Sufi Order in Tanzania} (1980).\textsuperscript{40}

The Bagamoyo branch of the AA became very strongly associated with Qadiriyya because the head of the organization, Shaykh Muhammad, had wide support in the town. Shaykh Muhammad, who was Ramiya’s\textsuperscript{41} son, became the president of the branch in 1946. Obviously, Shaykh Muhammad was strongly in favour of African participation when e.g. a dispute arose on the ethnic composition of the \textit{liwali's baraza}. He also worked hard for a more equal distribution of staples between e.g. Arabs and
Africans in Bagamoyo. World War II had led to increased economic control with a strengthening of racial categorization of peoples (Iliffe, 1979, 375).

The Bagamoyo branch of the African Association was able to influence local politics. Under Shaykh Muhammad's leadership the Africans challenged the hegemony of the traditional elites of Bagamoyo, the Arabs and the Shomvi-Shirazi. Because the Arabs, during colonialism, together with Indians and other coloured non-African peoples had better access than Africans to the European rulers, Africans began to identify the Asians with the white community.

Nimtz argues that Islam's historical role was that of an agent of social change implemented through the tariqas. Hence, the Mecca letter affair (Cf. pp. 215-216) which took place shortly after Maji Maji was an important event showing the significance of the brotherhoods in the coastal society. It is therefore important to note that the Muslims who led the conversion of Africans were not coastal Arabs but "foreigners" from southern Somalia – occasionally even Arabs.42

V.3:3 Tanganyika African National Union
The political party Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was born in July 1954. The organization took independence as its primary goal. The new name put an emphasis on national unity at the expense of African unity – TAA became TANU. In 1955 its first president, Julius Kambarage Nyerere reported to the United Nations about the change of the organization's name and its reasons. TANU's objective was uhuru [freedom] from British rule. The strategy was to build a nationalist movement.

Though parochial perspectives were deemphasized in this process, some important local issues got special attention. For Bagamoyo's part this was manifested in "Utawala wa Kienyeji" – a document on Native Administration – in the Bagamoyo District. This paper was decreed in 1960. It stressed the importance of separating the administrations of the coast and the town from each other. More influence should furthermore be given to the
people of the district to choose their own rulers. Actively promoted by Shaykh Muhammad and shared by most Africans, this view was one of the reasons why the African population of Bagamoyo supported TANU. Shaykh Muhammad played an active role when the Bagamoyo branch was established as a part of TANU in 1955. His influence as the head of the Qadiriyya brotherhood in the small settlements and villages of the Bagamoyo District was indisputable. Qadiriyya apparently was the only significant village-wide institution in the hinterland, unlike in the town of Bagamoyo where there were also other alternative social institutions. The tariqs thus had a leading role in the independence movement. They helped mobilizing support for TANU and the majority of the African Muslims supported the party. The Muslims hoped that independence would allow them to gain more influence, i.e educational opportunities and jobs.

Prior to TAA and TANU, the predominant political organizations were the so called tribal associations. These societies were struggling to define themselves in their regions. This was not easy as different ethnic groups merged into each other. The groups claimed affinity with each other but the British preferred to treat them as separate 'tribes'.

One of the tribal associations was *Moyo wa Uzigua na Nguu* [the Heart /or Spirit/ of Uzigua and Ungulu] which had been informally founded in 1938. According to Iliffe, there were a number of reasons for the establishment of this organization, namely: the division of Uzigua among many British districts, the tension between Christian Zigua and hereditary Muslim headmen and the economic collapse due to the penetration of the tsetse in Uzigua. Interestingly, a majority of the members of the tribal societies considered stronger tribal units a prerequisite for an unification of these societies into a nation. The tribal societies were supposed to deal with local issues whereas major matters required a wider organization. The founders of TANU asked the tribal societies to join the party (1979, 270, 315, 487-495).

Here Crawford Young's observation about "nation-building" in the post-colonial African states deserves to be mentioned. He says that the national identity to be created was generally not
imagined /by the administration/ to supersede ethnic affiliation. The problem rather involved the introduction of "a historically higher and ethically superior form of human solidarity" by using different strategies (op.cit., 83-84, 1982). One attempt was to replace ethnic categories by those based on territory. In the Bagamoyo District e.g. the tribal areas Uzigua and Ukwere officially ceased to exist after independence.

At the Dodoma Conference in 1945 "white" i.e. European settlement in Tanganyika had been strongly condemned and AA repeated this condemnation several times during the following years. After the League of Nations had ceased to exist the subsequently formed United Nations Organization made Tanganyika a Trust Territory administered by the United Kingdom. Iliffe writes about the establishment of the trusteeship:

Under American pressure, Britain eventually agreed to administer Tanganyika under a trusteeship agreement with the newly-formed United Nations Organisation, an agreement which bound Britain to prepare the country for independence and empowered the U.N. Trusteeship Council to send a visiting mission every three years and to receive written and oral petitions from inhabitants. (1979, 430)

From the end of 1955 until 1961 TANU was occupied with recruiting new members by organizing mass-meetings and distributing information in the Bagamoyo District. It can be mentioned that the Shomvi-Shirazi community, due to different internal changes within TANU, lost power within the organization. Nyerere and other national representatives of TANU visited the district several times to convince people that self-determination was a possible option. Many brotherhood leaders participated in the nationalist struggle as officials of TANU or cooperated with party leaders (Nimtz, 1980, 88).

The reactions of the provincial commissioners to the African political activity was reflected in the Reports for Eastern Province between 1955-1959. These mention a change in the political atmosphere in the Bagamoyo District. According to them, the recruitment of new members for TANU led to political consciousness and activity and resulted in "militant African national-
ism". Although all the main events leading to the birth of the United Republic of Tanzania may be well-known to the reader they have to be stated here.

This is a brief résumé of the main events. In 1961 Tangan-
yika's internal self-government was turned over from the British to TANU which was led by Julius Nyerere. He became the Prime Minister. On December 9th the same year Tanganyika achieved her independence.

In 1962 Nyerere resigned as Prime Minister and was succeed-
ed by Rashidi Kawawa. Nyerere was then elected president and on 9 December 1962 Tanganyika became a republic followed by Zanzibar a year later. In January 1964 the island's Arab-led minority government with its oppressive politics was overthrown by the people of Zanzibar and Pemba. An African government was formed and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) gained control under Sheikh A.A. Karume. In April the same year Tanganyika and Zanzibar were united and the United Republic of Tanzania was born.

Nimtz's findings stress Islam's important role in the nationalist struggle in the Bagamoyo District. According to him, Islam car-
rried politically out its role through the involvement of the tariqa with an overwhelmingly African leadership. Islam had a capability to play down ethnicity (1980, 91, 176, 181).
Conclusions on tribalism and the integrating force of Islam

The British inherited the German system of provinces and districts. This racially and socially stratified system – being one political system – divided the population into natives and non-natives. During British rule several administrative units were reorganized and a number of new ones were created. These were territorially defined Districts grouped into Provinces – later renamed Regions.

The administrators continued the German division of Africans into categories. They marked out units of groups whose trading and social networks were narrowed as they were clustered together in 'tribes'. The rulers conceived these groups as being analogous to pre-colonial social formations. Created ethnic groups were not necessarily socially homogeneous units since fission and fusion of groups of people had always taken place in the territory.

Admittedly, a similar view on African social reality was strongly present already among the German administrators. Indirect rule, however, emphasized the use of native traditional institutions as a method of local administration.

The new masters thought that administration through the German-trained officials maakida had accelerated the disintegration of 'tribal custom'. These had therefore to be substituted by native authority. A weakening of 'tribal structures' due to uprisings and wars against German colonial rule was also, according to the British, leading to growing nationalism in the colony. Through indirect rule Sir Donald Cameron, Governor of Tanganyika from 1925-31 hoped "to create a class of parochial 'tribal' rulers who could be manipulated by British administrators" (Graham, 1976, 3). The hierarchy of cultures in the colonial society was a reflection of the social hierarchy.

The British considered 'tribes' as units sharing a certain number of characteristics distinguishing them from each other: territory, history, language and customs. In the Bagamoyo District, like elsewhere in the colony, social units were split or disunited into tribes. The district was accordingly sliced into tribal divisions:
the tribal division Ukwere belonged to the Kwere while Uzigua belonged to the Zigua. According to the ideology of indirect rule, district boundaries were supposed to coincide with major tribal divisions and tribes were forbidden to move to other tribal areas. Field officers were supposed to discover or establish chiefs for each tribe.

The idea of reviving tribal institutions was difficult to adapt in Bagamoyo District where no corresponding political organization had existed. It was impossible to find tribal history and tribal customs which in practice did not exist. This implied contradictions. Appointed native authorities invented tribal history and used it in their competition for political posts on the local level claiming e.g. different areas. Ethnicity was given a social significance and was used to achieve economic and political gains for oneself. The native authorities – under the supervision of the administrative officers of the government – controlled a number of social and economic matters in the tribal areas. There were violations of social everyday culture.

Leaders of tribal associations and unions manipulated culture to gain political power for themselves or for their communities. As a phenomenon tribalism spread to others and was accompanied by appointments, replacements and dismissal of native authorities. In this process ethnicity manifested itself through culture: language, customs and origin were used to articulate contrasting 'tribal' identifications. Arguably, clan symbols which in this way spread as tribal symbols resulted in forms which already, depending on the situation, emphasized the continuity of a 'tribe' and not of a clan.

The dialectics of social processes and culture – content and form – being interrelated but reflecting basically different phenomena is exemplified by the premises of the colonial society. These affected the changing socio-economic formation of social networks resulting in an increased social significance of ethnicity. In a functional dimension, cultural distinctions between different established social units within this common system of interaction were primary. In other words, they decided the social status of individuals or groups. Ethnic consciousness, as a social
phenomenon became socially significant and it emerged through interaction between groups in the colonial society.

Tribalism as a social phenomenon was in essence not related to pre-colonial forms of social organization. Social processes often reflected a struggle between different 'tribes'. Arguably, in this process Islam proved capable of socially integrating people torn by disruptive forces. Cutting across a number of spheres of social life Islam had increasingly become an alternative to former cultural and political authority. Suggesting this, education, to be more specific Native Authority schools, founded by Muslim majumbe, proved to play an important role in this respect.

Although education remained largely with the missionaries, secular education was provided e.g. by the Native Authority schools which did not demand proselytization. The existence of these depended on local initiatives. They became very popular.

It is noteworthy that the exchange of people and goods between the hinterland and the coast had a long history. As a consequence Islamic elements had come to the hinterland through kin relationships and adjusted to local culture. The reader may recall that in the late pre-colonial period Muslim and indigenous leaders occasionally united in resisting external pressure. During the German colonization Islamic influences became increasingly prominent in the Bagamoyo District and cultural forms of Islam were expressed in local societies. After the Maji Maji wars a majority of the leaders of the Muslim brotherhoods – forming central political institutions in the Muslim community – were Africans. The tariqa leaders gained many adherents when Bagamoyo became a major centre of Islam in East Africa.

It was in the interest of Muslims who had gained power, to compete for offices as native authorities. These majumbe strengthened their authority through Islam and created networks of patronage. They were urged by the government to start Native Authority schools, a task that they fulfilled far beyond expectations. This was a way of fostering the coming generation.

Thus, Islam continued to be an integrating force. It consolidated its position in the political sphere, obstructing ethnicity. The Bagamoyo branch of the African Association, the forerunner
of the Tanganyika African National Union, became very strongly associated with Qadiriyya. This was also evident during the nationalist struggle in the Bagamoyo District as Islam performed its political function through the *tariqa*.

**Notes**

1 Iliffe, 1979, 321. He quotes Cameron from "Native Administration", 16 July 1925, Tanzania National Archives 777/20.
2 Donner, 1996.
4 See section 1:2:2.
6 Charles Dundas was the Secretary for Native Affairs under Governor Cameron.
7 Cf. the situation in the Njombe District of the Southern Highlands Province, where the District Officers recognized the absence of "chiefs" in the 1920s.
8 Contrary to the census of 1948, a complete count of the population of Tanganyika was not achieved in the 1931 census. Tauber, Irene B: *Report on the population of Trust Territories*. Office of Population Research. Princeton University, n.d., 18.
10 Southern Highlands Province "Provincial Circular No 1", February 1926 (Graham, *op.cit.*).
11 Although British anthropology considered that it could be useful for the colonial administration, Kuper says that British anthropologists were seldom used by colonial authorities. District Commissioners considered that they "knew" 'the native' better than the anthropologists who, unlike the officials, spent perhaps only a year in the colony. There was suspicion from both sides as well as different commitments to applied research vs. theoretical studies (1993, 97-116). A discussion about British anthropology and colonialism goes beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say, that during the thirties anthropologists started to adopt a sociological structural approach side by side with the functionalist tradition. See Adam Kuper (1993): *Anthropology and Anthropologists*, especially chapter 4 "Anthropology and colonialism".
12 Sing. *mndewa*.  

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14 Cf. IV:5 and III:5:1.
15 For the sake of convenience, I have used "D" for Donner and "N" for Nasoro in the dialogue of the quote In other respects the text is intact.
16 The utterance "the time of the akida" refers, despite the mentioning of the akida, to the time of indirect rule (and there were maakida in the beginning) since the text below clearly indicates the role and duty of the jumbe.
18 Senior Provincial Commissioner F. Longland. Eastern Province (ARPC 1938, 19).
19 The tribal division Udoe was an exception The previous headman muwe was allowed to continue here.
20 The Bagamoyo District Books and the Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners (Eastern Province).
21 Quote from Mohamed Kawambwa and others to P. C. Eastern, 20 May 1944, TNA 61/561/1/1 in, Iliffe, 1969, 146.
22 Admittedly, the bigger the tribal units were or the more socially integrated they were before being included into the common socio-economic system – the colony – the more powerful they were in manifesting tribalism.
23 References for this and the following two sentences: Bulletin No. 396, 1923; Vol. XVIII, 1923-24, 283-284.
25 The "adaptation" philosophy is associated with the Phelps-Stokes commissions which visited East and Central Africa in 1924. The commissions were supported by the government and inspired by the missionary work. Several documents and memoranda between 1925 and 1960 developed the philosophy of adaptation. In these reports different aspects of education e.g. the integration of the education of the youth and the adult communities were dealt with (see Thompson, 1968, 17-32).
26 The sources do not contain any example from Bagamoyo District. For Mwanza District, see Dubbeldam, 14-15, 1970.
27 See Wright, 1976, 68-70 who gives an example of a tribal approach experiment in a school in Southern Highlands.
28 The "coastal plain" included the districts of Bagamoyo, Temebke, Dar es Salaam and Rufiji and the island of Mafia (ARPC, 1938, 18).
29 ARPC 1941, 14. For this and the following paragraph also BDB, II /269-272/.
30 The village schools (Standards I-IV) were later converted into district schools.
31 The quotation is from ARPC, 1947, 35.
32 There were totally 41 Native Authority schools in Tanganyika in 1939.
33 Since 1949 the colonial administration had had a staff of three full time anthropologists Officially they were described as sociologists (Hailey, 1957, 61).
34 The annual contribution to the missionary schools rose during 1923-1949 from nothing to $ 285,000 in Tanganyika (Olliver, 1952, 277).
35 According to Iliffe, who mentions Mambo lea, September 1931 as his source, there is no record for the society's formation It seems to have

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been founded in 1929 (1979, 406).

36 Also called Tanganyika African Association (TAA). Note that the formulation of the association's name is rather sharp in the Swahili version as compared to the neutral "African Association" in English. It literally shows that the mentors were the real inhabitants of Africa.

37 Morris-Hale, 1969, 293. See also ARPC 1930, 20-21. From the beginning of British rule western-educated Africans had formed social societies but unlike AA they had not become national bodies (Morris-Hale op.cit. 292). The earliest one was The Tanganyika Territory African Civil Services Association (founded 1922) which brought together both Christian and Muslim civil servants in Tanga. A welfare organization it also functioned as a trade union. Its Dar es Salaam branch formed one of the nuclei of the TAA (Iliffe, 1973, 73-74; 1979, 267).

38 Excerpt from the Minutes of the 3rd Conference of the African Association, held at Dodoma, 29 March to 3 April 1945, pp 1-11 (Morris-Hale, op.cit., 296).

