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Introduction

Nairobi was planned and built as a commercial and administrative centre for the white population of Kenya. The city was the result of the grandiose railway construction between Mombasa and Uganda in the beginning of this century. Nairobi reluctantly adapted itself to the presence of Asians, railway workers and traders, and even more reluctantly to that of an African population : Returned soldiers from the First World War, traders, domestic servants, and assistants to safaris.

As time passed Africans became of great importance as a labour force and the colonial view of Africans as temporary inhabitants of the city had to be modified. Africans who worked fitted well into colonial perceptions. But Africans who did not work, who had free time or maybe no regular work at all, were thought of as an anomaly. Children and youth were a problem, as were women not living in a permanent relationship with a man. Unemployed adult men were a tricky group, and men who had regular employment did not work for 24 hours — they had free time in which it was desirable that they be suitably occupied.

The growth in diseases, prostitution and crime was a symptom of the problem, and could not be limited to the areas in which the Africans lived. 1941 saw an outbreak of plague in Nairobi. Something had to be done, and the authorities got down to planning and building during and after the war, at a time when the problems were intensified because of the return of the African soldiers who had to be integrated in society.

The Government and the City Council began the construction of family housing instead of cells for single men. The new estates such

as Ziwani and Kaloleni were equipped with communal facilities in recognition of the fact that Africans of both sexes and of all ages had become permanent city dwellers.

Until the outbreak of the Second World War the central preoccupation of the City Council in Nairobi was control of the African urban population. With the lifting of the economic depression in the late 1930s, and the greater social development interest from the metropolitan colonial administration which resulted in the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, the balance shifted in favour of 'positive action'. Notions of development, education, and recreation come to play an increasing role in the planning of urban space and urban activities for Africans. This trend lasted until the beginning of the 1950s when measures of security and control again became paramount. From 1953-54, after the first panic caused by Mau Mau was over, strong emphasis was again put on welfare and development, but policies reflected the deep divisions within the African population, and within both official and unofficial European power holders.

The aim of this presentation is to illuminate notions of leisure for urban Africans held by the colonial administration, particularly those sections closely involved with welfare, and describe the activities which officials initiated accordingly to fill out free time in what was seen as an appropriate manner. And in a more scattered way to give glimpses of African reactions to the colonial perceptions and the proposed activities. I wish to suggest that structures created by the colonial administration contributed to creating an African mass or an African public, and that some activities and structures were taken over and put to use by the emerging African elite and the nationalist movement.¹

Construction of Communities : Theories and Realities

In the view of professor Partha Chatterjee, British colonial authorities did not allow their subjects to be citizens, but were keen

to see them as members of communities.² In Kenya the creation of communities was linked to a fundamental issue of control: How to group and categorise Africans ? In the creation of entities more localised than nation, community was a central concept and tool for the administration. It had to do with European perceptions of Africans, and it had to do with the creation of structures for local government - what was to be the basis of representation ?

It was tempting and in tune with 'indirect rule' thinking for the colonial administration to regard communities as being tribally based and use tribe as a category for understanding and planning for Africans. The most thorough experience of Africans by Europeans came from the rural areas. Features of the mode of production, language, and material culture of a certain locality lent themselves to a categorisation in tribes. And knowledge of local languages and customs was the hallmark of a good District Commissioner.³

But Africans in cities were a different matter. In Nairobi and Mombasa of the 1930s and 40s Africans were on the whole not housed and had not housed themselves according to ethnic criteria.⁴ Urban life offered the possibility of unfolding identities, less fixed in time and space than those based on tribe. When Africans cheered at football matches between Uganda and Kenya they did so on the basis of being Kenyans.⁵ When they struck in 1939 and 1947, boycotted European beer, buses, markets, hats and tobacco in the early 1950s, they delineated and invested in identities which were a complex and ever changing mixture of race, worker consciousness, and entrepreneurial spirit.

An early term in the official discourse to describe Africans in towns was 'detrribalised'. It is not difficult to visualise officials shuddering at the thought of Africans outside the control of elders and without the guidance and sanctions of local custom. In Nairobi and Mombasa one attempt to fill the gap was Native Urban Tribunals,

set up in 1932 and 1940, respectively. They were manned by people of various ethnic and religious origins, and were active in codifying rules and behavior, suited to urban life. The courts were self-consciously modern. According to Arthur Phillips, who made a survey of them, the urban courts had 'no roots whatever in tribal customs or traditions', because 'the requirements of African society under modern urban conditions often made traditional principles quite inapplicable'.⁶ But control and regulation of conflicts did not create communities.

Rather than modernising communities, based on identities other than tribe, what in fact emerged in urban centres was what may be described as an African mass from the point of view of politics and political organisation, or an African public, from the point of view of the emergence of public opinion and the modern mass media. In both areas the government clashed with the African elite. African political organisations and media were suppressed, censored and prescribed, but at the same time some initiatives were regulated, co-opted, and imitated.

The task of setting up an administrative structure which might represent Africans in an advisory role in Nairobi fell on Thomas Askwith. He was seconded to the City Council from the Government as African Affairs Officer in 1945 and had to decide on which basis Africans should be recruited for the African Advisory Council, which in its turn sent representatives to the African Affairs Committee of the City Council.

He set out the problem: 'The choice must be made as to whether the development should be along tribal or non-tribal lines'. He recommended 'the more arduous course of developing a non-tribal organisation' as the basis for local government.⁷ He came round to this view only after a discussion of the merits of native tribal associations as forces of social cohesion, in which the voice of KAU

was also heard : Organisation along tribal lines 'is an attempt to create a discontented African populations in Nairobi ... [an] application of the divide and rule Unity has proved the key to progress'.⁸

Askwith, like Thomas Colchester - his predecessor as MNAO - believed in cohesion whether on the basis of tribe or vocation, and like other modernisers envisaged phases of development, furthered by active policies :

Africans are encouraged to group themselves into associations... The first is the tribal association which concerns itself with the preservation of the best traditions of the tribe. The second is the commercial guild... the third is political , giving expression to the aspirations and grievances of the African.

His view is similar to that of Mary Parker who in the late 1940s made a study, commissioned by the Colonial Office, on the political and social background for local government. She was quite clear about the desirable organisation of urban areas and argued that social life in Nairobi was organised in communities which were definitely inter-ethnic, and ought to be inter-racial as well. Which they were not.

A large part of her report was devoted to substantiating her modernising case at various levels. Most importantly she documented existing urban institutions many of which were mixed in terms of religion and ethnicity and had arisen without the meddling of the authorities. She did a survey of African Associations in Mombasa, listing name, membership figures, aims, and bases of organisation. Although many were tribal she found that about half stemmed from different social categories : race, occupation, place of residence in the city, status, and generation. She regretted that important cultural organisations such as football clubs were still formed and conducted along ethnic lines.

