

**ETHNICITY AND POLITICS IN NAIROBI COUNTY
C. 1907 - 2002**

By

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C50/CE/23621/2011

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DECLARATION

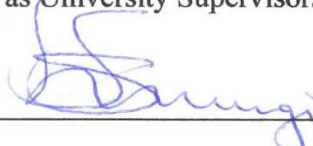
This thesis is my original work both in style and substance and to the best of my knowledge, has not been presented for a degree or any other award in any other university.

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DEDICATION

This Dissertation is dedicated to all Kenyans who contributed to the struggle for liberation of our country in one way or other, more so those who struggled for sustainable development, democracy and peace in our nation.

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Above all, ultimate glory be to God and may His name be honoured forever.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

- AEMO** - African Elected Members' Organization
- A.P.P.** - African People's Party.
- C.P.D.S.G** - Central Province Development Support Group.
- E.A.A** - East African Association.
- E.C.K.** - Electoral Commission of Kenya.
- FORD.** - Forum for Restoration of Democracy.
- G.E.M.** - Gikuyu Embu Meru.
- G.E.M.A.** - Gikuyu Embu Meru Association.
- IBEACo** - Imperial British East Africa Company.
- KADU.** - Kenya African Democratic Union.
- KAU.** - Kenya African Union.
- KANU.** - Kenya African National Union.
- K.C.A** - Kikuyu Central Association.
- K.P.U.** - The Kenya Peoples' Union.
- L.D.P.** - Liberal Democratic Party.
- L.S.K.** - Law Society of Kenya.

- MLC.** - Member of Legislative Council.
- M.P.** - Member of Parliament.
- M.T.O.** - Murang'a Take Over.
- N.C.C.** - Nairobi City Council.
- N.C.Co** - Nairobi City Commission.
- N.D.P.** - National Development Party.
- NARC.** - National Alliance Rainbow Coalition.
- O.D.M.** - Orange Democratic Movement.
- P.N.U.** - The Party of National Unity.
- R.O.** - Returning Officer.
- V.P.** - Vice President

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DEFINITION OF VARIOUS TERMS

Class – Refers to groups of people who have common economic, social and political interests which they would like to safeguard.

Cosmopolitan - The concept cosmopolitan is used here in the sense of an urban setting with people of various diversities on lines of ethnicity, religion, political affiliation/views and race. But our major focus in these diversities is ethnicity.

Ethnicity- Ethnicity is politicised or mobilised group identity. It is the product of the process of social interaction, whereby epipheral cultural symbols and historical interaction are consciously manipulated in the pursuit of economic and political interest. Some scholars make a distinction between positive and negative ethnicity. Negative ethnicity, often used interchangeably with tribalism, is used in reference to the (mis)use of ethnic identity to demand or obtain unfair advantage within a national or regional or local context. Positive ethnicity, in contrast, would refer to the promotion of an ethnic group's positive attributes such as language, culture and philosophy. As such, the nature that ethnicity takes depends on the way it is perceived and managed. The concerns raised in this thesis are mainly about negative ethnicity. In multi-ethnic Kenya, ethnicity still dominates party politics.

Majimbo- A Kenyan parlance for the regional system of government at the time of independence where power and resources were devolved to the regions.

Mlolongo- A voting system where voters queue behind candidate or a portrait of the candidate. The system was applied in the 1988 general elections in Kenya.

Murang'a Take Over - An alleged political outfit comprising of politicians from formerly Murang'a district which allegedly sought to dominate KANU city politics on an ethnic hegemony basis. During the clamour for multi-party democracy, the outfit was accused of attempting to seize supreme political power in the country. Previously, it was accused of merely seeking political advantage within the confines of Nairobi Province, (Weekly Review, December, 7, 1991).

Neo-patrimonialism- refers to the patronage exercised by modern African leaders who ensure loyalty by distributing favours to loyal followers. Such leaders develop client-patron relations to distribute the largesse and other favours in order to maintain political power.

Party politics- As used in this study, it will refer to the dynamics that inform the conduct of political parties. It is about the way a political party operates and relates with other parties. It also implies political parties' participation in electoral competition and government.

Political elites- As used in this study, this term refers to groups and/or individuals who have disproportionately dominated political and economic power in the Kenyan state since independence. They are bound together by the need to promote and secure their political and economic interests.

Political Ethnicity- By political ethnicity I refer to a tendency among political elites to mobilize ethnicity for political ends. It is the deliberate politicization and mobilization of ethnic "consciousnesses" in order to achieve certain political and

economic objectives. Goulbourne (as cited in Markakis: 1996) refers to ethnic mobilization as “a situation in which leaders seek to transform characteristics deemed ethnic into political currency” in order to achieve specific ends. In this study, it is used interchangeably with ‘political tribalism’.

Political party- An organization, often expounding certain ideologies, that seeks to influence government policy by nominating candidates for political offices. The most important aim of each political party is to get into power or maintain it. This goal of attaining political power is what distinguishes political parties from other groups in the political system.

Province- Administrative units into which Kenya was subdivided prior to the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010. Nairobi was one of the eight provinces

Sabasaba riots- violent demonstrations that rocked Kenya on 7th July 1990 to agitate for reintroduction of multi-party democracy.

Tribe-social anthropologists used this term during the colonial period to describe “primitive” and “backward” African societies. The usage of this term was challenged by Post-independence African scholars and social anthropologists were forced to abandon it. Within African studies, the more common term is ethnic group which is presumed to have the same meaning as tribe. However, outside African studies, the term tribe continues to be used without abandon (Ekeh, 1990: 63). ‘Tribalism’ in this sense stands for backwardness, and retrogressive forces.

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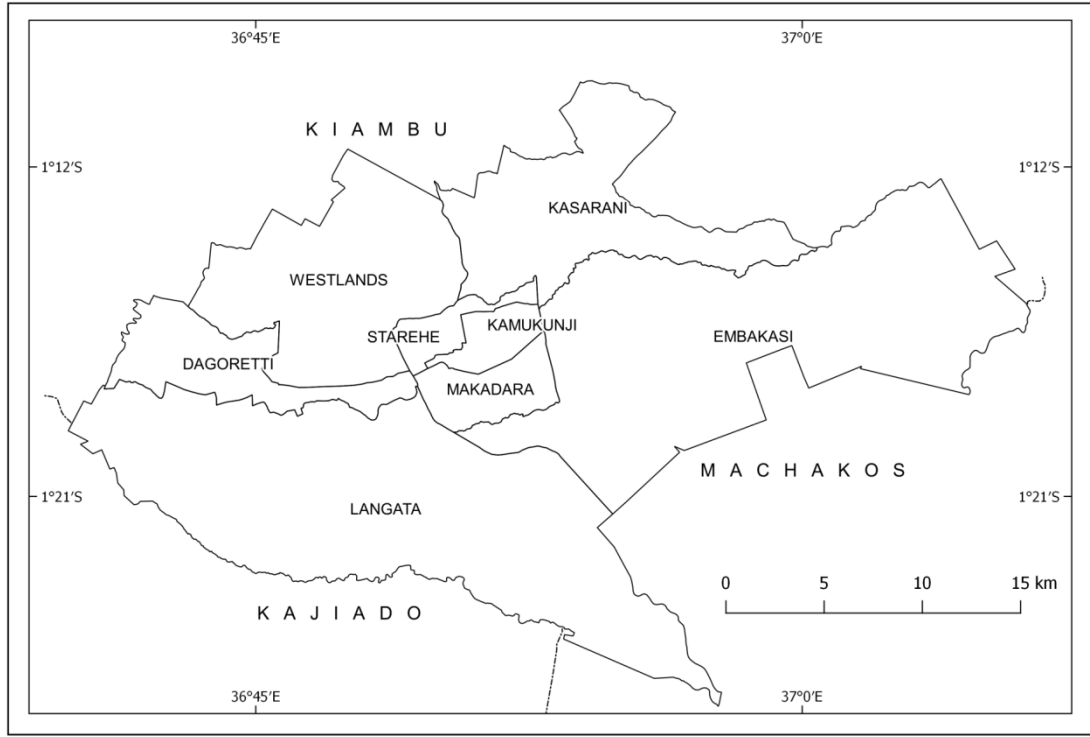
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ABSTRACT

Various studies have captured different aspects of politics in colonial and post-independent Kenya. While these studies have contributed to our understanding of political processes and democratic transitions in Kenya, there are still some issues in Kenya's politics that have not been given adequate scholarly attention and therefore require further investigation. In order to have a comprehensive analysis of Kenya's political processes, there's a need to investigate how ethnicity has influenced politics at the grassroots level. This study sought to examine the role of ethnicity in shaping politics in Kenya. The study focused on how the use of ethnicity as a tool for political mobilization influenced and shaped the character of politics in Nairobi County. It was premised on the assumption that ethnicity largely crystallized as the rallying point for organizing politics in Nairobi County. The study also sought to demonstrate that the ethnic allegiance of Kenya's politics is rooted in the colonial legacy. The assumption was that the colonial experience worked in diverse ways to cement ethnic identification in Kenya. Ethnicity was thus profoundly influenced in form, scope and content by the social, economic, cultural and political forces of colonialism. After independence, political parties in Kenya continued to gravitate around the ethnic pole and to expound ethnic cleavage. Kenya's parties have increasingly incorporated diverse communities, but they have consistently failed to bridge the country's dominant ethnic cleavages. Consequently, all of Kenya's significant parties have continued to represent ethnic coalitions of convenience and commitment and are thus, ethnic parties. Allegiance to political parties in Kenya strongly correlates with ethnic loyalties. The study employed an integrated theoretical approach, adopting views from a variety of theoretical paradigms such as the Marxism, the Primordial and the Instrumental perspectives. The concept of Neo-Patrimonialism with its appendage, 'clientelism' school of thought, was also useful in this study and helped us to analyze post-independence politics in Nairobi County with regard to ethnicity and political mobilization. The study analyzed data from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data came from field research, carried out in the three administrative districts of Nairobi County. Informants were selected on the basis of their knowledge of political affairs in Nairobi County and Kenya in general. Secondary data from various sources was subjected to historical criticism in order to verify its validity. Ultimately, data from primary and secondary sources was corroborated for authenticity and reliability. The study found that politics in Nairobi County revolved around ethnicity during the period under study, and that the elite was the main factor in galvanizing ethnicity as a political mobilizing tool. Political parties play a critical role in political mobilization in Nairobi County. It recommends that Political parties should be reformed to reflect the diversity of the people of Kenya, and should be run in a democratic manner. One way of solving the problem of ethnicity and division among Kenyan communities is to address historical injustices related to access to resources. There should be fair distribution of resources to reduce inter- community suspicion and cement peace and stability through co-existence of Kenyan communities.

Figure 1: Map of Nairobi County



Source: Geography Department, Kenyatta University

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter captures the background of the study. It presents the statement of the problem, the research questions, the objectives of the study, and the research premises. Also discussed is the justification and significance of the study, the scope and limitations, review of related literature and theoretical framework on which the study is anchored.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The breadth of literature already available on politics in post – colonial Africa is of great importance to this study. Works by Englohm (1960), Bennet and Rosberg (1961), Sanger and Nottingham (1963), Barkan (1976), Bratton and Van de Walle (1997), Sahil and Markakis (1998), and Nnoli (1998) are prominent in this regard. There is also extensive literature on politics in colonial and post –colonial Kenya. Prominent ones are Gertzel (1969), Barkers and Okumu (1976), Mueller (1984), Lonsdale (1992), Nyong’o (1987), Ajulu (2000), Chweya (2002), Berman (2004), Murunga and Nasong’o (2007).¹

Studies that specifically focus on ethnicity and politics in Kenya include Widner (1992), Wanjohi (1997), Throup and Hornsby (1998), Rutten et al (2001), and Jonyo (2002). Employing different theoretical frameworks, these studies have focused on

¹ The literature is rather diverse. See also Atieno-Odhiambo, (2002); Wanyande, (2007); Ndegwa, (2006); Rutten et.al (2001); Berman et. al (2002), Wanjohi, P., (1997), Oyugi et al., (2003), Njogu K., (2001), Ndegwa D., (2006), Widner J., (1992), Maupeu et al., (2005).

various aspects of politics in post – independent Kenya. They have shown how post-independent Kenyan leaders have used state patronage, corruption and ethnicity and ethnic mobilization to either capture or retain power. They have also shown how party politics in Kenya has been influenced by ethnicity and ethnic mobilisation. Widner (1992), for instance, has argued that KANU was largely dominated by the Kikuyu during the Kenyatta era and shown how KANU politics came to revolve around the Kiambu ‘Family’². Rutten et al (2001, 306) argues that “Political parties have continued to gravitate around the ethnic pole However, this ethnic mobilization is, at the bottom line, the struggle for distribution of power and resources”. Concerning political tribalism, Lonsdale says that ‘ethnicity from above is an elite project. Its aim is to help the elite maintain their political power as a means for both accumulation and self-perpetuation’, (Lonsdale, 1993: 94).