39 These are the 1944 figures and based on Nimtz, 1980. He also says that "the Shomvi-Shirazi had not always identified with the Africans". The Germans included the Shomvi-Shirazi in the "native" i.e. African category. They also classified them as "coloureds" (1980, 147-148, 110).


41 We may recall that Shaykh Ramyia was the first African luwali of Bagamoyo.

42 The Sultanate may have started the process, but the Zanzibar's rulers were outsiders too – non-Sunni Muslims. Nimtz says: "The outcome of the mass conversion was the creation of the Arab-African cleavage whose roots lay on the attitudes that coastal Arabs had about the peoples they enslaved". (op.cit., 185).

43 E.g. the Pangani and the Bagamoyo districts.
INDEPENDENT TANZANIA
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNICITY AFTER INDEPENDENCE

In the previous chapters on the development of ethnicity during the pre-colonial and colonial periods I have shown that ethnic identification in the Bagamoyo District manifested itself through culture. Objective ethnicity in the pre-colonial period developed into a subjective consciousness. This trend reached its peak during the colonial period.

During the independence struggle tribalism met opposition through the activities of the African Association and TANU. When the Arusha Declaration was issued with its appeal for a common Tanzanian national identity the new political leadership, obviously, could not erase tribalism over night. The implications of colonial manipulation of ethnicity were evident. In Zanzibar, for instance, President Karume forbade a number of ethnonyms used by the British. According to Karume, all people in Zanzibar were *wana wa Afro-Shirazi*.¹ It is noteworthy, however, that Karume issued a prohibition of this ethnonym in the late 1960s.² The question is whether a socialist policy can erase ethnic contradictions – an issue which came to the fore in European socialist countries after nearly a century of socialist rule.

The approach applied in the Jipemoyo Project emphasized people as subjects of historical events (Cf. I:4:2). This meets Eric J. Hobsbawm's recent suggestion that "nations and their associat-
ed phenomena"³ should be regarded as dual phenomena (1995, 10). Constructed from above these phenomena "cannot be understood unless also analyzed from below".⁴ This means that it is important to analyze how ordinary persons – not nationalists or national activists – conceptualize ethnicity. Admittedly, Hobsbawm talks about ordinary persons as "objects", in this process. However, as imaginers of "nations and their associated phenomena", they are social actors, subjects of historical happenings.

VI:1 Sharing culture

Most of the societies occupying a continuous geographical area in the Bagamoyo District are predominantly matrilineal and have many other social features in common. As early as in 1870, during his trip in this and adjacent districts, Father Horner of the Holy Ghost Fathers wrote that "the inhabitants of Ukami, Kutu, Usagara, Ukwere, and Uzaramo understand easily each other" (1873, 134). Thus, the Zigua, Kwere, Zaramo and Luguru living in the research area have similar languages, material culture and environmental conditions. Also their traditional political and kinship systems as well as terminological, religious and cosmological systems are related (Beidelman, op.cit.). Two stories from the oral tradition narrate that some of the Kwere people, for example, are from Uziguia where they first settled. According to a third story, the Kwere originate from Luguru³ (Muro, 1979, 15-17). There are also small but important colonies of non-matrilineal peoples, for example the Doe, who have migrated into the area. They are culturally quite close to their matrilineal neighbours. The Doe are patrilineal, as are the Parakuyo, who are pastoralists and constitute the 'ethnic minority' of the area.

Our two important questions on the problem of sharing culture, 1) What is actually shared on a national level? and, 2) How is it shared? are relevant here. We can, on the one hand, talk about a normative cultural capital, and on the other hand about an everyday national sharing of knowledge, memories and symbols although the boundary between these "cultural capitals" might be difficult to establish (Löfgren, op.cit., 13). The normative
culture deals with things that in our context could be expressed as 'what every Tanzanian should know' a knowledge which denotes a kind of official public culture. The difficulty of separating normative and descriptive approaches in deciding what constitutes a national culture can be concretely studied by making up lists of cultural traits made for other individuals. The question concerns key symbols and key events which try to capture the essence of a national identity, in this case 'Tanzanianess'. Ultimately, however, it depends entirely on who is writing or preparing such a catalogue.

It is noteworthy, that the idea of the essence of culture as national identity lies not so much in what something is but the way that 'something' is used. Löfgren stresses that it is not, for example, "so much what people talk about but their way of talking..." (op. cit., 15; see also Jerman, 1991 (a), 8-9)).

VI:2 Evaluation analysis of ethnicity and Tanzanian identity

I will now discuss ethnicity and national identity in the light of analytical and folk evaluations side by side with political considerations in order to detect possible points of convergence between them. This type of distinction could be called evaluation analysis in relation to ethnicity and to Tanzanian identity. The empirical evidence supporting the discussion is mostly based on my fieldnotes.

If the discussion in chapter I holds true, we can state that in research on ethnicity as a phenomenon one must make a clear distinction between what Bohannan calls folk organization of "facts" (how people apprehend facts about themselves) and analytical organization (how researchers interpret facts which they have 'collected' in the 'field'). Since an analytical evaluation and people's own evaluation proceed from different premises due to different obligations (e.g. administrators' and anthropologists' various classifications), it is important for the researcher to articulate the concepts she uses. The task is thus to identify and explain 'key' terms by relating them to their content, i.e. "to reveal folk
systems of understanding by the creation of analytical systems of understanding" (op.cit., 1969, 14).

Interviews with villagers, mainly *wazee* on the general topic of *mila na desturi* [customs and traditions] naturally led to reflections on *kabila*, a word which had come into widespread use with the colonial division of people. The concept of *kabila* [tribe], was brought up for administrative purposes and became especially relevant on the coast among the Swahili-speaking people. The conceptualization of people in ethnic terms became deeply rooted in the cultural and socio-economic institutions. *Kabila* – what was its meaning?

One possibility to analyze apparently clashing considerations on the meaning of *kabila*, is to juxtapose a general meaning of *kabila* with meanings given to a specific *kabila*. These "folk evaluations", can lead us to the essence of ethnicity and cultural forms for its possible sharing.

It is worth mentioning that the ethnic classification system remained in use officially after independence up to the 1967 census which was the last one to ask the name of one's tribe *jina la kabila* – and to receive specific answers of ethnonyms. One ethnic classification, however, was in use as late as in the beginning of the 1980s: filling in forms for school or work required information on one's *kabila*. During this time, in a general sense, *kabila* meant a group of people who reside in a common area, share the same culture (traditions and customs) and language and have the same kind of social organization.

Such a 'definition' was based on a consensus of its use among officials and can be equated with general definitions on ethnic group which you find in anthropological dictionaries. These definitions combine both social and cultural criteria in distinguishing one group from another in a society and thus fill the criteria which were required to delineate a "tribe" in the colonial framework (Cf. Jerman, 1980, *passim*). Although they as such do not lead us anywhere, a closer analysis of the main elements commonly listed for *kabila* i.e. "common area, language, culture, folkways and these kind of things" suggests the essence in one's ethnic identity. The use of the concept and the meanings given to it by different
administrations through different periods, meanings which seem to have been commonly rooted in the minds of people, give an additional dimension to the folk meaning of *kabila*.

With the official abolishment of the term *kabila* the concept *jamii* [society] was introduced to be used in official matters (e.g. official reports) dealing with ethnic groups. Although it, as a term comes close to ethnic group or 'tribe', emphasizing a sharing of a common language, common values and culture, it differs from *kabila* on an emotional level. Whereas the existence of several *makabila* denotes a potential conflict between them if they came together, a group of several *jamii* connotes at least a sense of unity between them. The difference in connotations have historical reasons: *kabila* implies tribal divisions and *jamii* emphasizes national unity.

*Jamii* also denotes a process towards unity:

*Jamii* is an ethnic group...it could be some kind of a group with sharings, you know, the same values about specific things. Maybe they have the same interests, the same goal for, you know, social development.

The word *jamii* at least connotes some kind ...there can be some unity, at least there can be some relative argument, a certain level of argument among different jamii. It can, of course, be argued that the meaning given above to *jamii*, despite its emphasis on a process, simply replaces that of *kabila*. From a political perspective it is true. Yet, *jamii* brings in a sociological presentation of the Tanzanian population in contrast to the anthropological term *makabila* [tribes]. A unification of the *jamii* required thus, according to the informant, above all three key factors. These were a common language, political mobilization and a common political party "capable of maintaining the unity of different *jamii*" and an economic policy aiming at a reduction of social and regional inequalities. This suggests, that in an ethnic dimension the "unification of different *jamii*" implies above all a common Tanzanian culture and identity.

When dealing with nationalism as religion and metaphoric
kinship, Eriksen emphasizes the importance of symbols and meanings. According to him, they are crucial for ethnic ideologies like nationalism. The symbols used originate from cultural contexts which form an important part of people's everyday life (1993, 108). This idea is relevant in a Tanzanian national framework when we reflect on e.g. handicraft. What is the role of symbols related to handicraft in national culture?

Kiyenze writes, that apart from social uses handicraft always includes a symbolic component. He refers to the symbolic content of e.g. blacksmithing which is pithily described by Swantz:

Childbirth is likened to smithery by the Zaramo, as by many other ethnic groups.

At the process of smithing the smith sits on the ground with a pair of bellows made of animal skin. Through a metal pipe air is channelled to small pieces of coal on which the iron is heated and then taken and formed with a hammer on a piece of iron as an anvil near the ground. The heat of the ironmaking is likened to the heat of the mother and child in the process of childbirth. As the iron is melted in the ground under the glowing coals and shaped when red hot, so is the child when it comes out to the ground from the vagina of the mother, formed as a person but still full of the heat of its making. (1986, 289)

Kiyenze concretizes Tanzania's (cultural) identity by comparing it with Makonde sculptural designs which "have (also) been connected with the cultural and social life of the Makonde people" and associated with Makonde myths and rites. Although the symbolic aspect of Makonde carvings has declined due to commercialisation one can ask if the government's policy of promoting indigenous cultural activity in the form of artistic handicrafts is in contradiction with Kiyenze's recommendation that the designs "should comply with Tanzania's contemporary /socio-cultural/ life" (my emphasis; op.cit.).

Kiyenze discusses the Tanzanian way of life, as depicted in Makonde carving, in this way:

The Makonde started carvings which depicted the ujamaa policy. You know, they carve some sculpture with so many people living together... maybe one is holding a jembe [hoe], another one, maybe,
a pot of water, another one holding, maybe, a kind of winnowing basket... or winnowing of maize, another one maybe cutting some grass for basketry. They are making mainly carvings which reflect the kind of ujamaa way of life.18

Furthermore, according to Kiyenze, locally produced items based on local resources and reflecting a specific local culture (ethnic design) carry a Tanzanian identity. Items which carry at least "the Tanzanian way of life and Tanzanian political situation" (e.g. colours, material) show the change during different periods in Tanzanian history.

In other words, in the Makonde carvings old symbols are introduced to reflect a new situation. Some of the findings presented by Swantz in her large study about ritual and symbol as reflectors of change and transition are relevant here. Swantz' concluding remarks on the symbolic expression of a transitional society are of a primary concern here: "the symbols reflect change, but they also change themselves and are part of the process of transformation itself" (1986, 373). Also our definition of culture, implies that, the form, i.e. a piece of handicraft made out of a traditional material has persisted but the content has changed i.e. into ujamaa as an idea. To be more specific, the symbols of the (Makonde) society reflect change at the same time that they change themselves and this process applies both to the cultural form and content of their ujamaa handicraft.

A connection of identity and history can be illuminated by the development of handicrafts representing different ethnic groups in Tanzania. Kiyenze continues:

If one /the Tanzanian government/ would reject, for example, ethnic design, what we would call jamii design, then... they /the jamii/ completely loose their identity – then we have no national identity – which would make no sense.19

In this way Tanzanian identity is, as a process, juxtaposed to Tanzanian history. As brought to my attention the concept of historical consciousness has been developed by several Tanzanian historians, such as Kimambo, Temu, Katoke and Gwassa.20 Also Katoke and Lucas give a prominent place to historical conscious-
ness in their elaboration of a culture shared by Tanzanians (1975, 8-27). This aspect of Tanzanian history emphasizes people's response and initiative over centuries in bringing about change in Tanzania. The attempts of Tanzanians as social actors to influence and control the course of their history is seen as a result of Tanzanian identity.

VI.2.1 The meaning of kabila

In Chapter III we discussed "lands", "countries" and ethnicity in the local context during the pre-colonial period. The land of Uziga in a traditional sense seemed to indicate a socio-economic space and was made up of numerous "countries", ncbi [(Zi.) isi]. Although ncbi were related through the Ziga (who all stemmed from a common ancestor Seuta) they were divided through environment or deeds and served as a principle of social organization.

As we soon will see, wazee provide us with explanations of this principle not only when they discuss ncbi or the relationship between ncbi and koo [clans] as such but also when they examine the meaning of kabila. In the following I will present some of their interpretations of existing old ideological systems.

Let us consider some comments presented by three men (two wazee and one young man, kitana) during a market day in Miono in April 1977. Together with an elderly man, Juma Waziri, who agreed to have a talk with me and my Tanzanian colleague, Daudi Kitolero, we sat down under a tree near the market place. Waziri had come from Kwanyangu (a neighbouring village at some distance from Miono) to sell chairs at the market. Having reached the age of almost 70 years he recalled the first world war period when he was a young man.

We asked him about the meaning of the word kabila and he explained:

The Zigua tribe has a distant origin. Long ago the people left the high lands and came to this area. The meaning of Miono is Minyonyo. That is the very areas which they divided between themselves in the olden days. (UTAf 1977/22.139)
He then continued by telling us that there are three types of Zigua rites\textsuperscript{24} connected with the ancestral obligation of \textit{jadi}. The first one is \textit{Lomotuwa}: a millet \textit{upumba} is cooked in the evening and the next morning a ceremony is performed. The second one is \textit{Mzimu wa Kisasa}\textsuperscript{25}: the spirit is brought about by slaughtering a black hen which is roasted and eaten with \textit{ugali}.\textsuperscript{26} The third rite is \textit{Pombe ya kufurabisha}.\textsuperscript{27} This local beer is offered in gratitude to the spirits of the dead.

When we asked Waziri what would happen to those who would not follow the ancestral obligation, he said:

\begin{quote}
    somebody might get ill. For example, yesterday they performed a rain rite, \textit{tinga} (Zi.). A child of your household might become sick /if the rite is not performed/. (UTAf 1977/22.14)
\end{quote}

He also said that the \textit{tambiko} [offer rite or ancestral rite] differs from that of other tribes; the Zigua, for example, are cultivating with a hoe of mpingo wood: "these differences originate from our ancestors, we don't know the reason for this".

Juma Waziri's third comment on the meaning of the word \textit{kabila}, which according to him, meant the Zigua, had to do with \textit{koo} [clan]:

\begin{quote}
    the people in Miono is a mixture of different clans: Mlampungwi, Mlamiono, Mlanyangu. They all belong to one tribe but their \textit{mwiko} [taboo] differ. But 'Kisasa' is one of their common regulations, another one is the taboo attached to the \textit{ngoma} /called/ mangala. The interpretation of 'mangala' is 'to call for a ritual specialist and to dance until the sun rises. It is the end of a burial.' (UTAF 1977/22.14-15)
\end{quote}

Mzee Rajabu bin Ali from Kimange (another nearby village) who joined the discussion offered us the following explanation of the word Zigua:

\begin{quote}
    From whom do they originate? It is one tribe but they have separated because of living localities. Zigua, they are all from /U/nguu/the country of the hills/. Seuta is the centre of everything. If you are giving birth to a male child you present him /to the community/ with a bow, and a female child is presented with a grinding pole. (UTAf 1977/22.16)
\end{quote}
Rabaju Ali stressed particularly strongly that the tribe is one, although it is divided, because of small settlements or villages. This observation tallies with the one given by Juma Waziri and can be considered a standard reply when the issue was brought up in discussions with other villagers as well. Like Juma Waziri, he mentioned the importance of the up-country Nguu, which is connected with Seuta, the head ancestor of the Zigua.