Her conclusion was that these modern associations 'in a measure replaced tribal institutions', 'though I do not deny that tribal allegiance is still strong.' She believed that urban Africans were, as she called it, 'being weaned away' from tribe on a residential, occupational, and nationalistic basis.⁹ In 1956, when Kenyan society had to find its feet again after the shake-up of Mau Mau, Gordon Wilson, the government sociologist who had made detailed studies of housing in Nairobi, came to the same conclusion: 'We must consciously channel the natural development from tribalism towards wider groups of association to groups which are founded on common interests and which are non-racial'.¹⁰

Although Thomas Askwith recognised the strength of tribal associations particularly in the provision of welfare he was not a believer in tribal control. Nor was he misled by the African elite. When after consultations he agreed to ward and village representation, which undoubtedly favoured the literate elite, he was in tune with actual policies in Kenya, where chiefs were not 'traditional', and with the social engineering which arose out of early modernisation thinking. He was much ahead of settler attitudes to Africans, and later proved to be too liberal for administrators within the Kenya Government hierarchy, in which 'community development' was not highly regarded.¹¹

In the early 1940s questions were asked in the British Parliament about the progress made by the Kenya Government in the area of housing and recreational facilities for the African population of Nairobi. It was recommended that estates built for Africans should contain sports fields, community centres, and other communal facilities. When the matter was discussed in the settler dominated Municipal Council the answer was that Nairobi already had a native stadium and a community hall, Pumwani Memorial Hall, built in 1923.¹² Over the next years, however, external political pressure and internal pressure from the urban social problems, led to a concerted

effort being made in the area of housing and recreation facilities. Some officials included Africans in their discussions.¹³

In this period tribe was not used as a tool for urban planning and control. But racial segregation was a corner stone, as can be seen in the *Nairobi Master Plan* worked out by a team of South Africans.¹⁴ This influence was, however, combined with the contemporary planning considerations growing out of the garden-city movement in Britain, which gave rise to big scale housing programmes there after the war. In the 1940s the experience of building up welfare for the working classes in Britain was judged relevant.¹⁵

When Starehe was planned Thomas Colchester consulted tenants and in preparation of the Kaloleni estate he got together an advisory panel which included a doctor, an architect, and the supervisor of locations. According to Colchester they 'knew all the Gospel, including Ebenezer Howard'.¹⁶ They did not, however, have local knowledge enough to realise that cement floors were a health hazard compared to traditional absorbent dung floors, or that kitchens should be separated from living quarters, because of 'fear of spells', as Colchester thought now.¹⁷

In a memorandum from 1945 Thomas Askwith, set out the post-war plans :

The latest [quarters] are all semi-detached cottages, suitable for family life...The new housing estates have been planned with the object of forming communities of ca 3000 persons, it having been learned that this is the optimum population for a manageable estate. In each settlement the following amenities are to be provided : Social Hall, public house, child welfare clinic, nursery school, shops... dairy, sports ground, village centre in the form of small park ... The whole group of estates is served by a central community centre..., a market,

mission churches, maternity home, sports stadium, V.D. clinic, and a primary School. ¹⁸

If one disregards the V.D. clinics, the plan evokes images of the ideal communities of imagined English villages and garden cities. According to Luise White, the 'colonial fantasy' cherished by Europeans was to have Africans 'live like the respectable English workers one job, one house, one wife'.¹⁹

The setting up of a Native Housing Authority was discussed. A vexed Medical Officer, Dr. Drury, reacted with impatience to the many discussions on the needs of the African population. Dr. Drury suggested that what Africans wanted from a house was security and privacy. But what they got were 'pokey replicas of a European house at a cost bearing no relation to the earning power of the African and the wealth of the Colony'.²⁰

Detailed regulations were set out for government housing built for Africans in the middle of the 1950s: 'The occupier shall plant up with grass and flowers the area adjacent to his house and maintain it in good order.' Furthermore, 'The playing of musical instrument and singing is strictly prohibited after 10 p. m.'²¹ The City Council suggested the creation of a town band which might play in the locations on Sundays.

In spite of research and efforts by individuals associated with housing and welfare, it seems fairly clear that the European administration had only vague notions of the needs and desires of urban Africans, but clear notions of its own needs and ideals.

The build-up of the Mau Mau movement put an effective brake on non-tribal thinking and planning certainly among the administration, and probably increasingly among the African urban population. With screening and segregation of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru in Nairobi, and their expulsion from the city which began

in 1953 and culminated with Operation Anvil in April 1954, tribe was back with a vengeance. Because of the ungovernability of African neighbourhoods, and the rising influence of Kikuyu in Nairobi, as the authorities saw it, seven locations were enclosed in barbed wire in October 1953. The change on name from 'location' to 'estate' in 1955 cannot have made much difference to those behind the wire.

Work and Free Time

In response to a suggestion of hiring out radio sets to Africans in Nairobi, the Governor of Kenya is reported to have said, 'it is a fact that the great social need of Africans to-day is entertainment'.²² To think of Africans as having leisure and needing entertainment is a reflection of the entrenchment of African labour in the post-war economic boom, and the problems the administration had in containing workers.²³

'Leisure' is a colonial or modern invention arising out of the European need to regard Africans as workers. If you do not have work, you do not have leisure. Work in the form it was needed by Europeans, wage labour, presupposes a certain way of computing time, of dividing a day in one's own and somebody else's time. And a certain view of space, accepting one place for work, and another for reproduction and free time. These views of time and space are different from those pertaining in 'traditional' or subsistence based societies.

For most of the period the government attempted to regulate entry of Africans into Nairobi. In theory only those who were employed and their closest dependents were present in the city. In reality the city was a magnet for poor, displaced peasants, particularly Kikuyu from the Reserves and settled areas. For a long time these people, living in informal settlements or overcrowding the housing in the locations, were considered targets for action from the police and medical departments rather than beneficiaries of policies and

provisions from departments dealing with education, housing, and welfare. Qualified and controllable labour was scarce — in spite of efforts by the business community the length of the working day could not be stretched beyond eight or nine hours. Which left the labour force with many hours of freedom.²⁴

The colonial administration did not doubt that employed Africans who were legally in the city were their responsibility, also outside the working hours. How might they be occupied? Officials had difficulties in catching sight of the cultural activities and institutions which already existed in urban areas. What Preben Kaarsholm writes in his essay on Bulawayo was true with some modifications of Nairobi: 'The claims by Council officials that they were moving into a chaotic, cultural vacuum to provide structures for 'participation', 'associations' and 'healthy home life' activities, however, tended to ignore a wide range of popular cultural genres and institutions which were already there, but could be moulded and tentatively domesticated by municipal initiatives. 'Tea parties, shebeen and beer hall entertainment comprised a lot more than just drinking and prostitution', and he mentions jazz, choral societies, *mbube* competitions and various forms of dancing.²⁵

So officials started from scratch, turning themselves not only into planners and social engineers, constructing community halls and football pitches, but also into pedagogues, devising new forms of social interaction and competition — the rules of the game.