While tremendous efforts have been made towards providing an analysis of politics in Kenya, there are still certain issues concerning ethnicity that have not been considered in these studies and therefore require further investigation. For purpose of having a comprehensive analysis of Kenya’s political processes, the ethnic nature of Kenya’s politics requires more scholarly attention. This is because ethnicity in Kenya plays a crucial role in political mobilization.

Ethnicity or what Western scholars have referred to as ‘tribes’, has been portrayed by some scholars as “atavistic survivals of primordial state of social development, and African politics as simply a cynical instrument of elite manipulation”, (Berman,

² Refers to a group of politicians from Kiambu County around whom power came to revolve during the Kenyatta era. The wielded immense power over the Kenyan state, (see Widner, 1992)

2004: 2). There are two related problems in the existing literature on this subject. First is the inclination to treat both ethnic communities and elites as homogenous and static and secondly, to view the politicization of ethnicity as a phenomenon manufactured by corrupt elites and consumed by more or less gullible masses, (Macharia, 2012: 3). Some scholars, however, argue that ethnicity is a modern product emanating from the encounter between African indigenous societies and colonialism, and the post –independent state in Kenya, (Berman, 2004: 3).

This study is premised on the assumption that ethnicity in Kenya is rooted in the colonial legacy, while post-independent Kenyan leaders continued to manipulate it as a strategy for political competition. Gertzel (1969) traces the ethnic phenomenon in Kenya's politics to British colonial policies and programmes. Chege (2007) further avers that the tribal allegiance of political parties in Kenya can best be understood by delving into Kenya's colonial history. The study also assumes that political parties in Kenya, particularly KANU, tended to gravitate around the ethnic pole and had no national appeal. It is therefore important to investigate the historical factors that entrenched ethnicity, and the role of ethnicity in shaping the dynamics of Kenya's political parties. Ethnicity evidently influenced and shaped the organization of KANU politics in Nairobi County during the period under study.

The ethnic phenomenon in Nairobi County can be dealt with from a historical perspective to give a better analysis of political processes and democratic transitions in Kenya. It can be explored in three different historical periods namely, the colonial era, the Kenyatta era, and the Moi era. The historical factors that aggravated ethnicity in Kenya, the use of ethnicity as a tool for political mobilization, and the

role of ethnicity in shaping the dynamics of Kenya's political parties and its party system have not been given adequate consideration in existing studies. While some of these studies have for example shown how Kenyatta exploited ethnic identity and state patronage to maintain political control, little is said on how this shaped politics in a cosmopolitan setting. Similarly, while some studies have shown how Moi retained and used the client – patron structures instituted by Kenyatta, those studies do not show how the transformation of KANU into a monolithic enclave dominating public life in Kenya³ and the changing economic fortunes of the Kikuyu influenced the clamour for multi-partyism in the early 1990's.

The transition to multi-party politics in 1991 brought to the surface the division not only between the different ethnic groups but also regional interests in Kenya, (Macharia, 2007: 3). Some studies suggest that parties formed after the re-introduction of multi-party politics in 1992, split along ethnic lines and personality cults, (Throup and Hornsby, 1998: 21). The competition among political parties was thus treated as ethnic contest.

It's true there are rich analyses of politics in Kenya but these do not specifically target our area of interest. Certain critical issues concerning ethnicity and politics in Kenya require further research since they have not been adequately considered in existing studies. This study intends to fill existing knowledge gap by investigating the trajectory of ethnicity in Kenya, and examining how ethnicity and ethnic mobilization influenced the configuration of politics in Nairobi County. How, for example, did ethnicity influence the nationalist movements that emerged in Kenya,

³ This strict party control over state apparatuses has been referred to as 'Party-State' (see Widner, 1992).

particularly after 1955, following the lifting of the ban on African political organizations? How did the Kenyatta regime mobilize support for KANU using ethnicity and ethnic manipulation? How did ethnicity influence KANU's performance in electoral contests in Nairobi County during the second multi-party era from 1991? Or how did ethnicity and ethnic mobilization influence voting patterns in the presidential, parliamentary and civic elections in Nairobi County during the Kenyatta, the Moi and the Kibaki era? Or even, how did political elites manipulate ethnicity and ethnic identity for personal political and economic gain? This study assumed that the main ideology that influenced politics in Nairobi County during the period under investigation was ethnicity tinged with patronage networks and the pursuit of personal power and glory. It was also assumed that ethnicity and ethnic mobilization largely influenced the configuration of political parties in Nairobi County during the period under review.

The table below shows the elections in which voters in Nairobi County participated and the constitutional framework in which they were held.

Table 1.1 Table showing the elections in which voters in Nairobi County participated and the constitutional framework in which they were held:

Election	Constitutional Framework
1963	Multi-Party state 'De-Jure'
1966	Multi-Party state 'De-Jure'
1969	One-Party state 'De-Facto'
1974	One-Party state 'De-Facto'
1979	One-Party state 'De-Facto'
1983	One-Party state 'De-Jure'
1988	One-Party state 'De-Jure'
1992	Multi-Party state 'De-Jure'
1997	Multi-Party state 'De-Jure'
2002	Multi-Party state 'De-Jure'

Source: Daily Nation, July 4, 2002

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Scholars from various disciplines have studied and documented various aspects of politics in Africa and Kenya in particular, showing how ethnicity has been one of the outstanding impediments to national cohesion, and how it has created enormous impacts on every facet of nation building . There are however scarcely any studies that have focused on the role ethnicity played in shaping politics in a cosmopolitan setting. Specifically, there is no study focusing on the influence that ethnicity had on electoral and party politics in Nairobi County during the period under review. Some studies on politics do focus on aspects of ethnicity in Nairobi County, but have a wider orientation and their main focus is politics in general. Furthermore, their handling of politics in Nairobi County is quite fragmentary and in-exhaustive. Some dealt with KANU, but were shallow in their analysis of how the party reflected ethnicity, and how politicians relied on ethnicity as a tool for mobilizing support for KANU.

The current study sought to fill the existing lacuna by investigating how ethnicity influenced and shaped the political contest in Nairobi County during the period from 1907 to 2002. Of importance to the study is the colonial legacy and its role in entrenching ethnicity in Kenya's politics. Ethnicity was profoundly influenced in form, scope and content by the social, economic, cultural and political forces of colonialism. Successive regimes in post-independent Kenya exploited ethnicity as a tool for political mobilization, and this shaped the configuration of politics in Nairobi County. The study also sought to demonstrate that ethnicity in Kenya is a manifestation of an underlying struggle for economic interests. It specifically addressed the following questions:

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How did the colonial policies and practices manifest in the politics of Nairobi County from 1895 to 1963?
2. In what ways did the Kenyatta regime consolidate political mobilization using ethnic platform, and how was this reflected in politics in Nairobi County from 1963 to 1978?
3. How did the ethnic phenomenon in Kenya influence the configuration of politics in Nairobi County during the Moi era from 1978 to 1991?
4. How did ethnicity and ethnic mobilization influence the changing trends of politics in Nairobi County during the multi-party era from 1991 to 2002?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study fulfils the following objectives;

1. To analyze the extent to which various colonial policies and practices manifested in the politics of Nairobi politics from 1895 to 1963.
2. To study ways in which the Kenyatta regime consolidate political mobilization using ethnic platform, and how this was reflected in politics in Nairobi County from 1963 to 1978.
3. To study how the ethnic phenomenon in Kenya influenced the configuration of politics in Nairobi County during the Moi era from 1978 to 1991.
4. To analyze the extent to which ethnicity and ethnic mobilization influenced the changing trends of politics in Nairobi County during the multi-party era from 1991 to 2002.

1.5 RESEARCH PREMISES

The study was guided by the following research assumptions;

1. Various colonial policies and practices largely manifested in the politics of Nairobi County from 1895 to 1963.
2. The Kenyatta regime consolidated political mobilization using ethnic platform, and this was reflected in politics in Nairobi County from 1963 to 1978.
3. The ethnic phenomenon in Kenya largely influenced the configuration of politics in Nairobi County during the Moi era from 1978 to 1991.
4. Ethnicity and ethnic mobilization immensely influenced the changing trends of politics in Nairobi County during the multi-party era from 1991 to 2002.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Available information on ethnicity and political party mobilization in Nairobi County is rather scanty and quite generalized. The current study fills the lacuna in existing literature politics in Nairobi County. Studies show that the massive problems experienced in the organization of Kenya's politics are rooted in ethnicity and ethnic mobilization, (Kisiangani: 2003, Macharia: 2012). It is therefore important that scholars study the ethnic phenomenon in Kenya's politics in an historical context in order to understand its genesis, nature and effect on party politics at a grassroots level. This is because it is only when genuine research findings are integrated within policy that the factors impeding politics in Kenya can be appreciated and confronted.

Despite the existence of several studies on ethnicity and politics in Kenya, there seems to be no studies that focus on organization of politics in Nairobi County with regard to ethnicity, although the problem is basically of a historical nature. This study is done with a realization of the need to bridge this knowledge gap. The study is also done with the belief that understanding how ethnicity affects politics in cosmopolitan settings is key to solving some of the challenges facing the organisation of politics in Nairobi County and Kenya in general. The study makes a conscious attempt to investigate the origins of ethnicity in Nairobi County politics. It traces ethnicity in the nationalist movement in colonial Kenya showing how this phenomenon was reflected in the politics of Nairobi County. It studies the Kenyatta and the Moli regimes with regard to ethnicity in the post-independence period. It attempts to demonstrate that politics in Nairobi County revolves around ethnicity and personality cult.

In a nutshell, this is a historical study of ethnicity with a skewed focus on the reflection of the ethnic phenomenon within a cosmopolitan setting. The focus on ethnic politics in Nairobi County between 1907 and 2002 is an ideal case study to demonstrate how ethnicity impacts on electoral competition in Kenya. The study is significant because it contributes to a deeper comprehension of the complex problem of ethnicity in Kenya, by analyzing its roots in the colonial era and its development in the post-colonial era. It makes vital suggestions on ways to help restructure politics in Kenya. The study also contributes to the body of literature that attempts to document democratic transitions in Kenya in particular and Africa in general. It also contributes to the debate by various scholars on democratization in Africa, especially after 1990's, when many African countries resorted to political pluralism.

This was seen as ‘the only hope of the continent after decades of turmoil, characterized by corruption, ethnicity, and social-economic decay’, (Sahil, 2004: 7 and Macharia, 2007: 6). Policy makers are availed with crucial recommendations which can enable them formulate policies to nurture and encourage democratic practice.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study begins its analysis in 1907 and ends in 2002. This period spanning almost half a century is considered adequate for a historical investigation into the question of ethnicity with a skewed focus on its effect on politics in Nairobi County. The years provide a significant point of departure, for they accord the research and analysis a wide cast on the colonial and post-independence trajectories of politics in Kenya. In this sense, they make it possible to probe most of the fundamental aspects of political mobilization in Kenya and Nairobi in particular. The colonial and the post-colonial periods are all regarded as important and relevant to our understanding of Kenya’s politics with regard to ethnicity and political mobilization.

The year 1907 is taken as the starting point for the analysis in order to capture the affirmation of Nairobi as the capital of the protectorate. This development made Nairobi an important political and economic centre, not only for the East African Protectorate⁴. Nairobi subsequently rose in importance as immigrants of different races moved to the city in search of better economic opportunities. Against this background therefore, the year 1907 becomes quite relevant to the study. On the

⁴ Kenya was officialy referred to as British East African Protectorate between 1895 and 1920, when it was transformed to Kenya colony and protectorate.

other hand, the year 2002 is taken as a convenient date to end the study. This period is important to this study because for the first time in Kenya's history, KANU ceased to be the ruling party in Kenya. This development proved to be a significant turning point in the the organization of its politics in Kenya with regard to ethnicity. KANU lost the 2002 poll to the opposition NARC party under Mwai Kibaki.