Another villager stressed that the Seuta’s tradition comes from Unguu and that according to the oral tradition, Seuta, lived on a mountain which he named Setlas:

/Seuta/ was very traditional in this *nchi* [land or area] ... even when we are performing a ritual we say ‘Waseuta neugone’ ([Zi.] the people of Seuta rest]. (UTA 1977/47.2)

Setlas was renamed Handeni with the spread of the Swahili language and is considered the "home" for all the Zigua (*ibid.*).²⁸

The *reason* why they are called Wazigua stemmed, according to Rajabu Ali, from their *jadi* [ancestral obligations] which differ from those of other people. He said that "waseuta ni wakina mama" [waseuta are women] and following their customs they were cooking in clay pots. The women, after moulding the pot, put it into the fire to harden it. They do this /perform this rite/ before using the pot to prevent it from breaking. The whole process is called *wanakizungua*. He said that people who came "from outside" named them wazigua according to this way of making the pot usable, which means that "they cannot do a particular thing until they have *kizindua* [performed a rite to make the pot usable] (UTAf 1977/22.16). The performance of the rite obviously signifies that harmful powers are taken away from the pot so that it becomes usable. *Kabila*, according to Rajabu Ali was just a saying, a word.

Erasto Mei, a bee officer in Miono, who had during these last comments also joined our company explained instantly the meaning of *kabila*, which according to him was a "group of people having the same language". This young man like the old men, presented us his version of the myth of origin of the Zigua name. He too identified *kabila* with his own *kabila*.
Although it is true that there are a number of versions explaining how the Ziga got their name\textsuperscript{29} the oral traditions narrate that the name has always been given by "other" people. According to Erasto Mei, there was only one tribe in Miono, but the people consisted of a number of clans attached to different \textit{ncbi} [areas]. It was according to these areas that people identified themselves:

Those of Rupungwi, of Mpanga, of Mwempoto, or Tunduguo, of Nyangu, of Vuma, of Manda. That is how the pieces were divided. They have come from areas\textsuperscript{30} in the nearest neighbourhood. When these people get children they are giving birth to them according to their home areas. Everyone is giving birth according to the same name, so that it would not disappear. These names can be found in every Ziga district. (UTAf 1977/22.17)

The bee officer agreed with the \textit{uazee} on the origin of the Ziga people. He considered the division of land among the Ziga a very important process. It is noteworthy that Seuta and his sisters’ offspring eventually were spread over different areas: according to the tradition they gave birth to a boy and a girl who then formed families in their turn by giving birth to a boy and a girl and so on. Also the emphasis put on the continuity in these families or groups is significant.

According to the above-mentioned informants these groups were all Ziga, since Seuta was their ancestor, despite their separation from each other. Were they different from each other? An explanation given by \textit{Mzee} Omari Mboko to Philip Donner in a discussion on the origin of the Ziga deserves to be quoted here:

They spread everywhere. One group split from the others. When they were looked for they were found in the valley ("bondeni"). And so they were told: 'these are then the Bondei'. Another group split. And they were looked for. Seuta said: 'Spread yourself ("sambaeni"), go and meet those people, that group which split from the others'. When they had scattered, they went along and found them /that group/ there in the mountains. And they said: 'these are then the Sambaas'... One group after another took off to different areas. Yet, every group that split was Ziguan. They were all of the same Seuta. Although they in this way formed different groups of people, they were Ziga and descended from Seuta. (UTA 1978/n.n.)
The interesting point here is that people called 'Bondei' and 'Sambaa' were categorized as *makabila* ['tribes'] by the colonial administration. As "tribes" they were distinguished from the "tribe" of Zigua.

Bearing in mind the conceptualizations of *nchi* we can thus draw the following conclusions from the discussion above. As an identity, Zigua is anchored in *nchi* and the clans' attachment to these. This Ziguan identity brings about different cultural implications. In this sense *kabila*, ['tribe'] as such, loses importance for our informants: it is just "a saying", a word. Zigua – as a *kabila* – implies identification with clans. *Nchi* is thus a factor which creates your identity and this identity presupposes a relationship between people and their locality. Culturally this relationship is articulated in rituals or, in a wider sense, in ancestral obligations. In other words this relationship implies common history and a feeling of oneness.

The special relationship of people and localities and the cultural articulation of this relationship thus forms the identity of a person who considers himself a Zigua. Thus the concept of *kabila* as understood in an administrative framework is far from the meaning assigned to it above. However, the fact that an ethnic identity, here the Zigua identity, exists as a group identification, immediately raises the question of how a specific ethnic identity relates to other specific ethnic identities. This leads us to the question about *commonality* versus *divisions* as imagined or experienced in discussions about ethnicity. In fact, people differentiate between these two dimensions of ethnic consciousness which are not necessarily in opposition to each other. They do this specifically when the discussion moves to the meaning of a *specific kabila*, i.e. Zigua, Kwere, Doe, Parakuyo.

Before dealing with this 'dualism', I will present some additional examples on the cultural manifestation of an ethnic identity in order to support the previous analysis. Some cultural implications of ethnicity which are linked to the ancestral obligation *jadi*, will be pointed out.
VI:2:2 Cultural implications of ethnicity
According to folk evaluation, important rituals connected to the Zigua ethnic identity are the birth rituals (which are different for men and women) followed by the female puberty rite Kisazi and the Mbenga funeral rites. The performing of tambiko, offerings, are significant rituals as well.

The birth rites are in Mzee Nasoro’s words maneno ya jadi kabisa [very strong traditional words]. They are a must, ni lazi-ma, for every Zigua, meaning that every Zigua has to go through these rites. Leaning on a description given by Mzee Mbaruko the birth rituals are as follows: According to jadi of Mzigu, when the male child has become balebe [reached puberty], he goes to his uncle. The uncle would find him a mtoto kigori [a girl child, pre-pubertal]. After agreement with the kigori’s family, the girl is taken to this young boy. When the girl becomes pregnant and gives birth to a child the following takes place:

If the child is a girl, the mother’s younger sister will make a mchi na kinu [pestle and mortar] and give it to the child. After seven days (when the navel-string comes loose) on this very same day (the seventh day after the birth), the child is shown /presented to her community/ together with the mchi. If the child is a male and when his navel-string has come loose – mtoto anatolewa nje [the child is brought out]. He will be given a upinde na msbale [bow and arrow], which have been made either by the younger or older brother of the child’s father. (UTAf 1977/22.103-104)

When a child has got two teeth in her/his upper and lower cheek, a rite of cutting the hair of the mother and the child is carried out.

One of the wives of our neighbour in Miono said: bakuna mwiko tena ya kunoa [/by this time/ there is no more a taboo of shaving]. The hair cutting is closely linked to the birth rituals already described: after the cutting, the mother cuts off a white bead necklace usbanga which has been around the child’s neck since “his seventh day”, i.e. the day when he for the first time appeared in public. This is the day when the lukuvu navel-string has fallen off.
Donner writes in his fieldnotes:

/she said that/ this was their mila [tradition]... She said that if mzee /her husband/ wouldn't come she would cut the hair herself. But mzee came and he started cutting the hair with a wembe [razor blade]. He started with Mama T. /the mother/. After a while he said bii ni mila yetu [this is our tradition]. (UTAf 1977/05.96 PhD)

During the hair cutting, mzee let understand that it is the task of the woman's uncle i.e. her mwigazi [(Zi.) mother's brother] to carry out the hair cutting. However, the uncle had given him the permission to cut the hair under the condition that mzee would pay two shillings or an "amount" of rough maize, in this case ungo moja, a big flat basket which is used when the maize is dried. The discussion between mzee, Donner /and mama T./ continued:

Donner: – What happens if this is not carried out?

Mzee: – If you haven't gone to the mwigazi, and the person gets ill, then there are /certain things/ to be discussed with the uncle of the person concerned.

Donner: – Can you tell me more about this?

Mzee: – If a child is ill the /uncle/ isn't allowed to go there, until the matter is settled among the elders /baraza of the Zigua/. They must grab a chicken /for slaughter/ and the elders should get two shillings /altogether/. That is your fine. Thereafter you will cooperate in /taking care of/ that disease. (UTAf 1977/05. 96-100 PhD)

This suggests that the rite of hair cutting and related 'fines' are an essential part of the local society with economic and cultural implications.

The traditional education of Zigua girls, when they reach the age of puberty, comprises a number of rituals which aim at preparing the girls for adulthood. The girls learn, for example, basic knowledge relating to womanhood. A ritual called kisazi ends this period of education. Kisazi is the rite when a girl comes out of seclusion and it takes the form of a ngoma. The girls show that
they can perform the *ngoma ya selo* which is an essential part of
the puberty education (Donner, 1978).

A discussion with two young Zigua mothers about the lan-
guage they speak with their children regarded also the topic of
*kisazi*. They revealed that they had both gone through it: "it is a
*lazima*, a must!" The reason to this, as they said, is because the
Zigua have only one *ngoma*: "*ni ngoma moja kisazi*" (UTAf
1977/22.72).

*Selo* is taught by a *ngoma* specialist, called *fundi*. After the
harvest is over girls meet at the house of the *fundi* almost every
evening for instruction (Donner, 1978).

Like the Zigua girls, the Kwere girls also undergo a seclusion
period during which their traditional education takes place. The
most important rite for the girls to come out is called *mkore* or
*mkole* (see Wembah-Rashid, 1970, 1-4). According to *Mzee
Mohammed Towakawi in the village of Chalinze, this *ngoma ya
mwali* => a *ngoma* of a girl who has reached puberty stage, was
central to Kwere customs. And he added: "We have our tradition
*jadi*: we are born, we grow, we marry a good wife..." (UTAf
1977/12.01 MLS).

It is noteworthy that *kisazi* is performed under the mgongo
tree. However, if there is no, the rite takes place under an other
tree, but a branch of mgongo is fastened to the ground. Mgongo
is considered very fruitful and it is said that in past times, when
the fruits of the tree were ripe, elephants "encamped" under the
tree. Children love the fruits of mgongo (Grohs, 1980, 75, 79). In
the same way, mkole is the tree of central symbolic significance
during the coming-out rite for the Kwere girls.33

Mkole is also of great symbolic significance to the Zaramo.
Thus, a specific tree distinguishes neighboring 'ethnic groups'
from each other – groups who in other respects are similar. As
with the mgongo tree, the symbolism of mkole is bound to ele-
phants. Swantz writes:

> It is said that elephants hid within mkole woods when they had
their periods or when their offspring were very young. They
enclosed the area around them by tying mkole branches together.
Zaramo women ...would have known their /elephants'/... similar life
Picture 40. Selo dancers performing metaphorical drama at the doorstep of the mwalt's house. – Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.
Picture 41. Mwali at her coming-out is carried on the back of a relative around her home before performing ngoma ya selo. – Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.
span, their long gestation periods, their practices of burying the
dead.... (Swantz, 1985, 47)

Elephants are no more part of everyday life among these formerly
elephant-hunting people. Yet, the ancient connection between
these people and the elephants is still present in women's songs
of instruction to the pubertal girl (Swantz, ibid.).

The social significance of ritual initiation into adulthood was
evident in a number of villages of the western Bagamoyo District
during 1975-1985. The strength of the tradition of ritual initia-
tion for both boys and girls was observed by Ulla Vuorela in
Msoga village:

So far, practically every child in Msoga village goes through the out-
coming ritual, and every girl goes through a period of seclusion,
which for most of them lasts for about one year. (Vuorela, 1987,
117)

I was present at a number of ngoma ya selo lessons during which
Philip Donner participated as a mwanafungi [pupil] of Juma
Nasoro, with the intention of becoming a specialist dancer.
Occasionally, the audience numbered about 15 persons in the

![Image: Picture 42. Ngoma ya mkole in Hondogo. – Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.](image-url)
frontyard of Juma Nasoro's house. People were sitting on chairs and on the ground. Some of the children slept on the ground wrapped in *khanga*. Darkness encompassed the *selo* group although the nights were starlit. The light from the fire threw long shades in the yard. During a lesson, which takes about two hours, the girl(s) exercise(s) some recurrent dance movements under the instruction of the *fundī*. The purpose of the exercise is to be able to master all parts of the body and thus become fit for family life (Donner, 1978).

The nightly instruction of *ngoma ya selo* is a social happening. It attracts as well as involves young and old family members of the *mwali*. While the *fundī* plays on one of the two drums and is mainly responsible for the singing, a male assistant played the second drum. The female relatives of the *mwali* respond to the *fundī* with singing and playing with the *kopo*. They also cheer the girl(s) with dance movements.

The lessons seem to be strongly anchored in the local society. This is maintained by the fact that even small girls around the age of five often participate together with their older sisters (or in case their sisters are ill, instead of them) in the lessons. I noticed during at least two occasions, how they, properly clad in skirts of straw over a *khanga*, with *mbuji* [ankle bells] around their wrists and in *mbega* winglike elbow garments, actively took part in the lesson (UTAF 1977/22.21-22, 81-83, 115-117).

The fact that *selo* was taught in many primary schools in the research area indicates that it was rooted in the wider society and also in the educational policies of the government. *Ngoma* competitions is (was) another aspect of this policy. In 1978 *ngoma* competitions took place in Tanzania. The aim of these competitions was to choose the best dance groups for the first anniversary of the CCM party. According to Donner, the local teachers introduced some new features in the performance. The pupils were, for example, dressed in uniforms. There was also new metrics in the song texts, uniform patterns of movements and rephrasing of political handbooks. The songs were performed in Swahili. This is an expression of how national discipline and mechanical political thinking interact with subtle local patterns.
It is important to note, that after the *kisazi* ritual the girl is allowed to perform the dance in public only while unmarried. After marriage it is no longer considered proper for her to perform this dance. A married woman is not allowed by her husband to attend nightly ventures. Besides, a married woman who does not participate in dance exercises soon becomes stiff. This is the reason why all the best dancers are men (Donner, 1978, and personal information, 1994).

As a cultural implication of ethnicity the *tambiko* should also be mentioned. A number of people drew our attention to this matter. To get rain – as a consequence of performing *tambiko* was embraced by many people in Miono (UTAf 1977/22.11). As a matter of fact, one of the most serious problems in the western Bagamoyo District was the lack of drinkable water. Due to a great concentration of people in the villages the need, of not only land but also water, was acute. Lack of water was a question of drought and decrease in rainfall and the fact that the sources in use were unsuitable for human consumption. However, sheer economic reasons had stopped a plan drawn by the Regional water engineer to pump water from Wami river to Pongwe hill and bring it down to the villages (Swantz, 1980, 17-19).

The shortage of rain in Miono in May 1977 was, according to *Mzee* Mbaruko, due to the fact that *tambiko* had been performed too early before the last rain. He also said that if the two trees *Mfuna* and *Mkwelangala* now would split of dryness the year would become bad (UTAf 1977/22.62).

As a cultural manifestation the performing of rain rituals was connected to the special relationship of people to their environment. *Tambiko* was also performed in the case of illness.

*Mzee* Juina Mohamed says:

Now you are ill – loooooo! A person goes to a *mganga* to check the problem through *lamli* [foreseeing]. You look at the *lamli*. Now that *lamli* will tell us – looooo! That ill person has a *mzimu* [ancestral spirit]. That *mzimu* – what should the ill person do? The spirit says you have to go to make a *tambiko*. What kind of *tambiko*? There is *Kisasa*, there is *Lumotwa*, there is *Mbugi*. Now, one of these *tambiko* which comes our way... we cooperate with that
Picture 43. Saving water. – Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.
tambiko. We shall perform the tambiko two days, three, until you feel well – you say, eehh, that is mzimu. He is well now. So. (UTA 1977/48.3-4)

According to Juma Mohamed tambiko is not only performed among the Zigua: "it is also done by the Doe. Even by the Nyamwezi it is there." The differences of these tambiko hinge upon, as he says, if you are from different areas and speak different languages. For the Zigua the custom is local, "here". Hence, although the locally specific tambiko can be considered a watershed between traditions of people, it does not mean that it divides people.

Juma Mohamed compared people who had come from neighbouring areas and even towns with "pure" Zigua who lived in Miono. Although he considered that both these groups shared similar traditions he said:

But we also have – aaaaah – this one /who/ has a jadi of Kwere, but he will say 'Aaaah, I am a Mzigu'. You meet this person – aaaa – I am a Doe, that one is a Doe, but you will meet – mmmmm – then it becomes a matter of custom. (UTA 1977/47.4)

![Picture 44. Tambiko at Binti Omari's house. Offering tambiko during a meeting of the waganga [specialists of traditional medicine] of Miono neighbourhood. – Photo Philip Donner 1976. JPA.](image-url)
He ended his commentary by mentioning different ngoma for a
girl from the time she is born until she has gone through the
kitsazi ritual.