Not everybody thought that entertainment was the answer. Some officials involved with welfare observed that Africans were very unwilling to waste time — it had to be spent profitably. Workers were interested in joining a football club only if it served to further their career, they would rather join evening classes in English than play draughts. Thomas Askwith thought that the preferred leisure activity was politics — reading newspapers, planning, plotting.²⁶ His

view reflected the colonial fear of African elites creating a culture of opposition, and implied that the quality of what went into free time was as much a problem as the immoderate quantity of that time.

He suggested that the use of the existing social halls, Pumwani and Kaloleni, be reorganised in such a way that they were used for entertainment only in the evenings, and for education during the day. His ideas were influential in forming the curriculum of Jeanes School, run first by the army, then from 1949 by the government, to train Africans in government work, primarily within the community development area.²⁷

A recognition of the importance of recreation was a central feature of the Jeanes educational ideals, preferably forms of recreation which were rooted in the African tradition. Curriculum in this area should include 'some instruction in language, music, drama, sports and games, and inculcation of some proper pride in traditional forms of expression, and of how to develop them into new idioms.'²⁸

Civics were taught, and courses were given to chiefs and chiefs' wives. The school was firmly in the hands of 'loyalists'. From 1956 it was part of the portfolio of the first African who controversially accepted a ministry, B. A. Ohanga. According to critics the Jeanes Schools offered 'either irrelevant courses or inadequate services'.²⁹ All the same, in the 1950s, settlers were suspicious of the schools and thought that the activities going on were a hidden way of preparing Africans for self-government.

Quite appropriately, from the control point of view, another important source of inspiration for dealing with African leisure was army life. In the army during the Second World War the welfare of large numbers of Africans was the responsibility of the British. African soldiers were present not only during work hours, but for 24 hours every day of the week. How to fill out their leisure in an orderly and profitable manner became the concern of the officers

and the African NCOs some of whom were later trained at Jeanes School before being sent out into the rural areas.³⁰

So various leisure activities and institutions were invented and instituted in the army. Not so much, perhaps, from scratch, but rather from experience of the needs and preferences of British soldiers.³¹ Indoor activities— film shows, games, talks, radio— were organised in so called Information Rooms, and that kind of space, devoted to leisure and self-improvement, became a central feature of the community facilities for Africans.³²

It is difficult to know the reactions of the African soldiers to the benevolent facilities provided by the army. And much easier to get access to European discourse interpreting their reactions. An army chaplain enthused over the opportunities for the African soldiers.

None of us who took part in the development of information and recreation rooms in the army will forget the *askaris'* growing enthusiasm for them, the happy centre of life they came to be ... Here is an invaluable instrument that could easily be organised at strategic centres throughout the territory.³³

What is known from the political history of Kenya is that the government expected the returning African soldiers to present the administration with a social problem of unprecedented dimensions, and that this expectation contributed to a drastic increase in the interest in African welfare, often in the form of planning for community development. In the official vocabulary the problem was to *reabsorb* soldiers, whose social and political expectations had risen because of their exposure to an international milieu, including colonies on the verge of independence. If the army was the *ersatz* family of the African soldiers, they were expected to have become precocious and unruly by the time they left it.

From the point of view of the administration reabsorption meant preferably sending the Africans back to the reserves where, however, they were expected to subsist rather than make progress. It meant the active suppression of attempts to organise the ex soldiers at a national level. It meant upgrading the communities in which the soldiers were meant to integrate themselves, not in terms of input of capital, new technologies and training, but rather through the provision of community facilities along the lines which appeared to have been efficient in army life.

Around 60,000 African soldiers returned after the war, 'many of them with broadened views and some with inflated notions of their own importance'. In the view of the Chief Native Commissioner the initiatives taken by the government meant that 'in the event ... the well-designed machinery for demobilisation worked admirably' and 'gradually a new social equilibrium ... was achieved'.³⁴ Undoubtedly, however, many returned soldiers ended up living on the margins of official Nairobi.

The community centres were deployed strategically, as the army chaplain had suggested. Those in the rural areas were more dependent on voluntary effort and local gifts and grants than those in the urban areas. The latter were controlled by the local government, and financed from the Native Trust Fund, largely money paid for beer by Africans, and government loans.

The earliest was the one built in Pumwani, a mixed location in which Africans were allowed to own land and build their houses. This was the heart of African Nairobi, and the area was unruly.³⁵ The 'low standard of public sense amongst the inhabitants of Pumwani' was notorious, and community development personnel had to double their efforts in order to instill their notions of health into 'the backward tribes which are handled. The more so since the women are mentally much more retarded than the men'.³⁶ Nevertheless, the

proportion of women was high for an African location, and when the V.D. clinic was moved during the Emergency for security reasons, the African Affairs Department took over the premises for spinning and weaving. At the same time the Memorial Hall was temporarily taken over by the District Commissioner and the police, but in 1956 the hall was again the venue for meetings and dances, shows, and amateur talent contests. Pumwani Memorial Hall had Kenya's first jukebox installed in 1958.³⁷

A reading room was part of the facilities, but the books were out of date and never used. It was closed in 1952 and the books were transferred to Kaloleni Social Hall.³⁸

Kaloleni was the biggest and most ambitious of all the social halls in Nairobi. It was meant to be the centre for the Kaloleni Estate, built by the Municipal Council in the mid-forties to house African railway workers. It was brought into use in 1947 — a Baby Show was one of the first activities.³⁹ In spite of its efforts the authorities had difficulties in controlling activities here as elsewhere. In that same year nationalist meetings were held, and later mass meetings continued to be held in the hall, such as the meeting deciding to boycott African participation in the Nairobi civic celebrations in 1950. Kaloleni became the most important meeting place for the nationalist resistance in the 1950s.

To Thomas Askwith looking back, the community halls with their indoor facilities were a glaring example of British unimaginativeness when it came to devising institutions and space for a different social and climatic setting, but they 'became useful for political meetings'.⁴⁰

Neither the military nor the welfare way of thinking sufficed to control and 'develop' Africans in Nairobi. Quite other forces and social energies were instrumental in forming leisure activities, and these forces could not be contained in the evening classes and information rooms of the ideal, European devised 'community'.