The years 1907 and 2002 are, however, flexible and not strictly adhered to. Where necessary, and specifically with regard to our second chapter, the research stretches beyond 1907 to bring out information needed to bolster the central arguments of this study. The year 2002, like the earlier date, also remained flexible in this study as it was not adhered to strictly. When necessary, our investigation stretched into period beyond this year. Also, to get a broader understanding of the ethnic politics in Nairobi County, we reviewed literature on politics Kenya and some other African countries.

In terms of study locale, the study was limited to Nairobi County. Logistically, the county has a multiplicity of Kenyan communities. This cosmo-ethnic nature of the county provides an ideal case study of how ethnicity impacts on politics at a local level. Moreover, confining the research to this area has made it possible to carry out field research and compile data within the recommended time-frame for an M.A degree at Kenyatta University. Nairobi has a long history dating back to colonial period, making it an ideal case study in helping to analyze the trends of ethnicity in politics. This study uses the case study of KANU to analyze ethnic politics, and not other political parties.

An in-depth analysis of the political structures among pre-colonial Kenyan communities is beyond the scope of this research. Yet, it is believed there is a lot that can be investigated to link this pre-colonial past to the ethnic phenomenon in Kenya's politics today. Time and financial constraints would hamper such an undertaking. Furthermore, most of the fundamental social-economic and political aspects during pre-colonial period have already been captured in other studies.

A number of challenges were experienced during fieldwork. Insecurity and crime made some people fear interacting with strangers, and the researcher had to repeatedly explain his mission. Some respondents had a misconceived notion that because the research was on political issues, the researcher was connected to politicians and sometimes demands for handouts came forth. The researcher explained that the study was purely an academic exercise, and that it was important to provide information that would possibly better the country's politics and governance. Some of the targeted informants were hostile, unresponsive, and either unwilling to participate, wondering how the whole exercise would benefit them, or had busy schedules making it impossible to reach them. There were also cases of suspicious and hostile politicians.

Some also refused to discuss politics, specifically the topic of ethnicity, for fear of possible reprisal. But the researcher assured them that their identities would not be divulged without their permission. Also, a good rapport was established with the respondents. It was also difficult to get many informants with information on early periods of colonial rule. Luckily, the ones we interviewed provided crucial and detailed information. The problem of dating was encountered where respondents

could clearly recount events (with a large degree of concordance among the samples collected), but fail to date the events accurately. The study made use of chronology as much as possible where accurate dating was not possible. Ultimately, the financial implications of the various problems were unforeseen and the research ended taking up more financial resources than anticipated.

1.8 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Studies have shown that ethnic cleavages in the Africa are deeply entrenched in a complex blend of factors. Key among these is colonial distortions, (Adesina: 2002). There is indeed a wide range of literature pointing to colonial manipulations as one of the key causes of the ethnic tensions prevalent in African countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Kenya, and Burundi. Works by Mamdani (1997), Nsamba et al. (2009), Bayart (1991) and Riley (1991) provide vital information in this regard. Scholars have pointed out that colonial administrative divisions not only contributed to the crystallization of ethnic identities but also led to the accentuation of the differences between ethnic groups (Nsamba et al. 2009). It has been demonstrated how in some cases, existing differences between ethnic groups were exploited for colonialist's interests through ideologies that promoted the politics of exclusion.

Omolo (1999) provides the broad theoretical background to ethnicity as a phenomenon in Africa and argues that politics in Africa has tended to be marked by a stark polarisation of the political process around ethnic conflict. Thus politicised ethnicity, Omolo argues, not only presents major obstacles to political pluralism but also to the democratization process across the continent. With regard to Kenya, Omolo attempts to examine the problem between ethnicity and democratization by

underscoring the role of history, agency and contingency in an ever changing but complex Kenyan political scene.

Works by Bayart (1991) premise the crisis of state legitimacy in Africa on the claim that the post-colonial state is a continuation of the colonial state, albeit with minimal changes. Bayart avers that the way the 'divide and rule' strategy was effected by colonialists was so huge that it was ultimately socialised in the consciousness of the African political elite who eventually became the rulers of post-independent states. Consequently, ethnic manipulation became an important tool of political power and political control in Africa. This has continued to undermine national tranquility and integration. Bayart seems to concur that the declining capacity of the African state to realize its development aims and objectives emanates from its failure to disengage completely from the colonial trap and legacy.

Independence failed to usher in the much anticipated new era of freedom and material prosperity. Instead, at independence, the African nations inherited features of the colonial state and were deficient in the handling of the economy. Their performance often provoked divisions and conflicts. The author identifies politicization of ethnic identity as one colonial legacy that hugely impacts negatively on the post-independence state in Africa. These views are quite relevant to this study, and appear to support our assertion that the ethnic phenomenon in Kenya and the rest of Africa is rooted in the colonial era. The lacuna in this perspective however, is the wholesome location of the source of this predicament to colonialism which this study regards as rather limiting. This work fails to put into consideration

the fact that the post-colonial regime in Africa played a key role in fomenting ethnicity and ethnic sub-nationalism in a country such as Kenya.

Studies done by various other researchers have also attempted to give an analysis of politics and ethnicity. Among these are Englohm (1960), Bennet and Rosberg (1961), Sanger and Nottingham (1963), Barkan (1976), Orwa (1984), Wanjohi (1984), Bourmand (1985), Barkan (1987), Hornsby (1989), Throup and Hornsby (1992), Bratton and Van de Walle (1997), Sahil and Markakis (1998), and Nnoli (1998). Some of them focus on electoral politics and ethnicity, showing how some people equated political power to economic benefits that have to go to the entire ethnic group of the incumbent ruler. Hence, those who are not in position of power will either be marginalised in some way, or have the feeling that they are being excluded. Ethnicity has therefore been more intimately related to economic and political conditions, that is, the uneven distribution of, and competition for wealth and power.

Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) is a discussion of wave of democratization which hit Africa in the 1990's⁵. They analyze reasons why in certain African countries, there appears to have been comprehensive democratic transition while in others, only partial political reforms were achieved. They analyze democratic experimentation in select African countries in the background of popular theories of democratization. They consider this democratic transition through a theoretical framework that explains the shift chiefly in terms of Africa's legacy of neo-

⁵ Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) is a study of democratic transitions in 40 Sub-Saharan African countries.

patrimonial rule. The concept of neo-patrimonial rule is useful in understanding the Kenyatta regime in post-independence era as it used the state for systematic patronage and clientele practice in order to maintain and monopolize political power. At the conceptual level, this work is relevant to our study. However, this work focuses on diverse African nations and not specifically Kenya. It does not demonstrate how ethnic politics undermined Kenyan people's aspiration for genuine democratic change, especially following the repeal of Section 2(A)⁶, resulting in the reversal of political gains made. The concept of neo-patrimonialism has some strength in explaining the salience of ethnicity and the ethnic crisis in Africa, but it cannot sufficiently serve that purpose when employed wholly independently from other prevailing theories of ethnicity, such as instrumentalism.

Ochieng' (1999) argues that given the African continent's history as a colonized continent, the dialectics of political processes versus the much hyped liberal democracy and its institutions is problematic. This is because colonial powers partitioned Africa into various nation-states with total disregard of ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious or social boundaries. Of all African states, only Ethiopia (and to some extent Liberia and Sierra Leone), correspond to a historical state. He points out that Somalia, Algeria and Botswana have a clearly defined cultural identity. The rest of the countries comprise of a blend of disparate people without any core cultural tradition around which the people may coalesce.

⁶ Section 2A was entrenched in the Kenyan Constitution in 1982, making KANU the only lawful political party in the republic. Kenya became a one-party state 'de-jure'.

The feeling of 'exclusiveness' among and between communities has persisted years after attaining independence, making it hard for the countries to form stable nation-states. This study agrees that divide-and-rule tactics were responsible for the rise of ethnic consciousness in some countries. The lacuna in this argument, however, is that it has failed to account for the persistence of 'exclusivist' feelings in those countries, several decades after achieving independence. This study investigated whether these 'exclusivist' feelings manifest themselves in Kenya's politics. If so, what role had colonialism to do with it? And how did the political elite foment these exclusivist feelings, for instance during the Kenyatta and Moi eras?

Work by Sahil and Markakis (1998) is a compilation of several essays, which is a product of a workshop on ethnicity in East Africa. They discuss how the wave of nationalism erupted in Africa in the 1950's. With attainment of independence, the main concern was access to and control of resources which were inequitably distributed during the colonial era. The state strictly controlled production and distribution of resources. The result of this was competition that made the state the forum of social conflict. They postulate that the states have failed to meet the expectations which had been fostered by nationalism of democracy and development. This has discredited the ideology and undermined post-colonial regimes. Thus, in the early 1990's, a struggle was waged all over Africa under the banner of democratization, aimed at creating new models of power distribution.

Though ethnicity has been anathemised and outlawed by nationalism, it is currently the most potent force in Africa. Sahil and Markakis focus on the politicization of ethnicity and its impact on the state. They aver that ethnicity is a modern

phenomenon which requires accommodation within political sphere in Africa. This work focuses on Ethiopia but still raises several important issues on ethnicity and politics. But Kenya, unlike Ethiopia, has not fully acknowledged ethnicity as a modern phenomenon that may be accommodated in the political life of the Kenyan people.

In Kenya, there are several studies that focus on politics and ethnicity at the national level. However, there are hardly any studies focusing on how ethnicity influenced politics at a cosmopolitan setting such as Nairobi County. A study that links politics to ethnicity in such a setting is bound to give a more comprehensive picture of post-independent Kenya's political processes.

Widner (1992) is an analysis of key changes in the character of Kenya's political life since independence, focusing specifically on government - party relations. Her main thesis revolves around the transformation of a single party into what she calls a 'party-state'. The concept of party-state refers to a governmental structure in which the party has lost policy influence and has assumed the role of transmitter and enforcer of policy decisions with executive powers under the office of the president, (Widner, 1992:6). In party-states, the party loses its function as a forum for interest group bargaining and interest aggregation, and acquires tasks performed by the executive in multi-party systems. The main thrust of her argument is that despite the legislative restrictions that made political organizations outside of KANU more difficult, and moved Kenya towards a strong single-party dominant system, the KANU of Kenyatta was quite a weak party.

Kenyatta was a staunch supporter of one-party system. His deliberate refusal to turn KANU into a strong vehicle for political control was made possible by the success of the extra-parliamentary bargaining system that he established. He employed this extra-parliamentary bargaining system, popularly known as *harambee*⁷, and a loosely defined political party, to focus the attention of politicians on local issues and on the formation of alliances across communities, while limiting their power to force agendas on one another. He ensured KANU remained open to politicians with a wide range of views, in the hope of limiting the tendency of factions to create their own parties. By institutionalizing patronage in the form of *harambee*, Kenyatta created a tool for managing a largely inclusive coalition (Widner, 1992, 39).

Under Moi, KANU increasingly became a vehicle for the Office of President to control political opposition. The Office of President took a more active role in the party and used the organization to control dissent within the country. There was a move to de-jure single-party state as Moi sought to eradicate factional divisions in KANU and to instil rules of political behaviour. The extra-parliamentary bargaining system established during the reign of Kenyatta collapsed under Moi, leading to political instability as Kenya moved towards a party-state.

Widner's analysis is vital in stimulating further reflections on the place of ethnicity in the said transformation of Kenya into a party-state, but her assertion that the Kenyatta regime was more accountable than Moi's has been widely castigated⁸. A critical question that also remains unanswered in her work is when, and indeed how,

⁷ *Harambee* is a Kiswahili word meaning 'pulling together'. It was a clarion call popularised as a national motto and declared a national philosophy by Kenyatta.

⁸ See for example Ajulu, 2002:130-140 for a more detailed treatment of the subject.

the *harambee* system ceased to constitute the extra-parliamentary bargaining system that it had been under Kenyatta. Such criticism notwithstanding, the current research benefited immensely from Widner's work.