One of my Tanzanian colleagues articulated Juma Mohamed's
reflection saying, that although a person thinks that he really is a
Zigua /maybe others do not/ it is beneficial to belong to a major-
ity kabila in an area in case that person, for example, falls ill.
Otherwise there is a risk not to get ritual help from a mganga, a
traditional healer.

Analytically, Juma Mohamed's argument leads us to what we
pointed out earlier: an ethnic identity is fixed in the special rela-
tionship of people and their environments and the cultural impli-
cations which flow from that relationship.

I have above presented a number of rituals and traditions as
cultural manifestations of ethnic identities. Important to note is
that these rituals, according to folk evaluation, do not divide peo-
ple as such. On the contrary, the informants stressed that all mak-
abila have these rituals. This is in contradiction with the essence
of colonial ethnic segregation, which considered cultural mani-
festations the main factors dividing "tribes" from each other.

A woman, when comparing Doe, Kwere, Zigua and Nguu,
thought that they were all different from each other. Still she said:
"Their practices are the same, in ngoma playing (rituals), in every
kabila it is the same". (UTA 1977/47.6). By this she meant, how-
ever, that the rituals among different clans and nchi are always
identical within a particular 'tribe'. Thus, instead of emphasizing
differences she chose to stress unity. A possible reason to this can
be found in a mzee's answer to the question "what do you call
those living outside Uzigua?"

Like we call the Kwere, those are Kwere. And there is this side when
you are going to Bagamoyo, the Doe. Now, those who came from
there and liked this place, when they come they tell you /that/ they
are Zigua. But we know that the person is a Kwere. He has simply
lived here and got used. When a Zigua goes to Kwere area he, too,
sometimes says he is a Kwere. That person is in fact not a Kwere,
he is a Zigua from Miono. Him? (UTA 1977/47.9)
He continued by saying that the word *mgeni* [foreigner], meaning people who come from "outside", is used for Europeans=foreigners whereas they, themselves, have "lived together mixed" and were all neighbours. When he explained what it meant for them to be new in the area, he turned specifically to my Tanzanian colleague, a male. He hereby emphasized identity deriving from marriage instead of identity based on the belonging to an ethnic group:

Two three days, you get used and that is all. A person has come from there and married here. His name is (called) *Msendima*. You come from your home to marry my daughter here, so everybody from outside says *Kumnima*...it means you are son-in-law. Son-in-law is a person who is married to your daughter. You have come from there (your home) and you have come here in our place to marry my daughter. I call you son-in-law. And your father and me call each other *Kiyere*, that is our language, it is *kiyere*... I call you son-in-law. So in Zigua language I call you *Kuemlima* [(Sw.) kemnimal]. (UTA 1977/47.10)

As already mentioned, tribal boundaries during the native administration were often drawn between people who had similar traditions. People were used to acquire or even change ethnic identities in order to fit into the colonial administrative system.

Ethnic consciousness, based on *kabila*, developed in the colonial society since it became socially significant. Did the system interfere with people's identities, for example clan identities? From what has been said, it is evident that the relationship between *nchi* and clan is fundamental for one's identity. Juma Mohamed also suggests that this identity is adjusted through marriage. Marriage between specific *koo* serve the purpose of maintaining specific identities at the same time as marriage was/is considered impossible between some other clans (UTA 1977/47.7-8).

Put differently, ethnic consciousness with its origin in the colonial practice of classifying people as belonging to certain tribes does not interfere with identities based on clans. Rather, clan identities are intermingled with *kabila* identities. However, the folk evaluation of the meaning of *kabila*, in analytical terms certainly implies different historical and social dimensions. In this
way, we can talk of a complicated relationship between these two identities. A person may change kabila, but our material does not give any indications of a person’s possibility to change her/his clan.

Even if ethnic group identification does not appear to interfere with a clan identification, it is used as a self-referent. From an objective and subjective point of view ethnic group identification is real – notwithstanding its situational character. People make a clear-cut division (or divisions) between different ethnic groups especially when boundaries, different social modes of subsistence and language are brought into the discussion. In fact, people often stress both commonality and divisions at the same time.

VI.2.3 Commonality and divisions
The delineation of boundaries during the British native administration was a complicated issue for the district officers. However, once settled and given legal definition the boundaries marked out distinct tribal units. The question of borders, mipaka "stuck in their mind (peoples’) so much, so much, so hard, even during independence" as one of my Tanzanian counterparts put it. Thus, some of my observations suggested that an area inhabited mainly by a specific ethnic group determined a person’s ethnic identity (see e.g. UTAf 1977/22.26).

A few informants pondered on the meaning of kabila in terms of administrative concepts, indicating divisions. Indeed, they considered kabila as an instrument for division. A young man Abassi in Miono said: "Every tribe must have a name in order to distinguish between different people." He knew the mipaka wa Wazigua and named some places (UTAf 1977/26.11). Mzee Rajabu Rashidi, in his turn, was able to define the boundaries of the Zigua and establish the connection between certain places and the language spoken, he said:

Mkwaja imepakana na Pwani [Mkwaja borders to Pwani]. Mkange imepakana na Pwani [Mkange borders to Pwani]. Nguu na Zigua:[Nguu and Zigua] The language is similar in these places, although it is not the same. (UTAf 1977/26.13-14)
An elderly man also referred to the importance of the existence of tribes as opposed to animals which did not belong to such groupings or which did not have sheria, laws. However, for him kabila was to "feel at home, while being in another place". He stressed, that irrespective of where one was, one should not be different from what one was at home. In such a way "we (can) know each other" (UTAf 1977/22.40). Another man who considered the boundaries and the ngoma to be the most important in Kwere kabila even equated kabila with nchmi.44

Such ideas resembled the native administration's understanding of tribes and borders. This was actually not surprising since practices concerning former authority structures emanating from colonial times were maintained on the local level.45 The informants, for example, discussed in general how people in charge (in the research area) were the same as during the British period (see for example UTAf 1977/22.35 and 68). These people were recognized and respected at the village level and had a role to play in various social transactions and conciliations. During a discussion about a possible marriage between a Christian man (coming from elsewhere to the predominantly Muslim area of Miono and its surroundings) and a local Muslim girl, a villager commented on the role of the local "court" in the following way:

For a mkristo [Christian] it is impossible to marry a Muslim girl, he will be in sbida [difficulties]. But if she is really in love, they can go to the court and ask to be married (UTAf 1977/26.9)

A cultural officer commented on the former "chiefs" and "heads of (these) tribes" in the following way:

They are still contacted in cases, for instance, of divorce, in cases of somebody appropriating a neighbour's piece of land. So they are the authorities...even the courts – the wards and courts are usually calling for their advice on land questions. Because they know exactly where the boundaries used to run. They know, they are very old, and they know exactly. If somebody is wrong or if somebody is trying to rob his neighbour's land, they can tell exactly. Although their authority has declined, they are still a force in the traditional... 46 (My emphasis)
In the cases above we can thus point to historical dimensions of identity and locality: it is easy to assign an ethnic identity areal contents. During native administration this undertaking was conspicuous. Confrontations between people of different delineated areas, strengthened their ethnic self-image.

It is interesting to note, that when somebody mentioned ngoma and borders as the most important things for a certain kabila – he clearly saw borders as a division between makabila. Ngoma, on the other hand, was conceptualized in this context as something which was common for all makabila. At the same time, a specific ngoma, was considered to be an identifying factor for a specific kabila.

A man in the village of Lugoba (who considered himself a Kwere) visualized his understanding of kabila and its boundaries with a drawing. He took a stick and drew a square in the sand. Inside the square he drew several circles. He placed the names of Doe, Zigua, Zaramo, Luguru, Kami and Kwere makabila at proper distances from each other on three sides outside the square (the borders of the square). The circles inside the square represented, according to him, clans related to some of these makabila. He also drew some arrows from the makabila to the clan circles. He finished the drawing by placing a circle at the very centre of the picture and named it "wote", everybody. It is of course tempting to try to draw some conclusion about the meaning of this centrally placed circle. Does it stand for some universal commonality of people or simply a place from where all groups have emerged? I will not try to do this. I think that the drawing together with the man's comments revealed the relationship between the circles (clans) and the makabila. In a few cases the clans crossed each others' borders. This meant that people sharing a clan could belong to different makabila.

Ngoma, on the other hand, according to this man, differed for different makabila. He showed, for example, the different ways of Zaramo, Kwere and Zigua beating a drum. However, he also mentioned different corresponding ngoma among different people (UTAf 1977/26.49-52). This example is supported by a comment by a woman who emphasized sameness of practices with-
in different makabila.47

A very concrete manifestation of how kabila can be considered a specific mode of subsistence, in this case cultivation, was demonstrated by Mzee Mbaruko in Miono. During one of our discussions, which included some members of his family, i.e. his mother, his bi-mkubwa [first wife] and her daughter and his bi-mdogo [second wife], he also mentioned the importance of borders for kabila.

The discussion with the women revealed, that although mothers spoke both Swahili and Zigua with their children, the latter was more frequent. The first wife said: "tangu kumbembeleza mtoto mpaka kumwita" [from the time of the cradle until /the child understands/when he/she is called upon]. She meant that the mother only speaks Zigua during this stage and that the child knows more Zigua although it hears and understands Swahili. A similar language practice was mentioned by almost everybody I spoke with in Miono and its surroundings. This was also easy to observe at people's homes.

Bringing up children, women have thus a decisive role in the development of children's ethnic consciousness. In a wider perspective, one may argue that the women are an integral part of reproducing ethnicity in a local community.

After Mzee Mbaruko had told us about the birth rituals as part of their jadi I asked him what is kabila, kabila ni kitu gan? He did not respond to this question. He got up and entered his house. After a while he appeared with some things and said: "Important matters /things/ that make a Mzigua a real (full, complete) Mzigua."48

The instruments that Mbaruko brought from his house were: a panga, a hoe, an axe, a bow and an arrow, a bed end and a coil of locally handmade bed bottom. He also pointed at a big round clay pot used for storing water in the yard. First he named all the objects in Zigua and Swahili, some of them only in Zigua. He named even the details of the arrow and stressed that the little bow, mnenga (Zi.) should be made either of a tree called mpingo or other wood. It is given to the male child. The bow that he showed us was, however, to be made of a tree called mkole.49
The pestle, *mchi* is made of any wood and it is given to a female child.  

I continue quoting my fieldnotes:

When *Mzee* Mbaruko had brought all the implements, he sat down and said:

*Panga ni la maana sana kwa kufyeka* [for Zigua machete is the most important thing for clearing the bush].

And he continued: *Misbale na upinde ni silaha* [the bow and the arrow are weapons]. *Jembe ni kwa kulimia na sboka ni kwa kuka-tia kuni na mizizi* [Jembe is for cultivating and the axe is for cutting firewood and roots].

He took a stub and demonstrated how to use the axe for getting firewood. Mbaruko said that all these things are very important for the Zigua people because, as he said:

*Kimsingi Mzigua ni mkulima* [Basically the Zigua is a cultivator].

And he added: *Na ana mpaka yake kila pembe* [and he is having borders at every side].

*Mzee* took the *upinde* and *msbale* in his hands and wanted to show me how to shoot. He took a leaf of sisal, put it on the ground and shot tree times. Then he gave me the *upinde* and the *msbale* and instructed me how to shoot, enjoying himself very much. (UTAf 1977/22.99-108)

*Mzee* Mbaruko's demonstration of the things which, according to him, are necessary for making a Zigua a "complete" Zigua did not end here. He also took a stool *kitti* and said that every Zigua must have this *kitti*, because while making the (Zi.) *luzigi* he must sit on it. He showed how to sit on it when you make the *luzigi*.

About the big clay pot, already mentioned, Mzee Mbaruko simply said: "this is Zigua". When I asked mzee why he is a Zigua he said that, it was simply because he was of "this land". He would be a stranger living where the whites or the Indians live. However, with "this very place", as he also called it, he meant the place where his grand parents had built a house and where he had given birth to his children and grandchildren and where they, like their grand parents, would die. (UtAf 1977/22.111)

Mzee Mbaruko's idea of kabila, in identifying himself as a Zigua, coincides with the meaning given to it by Juma Waziri, Rajabu Ali and Erasto Mei (see pp. 277-281). Kabila is looked upon as one's own culture, tradition or jadi and it is associated with a ncbi. Mbaruko furthermore equates a special social mode of subsistence with a certain kabila. His point of view puts kabi-la in a new perspective, or gives it another dimension. This idea implies that the social mode might be a divisive one between several makabila.

Also other villagers' comments on the use of different niches within agriculture by different makabila is an indication of this. A man, while picking rice, stressed that it was called wabenga in Zigua. He emphasized that the rice was not "their's /the Zigua/ but the Zaramo's; their's is mabindt [maize]" (UTAf 1977/26.8-10). Another informant's comment about kabila integrates the above-mentioned dimension of ethnicity i.e. the social mode and its culture. He mentioned language as the primary reason for differences between people. According to him, even the pronunciations of a language differ from each other in different places. Secondly, he mentioned traditions which relate to the performances of puberty rites. He mentioned the kisazi of the Zigua and the mkole of the Kwere. Then he finally asked a rhetorical question: "why did we divide ourselves in this way?" "Differences in traditions; traditions vary according to environments" (UTAf 1977/26.28-30). Although he personally referred to "some traditionally Ziguan customs" like piercing the ears ("having 'ndewe") as reasons for his own ethnic identity, he considered language "the thing that makes the difference ...", (ibid.).

In sum, the informants considered, that different languages,
borders and different social modes divide different *makabila* from each other. To be more specific, an informant identifies *kabila* with his/her own *kabila*. This might be considered a form of ethnocentrism with roots in the colonial division of people into ethnic categories. In this sense, I suggest, and only in this, that *makabila* as such are considered a shared and imagined reality for people. Yet, the informants emphasize commonality among people *although* this commonality might be articulated in different ways. As we have seen, such a standpoint was flagrant when the *meaning* of a specific *kabila* was dealt with rather than what is *meant* with the term *kabila* itself.

An elderly man, who gave his opinion to Marja-Liisa Swantz' daughter Aili Tripp on her mother's i.e. that she is a human, puts the above in a nut-shell. Although this man, objectively, is considered a Zaramo, he said:

> But every person has his own place from where he comes. I am not a Zaramo. There are no Zaramo in Bunju or anywhere. (Quoted in Tripp, 1991, 53)

Because people, however, have adopted *makabila* as a means of classification, *makabila* refer to divisions among people. In the research area thinking in "*makabila*" terms was conspicuous about people who either shared a pastoralist culture, the Ilparakuyo, or were cultivators.

*VI:2:4 Kabila, as "their way of life"
Pastoralism in the Bagamoyo district was thoroughly researched from many angles during the Jipemoyo project. There were studies on the pastoralist development in the context of villagization as well as anthropological research on the social organization and ritual practice of the Parakuyo, a Maa-speaking ethnic minority. With reason, these studies raised the issue of the pastoralist culture of the Parakuyo in the research area. Hence, the Parakuyo's relationships with neighbouring people, representing different but complementary modes of subsistence, offer an additional perspective of ethnicity to be included in our discussion.
The Parakuyo live in relatively small clusters of homesteads amongst cultivating or agro-pastoralist neighbours (see Rigby, 1980, 46). Livestock provides the basic means of livelihood although the Parakuyo also trade for grain and cultivate on a small scale, partly as a result of government persuasion. Planting, weeding and hoeing is, however, carried out by hired labour, i.e. cultivating neighbours. The same applies to work like collecting firewood and building houses where the Parakuyo use the services of the cultivating Kwere. The latter, in their turn, get their meat supplies from the Parakuyo (Hurskainen, op.cit., 49, 89).

Referring to this specific relationship between people who exploit different ecological niches, I will present some observations which might contribute to explaining kabila as a divisive mechanism on the local level.

Since policy outlines and recommendations for rural development contained very little to encourage pastoralism as an asset in development the specific situation of the Parakuyo made many people think that they should be treated as a special case. As a result of this they had to rely on their own resources, and to the strengthened cultural solidarity in the group. Still, during the end of the seventies they were the most thriving ethnic group in the area in economic terms.