Making and Breaking Popular Culture

The 1950s was a period of the greatest social tension due to the energies released by the Mau Mau movement and its military and political suppression. Among non-settler Europeans there was an atmosphere of moral panic, similar to the one just after the war. All efforts towards the improvement and pacification of Africans were welcome, including some political representation, but short of granting land and independence, and spending too much money.

At the height of violence Askwith regretted that colonial rule meant that the fun had been taken out of African life and expressed the pious hope, that his Community Development Department might contribute to restoring 'gaiety and laughter to community life'.⁴¹

Four years later the Colony Music and Drama Officer, Graham Hyslop, spelled out the Jeanes School way of thinking on cultural transformation: 'It has long been recognised that a constructive and imaginative use of leisure can do much to fill the vacuum left by the abandonment of many traditional forms of entertainment'. Hyslop's emphasis was on 'cultural' initiatives in the modern sense of culture, including, 'seeking to establish a dramatic tradition in this country', reflecting 'the full blooded life of the community'. Hyslop himself like the Director of Information, J. H. Reiss, wrote plays in Swahili one of which was performed at the African Christmas Entertainment at the National Theatre with some Choral singing and 'a little conjuring'.⁴²

In between Dedan Githugi, Assistant African Affairs Officer and advisor to Thomas Askwith, gave a lecture at Jeanes School on African Social Welfare. He discussed why Africans did not enthusiastically throw themselves into the colonially devised welfare and recreation activities.

Many of the welfare activities are new to Africans. In the old days Africans used to spend their leisure time in Dances which include : a) Ability to show skill in the way they danced. b) Ability to decorate oneself, which is an inherited instinct. c) Attraction of young girls. All these combinations produced an incentive which is hard to resist. In some tribes Africans spend their time in competitive games which were judged by individual ability. There is a complete change over from African dances and games to European. The change is not bad but when it takes place suddenly, it is very difficult for the new recipient to adjust oneself to the new change, more especially where the Western way of life has not been passed to the African by actual racial contact...Europeans ought to know for themselves the reactions of Welfare they give to Africans so that necessary changes can be made before big schemes are embarked upon.

And he explained why the proposed activities got a much less enthusiastic response from Africans in the urban areas than from those living in the rural areas : In the rural areas Africans were owners of property and happy to spend time and money in establishing schools and community halls. 'In Nairobi however, things are different, people feel that they are not in their homes and many of them have not as yet realised that they will live or have lived in Nairobi for many years so as to regard it as their own homes'.⁴³

Neither the ceremony of lighting the Mayor's Christmas Tree, nor the bus excursion for Africans who presumably had nothing to do on a Sunday to the newly opened Nairobi Safari Park were relevant. The colonial leisure activities did not make sense, they were neither aesthetically nor sensually pleasing, and had roots only in policies of benevolent welfare.

The Creation of a Public

The Second World War and the growing nationalist movement meant that the relative isolation which had been characteristic of both settlers and the African population in Kenya was broken. Interest in international and national politics was higher than ever before. Africans moved away from cultural communities and pushed for citizenry. The war effort needed allegiance from the African population, and the administration had to think of effective ways of disseminating information and propaganda. This implied the use of modern techniques of information, and the constitution of the African population as a public. The basis of the new ability of the urban Africans to become a public was a different experience of time, divided between work and leisure, and of space, divided between work place and living quarters.

In Kenya as elsewhere the social preconditions for the emergence of a public were present in towns to a higher extent than in rural areas. Wage labour and the concomitant division of time and space were present in rural areas also, as were educational opportunities, established by the missions and by the independent school movements. But townspeople were more deeply marked by the modern conditions. They were partly cut off from their home area and were open to the new forms of social organisation and cultural practice of the cities.

As can be seen from the attendance at political meetings Africans were moving away from parochial communities and on the way to becoming a 'mass'. A precondition for the formation of a mass public is size. At the census in 1948 the number of Africans in Nairobi was 65,000, in 1960 almost 160,000.⁴⁴ The administration still favoured a view of Africans in cities as belonging to communities, but in fact contributed to forming urban Africans into a public by its welfare, educational and information policies.

Only when a group of people is able and motivated to receive cultural production as communication, does it become a public. Common features which are central for the ability of an individual to receive communication are free time, mobility, literacy, and money.⁴⁵ Features which are needed to create the motivation of a public to receive communication are comparable experience, needs and aspirations. These features were present with the African population in post-war Nairobi.

So were the preconditions for the production of mass culture. A suitable and attractive supply and means of transmission of cultural products in a particular form was needed. Practices of art and culture in the city were breaking away from the socialising and ritual functions which they had in rural communities. In urban areas mass cultural products were available in the market in the same way as other commodities. Similarly information and propaganda were mass produced and transmitted by the authorities via the new media, newspapers, books, pamphlets, radio, and film.

The outcome was that during and after the war Africans in Nairobi constituted themselves as an audience for cultural products, produced and transmitted in other ways than from mouth to mouth, and under different social conditions.

In spite of their responsibility for this social transformation the colonial administration did not like giving up the idea of grouping Africans in small controllable units. They were reluctant to hand over initiative in the areas of culture and information to Africans and the impersonal market forces. The officials were not sure that it was advisable to encourage Africans to enjoy mass entertainment and information rather than take part in firmly monitored welfare activities.

They noted the existence of a 'public opinion', were worried that uninformed rumour contributed greatly to it, and tried to counter it,

using various techniques of propaganda, including the dissemination of alternative rumours. The intensification of information activities in the emergency situations during the war and during Mau Mau probably speeded up the process by which an impersonal public was created in spite of the ambience of political oppression, pass laws, curfews, and locations behind barbed wire.

In the long run it did not matter whether the authorities wished for an African mass public or not. The process was irreversible because control cannot be all encompassing, because the subjective and the social preconditions were there, and because mass culture was being offered in the city and was regarded as attractive by Africans.

In what follows I shall briefly describe discussions and initiatives in three areas which from the mid-40s made inroads into African leisure: Newspapers and books, radio, and film.