Atieno-Odhiambo (2002) traces Kenya's nationalism and its ethnic negation between 1955 and 1963. He describes the emergence of the post-Mau Mau African leadership that would articulate the nationalist goals of Africans into the time of independence. He shows how Argwings-Khodhek emerged as the political leader of the Kikuyu and Luo of Nairobi, and how his effort to form the nation-wide Kenya African National Congress was thwarted and the district-only political organizations policy implemented. Citing Furedi (1973), he shows how the colonial regime set up Mboya as a rival to Kodhek for the control of Nairobi politics.

He discusses how Odinga elevated Kenyatta by asserting that in their heart, the Kenyan Africans regarded Kenyatta as their leader, arguing this was the revolutionary conjecture in 1958. This 'Odinga Revolution' brought nationalist politics to the centre stage. Mboya gave this call a major boost by linking Kenyatta's release to the attainment of independence. Nationalist ideas articulated most vocally by Odinga and Mboya served as the anti-dote to the ethnicity platforms maintained by African members of Legco. According to him, the era of independence facilitated the consolidation of Kikuyu dreams as power initially was transferred from the British to an alliance of KANU tribes that won the 1963 elections. But power soon devolved into the hands of a decidedly Kiambu cabal⁹. Marginalizing the two erstwhile Luo allies, Odinga and Mboya, was an early political project of the cabal.

⁹ This cabal was notoriously referred to as the Family

The long-term effect of this was to alienate the Luo from the inner sanctums of power for the next several decades.

Atieno-Odhiambo further describes the understanding of ethnicity by the Kikuyu and Luo leaders; Kenyatta and Odinga. He argues that the parting of ways between the two soon after independence was largely ideological, but also deeply localized. Both leaders had ethnic-cultural conception of politics. Both were deeply cultural and adopted values which were locally rooted, Kenyatta in a largely Kikuyu individual enterprise, and Odinga in clan-based communocratic and egalitarian values, plus a tradition of resistance to oppression. Tribalism was regarded as an attribute of state power. Both leaders understood the source and power behind the developmental roots of ethnicity.

Kenyatta mobilized the Kikuyu elite around him and devised the Kikuyu-Kalenjin alliance with Moi from 1964, intended to maintain Kikuyu control of economy and politics. Odinga on the contrary opted for a populist brand of politics based on socialism. Ethnicity was used to counter the socialist ideology that Kenya People's Union (KPU) espoused¹⁰. To consolidate power, the social struggle for the political future of Kenya was turned around and re-baptised Kikuyu-Luo rivalry, and ethnicity triumphed over ideology. By 1969, Kenyatta's brand of ethnicity had won. Specifically, he opted to exclude the Luo as a cultural 'other' beyond the bonds of Kikuyu civil society, which was coterminous with the Kenyatta state. The state thus became the principal site for plotting the processes of this 'othering'. Though Atieno-Odhiambo does not focus on party politics, he contributes to our

¹⁰ KPU espoused an egalitarian society based on free access to land and social amenities such as health and education. See Odera (2006) for a detailed analysis of the KPU agenda.

understanding of the Kenyatta state and ethnic politics, as well as the political rift between the Kikuyu and the Luo which has continued to shape political competition in Kenya especially during the multi-party era.

Rok Ajulu (2002) extends Atieno-Odhiambo's argument by demonstrating that, given Kenya's limited experience in competitive politics, ethnicity rather than class remains the main instrument of political contestation. He argues that since the advent of political pluralism in the 1990s, political parties have been organised along ethnic lines and state-power viciously contested on the basis of ethnicity. Ajulu however maintains that much of the violence that has constituted political contestation in Kenya over the last few decades cannot be attributed directly to ethnic hatred, but rather to a calculated mobilisation of ethnicity by the political elite for political ends.

Omollo (2002) introduces a critical dimension to the struggle for state power based on ethnic lines. He argues that specific ethnic movements can in fact counter divisive politics, orchestrated by the political class in Kenya, when they move towards what he calls a reciprocal "politics of recognition". In his view, ethnic movements, rooted in concrete grievances of communities, have the potential to bring about a more tolerant and cosmopolitan politics than the kind of struggles rooted in national civic consciousness and individual rights popular with reformers. Though the study focuses on positive aspects of ethnic solidarity, it contributes to the current study in an important way.

Maupeu et. al., (2005) aver that the lessons learnt since the restoration of multi-party democracy have demonstrated that the only ideology that informs electoral behaviour is ethnicity tinged with patronage politics and the pursuit of personal power and glory. Concerning political tribalism, they argue that the experience of the period 1992-2005 has further demonstrated that multi-partyism per se cannot make the ruling of a country better in the absence of the spirit of constitutionalism. Rutten et. al., (2001) move a step further and assess the place of ethnicity in the pursuit of multi-party elections in Kenya. They argue that multi-party elections in Kenya have taken place in the context where ethnicity has either been exploited for political gain or is a manifestation of underlying struggles between communities for economic interest.

They argue that “.....opposition parties have continued to gravitate around the ethnic pole. Political parties are no more than changing sets of ethnic coalitions.... However, this ethnic mobilization is the struggle for distribution of power and resources”, (Rutten et. al. 2001: 306). Though the work captures the second multi-party era that was ushered in by the repeal of Section 2A in 1991, it contains essays that help us understand the dynamics which inform electoral contest and party politics in Kenya.

Kisiang'ani (2003) discusses how the colonial state created forms of ethnic identity and solidarity. He argues that independence should have changed all this but nothing really changed. Ethnic identity continued to be an important factor in Kenya's political equation. He describes the persecution of KPU supporters and leaders, arguing that the contest between the Kenyatta state and KPU was reduced to a Kikuyu/ Luo rivalry. He discusses the KANU supremacy contest that culminated in

the assassination of Tom Mboya in 1969, further exacerbating the Kikuyu/ Luo rivalry. He shows how Kenyatta maintained and aided Kikuyu dominance over the state, and regards civil service imbalance as Kenyatta's deliberate strategy to exclude Kenya's diverse ethnic groups from participating in public life. He discusses how Daniel Moi, as the country's second president executed a plan to 'de-Kikuyunise' Kenya's public life, and went on to 'Kalenjinise' many aspects of the state. During the Moi era, power came to revolve around himself and a few of his supporters and tribesmen, (Kisiang'ani: 2003, 188).

He traces the rise of opposition to Moi and shows how KANU loyalists used demands for Majimbo as a strategy to counter pro-democratization forces. He regards the resurgence of multi-party politics as progress in the path of liberation. However, on the eve of the 1992 election, FORD split along ethnic and regional lines, resulting in KANU victory in the election. His study regards the struggle against tribalism as part of a wider struggle for decolonization. Though it is a study of decolonization and not one of ethnicity and party politics, it provides important information for the current research.

Lubanda (2009) shows how the pre-independence elections clearly brought out the sharp divide between the 'big tribes' and the 'small tribes'. KANU emerged as the strongest party in the May 1963 election though it was evenly matched by a combined opposition of KADU, Northern People's United Alliance Party¹¹ (NPUA) and the African People's Party (A.P.P.) in all the three houses of representation.

¹¹ Northern People's United Alliance Party (NPUA) sponsored candidates only in the Northern Frontier District and the African People's Party (A.P.P) had strongholds in Ukambani. See NEMU election report of 1963 for detailed election outcome.

Opposition to Kenyatta and the KANU regime coalesced around KADU. Through underhand political dealings, corruption and outright intimidation, Kenyatta's government began to coerce opposition members to cross the floor and dissolve their party. KADU was dissolved on November 1964. A series of amendments subsequently introduced in the constitution enhanced the president's power to the detriment of the citizens freedoms. Kenyatta used his vast executive power to favour his Kikuyu tribesmen in land allocation and appropriation of state resources. The state became highly ethnicised during Kenyatta's reign. Though this study is not focused on party politics but electoral contest, it contains valuable information on the politicization of ethnicity during Kenyatta era.

Munene (2001) focuses on Kenya's political transition in the 1990's and how KANU succeeded in deception and diversion in politics, thereby plunging the opposition into confusion and disarray. His work discusses the election of 1997 and its aftermath. This work makes vital contribution to any study of politics in Kenya. It describes how KANU won the election and frustrated the opposition's hope for a democratic transition. Though the work focuses on the period 1995-1998, it contains information that is crucial to this study.

Throup and Hornsby (1998) have focused on the evolution of democracy in Kenya, especially in the 1990's. They explain why KANU government ceded to the demand for multi-party in Kenya. Their study focuses on factors that influenced the rejection of KANU by many Kenyans. It traces both the internal and external factors that led to re-introduction of political pluralism in 1991. It also examines ethnicity in the

1992 elections and explains how KANU managed to defeat the opposition. Concerning Kenya's return to multi-partyism and the 1992 election, they observed:

“The election clearly demonstrated the primacy of ethnicity over ideology. Of all the myriad sources for internal divisions within the opposition it was the division between Luo and Kikuyu which eclipsed all else. Communal solidarity did not have to be enforced but was clearly voluntary in the homelands of the four major political contenders Multi-party democracy has intensified ethnic rivalries”, (Throup and Hornsby, 1998: 590).

One would be persuaded by their assertion that political party contest in Kenya lacks principle, especially among the elite, and that Kenyan political parties are barely distinguishable in terms of ideology, programs, platforms, or organization. This work provides vital information on the KANU regime and the development of multi-party politics in the 1990's. Its focus on ethnicity, class and ideology in the 1990's election will provide crucial information for this study.

Ajulu (2002) argues that ethnicity has emerged as the most important factor in political competition during the multi-party periods since independence. The first period was the short-lived multi-party era after independence that lasted between 1963 and 1964, and 1966 to 1969, while the second era lasted from 1992 to date. He describes the uneven development of capitalist penetration in Kenya and its tendency to stimulate regional and ethnic inequalities. He avers that contestation for

political power is bound to replicate such regional disparities and is therefore expressed in ethnic register. He concludes that ethnic clashes which have characterized multi-party politics are not tribal conflicts in the primordial sense. Rather, they constitute politically-organized conflicts devised to achieve short-term political goals and ultimately economic interests. Ethnic clashes are thus a political strategy employed and orchestrated by dominant classes to extract concessions from the center by those who are unable to compete at the national level. The work is relevant to this study as it discusses ethnicity and economic factors in political competition in Kenya. However, there is need to interrogate other issues that have contribute to ethnic politics apart from economic motives.

Oyugi et. al. (2003) is an in-depth analysis by several scholars of the 2002 transition in Kenya. The article by Jonyo (2003: 155-179) contains some ideas that are relevant to this study. This article focuses on the place of ethnicity in the 2002 transition. Jonyo's view is that political competition in Kenya continues to be shaped and driven by ethnic interests. He projects the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) alliance as a coalition of ethnic chiefs. Many Kenyans who supported NARC did so with the belief it represented their ethnic interests. He argues that the 2002 elections clearly showed that Kenyans can indeed rise above ethnicity and unite for the benefit of the country. Nonetheless, the NARC coalition disintegrated after a short duration when Kibaki failed to honour the notorious Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between the National Alliance of Kenya (NAK) and Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Kenya's politics, just like before, continued to revolve around the fulcrum of ethnicity. Political parties split along ethnic lines. This fall-out is regarded as the prime cause of the Post-Election

Violence (P.E.V.)¹². Jonyo's article, like others in the work, focuses purely on the 2002 transition and the NARC coalition. However, the article will be an important source of reference for this study.

Kagwanja (2009) argues that one of the factors that led to the P.E.V was ethnicity which was applied by both Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Party of National Unity (PNU) as a ploy to mobilize voters and win the 2007 general election. He avers that ODM and PNU were multi-ethnic coalitions formed to capture or retain power. These multi-ethnic coalitions aggravated ethnic populism with such rhetoric as 'the forty-against-one' (Kagwanja 2009: 259-770). ODM campaigns mostly focused on censuring the Kikuyu for contributing to the marginalization of other communities in Kenya through domination of key economic sectors. The article, which was a damning indictment of political parties' ethnic platform, seems to support our view that party politics in Kenya rotates around the gamut of ethnicity. However, the focus of these articles is limited to the 2007 election and the P.E.V.