Due to the Parakuyo's minority situation they had little political power. This meant that they had become relatively isolated from local political organizations which were dominated by other ethnic groups. Both neighbouring peoples as well as government officers considered these pastoral societies conservative and backward. In their opinion, this conservatism emanated mainly from the internal features of the pastoralists' social system, their methods of economic and social organization and also their system of values (Rigby, ibid., UTAF 1976/06.39 AH). On the contrary, we noted that the pastoralists were very active in their undertakings. They contributed, for example, materially to the construction of a school for their children in Mindu Tulieni. When they needed a veterinary for their cattle they collected money and sent a young man to study veterinary science (Interim..., 1976, 18).
In connection with the villagization programme it was planned that the pastoralists of the Bagamoyo district would be settled in three demarcated villages, Mindu Tulieni, Chamakweza and Fukayosi. Due to various reasons, such as increased livestock diseases and tense relations with agriculturalists who did not move away from the Mindu Tulieni area, the villagization of the pastoralists was not effected in full. For example, the area east of Miono in the north became populated by pastoralists (Hurskainen, 1984, 12-16).

For the Parakuyo themselves a permanent settlement in villages was not an attractive undertaking; they feared that grazing and water to support their cattle was not sufficient in the villages. The Kwere cultivators, in their turn, feared that if permanent rights were granted to the Parakuyo they themselves would loose, what they considered, their ancestral land. Occasionally, they supported the Parakuyo in uprooting the boundary posts marking the allocated plots (Mustafa, 1989, 53). The villagization policy thus conspicuously aggravated the pastoralists' need to find sufficient grazing and water for their cattle, a problem which was accelerated during dry seasons.

Court disputes illustrated that the non-pastoralists were not fully aware of the requirements of pastoral life. In some places disputes arose above all between the Parakuyo and the cattle ranches and agricultural estates (Hurskainen, 1984, 90; Mustafa, 1989, 101-106).

In seminars and meetings attended by Parakuyo leaders, local officers, regional leaders and Jipemoyo researchers, the pastoralists had opportunities to address the Party and Government leaders on how they saw their problems and give suggestions about what could be done to improve the situation. The discussions mainly dealt with problems related to school education and land tenure. These caused conflicts between the cultivators, pastoralists and the governmental administrators.

Obviously, the Parakuyo's educational problems could not be separated from their life in general. Suggestions for introducing an education which would be directly relevant to the Parakuyo needs (to dip cattle injections aso.) were opposed by regional
authorities: education based on "ethnic lines" was not welcomed. However, a discrimination on ethnic criteria was already a fact.

There were plans, for example, to villagize pastoralists and cultivators separately, a segregation that especially the cultivators protested against (see e.g. Rigby, 1977, 67). On the local level morans had been compulsorily "volunteered" to go to the Bagamoyo school by the Area commissioner. Furthermore, although the Mindu Tulieni school was specially designed for the Parakuyo the curriculum did not include livestock education. Teachers seemed to have difficulties in overcoming tribal borders. In some of the schools we made the observation that the syllabus included Kwere or Zigua ngoma but no Parakuyo ngoma (Mustafa, et.al., I, 1979, 38-40). Since the regular day-to-day herding was done by children of school age the Parakuyo elders did not encourage their boys and girls to attend school.

Very few girls attended schools regularly since the elders feared that the girls would be alienated from the pastoral way of life. A reluctance to join their families would have a very negative effect on the reproduction of the community. There was thus a strong fear of losing bridewealth which is given mainly in cattle (Interim..., op.cit., 1976, 16-18; Women..., n.d., 11).

This being the case, the pastoralists requested that the school education of their children (and the adult education as well) should be related to cattle, as was the case with the education of the cultivators' children which was in line with their culture.

During the seminars the weak coordination between Party and Government leaders on the one hand, and the leaders and the pastoralists on the other hand was exposed. The leaders blamed for the tense relationship between the cultivators and the pastoralists on the latter. According to them the pastoralists grazed their cattle on the lands of the agriculturalists out of malice or carelessness (Swantz, 1980, 14). From the Parakuyo point of view this problem looked totally different. I quote some statements from a discussion between four Parakuyo elders:

We also want to have freedom to choose places which are good for cattle as the cultivators are given freedom to choose a place which is good for a certain crop.

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Picture 54. Youngsters herding cattle in Mindu Tulieni. – Photo Kemal Mustafa and Yonas Wanga 1977. JPA.
And as it is, we don't know to cultivate, we know only cattle keeping, it is our shamba [field]. Because even if we cultivate we do it only as a token, it is not our original work. If you want to cultivate you have to sell a cow in order to get a field. Why should you have your cows and then be thrown out to the bush to a place which is no good for cattle? Well you Masai, what kind of a place do cattle need? And we shall answer, it is a certain place, because we know since we are herders. Since the child grows up he/she knows and is told to take a stick and go to choose a place for cattle... (UTA 1976/96.3-4 AH and YW)

During the interview also the conflict between the state ranches and Parakuyo was brought up:

Now look how those NDC61 cows are not reduced, they keep on increasing. But for our cows they look for bad places so that they would be finished. Is this just? But I think they prefer NDC because it is Government property. (UTA 1976/96.5 AH and YW)

The Kwere continued to cultivate in areas which they had been told should be left for the pastoralists. Unsettled disputes or conflicts prevailed between the both parties up to 1982-83. Both tried to secure their right to the same land (Hurskainen, op.cit., 91). The close vicinity of the Parakuyo cattle and the Kwere fields caused frequent accusations from the Kwere since the cattle destroyed their crops in the fields. In Makombe, for example, the Kwere were living in an area reserved for the pastoralists. Cattle entered fields where the harvested maize had been left and not taken home (Interim..., op.cit., 39-40). The accusations were not always fair and too big compensations in money were claimed.62

The grievances between pastoralists and cultivators thus seemed to emanate from ecological and social factors which were rooted in the villagization policy. In a deeper perspective, the historical interdependence between the Parakuyo and the cultivators65 had been transformed into exploitative relations both within and outside the pastoral community. Obviously, Rigby has a point arguing that the roots of the situation were to be found in the colonial political economy (1985, 62-64). During colonialism established systems of relations between pastoralists and cultiva-
tors were broken down.

Compared to the situation in the hilly landscape east of Miono which, contrary to administrative planning had been populated by the Parakuyo, the conflicts between the two groups were particularly severe in the Lugoba and Msata areas. In addition and due to villagization policies, the grasslands were close to the cultivators' farms. Running the risk of giving a simplified picture of the problem, Miono, was ecologically a more suitable area as an 'arena of contest' for the historical interdependence between the cultivators and the pastoralists.

In a lengthy discussion Mzee Juma Mohamed in Miono gave me his view of the differences between the cultivators and the pastoralists as well as the interdependence between these people. He emphasized that the difference between the Kwere and Zigua cultivators and the Parakuyo, whom he called the Kwavi, was restricted to their respective ways of life. Juma Mohamed acknowledged that the 'Kwavi' formed a kabila and were settled in the middle of the cultivators' villages in Uzigua, but he mentioned that there were conflicts between cultivators and pastoralists in Msata due to the fact that pastures were too close to farms. He stressed the hilly landscape of Miono in comparison to the grasslands in Msata area. Juma Mohamed also took the view that the Parakuyo had to kuujjenga [develop their living conditions]. In this matter he referred to the government policy which tried hard to modernize the Kwavi's way of dressing and to force them to cultivate. His main message was, however, that these two peoples could not mix closely because of the Kwavi's "way of life". During our discussion Juma Mohamed reverted to this matter many times:

They /the Parakuyo/ are near us. Right now as we are talking they are up the hill there...because of their cattle and customs they can't mix with us closely. For he can be with a herd of cattle. Eeee, even six hundred, you know? So they know how to look after them themselves there. They fail to live where there are people.

It is not a taboo, they just cannot mix with other people. But the big taboo is that the property of people should not be in danger...If they come from the forest they are feeding their cattle. If their cattle
have had enough to eat in the evening they return to the forest. There are no farms or anything. For if they come near us we are worried every now and then, and there are accusations every now and then. So it means they have to live in the forest. *It is their way of life, because they live with cattle, their ways of life is what makes them live in the forest...we are together in the evenings, but we separate with them because of those animals /cattle/.* (UTA 1977/47.11; UTA 1977/48.1; my emphasis)

A separation between the Zigua and the Parakuyo did not, according to Juma Mohamed, prevent the two parties from cooperating. Accordingly, the Parakuyo greeted the Zigua in the Zigua language and addressed them in Zigua "without any difficulty". Furthermore, the arrival of the Parakuyo in the Zigua area was preceded by interviews and discussions between the (traditional) leaders of Uzigua and the Parakuyo with the aim to agree on "hills" for the Parakuyo and their cattle:

They go to the leader of this land and talk to him. 'We want to live on that hill.' He will interview them until they reach an agreement. And then he shows them the hill. They go and survey the hill until they are satisfied that it is good for their herds...Interviewing, since they have no real land of their own...So every place they go they must look for the leader of that place, they talk with him, that 'we want to use a certain hill for staying'. Aaaa, it is too near here, if you want to go to that one over there... they bring their milk and cream, but they come from that forest. (UTA 1977/48.2)

The above description of how an agreement is reached must naturally be seen in the context of the Parakuyo view on the relationship of people to land. The Parakuyo consider that all land, water and grazing are free to all people. They rely, however, on agricultural produce to augment their diet and 'buy' rights, in form of cash, milk or meat, over land cultivated by the Kwere or the Zigua.

Rigby is of the opinion that the issue concerns an area which gives products, not an area being a means of production (1985, 136-137). On market days in the villages the Parakuyo brought meat for sale and exchange and for their 'accommodation' cream and milk was exchanged for grain, maize and beer (UTAf 1977/22.77; UTAf 1976/07.45 AH; Rigby, 1977, 64-67).
Usually cultivating people mentioned food stuff as the distinguishing factor between them and the pastoralists. The exclamation "they eat only meat and milk!" implied rather that the pastoral diet was different and odd than monotonous since the cultivators' general diet was no less monotonous, consisting of maize porridge and beans. In point of fact, cultivating people as well as social workers in villages were very aware of the Parakuyo's diet i.e. what they ate and what they did not eat ("they hate eggs") since Parakuyo women had to attend classes to learn to cook agricultural products. These classes were combined with reading lessons in Swahili, in which the women seemed to participate with much more interest than their mentors did (UTAf 1977/26.43-47, 60). The Parakuyo women found agricultural work strange and they looked upon it with contempt.

Hurskainen relates an occasion when he was documenting the slaughtering of a sheep in Mindu Tulieni. Nearby three women were pounding maize in a mortar. He writes:

When I thought to take /a/ picture of their work, I was abruptly prevented by the women around. They said, that I should take pictures of anything that is their work, the cleaning of calebashes, sewing skin-clothes, preparing bead decorations, milking etc. But I should not take pictures of pounding maize, because it is shameful. (UTAf 1976/08.30 AH)

The women considered the pounding of maize a threat to their ethnic identity. Their exclamation Era enkitas o Ilmeek [(maa) it is a work of pagans] means, according to Hurskainen, that the pounding is a work of other "tribes" that they consider inferior to themselves (UTAf 1976/08.31 AH).

The pastoral way of handling a product, for example milk, was occasionally considered queer by the cultivators. A shop-keeper in Lugoba told one of the Jipemoyo researchers that milk produced by the Parakuyo aroused aversion among the Kwere because milk was put in gourds washed with cow's urine (see UTaf 1976.10 KM).

Governmental plans to villagize these two groups separately aggravated the relationships between them. Also the governmen-
tal recommendation to urge pastoralists to quit their traditional clothing and start wearing western cloths, seriously threatened the Parakuyo’s pastoral mode of life and ethnic identity. A Parakuyo man near Msoga who considered the clothing issue the primary cause of not attending school said:

That would mean that the women would leave their ornamentation. What about if the Government would be told to leave their clothes and to wear these, ours, would it agree? Not to speak about the Government, but even if you asked another kabila to wear these our clothes, would they agree? Even these others with whom we are living like the Kwere, if they were told to leave their customs and to follow ours would they agree? So why would we agree? Should we disappear so that we would not be known at all that we are these? (UTA 1976/96.1. AH and YW)

Despite above-mentioned government measures, different but complementary modes of subsistence offered exchange and ethnic interaction between the cultivators and the pastoralists. These took place even in ritual contexts. According to Hurskainen, the Kwere made, for example, several preparations for the Parakuyo elatim [(Maa) initiation ritual] in Makombe, such as building circumcision huts. In return they were given beer and food during elatim, besides money (UTAf 1976/07.29-30 AH).

At the same time, cultural implications stemming from these two modes, divided people. We can suggest that, ethnicity, from this perspective, indicated a separation in terms of kabila. To be more specific, a pastoral mode of subsistence which included a different culture – cultivators mentioned e.g. clothing, food and division of labour between men and women – separated the Parakuyo as a kabila, from the Zigua and the Kwere cultivators. This, together with political actions in respect to the pastoralist question renders kabila a divisive function. As we have seen, this function resulted in a distinct meaning given to kabila i.e. a specific mode of subsistence.
VI.2.5 Schoolchildren’s essays in Miono

My colleagues and I wanted to try to capture schoolchildrens' perceptions about being a Tanzanian by asking them to write about it. The essays written by Tanzanian schoolchildren in Miono ward on the theme "How I feel to be a Tanzanian" ("Jinsi ninavyojisikia kuwa Mtanzania") indicate the difficulty to unravel "cultural capital". We discussed the matter with the headmaster of Kikaro school in Miono. His reaction to the project was positive and he proposed that pupils in Form VII could write an essay as a homework in political education. He also proposed that the headline of the essay could be *Jieleze jinsi unavyojisikia kuwa Mtanzania* [Lit. Explain for yourself how you feel to be a Tanzanian] which we agreed upon.

Kikaro school had about 800 pupils in Forms I-VII. Half of the pupils, however, attended Form I and were divided into four classes. During our first discussion with the headmaster it appeared that children in that particular area do not know Swahili when entering school. The reason to this, the headmaster said, was that "they are Zigua here in Miono". As a consequence, the children were taught only the Swahili language during the first three months in school and they were not allowed to use other languages than Swahili and English during the school-day. Because of the vicinity to the coast, Swahili was, however, considered an easy matter for the pupils and problems occurred only in speaking Swahili, not in understanding.

A few days later we had an opportunity to continue our discussion with the headmaster together with the rest of the staff i.e. seven teachers. We discussed general topics, such as self-reliance in school as well as specific ones, related to education in various subjects.

The Ministry of Education had quite recently emphasized self-reliance in school. The main purpose of self-reliance was to prepare the children for life in village conditions. Since education started from local conditions there were problems in implementing self-reliance in teaching. The idea that the school should be like the society and the education in line with national policies, *ujamaa*, also meant that the school shared the hardships of the
society (UTA 1977/41). A poultry project had met with difficulties since chickens died and there were problems to market chicken – prices were too high for the villagers. Other problems in implementing the curriculum included lack of books and equipment for science teaching. Self-reliance assumed that the school should provide exercise books for the pupils which was an extremely costly project. It can be mentioned here, that a later visit to a small school with 40 pupils (which had two classes, standard 1A and 1B) in Kisangasa revealed, that self-reliance in education faced hard facts. The children were having their lesson in mathematics outside the school on the ground and had to count and write in the sand since the school could not afford paper (UTAf 1977/22.42).

The essays written by 34 girls and boys in form VII (the pupils' age varied between 15 and 19 years) reflect first and foremost a "normative cultural capital" learnt by the children according to the school curriculum in political education sandwiched with some personal reflections on the importance of mila na desturi [customs and traditions] of Tanzania. All the children mention that they are Tanzanians because they were born there and almost every child stresses in her/his essay the lack of discrimination according to tribe, colour or religion in Tanzania and the implementation of the politics of ujamaa and self-reliance. Several paragraphs of the Arusha Declaration and Mwongozo are mentioned in the essays as reasons why one loves her/his country and feels to be a Tanzanian. This makes sense since "almost every subject's aim is to make the student feel Tanzanian. By knowing their country the students know how to love it and to use it" as one of the teachers explained it (UTA 1977/41). Besides, the teaching of self-reliance and patriotism through the learning of e.g. the basis of the Arusha Declaration was included in the curriculum. Compared to colonial teaching which had continued for some time after independence and which was alienated from local conditions the present syllabus with a strong emphasis on self-reliance had changed to "become Tanzanian in content" (UTA 1977/41).