The Written Media

In his Annual Report from 1945 Thomas Askwith observed that the 'most popular and almost only form of literature among Africans is the newspapers and these are almost entirely full of politics'.⁴⁶ Newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets written for Africans were available in Kenya as early as the 1920s. Between forty and fifty newspapers for an African audience came out intermittently in the period up to 1952.⁴⁷

Jomo Kenyatta's monthly newspaper *Mwigwithania*, written in Kikuyu and started in 1928, is the most well known of all African publications. But other nationalist politicians used newspapers in the various Kenyan languages for political propaganda and debate. Achieng' Oneko was involved in *Nyanza Times* W.W.W. Awori ran *Habari za Dunia*, which became a platform for Tom Mboya, was one of the editors of the K. A.U. newspaper *Sauti Ya Mwafrika* and moved

on to publish his own daily, *Radio Posta*. Paul Ngei had his own Swahili Newspaper.⁴⁸ The newspapers were regarded by the authorities as highly dangerous: 'In the world of the African Press the Editor is the newspaper.... The Editor, who generally possesses low standard of education, publishes what he feels, mixing news with Editorial Matters.'⁴⁹

In the early 1950s there was an attempt by the Government to co-opt the African Press by means of the carrot and stick strategy. Editors were alternately offered money and assistance, and prosecuted and threatened with having their printing presses seized. They were generally very sceptical of government motives, but had few options. Victor Wokabi, editor of *Muthamaki*, was brought to court in 1951 for sedition on the basis of passages like: 'In a murder case, if there is insufficient evidence, a man is acquitted, but there is no judge nor lawyer in Mau Mau cases.'⁵⁰ The Press Liaison Officer wrote to the Attorney General and told of the new government policy to 'get the African Press more under control by providing them from government funds with a reasonable printing press.'⁵¹ Wokabi and his printer were acquitted after having apologised in Court. On the 12 February 1951 an anti-Mau Mau article appeared in *Muthamaki*.

In 1950 the Kikuyu newspaper *Mumenyereria* printed a letter which warned against believing in what was printed in free government newspapers: 'Whenever you see a European give you anything free, remember that there is something he is trying to get out of you.' The paper commented:

The fact of the matter is when the Africans publish a fact in their Press, the Europeans are never happy about it, therefore they begin speaking evil about it by saying that such a newspaper is not good and that it should be banned. But there is no reason why the African Press should publish articles just to suit Europeans while the

Europeans do not publish theirs to suit the Africans, simply because our needs are different to theirs.

Mumenyereri ended the article by quoting a Kikuyu proverb, 'Chase a man with truth and he will go away for good. But if you chase a man with a stick, he will turn back to you with a stick'.⁵²

With the Emergency most African run papers were closed. *Habari za Dunia*, however, came out until 1954, and *Ramogi*, which was based in Kaloleni and written in Luo also continued into the Emergency.⁵³ It lived up to the wishes of the administration in concerning itself only with local matters.

The government's information and propaganda activities intensified in the period up to and during the war. It was important to recruit soldiers and to persuade the remaining African population to work harder both in subsistence production and wage labour.

In the late 1930s the government decided to support the publication of *Baraza*, a weekly supplement in English and Swahili for Africans published together with *East African Standard*, the leading European newspaper in Kenya. The first issue was out on the 16th of September 1939 in 17,000 copies and was an immediate success. *Baraza* received more than a hundred Letters to the Editor every week and became an important forum for the exchange of cultural and political information between Africans and the government.

Right from the start, however, the authorities attempted to censor the paper when it brought reports from African political meetings or complaints on the running of local affairs. The Managing Director of *East African Standard* protested in a letter to the Secretariat: '*Baraza's* success will depend upon the confidence it receives as a medium of expression of the aspirations and grievances of the African'.⁵⁴ In 1942 *Baraza* was cut down by half, from eight to four pages, the reason given being lack of paper, and in 1945 the government withdrew its economic support, but *Baraza* continued and published stories and letters by Africans.

East African Literature Bureau was established in 1948 on the basis of recommendations by Elspeth Huxley, to provide reading material for Africans in English, Swahili, and indigenous languages. It was funded by the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme, and was meant to work for the production as well as distribution of written material in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. It used the sale channels which had already been established by Charles Richards of the Church Mission Society, who became the Director of the Bureau.

EALB was put in charge of starting a library service for East Africa - by 1957 it had established 200 Book Box Libraries in East Africa, and a postal library service which had 5000 members.⁵⁵ It produced books for courses at Jeanes School, material for literacy campaigns, by 1953 primers in five East African languages were available, and from 1952 it published a popular magazine in Swahili, *Tazama*, which reached a circulation of 23,000. Its aim was to address 'its readers as people, with ordinary interests and problems'.⁵⁶ Charles Richards was particularly interested in furthering African writing, and EALB initiated literary competitions, published Swahili Plays, and pamphlets for prospective African writers. The Eagle Fiction Library was to help promote an 'indigenous school of literature', and paved the way for future writers, including Ngugi wa Thiong'o.⁵⁷

Distribution of written material rather than production was the problem. The government did not have a clear language policy at the time, and apparently English was in greater demand than Swahili or other African languages. The books available were not seen as relevant enough to overcome the problem of cost or availability in the small and scattered shops and libraries. Askwith like Charles Richards thought that Africans were interested in writing, whereas the emphasis of the colonial government was on reading.⁵⁸

At this point in time it is difficult to assess the real potential for furthering interest in literature on the basis of offerings like for instance a publication on mothercraft, the life of soldiers in Kamba, a series of books on early travellers in English, and a collection of poetry in Swahili. Some publications from EALBs list in the 1950's seem to be far removed from the concerns of Africans in that turbulent period, whereas others certainly met a need.

A proposal for an idyllic tale of Kikuyu villages in 1955 was turned down by the Bureau on the recommendation of Askwith, now Commissioner of Community Development, and in charge of Mau Mau rehabilitation camps, who pointed out that 'at the moment the vast majority of the Kikuyu population live in villages for strategic rather than economic and social reasons' - the notorious fortified villages of the Mau Mau period.⁵⁹ The Bureau also considered but rejected a manuscript by Henry Kuria, who had written Kikuyu plays for use in the Rehabilitation Centres, on 'Organisation of Recreational Activities in Kikuyu'. The problem was that Kuria's ideas on recreation were too colonial and not sufficiently rooted in the indigenous activities of the Kikuyu.⁶⁰

Film

In the late 1920s the administration began to be concerned with Africans as a potential audience for films. The central issue was supervision and control: How to make censorship regulations directed only at the African population of the Colony. A 'Committee on Censorship' was set up. Africans were seen as being incapable of understanding finer shades of meaning in European and American films, and might even misconstrue love scenes which to the European eye were innocent, in such a way as to cast a slur on the morals of white people. Africans were not even as advanced as European children when it came to decoding films, according to the views of the committee.⁶¹

The result of the deliberations was that film shows for Africans must take place in segregated localities. Pumwani Memorial Hall was the earliest venue for public film shows for Africans. In 1956, 258 films were shown in the Hall.⁶²

Ernest Vasey, who later became Mayor of Nairobi and Finance Minister, was brought out to look after the cinemas in Nairobi, among them Empire Cinema which could house eight hundred persons. Vasey instituted shows for Africans once a week, especially of comic films.⁶³ In the early 1950s the Director of the African Information Services, J. H. Reiss, grumbled about the taste of urban Africans when it came to films. Africans in the rural areas were happy to watch educational films. 'Who pays for your Education' was reported to be very popular in spite of its not very promising title.⁶⁴ In the towns where 'there are commercial and sub-standard film shows for Africans it is extremely difficult to get a showing of our educational films as the audiences demand cowboys and more cowboys'.⁶⁵

In the period after 1950 the use of the film medium in propaganda was intensified. Tours of the rural areas were frequent, particularly of Kikuyu country. The film shows were given from a mobile 'cinema unit' and big audiences were reported, numbering between 500 and 3000 people.