In a nutshell, the breadth of literature available on ethnic politics in Africa and Kenya in particular is of great importance for the current study both conceptually and methodologically. As illustrated in the literature reviewed above, a lot of research has been done, through a number of theoretical perspectives, on ethnicity in Africa. Reviewed literature demonstrates a general consensus on the colonial roots of ethnicity in African countries. It has been demonstrated that ethnicity is not a

¹² The P.E.V. is the civil conflict that erupted in Kenya in December, 2007 after Kibaki was declared the winning presidential candidate. Kagwanja (2009) is a good analysis of the crisis. See also the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) (2010)

fixed condition or essence, but a historical process that can only be studied in specific contexts.

The Literature reviewed however demonstrates there are various knowledge gaps in the compilation of historical knowledge on the links and dynamics of ethnicity in shaping the nature of Kenya's politics at a local level. These gaps warrant a special effort in the form of a micro-based study of the ethnic phenomenon and its influence on politics at local level such as a cosmopolitan setting. As demonstrated in the review, the identified dearth seems to be accentuated by the lack of specific studies that seek to transcend general studies on ethnicity politics. It's true there are rich analyses of politics in Kenya but these do not target our area of interest. Thus, certain critical issues concerning ethnicity and politics require further investigation since they have not been adequately considered by studies so far reviewed. This study is carried out with a realization of the need to bridge the identified gaps.

1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are various competing theories applied in the analyses of ethnicity and politics. There is the Primordialist perspective which focuses on the strength of ethnic identity and the resultant ethnic division and conflicts in a country. Ethnicity is viewed as a static identity mode which is rooted in historical past. Primordialists thus view ethnicity as 'unmediated trans-historical constant' which is traceable to instinctive behaviour and to pre-modern societies, (Omollo 2002: 210). Primordialists see ethnicity as a 'static relic of a primordial African past'. Some of the key proponents of this theory are Shils (1957) and Geertz (1963). Their conceptions of ethnicity focus on cultural and psychological aspects of group identity which are regarded as natural and unchanging. Qualities such as, a common

language, a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history and allegedly inherited characteristics common to members of the group, are emphasized, (Kaplan, 1994).

Smith (1997) however distinguishes between a ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ primordialism. In this dichotomy, strong primordialism views ethnic ties as universal, natural and given in all human association. Weak primordialism on the other hand holds that ethnic ties and sentiments are deep-seated and non-rational so far as the participants are concerned. As such, members of ethnic groups feel that their community has existed ‘from time immemorial’. Primordialists often interpret contemporary ethnic conflicts and divisions as the renewal of age old antagonisms – ones that antedate the formation of a nation state. This theory could partially serve to explain ethnic conflict and exclusion in Kenya especially by allegiance to common ancestry.

However, primordialism falls short of addressing the non-historical side of Kenya’s ethnic rivalries. For example, it does not account for the ethnic conflict in Kenya that originates from political manipulation of the ‘ethnic card’¹³. Neither does it explain the conflicts emerging from perceived and actual discrimination, especially in the distribution of power and other resources (Omollo, 2002: 214). Moreover, as observed by Okuku (2002), the primordial conception erroneously looks at ethnicity from a static and negative stance with a tacit suggestion that ethnic rivalries can never be addressed. But ethnicity is never static since new forms or characteristics are perpetually created because what is considered important changes over time.

¹³ See more discussion of this theoretical proposition in Kigongo (1995); Storey (2002); Mamdani (1997); Nsamba et al. (2007).

This flexibility makes it possible for members of ethnic groups to communicate their ethnicity in different ways (Poluha, 1998: 33).

Poluha further notes that if only primordial aspects are considered, it gives an impression of ethnic groups as homogenous and bound entities. But an ethnic group may never be able to exist as an island; it lives in interaction and with other groups. The understanding of ethnicity as socially constructed focuses on it not as a fixed primordial identity but as the protean outcome of the continuous and generally conflict-ridden interaction of political, economic and cultural forces both external and internal to developing ethnic communities. With the development of African historical research, it has become increasingly clear that pre-colonial African societies, especially in turbulent decades before the establishment of formal colonial control in the late nineteenth century, were anything but unchanging. It has also been argued that ethnicity is not atavistic survival of primordial past.

Cultural pluralists have for instance argued that ethnicity is a modern rather than traditional and atavistic phenomenon; and that ethnicity has grown since the turn of the twentieth century alongside the competition for scarce resources, (Omollo 2002: 210). Cultural pluralists point out that there is ethnic diversity and the inevitable attendant political ethnicity in modern societies and the problem is the failure by the national institutions to recognize and accommodate the existing ethnic divisions and interests. However, this formulation has also been faulted by various scholars such as Horowitz. It has been argued that the pluralists under-emphasize the significance of common institutions and cross-cutting relationships that develop over time in the contact between sections in a polity, (Horowitz, 1985: 98). Marxists have also

criticized this approach by pointing out its failure to recognize bonds of common interest that arise on the basis of similar relations of production.

In any analysis of politics, Marxist theories have some usefulness in explaining class formation. Marxists view history in terms of class formation in society. Class interests are crucial because classes play a vital role in the manipulation of state and politics by the ruling classes in order to safeguard their interests. Any serious analysis of politics should therefore take classes into consideration. The role of upper classes, or elites, in Marxist theories is crucial. The elites are aspirants to, and competitors for political power and privileges. Elites can, for instance, easily rally the masses for a certain political cause. According to Marxist scholars, ethnicity is a product of the dominant class or the rich which is used as a tool to con or deceive the masses or the poor. It is also used by the rich to prevent the development of consciousness of the poor as a single class irrespective of their ethnic background. It is a camouflaged bourgeoisie class political strategy, (Macharia, 2012: 21).

Marxists hold that social and political behaviour can be reduced to economic motives, particularly those of classes. Ethnicity, they assert, is nothing but disguised economic interests or false consciousness which prevents people from promoting their economic or class interests, (Kellas, 1991: 42). In Marxist theoretical framework, the role of elites or upper class is instrumental. Elites, as we have stated already, are aspirants to, and competitors for political power and privilege. As ethnic elites for instance, ethnicity would assume salience once they choose to mobilize it. It is the elites who decide what use to make of it, when it should be used, and in what direction. This manifests ethnicity as a resource to be mobilized, or an

instrument to be used, by particular groups and individuals in pursuit of their political and economic ends. The elites can also capitalize on imagined differences, not necessarily real ones, (Macharia, 2012: 22).

However, in Kenya, as in the rest of Africa, social relations of production have not in a significant way developed distinct social class structures. In addition, there is the problem of social transformation in areas where class structures are perverted by other factors such as ethnicity. However, some scholars noted that in some situations, such as in labour relations, appeals to class solidarity dominate appeals to ethnic identity; in other settings, such as during elections, appeals to ethnic interests dominate those to class solidarity. When class solidarity is valuable, ethnic differences are set aside; when competing for the spoils of office, they are re-affirmed. Viewed from this perspective, ethnicity can be seen as a choice or a strategy, (Omollo, 2002: 208), the value of which varies with the situation. It has been argued that ethnicity might even be more important than class in Africa, (Lonsdale 1992: 30).

Despite the usefulness of Marxist's analyses of classes, it should be kept in mind that the origin of these theories is Europe. There is a tendency by Marxist theorists to assume that similar class structures developed in other parts of the world, which might not be the case. There is little attention paid to the problem of social transformation in areas where class bonds are not as strong as ethnicity, (Macharia, 2012: 22). Marxist theoretical framework would thus seem inadequate for analyzing ethnicity in countries such as Kenya, where social relations of production have not in a considerable way developed evident social class structures, (Omollo, 2002:

211). This research does not rely only on the Marxian theoretical formulation because it is viewed as inadequate in explaining the ethnic phenomenon in Africa in general and Kenya in particular. However we retain and reformulate its tenable propositions such as the role of elites in mobilizing ethnicity as tool for political competition.

In order to better analyze the salience of ethnicity in Kenya's party politics, this study will also draw from the instrumentalist perspective as advanced by Chabal and Daloz (1999). This theoretical paradigm holds that political actors in Africa are constantly seeking to maximize their returns on the state of chaos, disharmony, and uncertainty. Most African polities are characterized by low levels of political institutionalization, a disregard for the rules of the formal political, economic sectors and personalized and vertical solutions to societal problems. Given this context, politics is contextualized in ways in which individuals, groups and communities seek to instrumentalize the resources which they command in the general political economy of disorder. Disorder and disharmony is not a general state of dereliction but a condition that offers opportunities, (Geertz, 1963: 112),

The argument that there is profit to be found in weak institutionalization of political practice means that political action is based on four key elements namely; the communal as opposed to individual logic, the imperative of exchange or the commerce of reciprocal favours, vertical links within the political system, notion of success, and the imperative of the short-term view and micro-perspective, (Geertz, 1963: 114). We find these four elements of the theory relevant to this study and proceed to exposit their basic tenets.

Communal logic implies that individuals act on the whole with a preponderant respect for the psychological and social foundations of the local community from which they are issued. Relations of power are predicated on the shared belief that the political is communal. Individuals therefore are conceived as the nodal points of large communal networks rather than as single, free and intentional agents. In Kenya, the communal logic is located in local communities which manifest themselves as the Luo, the Kamba, the Kikuyu the Kamba, etc. Communal logic is clearly visible in the manner in which Kenyans vote at elections.

Imperative of exchange implies a more profound notion of what is expected of relations between individuals and communities, which are more relevant to their lives. Hence, the logic of any action, whether political or not, lies in what it induces by way of expectation of reciprocity between parties involved. Relations are therefore propitiated by reciprocity because they are not seen as distinct from the context within which they take place, and political acts are played out on the market place of the various patrimonial networks concerned.

Any political action is couched in an environment of reciprocity, which dictates its symbolic and instrumental value. Kenyans do not just vote for members of their ethnic background, they do so with expectations of rewards and favours. These range from handouts to appointments in government positions and socio-economic and political support. Vertical links drive the very logic of the political system and the overall aim of politics is to affect the very nature of personal relations. Thus, the ultimate ambition of those in power is most often to establish their standing as 'big

men and women', (Omolo et. al., 2008: 10). This standing, by its very nature, is subjective and can only be achieved within a context of personalized relations where clients will ensure its recognition.

The aim of political elites is therefore fundamentally to use that power and the resources, which it can generate to purchase the 'affection' of their people, (Hyden, 1980: 35). Thus, for instance, corruption is not simply the abuse of power for personal gain, but ultimately, personal gains are aimed at achieving a position of legitimate respectability recognized by all. It is almost a norm in Kenya for prominent politicians to be crowned ethnic 'elders' or 'kings'. These elders command enormous respect and following from their community members, to such an extent that their word is never challenged, unless they 'betray' the community. What drives the communal logic, salience of reciprocity and vertical links is the notion of success, conceived as immediate acquisition of material gain without recourse to transparent and accountable manner of acquisition of the same. The measure of achievement continues to be in the immediate display of material gain. Hence the logic of the notion of success is antithetical to the economic mentality underpinning development, (Chabal and Daloz, 1999: 48).

Fewer politicians meaningfully engage the population in a discussion of the changes required for achieving a higher rate of growth and more sustained development in the country. In this case, existing laws are violated with impunity, and exclusion from gainful governance becomes the order of the day. The imperative of the short-term view and micro-perspective implies that the political system functions in the here and now, not for the sake of hypothetical tomorrow. Its legitimacy vests with

the immediate achievements not with its long term ambitions. Similarly, the logic of elections is focused on the proximate: the local and the communal. Its legitimacy depends on the ability to deliver to those who are linked with the political elites through the micro-networks of patronage and clientalism.

In this rationality, the greater good of the nation as a whole is suspended while the short-term and micro-perspective dominate. Clients are not ready to accept sacrifices for more ambitious goals in a context where it is assumed that patrons only work for their clients. 'It is our turn to eat' is not an uncommon phrase in Kenya, (Omolo et al., 2008, 11). This phrase is carefully used when a member of a community ascends to a higher position in office. 'Our turn to eat' means that it is our time to benefit, to seek favours, to be served and to prosper, even if it means at the expense of other communities.

Given the above elements which constitute a shared epitome, local communities in Kenya choose to act in any manner feasible to protect their communal rationality and realized or perceived material gains. Instrumentalising ethnicity becomes one practical approach to ensuring that the community remains resilient and protected from actual or perceived enemies, (Omolo, *ibid*:12). Winning elections is seen as a good thing as it comes with many opportunities to exploit for one's own enrichment. Given that the political elites command respect and much influence, their word counts and they easily mobilize support along ethnic lines.