The schoolchildren do not forget to write about culture in
general and different dimensions of culture in particular. And we can ask ourselves: in what sense can the following perceptions be regarded as normative on one hand and/or 'everyday sharing' (something which could be called Tanzanianess) on the other hand? Here are some typical perceptions:73

In Tanzania we implement the concepts of mila na desturi [customs and traditions] which our forefathers left to us. We continue also our utamaduni74 [culture].

I love Tanzania because it sticks to utamaduni wa jadi [culture of ancestral obligations and tradition]. I as a young Tanzanian like very much these traditional ngoma, because traditional ngoma here in Tanzania is very popular.

Besides, our politics has not forgotten neither history nor mila na desturi za kiasili [the inherited customs and traditions] which still exist and if you /the reader/ read about them you will remember what we have been, what we are now, and where we go.

We Tanzanians are not backward as to our customs and utamaduni (culture) which our forefathers created long ago. In Tanzania this culture is called 'Utamaduni wa Mtanzania' [The culture of the Tanzanian].

Taking into consideration the continuing interaction of 'everyday sharing' and normative culture together with participation in a specific local culture in the lives of the school-children it is impossible to answer the question: Are the schoolchildren's perceptions 'everyday sharing' or are they normative ones? If it is at all possible to differentiate between these aspects of culture in the essays, both were present in almost every essay. What is obvious, however, is that the children stress their identity as Tanzanians without juxtaposing it to their possible local ethnic identity. Citations which suggest an African identity were on the other hand brought to the fore by twelve pupils. Their comments referred to Tanzania's active role in the liberation of African countries still struggling for independence. The pupils equally emphasized the unification of Africa and they all mentioned that "Africa is one", Afrika ni moja because, as they put it, "Tanzanians be-
lieve that all people are equal”. Some of the pupils ended their essays with common political catchwords or they quoted specific lines from the national anthem such as Mungu ibriki Afrika [God bless Africa] or Mungu ibriki Tanzania [God bless Tanzania]. Some pupils wrote down Swahili proverbs to clarify their comments. I quote a younger:

Also I love to live in Tanzania because my country adheres to the policy of ujamaa and strives to be self-reliant, especially with respect to different methods of work. One also believes in human equality. In which way? People are equal /because/ every human being is born, she needs everyday’s necessary needs and every human being is fully aware that she will die because even the Swahili proverb says Hakuna marefu yasiyo na ncha [there is nothing as long that it would not have another end], i.e. every object and thing have an end. We are not discussing now the equality of length, colour or of that sort, not at all! What we are discussing is the equality of man according to the three big above-mentioned basic ideas. (UTAf 1977/22.23.app/3)

No doubt the schoolchildren emphasize in their essays their Tanzanian identity, because Tanzania is their native country. Some comments from a conversation with one of the young daughters of our neighbour in Miono may in this sense highlight these ideas. We were sitting together in our common yard one evening while I (H) was taking down some notes and the girl (T) asked:

T: What are you writing and in which language?
H: I am writing in Swedish, it is my language; it is one of the languages in my country. What is your language?
T: Mine is lugha ya Taifa [the language of the nation] /she replied immediately/, but we have already English at school.

She did not mention the Zigua language, the language she always spoke with her family. In line with this a boy asks himself in the end of his essay: ”If I would not have been born in Tanzania, who would I have been?”

During our discussions with the teachers we had specifically asked about the teaching of local history and children's own cul-
tural surroundings. We were told that knowledge of local environment was included in history teaching. Thus there were studies about Miono in relation to larger geographical units of the country. Since there were few books available in local history teachers and local *uwazee* were co-operating in teaching this subject (UTA 1977/42).

How was culture teaching in school implemented? It appeared that culture was studied in various ways and that it was included in many subjects. There were Ministry recommendations on culture teaching which meant among other things that culture was studied during national celebrations. The music band of the school *Bendi ya shule* participated e.g. in processions of national celebrations in the village.

A school *ngoma* group *Kikundi cha ngoma cha shule* and a school choir *kwaya ya shule* also performed music dressed in school dresses during official local celebrations. *Ngoma* form and contents underwent changes in the school environment and *ngoma* songs were composed and sung in the Swahili language.
During special *selo ngoma* competitions arranged by the school, the girls wore dresses which were different from the usual ones used when this *ngoma* was performed. A note on the board of the school informed about national celebration days and there was a file in the head-master's room which contained letters about culture happenings in the region (UTA 1977/22,91-92). The teachers of the school who were unfamiliar with local culture studied local traditions e.g. local *ngoma* and used local musicians in teaching. On the other hand traditional songs were changed into school songs.

Culture education in school also included lessons in different types of skills e.g. handicrafts in different parts of the country. Furthermore, the teachers told us, studies on different types of African cultures were included in the school curriculum. Occasionally the teachers differentiated between "modern" and "traditional" culture, e.g. when telling us about lessons during which clothing and building materials such as corrugated iron roofs vs. traditional straw roofs, were discussed (UTA 1977/43). They also said that culture was included in other subjects like sports and domestic science – food-making and sewing was taught to both sexes (UTA 1977/41).

Culture teaching thus included studies in both local and what had become a standardized 'Tanzanian' culture. In children's implementation of culture the local and the 'Tanzanian' culture were interwoven.

**VI:3 The integration of a national culture**

When chiefdoms were officially abolished in 1962 it signified the end of the chiefs' administrative or judicial powers. The chiefs could, however, still continue to act as ritual leaders "of their people" and be honoured by them: "Tribute can /could/ go on but not because they are administrators". The giving of tribute was exercised on a more ritualistic level: "it would not be necessary to give the tribute" (personal information from A.O. Anacleti, 18.4.1983).

The administration was reorganized and new symbols indi-
cating the national integration were created and distributed in the forging process of a common *Tanzanian* culture. The creation of a national culture, was a central issue in the nation-building process. This unifying process was supposed to take place on a wider scale than local ('tribal') traditions (Cf. I:4:1).

African values were emphasized to the extent that the integration of culture surpassed even national boundaries. From the very start Pan-Africanist ideology had dealt with Africa as a whole both historically and culturally. Shortly after Nyerere had become President of the Republic of Tanganyika he wrote: "African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic, and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism" (1966, 196). He considered Tanganyika's goal for Africa to be a United States of Africa (*ibid.*, 189). The first verse of Tanzania's national anthem is thus applicable to all people of Africa. It goes:

Mungu ibariki Afrika
Wabariki Viongozi wake
Hekima, Umoja na Amani
Hizi ni ngao zetu
Afrika na watu wake

[God bless Africa
Bless its Leaders
Wisdom, Unity and Peace
these are our emblems
of Africa and its peoples]*77*

New annual celebration days presenting the history of the republic offered a renovated set of national values which could be shared by everyone: Zanzibar Revolutionary Day (January 12), Union Day (April 26), Saba Saba Day (July 7) i.e. the seventh day of the seventh month, the very day when TANU was established in 1954,78 The Tanzanian Independence and Republic Day (December 9).

Tanzania introduced herself with cultural elements79 familiar from European, or in a broader context world-wide ideological systems. The national flag of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which symbolized the freedom of the country had
four colours. These reflected the common elements of the union: black for people, green for land, yellow for wealth and blue for the adjoining sea (see e.g. Yoneyama, 1973, 8-10).

Khangas and kitenges (wrap-around cloth, worn by women) were sometimes decorated with national symbols and slogans to strengthen the unity of people. In addition to general slogans like uhuru and saba saba more specific ones can be mentioned such as saba saba ya ishirini na mbili => twenty second saba saba; miaka 3 ya kumbukumbu – siasa ni kilimo => commemorating three years of 'our policy is agriculture'; not to forget jembe ni mali => the hoe means wealth.

The last mentioned slogan emphasizes the significance of the hoe as an instrument of production in an agricultural economy. The texts supported the rather hasty assumption that "the rural development scheme" was the same as "a scheme with settled agriculture" which in most cases was true. The development of livestock was thus not emphasized. A khanga with the text "Black beauty – black fashion" reminded its wearer of a common black popular culture shared by Africans as well as Afro-Americans. This culture traced its roots among black political organizations (e.g. Black Panthers) in the United States emphasizing cultural nationalism in the sixties and the seventies. A Pan-African congress "The Congress of African Peoples" gathered both American and African delegates in Atlanta in 1970 (Duffield, 1984, 105-106). In this way political considerations penetrated local culture.

Typically, however, there are two sides of the same coin. The National Museum's colourful postcards, for example, showed certain 'tribes' and their distinct material culture, and were sold to people who looked for 'exotic' tribes of the country. A brief look revealed that these postcards were selective in their presentation, for example, no pictures of Chagga and Haya ethnic groups were represented. It is true that a similar phenomenon exists in many countries, the frequent display of the Sami ethnic minority on Finnish postcards is an example. Nyerere had earlier criticized British newspapers for publishing Masai pictures shortly after Tanganyika had become independent. According to him, these illustrations created visions among Europeans that Tanganyika
was not yet ready for independence. Although it would be wrong to state that the Tanzanian ethnic postcards do not represent parts of Tanzania's culture the question is: why had these specific ones been chosen while the very clothing displaying e.g. the Masai tradition was forbidden?

In his speech to the children's rally on the tenth birthday of TANU in 1964 President Nyerere stressed the union's cultural heritage which he asked the children to carry forward into the future. He talked about traditional skills, stories and poems to be learnt from the children's parents and grandparents and the children's duty to learn African dancing or drumming and singing. Nyerere stressed these same elements of culture in his inaugural address in 1962.

The uneven socio-economic development of the country during the colonial period had, however, clear repercussions on ethnicity once Tanzania had gained its independence. There were problems with the civil service apparatus e.g. the relocation of former leaders from their home regions to other places of the country where these leaders were often not willing to move. There was also a tricky connection between ethnicity and the allocation of financial resources. People had the impression that these were primarily allocated to areas which were socio-economically developed during colonialism. A few lines from an interview with one of my Tanzanian colleagues in 1977 can serve to illuminate this situation:

some 'kabilas' [tribes] have highly educated people who tend to favour their own areas, so if, for example, the Baraguyu /the pastoralists in the Bagamoyo District/ to-day would have many educated people in the civil service apparatus, the Baraguyu would get very good allocation of land, the land question would no longer be there for the cattle... (5.2.1981)

A large number of members of the most educated bureaucracy i.e. government and other decision-makers thus came from high-input regions e.g. the regions of Kilimanjaro, Mwanza, Kagera and Mbeya.
VI:4 Elements of tribal thinking

I will now outline some personal observations on ethnicity in Tanzania during the Jipemoyo project. Based on discussions during field-work, two of my colleagues' and my own perceptions\textsuperscript{82} of ethnicity in the Tanzanian society are summarized below as introductory remarks for the two sections that follow.

To start with, it is a fact that the government was rather unwilling to articulate 'tribal' problems. The concept of \textit{kabila} seldom appeared directly. On the other hand we experienced that 'tribal thinking' was conspicuous on certain levels and in some situations of social life. Some of the contradictions we encountered regarding the theory and practice of 'tribal thinking' are dealt with below.

Due to the government's active language policy in favour of the national language Swahili, – the Parakuyo, was put in a special position. One of the lessons that history has taught us was verified here: nomadic people are struck particularly strongly when nation-states are created. The Parakuyo language belongs to the Nilotic language group of the Eastern Sudanic languages\textsuperscript{83} whereas Swahili is one of the North Eastern Bantu languages, together with Kwere, Doc, Zigua and other languages of the district. Thus the majority languages are partly intelligible among all the speakers, while the Maa language of the Parakuyo is completely unintelligible to all the others. Developing Swahili into the national language "which best expresses the Tanzanian cultural reality in spirit and personality"\textsuperscript{84} is a measure specifically aimed at developing a national culture. In this process incompatible languages and special forms of culture are inevitably left outside the new national unit. Put in other terms, the idea of the Tanzanian identity contained some ambiguous and contradictory elements.

Roughly described, the strategy was to develop Tanzanianess spontaneously side by side with the Swahili language. A Tanzanian identity was constructed out of different 'tribal' cultures. 'Tribal thinking' was striking in the administrators' attitudes. We may here reiterate from section V:2:1 that people who did not belong to dominant tribes in a specific area of a \textit{jumbe}, were called \textit{wageni} [strangers], or outsiders during colonialism.\textsuperscript{85} A
similar 'classification' of people reappeared in a new form with the restructuring of villages in the 1970's.

The historical interaction between cultivators and pastoralists was undermined by a forced settlement of the Parakuyo in permanent villages. The objective effect of the villagization experiment was thus a separation of cultivators and pastoralists. This had disastrous consequences for the Parakuyo (see Mustafa, 1989, 66-122). The Parakuyo were hence considered *wageni* in the Bagamoyo District. The competition for scarce land between the cultivators and the pastoralists was also reflected in the attitudes toward the latter from the part of the cultivators. The pastoralists' appearance (clothing) and food practices, in sum, their culture, was despised. Comments like "they want to be separated" were common. Since the Parakuyo also cultivate, a Ziga neighbour, when he compared the Parakuyo with the other Masai people, commented: "they are more like ordinary people".

In addition, *makabila* ['tribes'] were not administrative entities for the local leaders. Tribal units had officially ceased to exist as territorial units after Independence and the village was now considered a basic unit. Accordingly, ethnonyms were officially not to be used. They lacked importance in a society, in which one of the aims was cultural integration. Tribal barriers from the colonial period had to be erased. In the special case of the Bagamoyo District, rural Tanzanians were consequently referred to as either *wafugaji* [pastoralists] or *wakulima* [cultivators].

A seminar in Lugoba in 1977, arranged by the Ministry of Culture, the Coast region, the Bagamoyo District, the Parakuyo and the Jipemoyo Project involved a large number of cultivating villagers as well as cattle-keepers. It was called "Sema na Luwoga juu ya matatizo ya Elimu na maendeleo ya jamii za wafugaji" [The Lugoba seminar on problems of education and pastoralist development]. Needless to say, the pastoralists here meant the Parakuyo.

In everyday-day speech, however, it was common to use ethnonyms in general and with respect to ethnic minorities this was almost the order of the day. The Parakuyo who were called *Kwavi* and the Makonde (another ethnic minority in the area
who had come as refugees from Mozambique) were referred to by tribe. Seasonal workers, e.g. Kaguru and Gogo, coming from elsewhere into the district, were often also called in the same way. Moreover, this stereotyping had increased during the past few years due to the overall development of the society. A number of incidents, at least in Miono, indicated that these guest workers were considered lazy, stupid and prone to fight.

Other cases can be mentioned. Women's talk about their friends' new spouses, for instance: If the couple did not belong to the same ethnic group, there were often endless discussions on whether the spouses matched each other or not. One of my Tanzanian counterparts used to inform me on the ethnic background of his friends in the university or the civil service when he introduced me to them.

Further, I take an example of the connection between ethnicity and employment programmes. Contrary to the factual situation in the Ministry of Culture, it was strongly denied that the Haya ethnic group was overrepresented among the Ministry's civil servants. The Sukuma, who form the largest ethnic group in Tanzania, was strongly underrepresented. This had to do with the educational pattern in the country. Unofficial investigations (1976-77) in the teachers' training college in Chang'ombe and the University of Dar es Salaam had also revealed that 1/4 of the pupils in the Chang'ombe college were Haya while 1/4 of the students at the university were either Haya or Chagga (UTAF 1977/22.48). A follow-up of letters to the editor in two newspapers (Daily News and Uhuru) on the matter of ukabila [tribalism] were illustrative. Even radio transmissions raised questions related to ukabila. In July 1977 the workers of the Tanganyika Packers factory threatened to go on strike due to preferential treatment of a certain 'tribe' (Haya) by some top managers (personal information, Dar es Salaam 1977).