Prior to the shows grammophone music was played - 'the Kikuyus seem to prefer rhumba' - attracting the audience to the display of books from the East African Literature Bureau. Then radio programmes from the African Services were listened to, and finally came the showing of for instance 'Cleanliness Brings Health', which was received with enthusiasm, or 'March to Victory' which was not so popular.⁶⁶

The behavior of the audience was observed and generally given good marks. Ask with thought, however, that people in the rural areas ought to show more respect and take off their hats when 'God Save the Queen' was played.⁶⁷

A multi-racial benevolent organisation, 'Committee on African Advance, in 1953 suggested open air film shows for Africans in the Sports Stadium in Mombasa. The Mombasa African Affairs Officer was piqued:

Mombasa Africans do not need entertaining *en masse* after dark. Most of them like to be at home by then. Should they be encouraged to go out? Once out, will they not want to 'go on' somewhere after the show? Where will they go if not to bars?.... The films which are likely to have the greatest success are these about the 'Wild West' or 'Cops and Robbers'. Should these films be thrust at the masses?⁶⁸

In line with the general philosophy of improvement he makes it clear that 'playing fields' and 'village halls' have a much higher priority for the municipal authorities in Mombasa.⁶⁹ In Nairobi, however, the City Council after some discussion organised open air film shows in the African Stadium from 1955.

Radio

World War II accelerated the establishment of radio programmes and radio reception for Africans. Radio as a medium was well suited to spread propaganda, education, and local news in various languages. Radio sets and studios were put up decentrally, and provincial information officers were given the task of collecting and transmitting local news and cultural items. Louis Leakey's activities in the area reflected the government approach in that they 'included a news bulletin, talks on largely agrarian subjects, and popular African music'.⁷⁰ African broadcasters were employed and were able to find material of great interest to African listeners. The whole operation was run via the Provinces and Districts, and tightly controlled. It was a two way affair, and both ends of the communication process were relevant to intelligence and propaganda.⁷¹

A participatory approach was characteristic of some of the European personnel. In a report from one, W. A. Richardson, one can read about a local radio programme 'Happy Hour' sent once a week from Muthurwa, an estate built for Africans employed by the railways. Richardson was satisfied: 'About twenty of the educated Africans have managed to purchase their own mandolines, violins, banjos, and guitars, assisted by the payments they receive for broadcasting and they have formed an excellent orchestra.'⁷² For the recording sessions around 500 local people would gather to hear the programme. Initially only men would come along, but gradually children and then women would join.

Richardson continues his description of what sounds as an occasion of a happy mingling of vital and sophisticated African music, and an alert effort from the authorities to encourage the dynamism of African culture, and not only its preservation:

The most appreciated items are undoubtedly the songs of the strolling minstrels we occasionally manage to attract. These men never work and never know where their next meal will come from. They travel all over the country and are artists in the best sense of the word. Their queer home made instruments are museum pieces, and their tales of mighty deeds, and songs of the joys and sorrows of the ancient days are listened to in breathless delight, and a deep sigh at the close of the item denotes the appreciation of the listeners.⁷³

Music choice was an area which was much debated, both internally among programme officers and by listeners who sent in complaints and suggestions. Hymns praising God 'in different languages' were requested, as were records with Paul Robeson. A listener asked for more accordian music instead of the native harp records which are 'allright but they are not for amusement.' From the District Office, Fort Hall. came a complaint:

I have been asked by a local committee to protest against the type of music used between items in the Kikuyu Broadcasts, it is, they say, of a type which is enjoyed by the 'Nairobi-ised' Spiv. I agree. Last Friday's 30 minute programme contained 7 minutes devoted to 'music'. Three of them to South American Samba, with vocal chorus referring to kisses and love making, the rest to an American number of an extremely odious nature. The Kikuyu of this reserve does not appreciate such horrific noises.⁷⁴

More Kikuyu music was requested as an alternative.

The discussion reflects the existing tension between seeing Africans as communities, gathering around their own localised culture, or as a public, already made receptive to an international popular mass culture. And it carries overtones of approval of 'separate development', a development ideal which was present in the colonial history of Kenya, especially within the area of town planning and educational and cultural policies. The ideological war which was conducted in Kenya in the 1950s, and thus the importance of effective communication, led to experiments with both form and contents in radio programmes. Dialogic forms like interviews and discussions were seen to be particularly liked by listeners, and quizzes, 'mock parliament', children's programmes and radio plays were regular features.

Some plays were Swahili versions of popular foreign narratives, for instance Rip van Winkle. Others were written by officials such as J.H. Reiss. One dealt with a comic misunderstanding between a white Madam and her African house-boy, due to her very rudimentary Swahili - 'Ki-settler'. Another, *Anti-Mau Mau*, written by an African broadcaster John Gitonga, was fairly straight Government propaganda: 'Government forces are there to help you, you have heard that Mau Mau has stopped many development schemes, if there was no Mau Mau in a few years Kikuyu country could have

looked like paradise; because God had proposed to do very many things in your country'.⁷⁵

The development of the radio medium was supported from London. BBC sent advisers, and the Colonial Welfare and Development Fund gave much needed financial assistance as the city council 'dragged their feet.' In 1951, £27,000 was granted for buying radio sets for community centres, cafés and bars, frequently by Africans in Nairobi.⁷⁶ Radio sets were given free of charge to individual Africans thought to be influential, or might be hired at a reasonable price.