In identifying the four elements as integral in influencing electoral politics, we adopt the instrumental argument that stresses the forces of political and socio-economic

development as prime motivating factors in ethnicity and ethnic mobilization. Thus, while the primordialist model insists on the non-instrumental and emotional character of ethnicity and its necessary origins in real culture, the instrumentalism perspective alerts us to the ‘contingent, situational and circumstantial’ use of ethnicity ‘in the pursuit of material advantage’. Primordialism, which emphasized the archaic cultural basis of ethnic identities, is plainly redolent of the traditional versus modern dichotomy of modernization theory, as well as of the earlier colonial and anthropological stereotypes of stagnant and unchanging tribal societies. Instrumentalism, meanwhile, focused on the manipulation of ethnic identities and loyalties for political and economic ends, (Chabal and Daloz, 1999: 57).

The primordial view regards ethnicity as “constituting” a fundamental feature of society and that ethnic identity is natural and inalienable, (Worsley, 1984:27). In other words, the ethnicity of a group is defined by its cultural and biological heritage, and is territorially rooted. It is thus grounded by the group’s primordial ties and bound by the ancestors’ values, myths, languages, etc. Instrumentalists however argue that the primordial approach emphasizes too much on the objective nature of ethnicity, which stresses that ethnicity is a “given” and one is born with it. They criticize the fact that the primordial approach cannot explain the evolution of ethnic groups over time. Instead of admitting solely to primordial ties, instrumentalists emphasize that ethnicity of a group should be understood in terms of its relationship to other groups. This means that the members of an ethnic group identify themselves subjectively in relation to other groups in order to maximize their social interest. Worsley says that cultural traits are not absolute or simply intellectual categories,

but are invoked to provide identities which legitimize claims to rights, (Worsley, *ibid*: 30). They are strategies or weapons in competitions over scarce social goods.

Adopting the instrumental approach to ethnicity, the relationship between language and ethnic identity becomes more apparent to us. The instrumental view holds that ethnicity is a subjective way of interpreting a group's identity, often in the hope of maximizing the members' interest. However, in order to identify a group's separate and unique ethnicity, the members often have to in some way find themselves certain features which can distinguish them from other ethnic groups.

There has however been criticism against the instrumental and primordial perspectives. Osoghae, (1991) argues that ethnicity is not the monopoly of manipulative elites, and that there has to be a meeting of elite and non-elite interest for ethnic mobilization to succeed, (Osoghae, 1991: 8). Some scholars have criticized the view that African 'tribes' are atavistic survivals of primordial stages of social development, and African politics as simply cynical instruments of elite manipulation, (Berman et. al. 2004:2). Instead, African ethnicity is regarded as complex and protean expression of the often distinctive African experience of modernity rooted in the changing material realities of state and markets, and the confrontation of gender, class, and generation. Ethnicity is the product of African encounter with capitalism and the nation-state in the colonial and post-colonial era, (Berman et. al. 2004: 3). Moreover, it has been argued that most cases of embezzlement, bribery and fraud are individual projects and have little to do with constitutive primordial interests, (Osoghae, 1991:8). Some scholars have also

criticized the reduction of ethnicity to economic and political relations as this may result in the neglect of other cultural dimensions of ethnicity

The assumption in many instrumentalists' approach that human behaviour is essentially rational and directed towards maximizing self interests results in oversimplification of the perception of interests by culturally situated agents and disregards the dynamics of power in both intra-group and inter-group relations. Jones, (1997: 76-79). Criticism notwithstanding, the instrumental and primordial perspectives are crucial in explaining the salience of ethnicity as a tool for political mobilization not only in Kenya but generally in Africa.

Although the theories discussed have merit in explaining ethnicity and the ethnic crisis in Africa in general and Kenya in particular, we still need other tools of analysis to explain the unique nature of politics and ethnicity in Kenya. One perspective that will be employed to complement the theories is that of neo-patrimonialism and the contrasting concepts of moral ethnicity and political tribalism. The concept of neo-patrimonialism is derived from patrimonial authority which Max Weber applied to designate the idea of authority in the smallest and most traditional polities, (Bratton and Van de Walle 1997: 61).

In the original Weberian-Sociological theory, the focus is on state capacity, factional rivalries, elite politics and political and economic networks of power. This theory built the concept of neo-patrimonialism. Its advocates used this concept of neo-patrimonialism to characterize contemporary African polities and identified the behaviour of the "big man" as its embodiment, (Medard, 1982: 128). From the

patrimonial type of traditional domination, the concept of neo-patrimonialism is built as a hybrid form of legal-national domination perverted by patrimonial patterns of behaviour such as the confusion between the public and private spheres. (Macharia, 2012:25).

In patrimonial political system, one individual rules by virtue of personal prestige and power. Ordinary masses are treated as extension of the “big man’s household” and have no rights except those bestowed by the ruler. The ruler ensures loyalty by selectively distributing state resources to loyal followers. He also manages his political career as an entrepreneur, investing his different kinds of capital; economic, political, social, and symbolic, to enable him to consolidate and gain power, (Macharia, 2012:25). The right to rule in neo-patrimonial regime is bestowed to a person, rather than to an office, despite contrary provisions in the law. The “strongman” dominates the state apparatus and stands above the law. This concept helps to explain ways in which the operation of a political system is no longer entirely traditional, (Cokumu, 2002: 93).

In patrimonial systems of government “big men” at the apex of power compete to command some share of the “national cake” which they then redistribute through their own networks of followers. And even though patrimonial rule is often considered a pre-modern form of political rule, it is in fact quite compatible with certain contemporary institutional arrangements. In Kenya “big man” politics has outlasted the change from the one party to the multi-party system. Aside from the implementation of laws allowing for multi-party politics, there has not occurred a fundamental structural change in the country’s politics. The patrimonial school of

thought with its appendage, 'clientelism' is particularly useful in analyzing the political behaviour of individuals in post-independent Kenya. Studies have argued that the Kenyan state is built around these complex neo-patrimonial clientelism and ethnic networks, (Kakai, 2004) and Aseka, (2005) (as cited in Macharia, 2007:42). This theoretical perspective will help in understanding the KANU regime as it used the state for systematic patronage in order to maintain political power for over three decades, and neutralize political opponents. It is useful in examining the objectives and behaviour of political elite in Kenya.

Some scholars however avoid the term neo-patrimonialism because they view it as a misuse of the original Weberian concept. They argue that although the behaviour of African political office-bearers is often similar to that of officials in a patrimonial system, the difference is that in contemporary Africa, formal institutions of the state are those of legal-national authority or modern nation-state. Part of political problem facing Africa is the weakness of such institutions as they are continually undermined by the pervasive informal practice of patronage, (Berman et. al, 2004: 1). Such criticism, nevertheless, does not invalidate the concept of neo-patrimonialism and the 'clientelism' school of thought in explaining the behaviour of African political leaders.

Political tribalism on the other hand describes competitive confrontation among ethnic groups, in an attempt to access and control state resources, (Lonsdale, 2004:73). This paradigm will help us to understand the communal voting patterns in Nairobi County during the period under study. The concept of 'clientelism' will also be applied to complement the Patrimonial perspective.

Thus, in this study, we adopted an integrative approach, deriving key concepts and ideas from a variety of theoretical paradigms, bringing them together within a broader framework that facilitates understanding the phenomenon of ethnicity in Kenya's politics. Such a framework, which some analysts have called the political interactive approach, utilizes appropriate ideas from a variety of contemporary theorists to forge an integrative method for understanding the relations between the historical, political, social and economic dimensions of contemporary realities in Africa, (Chazan et al,1977) (as cited in Wafula, 2007, 14).

1.10.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.10.1 Research Design

The present study employed descriptive survey design¹⁴. Two types of evidence was analyzed; primary and secondary. Primary sources were oral interviews, archival materials, observation and questionnaires. The target population was individuals with knowledge of political events in Nairobi County. Important informants were identified and contacted in order to have data that reflected a cross-section of views, and representative samples drawn. Some of the identified informants were crucial in helping us contact other crucial informants.

Secondary sources mainly included written materials, viz; published books, unpublished theses, periodicals, seminar papers, newspapers, magazines, dissertations, as well as party manifestoes, propaganda leaflets, pamphlets, booklets

¹⁴ See Ogot, (1976) and Vansina, (1985).

and vision papers. The materials were obtained from various sources, viz; Institute of Education in Democracy (IED), Post Modern Library (KU), IEBC headquarters, Macmillan Library, Kenya National Library in Nairobi Institute of Development Studies and the Institute of African Studies Library. Online journals available on the internet also provided important contribution to our secondary information.

1.10.2 Site of the Study

Nairobi County, which is the focus of our study, is the largest city in East Africa. It also ranks among Africa's greatest cities, accommodating about 4 million people. Geographically, the city lies on the western edge of the Athi-Kapiti plains, and the foot of the eastern highlands, (Kiruthu, 2006: 32). It lies 1670 m above the sea level, latitude 39 50' and longitude 10 17' south, about 140 kilometres south of the Equator and 480 kilometers from the Indian Ocean. It is bordered by Kiambu County to the south, Kajiado County to the west, Machakos County to the east, (see figure 1). The area occupied by the city was recorded as 696 square km, (see the 2009 census report). The land hosts about 25% of Kenya's urban population (UNCHS, 2001).

Lying on Nairobi River, its name 'Nairobi' comes from the Maasai word 'Enkare Nairobi' which translates to 'the place of cold water'. Before it developed as a modern town as we know it today, it was a market place for the Maasai and Agikuyu traders.¹⁵ Nairobi owes its existence to the fact that it's situated at the point where the railway leaves the Athi Plain and begins to climb up the Kikuyu escarpment, and

¹⁵ Explorer Joseph Thomson gives a vivid description of the Kikuyu- Maasai trade; (see Hake, 1977).

that it's approximately half-way between Mombasa and Lake Victoria. The site was found convenient to make the headquarters of the railway in 1899. The emergence of Nairobi was therefore not a historical accident. Rather, it was the outcome of careful planning for a railway line to tap the resources in the interior. It was therefore, the product of colonial capitalist penetration and expansion, which the railway was symbolic of.

By 1900, the town had become both an administration and a collecting centre for the white settlers, this boosting its importance. From its nucleus around the railway station, the town expanded by a series of boundary changes. In 1928, the Feetham Commission absorbed new municipality housing areas and peri-urban areas into a separate government administration called Nairobi Extra-Provincial District, (NEPD)¹⁶. In 1947, the master plan for a colonial capital was prepared by a team of South African planners. The plan endorsed the colonial development of the city within the racial segregation policy. In March 1950, Nairobi was raised to the status of a city by a royal charter, (Werlin, 1950:164). During the colonial period, Nairobi remained the preserve of Whites, Asians and African migrants from the rural areas, (Kiruthu, 2006: 33). After independence, many Africans found it easier to come and seek employment opportunities as a result of the lifting of colonial restrictions. Since independence, Nairobi has become the hub of East Africa.

The city still attracts thousands of migrants from different parts of the country seeking opportunities. Nairobi is a metropolitan city harbouring a cosmopolitan

¹⁶ Feetham Report is cited in Obudho, (1975).

population with diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. It is a city where ethnicity plays out in the determination of political outcomes, depending on the region where different communities reside. The Luo and the Abaluhya from western Kenya have always exerted influence on political contests alongside the Kikuyu, Kamba, and Maasai communities whose ancestral homes are nearer to the city. Currently, Nairobi has 17 parliamentary constituencies, up from eight before the electoral boundary review conducted in line with the new constitution (2010).

Nairobi was mainly chosen for the study due to the fact that it is a multi-ethnic entity accommodating people from most ethnic groups in Kenya, hence being an appropriate case. Though it is hoped that the findings enable us to verify our premises and to study the link between politics and ethnicity in a unique urban setting, we also believe the findings may be used for explanation of other related or similar cosmopolitan settings.

A map of Nairobi County is shown in Figure 1 on page xvii.