Finally, in the public display of some specific culture forms like music, it was possible to discern a suspicious trend: Radio Tanzania played less ethnic music than some ten years ago. Marimba music was, for example, identified with the Zaramo (an ethnic group in the Bagamoyo District).
On the other hand, on the village level in the Bagamoyo District, the explanation for a specific feature of a *ngoma* was commonly expressed in this way: "it has to do with our *jadi* [tradition]". Hence you did not talk about *kabila*, but tradition: "It is because we are /ethnonym/...that we do so" or, "the reason why we do /so and so/ is because we are /ethnonym/." Moreover, the villagers in the research area preferred to talk about the history of a particular area than about the history of a particular ethnic group (UTA 1976/55).

As to the use of language the language spoken at home depended on the parents' cultural heritage. The children's first language in Zigua families was consequently the Zigua language. In case the parents were of different ethnic origins, the ethnic identity of their children was solved, for example, in the following way: The children of a Doe wife and a Zigua husband got their ethnic identities by turns through the puberty rites. These rites were partly the same and partly different (personal information Donner, 1977). Another informant, whose ethnic adherence differed from the one of her husband, told me that the sex of their children decided which kind of education the children would get. In traditional medicine education or in child rearing practices, for example, a girl goes with her mother, a boy with his father. The children's money is also distributed according to this principle.91 This means that there were alternatives for ethnic identification, depending on the social situation of the people concerned. Religious identity sometimes competed with ethnic identity but could also be an alternative to the latter.

The female Islamic puberty rite in Miono constituted an alternative to the traditional puberty rite *kisazi*. Although almost all Miono inhabitants are Muslim, the majority chose *kisazi* instead of the corresponding Islamic one. The reason to this were cultural considerations. Furthermore, the Islamic rite is considered to be too ascetic. During the *muwali* rites, Islamic music, *kaswida* and *lika* were played as part of the rites and tea and *maandazi*92 were served. *Kisazi*, on the other hand, attracts more people because local beer, *pombe*, is served during the feast.
VI:4:1 Ukabila and ethnicity

Letters to the people's forum in the daily newspapers now and then expressed direct complaints and accusations of ukabila [tribalism] practices at work places. Articles pondering on the causes and consequences of ukabila were also printed in the Tanzanian press, notably in the state-owned papers "Uhuru" and "Daily News". The most common accusation was that the selection for employment at ministries and factories was made on tribal basis, not merits. The accusations were directed to specific companies or departments of ministries. The writers demanded – almost without exceptions – the responsible persons to explain themselves or to take appropriate measures to stop tribalism in these institutions. Although the names of the various companies in which ukabila was considered to prevail were published, the ethnonym(s) were seldom mentioned. A plausible reason to this is that the accused "tribe" (or "tribes") was an open secret, known to everybody. The coining of the expression kabila moja [one tribe] in the letters to the people's forum as well as in daily discussions is an indication of this. A worker in the Tanesco electric company in Dar es Salaam wrote in May 1977:

I wish to say something about the springing up of tribalism in Tanesco in Dar es Salaam. As we remember Ndugu Aboud Jumbe /president of Zanzibar/ explained one day to the leaders of NUTA, that people should not be employed, neither by the ministries nor the people's companies, on the basis of tribe.

However, to one's astonishment one can see that people's companies to this very day employ people on the basis of tribe. An example of this are people who are involved with the Tanesco electric company. They are of the same tribe. Beginning from the drivers to the meter readers, the clerks and so on.

The reason to this is that one tribe has seized the leading positions of the aforementioned Tanesco beginning from the manager of the pay office and some junior managers who all belong to that same tribe. Therefore we ask the party together with the government and the Ministry in question to watch that electric company (Tanesco). (Uhuru, 28.5. 1977)
It also appeared what it means for a worker to belong to *kabila moja*: it gives the privilege to neglect one's work-duties on the one hand and to be promoted because of favouritism on the other hand.94

The letters do not only deal with questions about employment on tribal criteria. Under the heading "The leaders give consideration to tribe" (i.e. the leaders choose on the basis of tribe) a reader calls for impartiality when choosing applicants for teachers' studies. After describing the method of selection in detail he ends his letter with the following words: "These leaders keep a close watch on tribe. If you do not belong to their tribe you will not be chosen. We ask the concerned, specifically those in high positions to watch this matter" (Uhuru 10.8.1977). The fact that the problem of tribalism in working-life was brought out into the open seems to have forced the authorities to take measures. As the following example shows, the means do not always justify the ends.

The leaders of the People's Insurance Company appointed a special committee early in 1977 to investigate a charge of *upendeleo* [favouritism] which had been published in the Party newspaper Uhuru. The committee did not find any proofs for the charge. A letter to the people's forum reveals, however, that many of the members of the committee actually belonged to the group of accused persons. This matter had come out in an interview with workers of the company. Also *JUWATA* the trade union disagreed with the results that had been presented by the committee (Uhuru 1.6.1977).

In an interview, a cultural officer, who identified himself as Haya i.e. belonging to the above-mentioned *kabila moja*, gave me two possible reasons for *ukabila* in the bureaucracy on the state level: meritocracy and the pressure exerted by the society from which the bureaucrat in question originates. He said: "you can call it a cultural and a geographical reality".95 The cultural officer specified this with the following comment:

Oh, yes...I think we have this kind of belief... that which actually explains better... we have a proverb to that, we say that *edijoma tanikeja jojota*: it is a traditional proverb, meaning that if your neigh-
bour gets something, or gets rich, or even a misfortune (it is not necessary that he gets rich), he might get fallen in misfortune... you are in one way or another affected in that you also get part of his wealth or part of the calamity that has fallen upon him.

The cultural officer suggested that if somebody achieved a top position at the state level, his neighbour or relative should benefit from the situation. More specifically, gains as well as losses had to be shared.

The man continued to explain, what he called an obligation emanating from the pressure of the society:

(If he does not for instance help his younger brother... he will be held, actually, in contempt by the surrounding community, by all. Because he got this position... but then he forgot his kindred. So feeling that kind of contempt, he tries the best he can to upraise the level of his family, and the relatives and the neighbours and clan members... (ibid.)

The cultural officer considered that one "should not do like this" since such practices were in contradiction to the actual policy in Tanzania. Yet he stressed that this was the reality, – indicating that tribalism prevailed – despite government pressure.

Meritocracy, on the other hand, often blurred with tribalism, was something totally different according to the cultural officer. If a relative or a neighbour of yours has qualifications for a job, you would rather employ him/her instead of someone else. It is no point employing somebody from another "tribe". His opinion of how to get rid of tribalism tallied with comments and opinions often expressed both in the press and in informal discussions. He said that universal education "will ensure that everybody... gets these qualifications and it won't be able for these three tribal groups to dominate most of the positions" (ibid.). Meanwhile tribalism was considered to have weakened in the beginning of the 1980s as emphasized in the following quote by another cultural officer:

it is not getting stronger anyway, I think now there are changes, if I look backwards, for example 1960s – it was worse in the 1960s, because it was really open ukabila you could feel it even when you were working.96
A large unsigned article in Uhuru in 1985 reminded the readers of both the "barbarism" of tribalism and the roots of the phenomenon. According to the article, tribalism as a vice offends against good manners and adds to contempt in community. Tribalism was described as an illness, the central contents of which is ubinafsi [egoism]. The writer is of the opinion that somebody (oneself or a group) is better than others or another group.

The root of this kind of selfishness could be found in a society where utumwa [slavery] took place.

But such a situation prevailed especially among neighbouring tribes which were unequal with respect to income. Such a situation was due to colonialists. When they arrived to a region because of /better/ weather conditions or because of lack of resistance from the region and began /to build/ production plants and schools they started to exploit them /the people/... The colonialists began to give opium to the people in such a region: that it is a better region than the region of the neighbouring tribes. (Uhuru 19.8. 1985)

The writer stressed that people who were wasomi [well-educated] and close to the colonialists also learned from the behaviour of these and they encouraged their own people to think that they were better than others. The connection between tribalism and personnel resources was stressed in the article. When condemning the connection between employment programmes and uka-bila the writer includes the expression kabila moja. To be more specific, he suggests that if you do not have a leader of your own "tribe" in your working-place your interests there are neglected.

Such a situation, i.e. the lack of officials representing your own culture on the local level with repercussions on your social existence, was actually observed in the western part of the Bagamoyo District during the Jipemoyo Project with respect to the ethnic minority, the Parakuyo. Although their problem had to be dealt with on the national level, measures were taken to initiate an improvement of their situation.
VI:4.2 Leadership and ethnicity
Officials who were in charge during the colonial period continued their work at new similar administrative posts. This was for example the case in Miono and its neighbourhood during the Jipemoyo project (UTAf 1977/22.35). Kinship relations still played a role in the social organization on the local level and caused conflicting roles of leadership (see Swantz, 1980, 15-16). Although a new administrative structure had been introduced, old practices were maintained in accordance with 'old' authority structures. Such a practice seemed to exist during a visit to Kisangasa (a "mtaa", i.e. a sub-area to the village of Miono).

I went to Kisangasa together with my Tanzanian counterpart Daudi Kitolero to meet villagers to discuss the subject of culture and tradition with them. We strolled around the village, greeting some old people, who did not speak Swahili but Zigua. We were welcomed to their homes. However, with the exception of some youngsters, we were told everywhere that "it was impossible to get any babari [Lit. information] without seeing the muwenyekiti [chairman] of the village". Unfortunately he was not at home, and people told us to return the following day – which we did. So what's the big issue? This neighbourhood was not supposed to have a "chairman" in Kisangasa in these days. The matter of our first visit was happily settled the following morning. The "right procedure" was followed when the "chairman" welcomed us together with five other wazee in his home. He said that he, first of all, should have been informed about our visit the previous day, and consequently, he had not been "officially" informed about the present visit. According to him, we should now see the chairman of Miono and get from him a letter about our visit and the letter should be directed to "them" in Kisangasa. He would then inform the wazee in Kisangasa about us and after that the visit could be arranged. He added that this was the proper procedure. Although he was well informed about the Jipemoyo Project and that Kisangasa was a sub-area of Miono, "the procedure should be followed anyway". After this we were invited to eat with the men. We all had a meal together and the atmosphere was relaxed (UTAf 1977/22.36-41 and 43-44).
The visits to Kisangasa taught us that old administrative practices were deeply rooted in everyday life, notwithstanding new structures. Important matters were always first discussed and dealt with at traditional meetings with people who shared a specific ethnic tradition (Cf. UTAf 1977/22.80).

VI:5 Multiple interpretation of ethnicity

It is clear that forms of culture forge the chain of identity and sharing of these forms requires communication. The role and importance of, for example, the Swahili language in Tanzania's history and society is indisputable.

It has been shown that the Swahili language was widely spread in the Bagamoyo District already during the late pre-colonial period. It is also worth reiterating that Swahili, the language of the administration during the German colonial period and subsequently during British native administration, served as a medium of communication in primary school education. At the eve of independence, Swahili benefited from this language policy in multi-lingual Tanzania. Swahili performed an important role in the independence struggle. In contrast to the situation in Kenya, Uganda and the Congo, Tanzania adopted Swahili as her national language (English was, however, the language of a number of institutions like higher education and the High Court).

TANU certainly benefited a lot from the German and British long-established adoption of Swahili. More than forty Swahili newspapers were in regular circulation around the mid-fifties and the Tanganyika Broadcasting Services had a large audience for its Swahili programmes. The significance of Swahili as a national language can be exemplified by J.K. Nyerere's comment that he had to use interpreters only on two occasions during his extensive travelling in the country (Whiteley, 1969 (a), 110-113). The existence of a widely understood language during the pre-independence years and the fact that Tanganyika was not dominated by a single 'tribe' as in e.g. Uganda, certainly had a strong impact on TANU's growth and success. In many places of the territory the development of tribalism saw its possibilities to become, in
Bennett's words, "subsumed in nationalism". Tribes united against the policy of the native administration (1969, 81-82).

An elderly man (who considers himself a Zigua) considered that the lack of the knowledge of Swahili can cause problems when he meets a person who speaks the "Kwavi" language. He said:

If he comes here and speaks Kwavi language I will just look at him with eyes. Unless he explains in Swahili we can't understand each other, or if he interferes in my language, for he /the Kwavi/ has stolen my language; if he speaks it then we shall understand each other. So language gave rise to division first. The way of speaking, the language, everyone have their own language. Regardless whether you are neighbours, if you differ in language. (UTA 1977/48)

The colonial division into tribes occasionally looms large in the ethnic consciousness of people today. For instance, it provides an elderly man in the village of Miono with the 'tools' to enlarge on the meaning of the word Tanganyika. When asked what it means to be a Tanzanian he first contemplated on the concept of Tanganyika and in his comment which deserves to be quoted in Swahili because it was turned into verse in an ingenious way, obviously referred to the tribal divisions:

Zamani sisi tulikuwa tumechanganyika,
unajua.
Hiviyo ndivyo
jina letu lilivyokuwa Tanganyika.
[Long ago we were intermingled you know. That is how our name was Tanganyika].

He found it difficult to explain what it means to be a Tanzanian because as he said "we know ourselves that we are Tanzanians ... but the name comes from the constitution". The old man's explanation of the name of Tanzania which, according to him, originates from the constitution also includes a comparison to Tanganyika as a name. In the latter case the name Tanganyika pertained to the European regime (UTA 1977/47). Another infor-
mant was on the same lines when he explained the difference of being a Tanzanian or a Zigua. He said:

Tanzania has its regions, districts, divisions. You cannot say that 'I am a Tanzanian', it is impolite, because this is not an answer. We know we are all Tanzanians. If you ask: 'who are you' it means:'what tribe are you... I am a Tanzanian. Because I live in Tanzania. Uzigua is only a part of Tanzania. Uzigua has parts in Handeni\textsuperscript{98} and Bagamoyo. (UTAf 1977/26.30-31)

For him to be a Zigua was based on shared experiences within a familiar local culture whereas to be a Tanzanian was a self-evident fact linked to a normative cultural capital. Like many other informants this old man linked his Ziguan identity to mila na des-turi [traditions and customs]. He also said that children nowadays do not know traditions because wazee forget that they should teach the children about them.

The old man said:

 Tradition and customs will die. After ten years they will be gone if we do not encourage the children to follow them. We are grateful to have the cultural officers in the villages to encourage the culture. 
(\textit{ibid.})

He named a number of rituals which in the present time were not carried out at all or were not properly observed. According to the old man, the ritual of e.g. betrothal (which he described) had suffered from the fact that the traditional education of children was not "as before". In his opinion even tasks like the one mentioned above should be provided for by the government, \textit{shuguli hizo zisimamiwe kiserikali}. By linking his comments on children's ignorance of proper Ziguan rituals (which he hoped that the government would interfere in) with Ziguan vs. Tanzanian identity the man indirectly made understand that young people may not be able to acquire a Ziguan identity.

As for ethnic identification, the most conspicuous consideration, shared by almost everybody, was the emphasis on commonalities among people. In the same breath, there were comments on possible differences among people.
Such comments were not only given during discussions on a specific *kabila* i.e. "it is one tribe but they have separated," but also in general talks on *makabila*. References to several 'tribal' names were followed by comments stressing the commonalities of these "tribes", as in the following saying:

Children who are born in this area are called *wakwere, /in the same way/ as wazigua* who are born in Uzigua. There is no difference between Kwere and Zigua... (UTAf 1977/26,9)

However, a difference between two *makabila* was always suggested when they represented totally different systems of livelihood.

**VI:5:1 Conclusion**

Arguably, the cultural pluralism of the new state of Tanzania was a system of perceptually or materially accessible forms like people, languages, customs and products of social pluralism. This phenomenon of culture which included forms from ancient times to the present time, was thus a cross-section of the societal process, although it seldom appeared on the surface. However, the social context for the construction of a national identity was determined by the history of the post-colonial society, resulting from a long-enduring process.

The Arusha Declaration, rejecting the colonial division of people, appealed to a national identity which had to transcend and subordinate the previous loyalties of tribe, race, religion. Already, during the struggle for independence tribalism had met opposition within the African Association and TANU.

Thus, my distinction between the social and the cultural, as two relatively independent phenomena, was a condition for distinguishing between objective ethnicity in the pre-colonial period, on the one hand and, ethnicity based on consciousness during the late pre-colonial and colonial periods, on the other hand. Obviously, the latter form of ethnicity was not erased with independence.