Radio reached only a few people, but listeners were key groups within the educated African population. Letters from listeners to Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and in *Habari za Radio*, a Swahili publication sent out regularly by the African Broadcasting Services, show a lively interest in the new medium. Music and language choice were the most pressing issues. In the 1950s an African Listener's club was established. It received 4000 applications for membership in 1957, and according to its own estimate between 3000 and 4000 letters a month.⁷⁷

Conclusion

Words were the favoured currency in Nairobi, when it came to answering the needs of the African urban population. Both the elementary needs and those growing out of the education and modernisation processes, greatly influenced by the colonial presence. The discussions of the development of the African population and the fulfilment of their needs occurred within the framework set by colonial supremacy and suppression of African initiatives, although liberal and progressive voices were heard and initiatives taken accordingly. The leisure activities were first and foremost attempts to divert the political and cultural energies of the African population

away from their endeavours to seize the economic, political and cultural power in their own country.

The colonial notions and practices of leisure and recreation only scratched the surface of African preoccupations. But structures in the area of information and political education which came into being because the violence of the decolonisation process in Kenya were of great importance for Africans.

It was possible to control space and time by economic means, curfews, barbed wire, and passes only to some extent. After the silencing of the nationalist African Press politics found other outlets. Forbidden dances emerged in prison camps and fortified villages. And people never stopped talking.

The precondition for the expansion of the new media, that a certain number of people were keen to read, watch, and listen, was present in post-war Kenya. But those interested in recreation activities of an educational nature met with too many obstacles for their efforts to be worth while. Poverty and oppression subverted energies which might have been mobilised for education. Ironically and sadly for the section of the administration who were genuinely interested in development, rehabilitation camps proved the ideal setting for leisure activities in the colonial sense.

In the 1950s the real struggle in Kenya moved beyond words, and the voices heard in this article were drowned by the noise of external and internal violence.

Notes and References

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² In a lecture at a PhD Researcher Course at International Development Studies, Roskilde University, 25 January 1991.

³ For an admirable analysis of the role of administrators and missionaries in 'reconstructing loose African ethnicities' as tribes, see Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London, 1992), particularly 330 ff.

⁴ At a meeting in the Secretariat in Nairobi on the issue Francis Khamisi, Assistant Community Development Officer, pointed out that in Nairobi 'territorial and tribal divisions did not coincide'. KNA (Kenya National Archive) MAA 7/491, 'Policy, Urban Areas, Nairobi'.

⁵ Letter from T.C Colchester to Anthony Clayton, quoted in Anthony Clayton: 'Sport and African Soldiers', in James A. Mangan, *Sport in Africa. Essays in Social History* (New York and London, 1987), 116-7.

⁶ Arthur Phillips, *Report on Native Tribunals in Kenya* (Nairobi, 1945), 148-9.

⁷ KNA MAA 7/491, 'Administration Policy: Urban Areas, Nairobi, 1945-47', T. G. Askwith's Memorandum, 14 September 1945.

⁸ Ibid. Memorandum from Kenya African Study Union, 10 September 1945.

⁹ Mary Parker, Mary, *Political and Social Aspects of the Development of Municipal Government in Kenya with Special Reference to Nairobi* (Nairobi, 1949), 43.

¹⁰ Memorandum on tribalism and nationalism, 23 November 1956, to Leslie Pritchard, Secretary of African Affairs. KNA MAA 10/138.

¹¹ My interpretation is different from that of David Throup in his *Economic and Social Origins of Mau Mau 1945-53* (London and Nairobi, 1987), 175-8 which constructs Askwith as a firm believer in tribe, who was misled by the African elite to think in terms of citizenship. Askwith found tribe as basis for local government 'tricky', and was pleased with having organised joint Luo-Kikuyu pairs of police to disarm crowds at football matches. Interview 16 May 1991. In correspondence on the issue of the constitution of the African Advisory Council Askwith expresses satisfaction with the outcome of the deliberations: 'In the end it was generally agreed that tribalism was a poor foundation for popular representation. We therefore evolved a system of ward representation on similar lines to that evolved for Europeans and Asians by the City Council. This seemed to work very well.' Letter to BFF, 31 August 1993.

¹² 'Minutes of Proceedings'. Municipal Council of Nairobi. vol. IX, 1940-41.

¹³ Not all, however. At a conference on social welfare in November 1941 the Director of Education answered the Chief Secretary's

query, why no Africans had been invited to the meeting : 'In the subject under discussion the African is the patient, not the doctor'. KNA MAA 2/1/45 I, 'African Social Welfare. Nairobi', I, 2 January 1945. For background to the change of colonial welfare policies see Janet Seeley, 'Social Welfare in a Kenyan Town', *African Affairs*, vol. 86 (1987), 544-47.

¹⁴ L. W. Thornton White, L. Silberman, P. R. Anderson, *Nairobi : Master Plan for a Colonial Capital. A Report Prepared for the Municipal Council of Nairobi* (London 1948).

¹⁵ On a parallel development in Zambia see Terence Lilly : 'A research note on the importation of British town planning in the 1930s. A legacy for modern Zambia', *African Urban Studies*, XII (1982), and for a contrast see Preben Kaarsholm, "Si Ye Pambili" - Which Way Forward?: Urban Development, Culture and Politics in Bulawayo' CSSSC Occasional Paper No. 146.

¹⁶ Sir Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928), the founder of the garden-city movement in Britain. The physical lay-out of Kaloleni in concentric circles round a community and shopping centre shows the garden city ideal.

¹⁷ Interview, 15 May 1991.

¹⁸ KNA MAA 7/494, 'Natives, Social Development. Community Centres', memorandum to the D. C.'s Office, 6 October 1945.

¹⁹ Luise White : 'Separating the Men from the Boys : Constructions of Gender, Sexuality, and Terrorism in Central Kenya, 1939-59'. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* (1980), 23, 1. Luise White points out that in spite of the talk only about 13% of the housing provided ... was in fact meant for families.

²⁰ KNA T. P. DEPT 1/24, 'Housing General', memorandum, Labour Department, 24 November 1947.

- ²¹ KNA ML 1/124, 'Housing-Furniture'.
- ²² KNA KBC/33, 'Information and Propaganda, Wireless Broadcasts Nairobi'. Extract of Minute by H. E. the Governor, 9 October 1946.
- ²³ For discussions of leisure in an earlier period in South Africa see Tim Couzens, 'Moralising leisure time : the transatlantic connection and black Johannesburg, 1918-1936', in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds.), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa : African class formation, culture and consciousness 1870-1930* (London, 1982).
- ²⁴ For a discussion of the working day and the working year see Fred Cooper, *On the African Waterfront : Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa* (New Haven and London 1987), especially pp. 115-24.
- ²⁵ Kaarsholm, ' "Si Ye Pambili".... ' CSSSC Occasional Paper No. 146.
- ²⁶ KNA MLG 3/2266, 'Social Centres' Letter to the City Council, 25 June 1946.
- ²⁷ For the history of Jeanes Schools see Kenneth King, *Pan-Africanism and Education* (Oxford, 1971).
- ²⁸ KNA Lab 7/16, 'Youth Organisation'.
- ²⁹ O. J. E. Shiroya, *Kenya and World War II : Africans in the European War* (Nairobi 1985), 89.
- ³⁰ A. I. Richards, who visited Kenya in 1944 to advise on social welfare, reported on the views of the Head of Jeanes School: 'Major Selwood, in command of the Nairobi Jeanes School training centre, estimates that African army education N. C. O.s have already had much experience in running libraries, information rooms, physical training, games etc, and would not require more than a few months additional training to enable them to start on community centre work'. KNA MAA 7/528 'Report of a visit made by Miss A. I. Richards' for the Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee.