1.10. 3 Variables of Analysis

The main target population was adult residents of Nairobi County. The researcher targeted all categories of people from different ethnic groups and from all identifiable relevant social groupings. By use of purposive sampling, the sample of informants was selected from each of Nairobi's constituencies. The sample was stratified for age, gender, level of education, social standing so as to achieve the highest representation across the socio-economic and political spectrum. Age limit was 25 years. Informants were then subjected to oral interviews. Seven informants

were interviewed from each constituency, based on their knowledge of political events. An additional 10 informants were snowballed for interviews. These included IEBC officials, former and current political activists and party officials. These additional snowballed samples were strictly evaluated beforehand against the objectives of the study. This number of informants proved enough to counter-check the validity of information given by different informants while minimizing repetition.

Individual interviews proved very useful in gathering specific information, and they generated invaluable qualitative data that might have been impossible to obtain in any other way. Such qualitative data is imperative especially in social sciences where researchers have to grasp the interrelationships of different people in the political system, especially in an urban setting.

1.10.4 Research instruments and equipment

Data collection techniques used included interviews, administration of questionnaires, and oral interviews to gather relevant information from informants. Open-ended questionnaire was employed to gather specific information on voting patterns from the sample selected in the voters roll. As regards the snowballed group, detailed interview guides were used. Tape recording or note-taking, where applicable, was used during the interview. The questionnaires were administered by three research assistants, who were taken through a short course on important elements of research and ethics. The questionnaires were self-filled, but the research assistants were encouraged to probe for more information where necessary. All the

questionnaires were thus personally administered. 80% of the questionnaires were considered to have been sufficiently filled. A number of challenges were encountered, such as significant rates of illiteracy and poor recollection among some respondents. This was overcome by use of translators, use of secondary data to arrive at dates and explaining research ethics to allay fears and suspicion from some respondents who were hesitant to avail information that was regarded vital for this research.

A questionnaire guide as shown in Appendix 2 constituted an important tool especially in administering oral interviews, as well as observation forms and still pictures for the visits. The languages employed in the interview were mainly Kiswahili and English. The researcher personally did the interviews with the help of research assistants and compiled the research findings.

1.10.5 Data collection procedure

Primary data was mainly gathered from in-depth oral interview and questionnaires as well as archival research. Documents from Kenya National Archives included political record books, political Association reports, colonial government publications, confidential reports, diaries, party manifestos, development policies and plans, Sessional papers, hand-over reports, political record books, political association reports and government reports of recent times. These are first hand records from participants and observers that have been passed down to posterity.

While in the field, we also consulted private archives like those belonging to churches. Archival sources may be rich but were not fully reliable and regular.

Information collected from archives was treated with caution as some of it was prejudiced, biased and therefore subjective. Some of it reflected the 'official' view, that was however not always correct. It therefore became necessary to corroborate it with other data, especially that which was obtained from oral interviews and secondary sources. Field research was carried on the basis of the 17 constituencies of Nairobi that correspond to the period of study. The researcher was assisted by three assistants to conduct oral interviews. Questionnaires were self-filled, and were administered by the research assistants, who were taken through a short training on important elements of research and ethics. Questions were open-ended, but the research assistants were encouraged to probe for more information where necessary.

The researcher directly participated in research activities and engaged in free discussions with the informants. Sometimes focus group discussions were organized consisting of about 10 informants, enabling us to acquire a wide variety of information across a large number of subjects in a short period. Interviews (in-depth, adhoc, and Focus Group) are generally preferred because of their strength of getting large amounts of data quickly¹⁷.

An in-depth interview guide was applied in both interviewing and group discussions, to ensure uniformity in both processes. However, the questions formulated were not regarded as rigid but were treated as flexible guide to search for information needed further probing questions emerged in the field. Secondary data was obtained from several libraries such as Post-Modern Library (Kenyatta University), Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library (University of Nairobi), and the Kenya National Library (Nairobi)

¹⁷ See views by Marshall and Rossman, (1995) for a more comprehensive discussion

among others. Secondary sources used included published books, magazines, seminar papers, unpublished theses, newspapers among others. Document analysis was employed to determine the relevance of each document to the study. Online journals accessible on the internet were also extensively used.

1.10.6 Data analysis procedure

All the data obtained from different sources was thoroughly sieved and scrutinized to minimize subjectivity. It was then categorized according to source, constituency and historical period in question. Primary data was mainly collected in the archives. Recorded interview data was, where necessary, fully translated. Tape recorded data was transcribed and all the data obtained from questionnaires qualitatively analyzed. Particular attention was paid to the reasons for the responses given, and similarities and differences from various responses were noted. The researcher fully transcribed and typed this data. A total of six compact disc (cd) tapes were used for recording. Secondary data was subjected to historical and textual criticism in order to verify its authenticity, validity and reliability. Such data was crucial in enabling us to situate the study in a theoretical framework and also provided a framework with which to work on the primary data. Appraisal of text origins was done to test the relevance and accuracy of documents that were identified as appropriate for the study. The questionnaires were qualitatively analyzed with particular attention paid to the reasons for the responses given.

Using the logical historical method that entails the analysis and explanation of harnessed data, we were able to generate knowledge that is quite unique. This

method involves a critical investigation of events, developments and experiences of the past, the careful weighing of evidence and the validity of sources of information on the past, and the interpretation of the weighed evidence, (Wafula, 2007: 27). After the analysis and corroboration of both primary and secondary data, and with the guidance of the research objectives and that of my supervisors, writing of research findings commenced and was concluded successfully.

1.10.7 Data management and ethical consideration

Questionnaires were turned in and considered duly filled for analysis and interviews done as described in population sampling. The data gathered buttressed the interviews, questionnaires, observations forms, field reports and notes written and tape recordings done. The main challenge encountered here was managing the huge amount of data collected. This was solved by breaking down, classifying the data in order of chronology, categorizing and analyzing the data systematically. My research assistants helped a lot in transcribing the data. Research ethics were strictly adhered to in this research. The researcher paid attention to gender sensitivity in terms of questions asked, interviewing and report writing. Academic honesty was upheld, and any reference to other people's ideas was properly acknowledged.

As highlighted by Cohen et al., "a major ethical dilemma in research is that which requires researchers to strike a balance between the demand placed on them as researchers in pursuit of truth, and their subjects' rights and values potentially threatened by the research", (Cohen et. al. 2007: 51). The researcher therefore endeavoured to seek the informed consent of all respondents. Respondents were informed about the nature and motive of the study so that they could knowledgeably

make up their mind to participate or not. We grounded this procedure on the belief that all informants had the right to freedom of expression. The researcher avoided careless reference to offensive ethnic stereotypes, assumptions and other statements hurtful to the respondents. Due caution was taken in reference to emotional events such as the P.E.V.

Where respondents wished to participate in the study without their identity being revealed, their request was granted. Confidentiality and anonymity was therefore observed after creating rapport with the informants. This was intended not only to respect their wishes but also to ensure their security and avoid any anticipated harm that would otherwise occur to them. As much as possible, necessary research findings were disseminated to interested parties. I regarded sharing the written history of our nation as part of my responsibility to humanity.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the background to the study, the statement of the problem, and the justification and significance of the study. It has also outlined the literature review, the theoretical framework and the research methodology. The next chapter discusses the political background of the Nairobi County. It explains the colonial origins of the city, showing how the various social, political and economic dimensions of colonial rule influenced the rise and development of the city. The chapter is guided by Marxist perspective in analysing colonial capitalist penetration in Kenya, which configured the organization of politics in Nairobi County construction of the Uganda railway influenced the rise of the city. It serves as the springboard chapter from which the rest of the study unfolds.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. BACKGROUND TO NAIROBI COUNTY POLITICS - 1895 TO 1929

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the political background of Nairobi County, the site of study, and of Kenya in general so as to analyze the origin of ethnic politics. It shows how the establishment of colonial rule disrupted the economic and political set-up of the African communities. The colonial government established measures meant to create division and disharmony among Africans. The intention was to discourage unity of the Africans against the colonial regime. The roots of ethnic politics in Kenya can therefore be traced back to the policies of the time.

The construction of a railway from Mombasa to Kisumu was the main factor that transformed Nairobi into an urban centre. Many Asians migrated to Kenya as labourers in the railway construction. Asian presence in Kenya and Nairobi in particular, had important implications on economic and political development in the colony and in Nairobi. During the colonial period, Nairobi witnessed a struggle for dominance between the races, especially whites and Asians. Though the Devonshire White Paper of 1923 challenged the settler ambition of establishing an independent nation governed by a white minority, the characteristic feature of colonial Kenya's politics continued to be a rigid hierarchy based upon race till the attainment of independence in 1963.

Africans comprised the majority of dwellers in Nairobi, but were excluded from the administration of the affairs of the colony and the city. Furthermore, they were

subjected to racial discrimination and their interests and needs not catered for. African political inclusion was gradual, beginning with the establishment of District Advisory Council, as a form of self-government in the 1920's. There was apparent neglect of African interests till the violence of 1940's that culminated in the Mau Mau uprising. The chapter is guided by Marxist perspective in analysing a variety of issues relating to colonial policies in Kenya, which influenced the organization of politics in Nairobi County.

2.2 AFRICAN POLITICS IN THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

Before colonialism, the African societies had a rich tradition of political, economic and social institutions that dealt with the allocation of resources, law-making and social control. Traditional institutions were complex and varied from place to place. Politics and government was closely related to the level of economic organization and production (Lord, 1957: 37). Some parts of Africa had developed centralized systems of governance with chiefs and kings. Centralized governments were common in intensive-agriculture societies with a crafts-manufacturing sector. Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, and Songhai were examples of large kingdoms or empires outside Kenya that developed a complex system of government (Lord, 1957:55).

The king, such as Mansa Musa of Mali and Sonni Ali of Songhai, had near absolute power and there was no separation of power. The king and his advisors carried out executive, legislative, and judicial functions. The king's power was often based on his ability to collect revenue and tribute, usually through the control of trade, and to control and use an army to defend his sovereignty. Moreover, there were no

independent judicial systems. Officials appointed by the king were responsible for criminal justice. In short, the king was chief executive, chief law-maker, and chief judge (Reader, 1998:186). The powers of these rulers were restricted by various arrangements, including the institution of councils. In other cases, such as Abyssinia and Rwanda, the rulers enjoyed more absolute power. In Kenya, the example of the Wanga kingdom under its king, Nabongo, suffices. This was the only politically-centralised society in pre-colonial Kenya.

In addition to the large kingdoms, there were smaller centralized political units, some of which historians call city-states since they were made up of large urban-like areas, (Mazrui, 1969:219). These geographically smaller states shared much in common with the larger African kingdoms, with the primary difference being size. The system and practice of governance that centralized power in the hands of a king and a supporting cast of political advisors and elites in these smaller kingdoms was similar to that of larger kingdoms, (Reader, *ibid*:129). Moreover, control of trade and a strong military were also important factors in the development and maintenance of these smaller states. Oyo, Ife, Ilorin, and Ibadan are examples of West African city-states. Sofala, Kilwa, Mombasa, and Lamu are examples of East African city-states.

A significant portion of African people however lived in small-scale, egalitarian societies. In such cases, government was more a matter of consensus among the entire adult population than rule by an elite few, (Bill, (1984:131). Such societies have been categorized by political historians as 'stateless' or 'de-centralized'. Historians of Africa argue that as many as a third of the African people on the eve of

imposition of colonial rule lived in stateless or decentralized societies. These societies often constituted a group of neighbouring villages that had no political connection with a larger kingdom or nation.

Decentralized were governed by a council of elders that comprised of mostly the elderly people in the community. Elders were so important that some historians have defined decentralized societies as ‘democracies of age’, (Bill, 1984: 110). Many of these societies were as complex as the more centralized societies. One of the characteristic that was common among the decentralized African traditional institutions of governance is the consensual nature of decision making in the matters of resource allocation and law-making, (Bill, 1984: 113).

It should however be noted that much political power in most societies rested in family or kinship groups. In addition, political or social identities had more to do with membership in family or kinship groups or in one’s language group than in being a resident in a given jurisdiction. Each society had a set of rules, laws, and traditions, sometimes called customs that established how the people would live together peacefully as part of larger group, (Basil, 1989:142). To check the abuse of power built around authoritarian practice, Africans relied largely on gods, ancestral spirits and other spiritual forces upon which the vital force of the political unit ultimately depended. Consequently, abuse of power was checked by taboos that surrounded leadership position, and the fear of incurring the wrath of a patron deity or spirit that protected and oversaw the welfare of the community, (Ranger, 1966:91).