As a social process, the post-colonial society brought about socio-economic and political changes realized in perceptually or
materially accessible forms. However, as we have seen, a change in content did not always bring about a change in form as cultural elements are historically conditioned.

In contrast to the colonial society, ethnic identification in the pre-colonial period was not reflected in rituals as there was no contradiction between ethnic groups. Instead, the basic function of ritual was, fundamentally, to secure continuity with previous generations. Colonialism as a social process, implying new principles in social interaction, gave rise to new cultural forms. More specifically, when during indirect rule a new social order emerged, ethnicity gained social significance manifesting itself in culture. Native authorities, under the supervision of British officials, used particular clan symbols to denote particular tribal areas populated by many social groups. Evidently, many of these did not necessarily identify themselves with these specific clan symbols.

According to Tanzanian national policies, a common history is fundamental for a common national identity. Using a method of evaluation analysis whereby people's own evaluations and the researcher's analytical interpretations are studied side by side with political interpretations related to ethnicity and Tanzanian identity, I have tried to explain how phenomena associated with ethnic groups and the nation were conceptualized and used in the post-colonial society.

The concept of kabila proved to be a fitting gateway to study ethnicity because this term presented an opportunity to juxtapose a general meaning of kabila with meanings given to a specific kabila. Folk evaluations of the meaning of kabila led me to the essence of ethnicity and its cultural forms. However, the concept of kabila, as understood in the administrative framework, differed from the meaning assigned to it by villagers in the Bagamoyo District.

The functional role of nchi, a socio-economic entity traditionally defined by the activities or deeds of a group of people, was an essential factor when informants conceptualized ethnic identity. This principle of social organization formed the basis for interpreting existing ideological systems. Evidently, a specific relationship between clans and nchi served to enable people to
connect a number of rituals and traditions with specific ethnic identities. Culture was therefore expressed according to the consciousness of ethnic identity.

Villagers considered that a specific ethnonym – a *kabila* – implied identification with clans attached to different *nchiri*. In this way informants referred to *kabila* merely as a "saying". However, the adoption of a particular use of *kabila*, for the purpose of interaction with one another, made people differentiate between two dimensions of ethnic consciousness i.e. commonality and differentiation. When discussing a specific *kabila*, some informants considered that social mode, language and 'tribal' borders divided people between different *makabila*.

Arguably, in a local context, an ethnic identity is fixed in the special relationship between people and to their environments and the cultural implications flowing from these relationships. Moreover, ethnic group identification is used as a self-referent, with its origin found in the colonial practice of classifying people into tribes thereby emphasizing the differentiation of peoples. Not only did people use tribal ethnonyms and associate different characteristics with different "tribes", but the new administrative structure had not erased authority structures from colonial times. My evidence indicates that villagers sharing a specific ethnic tradition dealt with important matters first at traditional meetings before they brought these up at an official level. At the same time, informants stressed commonality by suggesting that rituals and traditions, albeit articulated in different ways, did not divide people as such. Clearly, in the research area there were alternatives for ethnic identifications depending on the social context.

Considering my argument of the social and the cultural as two relatively independent phenomena, I suggest that Tanzanianess can have different meanings for different parts of the community. Being a Zigua (or a Kwere or a Doe) and a Tanzanian may be perceived and articulated in a number of ways among villagers in the research area. In a historical perspective, I can, in Ranger's words, "trace a constant process of imagining and reimagining" ethnicity. This means that the invention of boundary markers ('tribes') during colonialism was one factor and the filling of trib-
al form with imaginative meaning was another. To be more specific, ethnicity "cannot bear a single significance" (Ranger, 1993, 89-90, 98, 105 and, passim). This also implies that the content of tradition given by administrators or researchers has to be distinguished from how people themselves use their tradition and whatever the tradition might be. A 'community' continues and advances spiritually, culturally and biologically regardless of how it is used (or misused) politically. Moreover, in this process people seem to use different forms for their community's continuity in order to preserve it. Arguably, these forms are specific aspects of all kinds of social phenomena encompassing people's whole existence.

My study has presented case material illustrating that schoolchildren as well as elderly villagers stress the importance of various traditions and customs which they have inherited from their ancestors. They consider culture a prerequisite for a common local ethnic consciousness on the one hand and, for 'being Tanzanian', on the other.

But to be Tanzanian is also, unlike ethnic consciousness, a self-evident, given state of mind which one shares in an "imagined community". At the same time people stress that traditions vary according to the environment: Familiarity with one's own environment and a feeling of affinity with that environment are crucial for a common ethnic consciousness.

Sharing a local culture is in this sense part of a historical consciousness and hence also part of a Tanzanian identity. The way in which culture changes, its dynamics and meaning for the informants is to be distinguished from meanings given to it by the official administration. In my opinion, this argument is not in conflict with the fact that the informants occasionally included political considerations in their reflections upon their ethnic consciousness. In this respect Feierman's argument that "the wider world is not external to the local community; it is at the heart of the community's internal processes of differentiation" is quite relevant (1990, 36).

Finally, my suggestion that Islam, during the struggle for independence, could obstruct ethnicity raises the question of its exis-
tence as an alternative source of identification to that of ethnic or national consciousness. Considering the ideological basis of Tanzania's national policies which emphasized social and racial equality rather than religion, tribe and origin, Islam was, admittedly, a hard nut to crack in the nation-building process. Being deeper and outnumbering a 'tribe' on the local level, Islam as a phenomenon, consolidated its position in the nationalist struggle. Moreover, we have to remember this when we think here about more than two 'tribes' or tribal associations. Arguably, Islam was used to promote political careers. Thus, we can assume that on the local level, 35 years after independence, perceptually accessible forms of culture, conditioned as they are by social reality, include this dynamic.

Islamic political activity during the late seventies and early eighties was not very manifest on the local level in the research area. But, during the nineties, considering the Islamic headdress among the political leadership, Islamic activity seems to be conspicuous on the national level. In my opinion, it would benefit further research on the development of ethnicity to focus on the social significance of this phenomenon.

When studying national identity an analytical organization of folk concepts is therefore not enough. We must also take into consideration the impact of national policy on local reality. It formed part of the everyday cultural capital of people in the villages of the western Bagamoyo District. At the same time, an ethnic situation, in this case people's ethnic and national consciousness, is a product of a long historical process.

Notes

1 Karume referred to the Afro-Shirazi from the period preceding colonialism.
2 Letter to author from Abdulaziz Y Lodhi, Institute of Afro-Asian Languages, Uppsala University, 2.6.1987.
3 Crawford Young talks about "ethnicity and its analogues" (1995, 75).
4 Consequently Hobsbawm notes that Gellner's "perspective of modernization from above, makes it difficult" to consider the view from below (1995, 10-11; my emphasis).
5 Cf. an excerpt from Marja-Liisa Swantz' fieldnotes in 1966 according to which Mzee Mohammed Towakwi says, "we /Kwere people/ all came from the mountains of Uluguru" (UTAf 1977/12.02 MLS).

7 Due to the lack of 'direct confrontation' with the colonial invasion, the concept did not, contrary to the coast, get a foothold in the inner regions. It never got an equivalent in the Sukuma language, for example (personal information, 1981).

8 The preparation work and decisions regarding which data to be collected were to a considerable degree dependent on foreign expertise in 1967. The omitting of data concerning ethnic origin and tribal affiliation in the Population Census of 1978 was, however, explicitly a political decision (letter 16.11.94 to author from H.E. Altvall, member of the Central Census Committee 1978).

9 Recorded interview with a former cultural officer of the Ministry of Culture, 5.2.1981/HJ.


11 Recorded interview with a cultural officer of the Ministry of Culture, 16.11.1978/HJ.

12 E.g. the Regional Development Director of the Coast Region used the concept of jamiit when referring to the Parakuyo in a letter (Ref. Nr.UT/PW.21/2.22) to the Principal Secretary in the Ministry of National Culture and Youth. See Interim Report on the Schooling, 1). See also Taarifa ya Maendeleo ya Mradi wa Jipemoyo 16.6.1977 (JPA).

13 Personal information from a former cultural officer, 1981

14 Apart from other languages and communications (e.g. symbols) within a particular jamiit.

15 The transformation of Tanzanian handicrafts into co-operatives and rural small-scale industrialisation (1985); Chapter 6:ii: Tanzanian Design (152-157).

16 Name of an ethnic group. Most of the Makonde who live in the western part of the Bagamoyo District have come to Tanzania as refugees from Mozambique.

17 The market for Makonde carvings is provided e.g. by tourists who choose sculptures at their own discretion.

18 Recorded interview 5.2.1981/HJ.

19 See footnote 18 above.


21 On the concept of clan: see Chapter III:1, footnote 5. Research carried out during the Jipemoyo Project suggests that names and rituals of clans - expressed in local terms - of the matrilineal groups in the Bagamoyo District parallel each other (Cf. Beidelman, 1967; S.E. Mwerangi, 1975). Clanship seems to express the structure of community over time. In the concluding chapter to Being Maasai, R. Waller writes that clans "convey an essential truth about the nature of a given community and its relation to others" (1993, 296). This interpretation implies that clans can be considered a form of oral tradition expressed in nomenclature and ritual and, in respect to pastoralists also in cattle brands (Cf. Rigby, 1985, 141).

22 The wuzee with whom I discussed were all males. The reason to this is as follows: both women and men in the villages considered that venerable men "know" about the topic in question in this society. However, Terence Ranger's remark on the not yet resolved question of gender in the spectrum of ethnicity in an African framework should
be seriously considered in future studies on ethnicity (ENHAA, discussion, 1993).
23 Cf. pp. 135 and 142-143 on Minyonyo.
24 The rites have not been given any emic content here. They serve here as striking examples of cultural implications in the way they are mentioned by the informants.
25 Literally spirit of the present.
26 A thick porridge cooked on maize flour. It is a typical local dish in Miono.
27 Literally a local beer for enjoyment.
28 According to Mzee Omari Mboko, Seuta moved from the Nguu up-country to Setlas (Handeni) in Uziguia. Seuta settled in Uziguia (Donner, recorded interview in Miono, 1978).
29 Mzee Omari Mboko told Donner one of the versions in a recorded interview in Miono, 1978.
30 Bne [area, district].
31 UTAf 1977/2216, 103-104.
32 Personal diary 17.4.1977.
34 Thus a large majority of the pupils in 1975 in Std. 6 and 7 in Mboaga and Lugoba had had a ngoma. Even in Mandera, where most people are Christians, 2/3 of the pupils indicated that they had had or would have a ritual initiation. In 1979 only one girl out of 27 in Msoga Primary School would not have ngoma. The corresponding figures for the 32 boys were: 26 had had a ngoma, one had been circumscribed at the hospital but not had a ngoma, three had been initiated without circumcision and two boys did not answer. For details see, Swantz, 1979 (a)PR, 38-43. Swantz refers also to data obtained in the pre-pilot Village Skills Survey conducted by Jan Rudengren and Marja-Liisa Swantz (1976) and the Young Child Study prior to the Jipemoyo Project and, The Young Child Study Phase II under the auspices of Unicef and the National Scientific Research Council of Tanzania (Swantz, 1977).
35 Vuorela's observations covered mainly a period between October 1984 and January 1985.
36 A girl who has begun to menstruate.
37 A rattle.
38 Tambiko is a Swahili word. It is a general word for an offering in use by all 'ethnic groups' in the research area.
39 Local medicine man.
40 Lamli or ramli (depending on the dialect) is a widely spread Swahili word for different types of divining. It is most often used for a local investigation of causes of illness.
41 Mbugi is in fact a tambiko performed by the Kwere.
42 On tambiko among the Kwere: see SA. Mwerangi, 1975.
43 The borders of the Ziguia.
44 Cf. III:4:2.
45 See VI:4:2 Leadership and ethnicity, where this point is argued at greater length.
46 Recorded interview 16.11. 1978/HJ.
47 See the previous section VI:2:2 Cultural implications of ethnicity.
48 "Muhimu ambazo zinamfanya Mzigua awe Mzigua kamili" (Sw.).
49 Marja-Lisa Swantz mentions in her recent book that mbole is /also/ a central symbol among the Zaramo. It is used to pass traditional beliefs to the next generation (1995, 2).
50 Cf. VI:2:2.
51 Rope for the bed bottom [(Sw) kamba].
52 Admittedly, wabenga means "the elders" in Zaramo.
53 Marja-Lisa Swantz, a development researcher and anthropologist, lived in his area for many years.
59 I.e. tmurran [(Maa) young initiated men].
60 The interview was conducted by Yonas Wanga near Msoga. The discussion was mainly about the schooling of the Parakuyo.
61 National Development Corporation.
62 See, for example, Hurskainen UTAF 1976/07.43.
63 Rigby (1985) argues that this interdependence has its roots in the pre-colonial situation.
64 The Parakuyo are often called Kwavi (a coastal term that they themselves find derogatory) by cultivating people.
65 For access into a bus, for example, a Parakuyo man had to wear trousers and shirt instead of his traditional cloths (see Hurskainen, UTAF 1976/0744).
66 Musiko kubw:a; crops is the most important matter here.
67 UTAF 1977/2670.
68 Another threat was lack of beads since they could not be imported.
69 This and Chapter VI:5 represent partly the reworking of an article published in Suomen Antropologi 3, 1993.
70 UTAF 1977/22 appendix.
71 According to the headmaster one pupil needs seven exercise books (a 2 tsh) during three months.
72 Besides the above-mentioned paragraphs from the Arusha Declaration the following principles of socialism laid down in the TANU constitution counted comments from 10-17 children: No colonialism, exploitation or slavery; All human beings are equal; Freedom "to do whatever" within the context of the law; Good policies of the country (no models from others)
73 The original text in Swahili reads:
Tanzania tunazitimiza mila na desturi zilizoachwa na babu zetu. Pia tunaudumisha utamaduni wetu.


Pia siasa hiyo halikusahau historia na mila na desturi za kiasili. Ambazo mpaka hivi leo ukizi gona unakumbuka tulikutaka, tulipo na tuendako.

Kwa hiyo watanzania nasi hatukurudi nyuma kwa utamaduni wetu, ambao babu zetu wakiufanya zamani. Utamaduni huu /wa/ Tanzania waitwa "Utamaduni wa Mtanzania".
(UTAf 1977/22.23 appendix)

74 Swantz notes that the Swahili word utamaduni (it derives from the Arabic word tamaddun ['urbanization'] and has a rather recent origin in Swahili) has nowadays gained connotations from local ethnic groups. Although it does not carry the original meaning of urbanization it does not have the same connotation as the word tradition. It seems to have some sort of modern connotation, relating to a developing society in distinction from local terminologies (see Jerman, op.cit., 1992).

75 Lugha ya Taifa [the language of the nation] is Swahili.
76 Personal diary 21/5 1977, Miono.
77 Transl. Philip Donner.
78 Nowadays this national celebration day has been reinterpreted and got a new contents, it is called Siku ya wakulima [The peasants' day].
79 Yoneyama prefers to call them "world cultural elements" (1973, 4, 14).
80 A civil servant at the Ministry of National Culture told Philip Donner about Nyerere’s reaction in Dar es Salaam 1978 (personal information from Donner, 1994).

81 Cf. Chapter 1:4.
82 Philip Donner and Daudi Kitolero Personal diary, 1977.
84 Katoke and Lucas, 1975, 21.
85 They were called wageni because they were supposed to have a jumbe of their own in another area, an area to which they, according to the British native administration system, 'belonged'.
86 Cf. VI:2:4, note 64.
87 Personal diary 1977, Bagamoyo District.
88 Because of the way it was done I have no reason to think that this could have happened because of my specific research topic in the Jipemoyoyo Project.
89 The Haya director strongly denied his alleged ambition to posit a Haya officer as his successor in 1977.
90 The Haya and Chagga come from areas of better educational infrastructure because of the mission work.
91 Personal diary, Mbezi 1977. Note that this informant was not a resident of the Bagamoyo District. She lived outside Dar es Salaam in Kawe.
92 Maandazi (pl.) are sweet small buns made of wheat flour.
95 Recorded interview HJ/16.11.1978.
96 Personal information, 1981.
97 As previously mentioned, cultivators often use this term when they speak about the Parakuyo. The latter find this name derogatory.
98 Handeni is a district near the Bagamoyo District.
99 UTAf 1977/22.16.
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