- ³¹ Graham Hyslop, who became Arts Officers, based at Jeanes, was in charge of an entertainment unit in the Army during the war, and was recruited by Charles Richards of the Church Mission Society. Personal communication from Charles Richard.
- ³² Thomas Askwith explains the motive behind the drive for community halls as follows : "What happened was that the government was frightened that the returning servicemen would come back from the war with a lot of sophisticated ideas and be bored with village life. They needed the kind of entertainment that was enjoyed by people in the west, i.e. draughts, dominoes and dances. This was actually true to a certain extent but it only covered the inconsequential aspects of life, like Bingo in our own society." Letter to BFF, August 1993.
- ³³ Andrew B. Doig, 'The Christian church and demobilisation in Africa', in *The International Review of Missions* XXV. 90, (1946); quoted in Shiroya, 87.
- ³⁴ *Report of Native Affairs : 1946-47*, p. 3. City Council Library.
- ³⁵ For the history of Pumwani see Andrew Hak, *African Metropolis : Nairobi's Self-Help City* (Sussex 1977), Kenneth Mc Vicar, *Twilight of an African Slum : Pumwani and the Evolution of African Settlement in Nairobi* (Los Angeles, 1986), and Luise White, *The Comforts of Home : Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago and London 1990).
- ³⁶ KNA BY 9/97, 'Medical Officer of Health. *Monthly Reports 1951-2*', and BY/9/98, 'Memorandum to the Royal Commission on East Africa on the Administration of Public Health', Dep. of Health, The City Council, March ? 1953.
- ³⁷ Thomas Askwith thought that the meetings had 'no social value', and the dances usually developed into 'drunken orgies', KNA MLG 3/2266, 'Social Centres'. For more information on the Jukebox and talent contest see F. Harrev, 'Jambo Records and the production of popular music in East Africa.

The story of Otto Larsen and East African Records Ltd.
1952-1963', *Bayreuth African Studies Series* (1989), 110-12

- ³⁸ KNA MLG 3/2266, 'Social Centres'.
- ³⁹ *Report of Native Affairs : 1946-47*, p. 87, City Council Library.
- ⁴⁰ Interview, 16 May 1991.
- ⁴¹ *Community Organisation Annual Report*, 1953, p. 17.
- ⁴² KNA Lab 1/736, 'Colony Music and Drama Officer, *Annual Report*, 1957'.
- ⁴³ KNA Lab 1/838, 'Community Development'. 'Talk to Community at Jeanes School Kabete'. 1956 ?
- ⁴⁴ Finn Bamow et al., *Urban Development in Kenya. The Growth of Nairobi 1900-1970* (Copenhagen, 1983), 47, 57.
- ⁴⁵ In the context of her discussion of the wish of Africans to be elected rather than appointed to local government Mary Parker noted that in the 1940s 'there is, in fact, a substantial degree of literacy among Africans. Even in 1942 a surprising number of labourers contrived to acquire literacy and a fair knowledge of English at night schools public and private' (Ann. Rep. M. A. A. O. 1942, p. 8). She quotes a 1943 survey of 100 households in Shauri Moyo - 'one of the less attractive locations' - in which 79% of men stated that they could read and write their own language, 25% were competent in Swahili, and 12% in English. Parker, 1949. 195.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 124
- ⁴⁷ Rosalynde Ainslie, *The Press in Africa. Communications past and present* (London, 1966) 109, Fay Gadsden, "The African Press in Kenya 1945-1952" *Journal of African History*, 21 (1980), pp. 515-535
- ⁴⁸ *On Habari za Dunia* see David Goldsworthy, *Tom Mboya : The man Kenya wanted to forget* (Nairobi and London, 1982), 20, 40, on Awori see Gadsden (1980) p. 515-6.

- ⁴⁹ KNA A. G. 5/2811, 'A Scheme to improve the African Press of Kenya', 30 January 1951, the Secretariat.
- ⁵⁰ 21 September 1950.
- ⁵¹ KNA A. G. 5/2811, 'Seditious Publications: *Muthamaki*'.
- ⁵² KNA A. G. 5/2810, 'Seditious Publications : *Mumenyereri*'.
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- ⁵⁴ KNA MAA 2/5/4 - II, 'Administration, Propaganda. Native Newspapers'. 21 December 1939.
- ⁵⁵ KNA Lab 1/841, 'Literacy, Libraries, and Book Selling. 'Account of Problems in Distribution of Literature for New Literates', 9 May 1957.
- ⁵⁶ Comments by Charles Richards, 1993, on information by Henry Chakava in Philip Altbach, *Publishing and Development in the Third World* (Hans Zell, 1992) Chapter 8. Kindly made available to me by Charles Richards.
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- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ KNA A. G. 4/12/6, 'Report of Select Committee on Film Censorship', 29 July 1927.

- ⁶² KNA JW/6/11, City Council of Nairobi. 'Annual Report of the African Affairs Department'.
- ⁶³ Interview with Thomas Colchester 15 May 1992. I have not found confirmation of this in Vasey's file in KNA.
- ⁶⁴ KNA CD 5/204, DC's Office, Kiambu, 'Report on Propaganda Tour of the District', 16 August 1951.
- ⁶⁵ KNA KBC/33, 'Information and Propaganda. Wireless Broadcasts, Nairobi'. Memorandum by J. H. Reiss, 27 April 1951.
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- ⁶⁸ KNA MAA 7/800, 'Open Air Cinema in Mombasa'. Letter to the Provincial Commissioner, Coast Province, 26 October 1953.
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- ⁷⁰ Bruce J. Berman and John M. Lonsdale, 'Louis Leakey's Mau Mau. A study in the politics of knowledge'. *History and Anthropology* (1991), V, 2, 178.
- ⁷¹ Interview with J. H. Reiss, 29 February 1993.
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- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ KNA KBC/53, 'Broadcasting : Listeners' Complaints and Compliments. Letters', 25 September 1941, 22 December 1949, and undated.
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