Looked at from another angle, the government of an African state consisted in a balance between power and authority on the one hand and obligation and responsibility on the other hand. Every individual who held political office had responsibility for the public welfare corresponding to the rights and privileges of his position. The distribution of political authority provided mechanism by which the various agents of government could be held accountable for their actions. A chief or a king had the right to exact tax, tribute, and labour service from his subjects; he had the corresponding obligation to dispense justice to them, to ensure their protection from enemies and to safeguard their general welfare, (Perham, 1962:211).

Like the rest of much of Africa, most of the pre-colonial Kenyan communities were highly segmented and decentralised. The ethnic boundaries among communities were rather fluid. The largest political unit was the collectivity of a few families related by blood. The dynamic unit in ethnic movements was a clan or lineage, rather than a community as such. Patriarchal lineages, marriage alliances, age-groups, trading partnerships, client-clusters, were the norm. Ethnic economies were as often complementary as competitive, with different specialisations. Most of the communities in Kenya were still in a state of flux, with a relatively high degree of geographical mobility. Inter-ethnic interactions were characterized by trade, intermarriages and limited and intermittent warfare. The histories of migrations and settlement were about continuous waning and waxing of the various ethnicities, (Ranger, 1962:190).

2.3 THE IMPOSITION OF COLONIAL RULE IN KENYA

For a number of centuries, Europeans interacted with Africans in several ways such as trade and missionary work. They did not show any desire to rule Africa. However, this attitude began to change towards the end of the nineteenth century as a result of a combination of social, political and economic events taking place in Europe. These events sparked off what has been termed as the ‘scramble for Africa’, culminating in the partition of the continent. A discussion of this process is not within the scope of this research but it is worth noting that there is no precedent in world history where a group of states in one continent felt justified in talking about the sharing and occupation of the territory of another continent in such a bold manner. This is the major significance of the Berlin Conference for African history. The argument that the conference, contrary to popular opinion, did not partition Africa is correct only in the most technical sense (Perham, 1962: 175). To all intents and purposes, the appropriation of African territory did take place at the conference and the question of future appropriation is clearly implied in its decisions. By its provisions, in fact, the broad lines of the actual partition of Africa had already been drawn (Freund, 1984: 119).

Prior to the Conference, the European powers had acquired spheres of influence in Africa in a variety of ways — through settlement, exploration, the establishment of commercial posts, missionary settlements, the occupation of strategic areas, and by making treaties with African rulers. Following the conference, influence by means of treaty became the most important method of effecting the paper partition of the continent (ibid: 125). These treaties took two forms — those between Africans and Europeans, and bilateral agreements between the Europeans themselves. The African-European treaties were basically of two kinds. First, there were the slave

trade and the commercial treaties; these had generated friction, which in turn led to European political interference in African affairs. Secondly, there were the political treaties by which African rulers either purportedly surrendered sovereignty in return for protection, or undertook not to enter into treaty obligations with other European nations.

By 1900 much of Africa had been colonized by European powers¹⁸ who then set about establishing colonial state systems. The colonial state was the machinery of administrative domination established to facilitate effective control and exploitation of the colonized societies, (Crowder, 1962:117). As a result of their origins in military conquest and because of the racist ideology of the imperialist scheme, the colonial states were dictatorial and bureaucratic systems. Because they were imposed and maintained by force, without the consent of the governed, the colonial states never had the effective legitimacy of ordinary governments. They were bureaucratic since they were administered by military officers and civil servants who were appointees of the colonial power, (Wesseling et al, 1996: 171).

In East Africa, the colonialist scramble involved three competing powers: the Sultanate of Zanzibar, Germany and Britain. The first on the scene were the Arabs who operated from Zanzibar. Their interests both on the coast and in the interior were largely commercial, revolving around the trade in slaves and ivory. Before the 1880's, these Arabs and Swahili traders were content to operate from the coast. But during the closing decades of the 19th century, Arab interests in the interior of East Africa began to be threatened by German and British interests that had been steadily

¹⁸ The seven main colonial powers were Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

penetrating the area, (Cesaire, 1968:166). Arabs therefore attempted to take political control of some areas in order to protect their commercial concessions. Thus, they set up a colony at Ujiji and in Buganda, where they masterminded a coup at the expense of the Christians after previously co-operating with them to dethrone Mwanga, (Wesseling et al, 1996: 184).

The Europeans in the interior particularly traders and missionaries wanted the occupation of East Africa by their home governments in order to provide them with security and a free hand to carry out their enterprises unhindered. The Anglo-German delimitation treaty of November 1886 placed Zanzibar and most of its dependencies within Britain's sphere of influence. On the other hand, it assured Germany's political influence in East Africa, thereby providing official recognition of the infringement of Britain's monopoly in the area, (Freund, 1984: 225). By the terms of the subsequent agreement of 1887, Britain undertook to 'discourage British annexations in the rear of the German Sphere of Influence, on the understanding that the German Government will equally discourage German annexations in the rear of the British Sphere'. It was further agreed that if either country occupied the coast, 'the other could not, without consent, occupy unclaimed regions in the rear', (Bill, 1984: 227).

The ambiguity of these hinterland arrangements concerning the westward 'sphere of influence' of both nations culminated in the Heligoland Treaty of 1890 which comprehensively concluded the partition of East African territories. Most significantly, it reserved Uganda for the British; but also destroyed Britain's grand illusion of a 'Cape-to-Cairo' route, surrendered Heligoland to Germany and put an end to the independence of Zanzibar, (Collins, 1969: 169). Most of the country we know today as Kenya consequently came under formal British occupation. Kenya's

boundaries were thereafter demarcated without consulting the Africans. The colonial boundaries led to the establishment of a large territorial entity that arbitrarily brought together over forty previously independent communities into a single territorial entity, (Ogot, 2000: 94).

The methods of European occupation in East Africa were characterized by the use of force combined with, where possible, diplomatic alliances with one group against another. To expedite advance inland, railways were established. The Uganda railway, linking the interior of Uganda and Kenya with the coast, reached the Lake Victoria basin in 1901. The Germans likewise started the construction of railways and road networks. The first railway was started on the coast at Tanga after 1891 and reached the foothills of the Usambara Mountains in 1905, (Mazrui, 1969: 95).

Colonial authorities in Africa applied different styles of administration. The French for instance intended to turn Africans into French people once the process of colonization was accomplished. The 'acculturated Africans' would then become part of the larger French community, (Crowder, 1962: 173). The British on the other hand wanted to 'civilize' the Africans, but not to the point where the African might claim equality with the British¹⁹. Quite apparently, the end product of these colonial experiences would be that Africans under French rule would become an integral part of the European communities, (Worsley, 1984:109). Africans in the British colonies would ultimately be left alone to manage their own governments using ideas and tools learned from the British through the system of indirect rule.

¹⁹ Since that was regarded by the British as impossible.

The theory and practice of indirect rule is commonly associated with Lord Lugard, who was the first British High Commissioner for northern Nigeria and later governor-general of Nigeria at the turn of the century. In much of northern Nigeria he found that Africans had an established and functional administrative system which he simply adapted to his ends, (Hailey, 1956: 211). The Indirect Rule approach involved identifying the local power structure: the identified ruler would then be invited, coerced, and made to believe he could protect his own people's interests better by cooperating in this restricted power relationship. He would still retain considerable power over his people. This sort of accommodation was regarded by the British as important to pre-empt protracted confrontation with Africans. Also by recognizing and offering to work with local leaders, the cost of running the colonies remained low, and it became possible to raise revenue locally. It has been suggested that "indirect rule" was simply a necessity that the British somehow managed to turn into a virtue (Hailey, 1956: 215).

In the decentralized societies, the attempt to apply the system of indirect rule was less successful. The British colonizers, unfamiliar with these novel and unique political systems and insisting that African 'natives' must have chiefs, often appointed leaders called 'warrant chiefs'. In fact in some parts of East Africa, entirely new 'chiefs' and 'tribes' were created where none existed before, (Hailey, 1956: 215). In exchange for becoming part of the colonial structure, a chief was often given protection, a salary, and numerous gifts. The chief was expected to collect taxes, provide cheap labour if required, and to be accountable directly to the white district officer. The colony as a whole was headed by a governor who was

appointed by the British government and reported directly to the British Colonial Office²⁰, (Davidson, 1989: 147).

The choice of Indirect Rule was premised partly on using existing functional and partly on Britain's unwillingness to provide the resources requisite to administer its vast empire. This is because they developed the perverse view that the colonized should pay for their colonial domination, (Perham, 1962: 241). In general, indirect rule worked fairly well in areas that had long-established centralized state systems such as chiefdoms, city-states, kingdoms, and empires, with their functional administrative and judicial systems of government. But even here the fact that the ultimate authority was the British officials meant that the African leaders had been vassalized and were now exercising authority at the mercy of European colonial officials. The political structures that tied them to their people in the traditional system had been broken. Some shrewd African leaders manoeuvred the system to their advantage and ruled as best as they could, while others used the new colonial setting to become tyrants and oppressors, and accumulate as much property as they could, as they were responsible to British officials ultimately, (Rotberg, 1988: 92).

In line with the Marxist theory, it can therefore be argued that the colonial state in Kenya and indeed the rest of Africa was the force behind primitive accumulation of capital and wealth differentiation. The establishment of colonial rule started the process of capitalist penetration in Kenyan societies and was the direct agency of colonialism. The state acted as an instrument of primitive accumulation of capital by creating structures highly favourable to the chiefs and other agents of colonial rule.

²⁰ This was headed by the colonial secretary, a member of the British Cabinet

Colonial practices also laid the foundation for the system of loyalist patronage that was to characterize much of the politics in post-independent Kenya, (Throup, 1987:73-144)

Another significant political consequence of indirect rule was that it reinforced separate ethnic identities and inhibited the development of a national or colony-wide political consciousness. Indeed, the style very well served British colonial interests, permitting them to play ethnic groups against each other. Inter-ethnic interaction through traditional trade interaction or political organizations was restricted and discouraged (Rotberg, 1988: 95). The British feared that national political activities might lead to country-wide resistance against colonial rule. For clear reasons, ethnic welfare societies were encouraged especially in urban areas which gradually turned out to be hotbeds of anti-colonial agitation. These welfare societies provided social services that colonial authorities were either unable or unwilling to provide. For example, they helped settle down rural masses who had migrated into cities like Nairobi to look for work and provided critical support networks for them, (Bennet, 1984: 228).

The exacerbation of ethnic rivalries which the British exploited in furthering colonial control, especially through the application of the policy of 'indirect rule,' has continued to echo in post-independence politics in Kenya and Africa in general. The alienation and undermining of traditional administrative patterns through the use of chiefs for colonial duties clearly made the task of nation-building much more difficult. In addition, the creation of artificial boundaries has been the basis of much suffering in African states as political conflicts have flared up from time to time on

account of territorial claims and counter-claims (Bennet, 1984: 235). Colonization of Africans has retarded post-colonial political development, as the excessive use of force in addressing political problems has been carried over to the post-colonial period. This colonial legacy has continued to impact on politics of Kenya and to foment ethnic differentiation in diverse ways

2.4 COLONIAL SUBJUGATION AND AFRICAN RESPONSE IN KENYA

As Ochieng, (1971:210) puts it, ‘practically everywhere in Kenya, the imposition of colonial rule was resisted. Better armed and employing groups of mercenaries, the British imposed their authority only by violence’. Of all the peoples of Kenya, the Nandi put up the strongest and longest military resistance to British imperialism, beginning in the 1890’s and ending only when their leader was murdered by the British military commanders in 1905, on his way to the negotiations which had been treacherously arranged. That event weakened Nandi resistance and eventually led to the British occupation of their territory. In central Kenya, for instance, each leader reacted separately to the British intrusion. A typical example of this was the reaction of Waiyaki wa Hinga. His parents were originally Maasai who, because of the upheavals that took place in Maasailand in the nineteenth century, had moved to settle in southern Gikuyuland. Here, Waiyaki had gained influence partly because of his contacts with caravan traders.

The Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEACo) regarded him as the paramount Chief of all the Agikuyu people. But his conduct, as Muriuki (1970: 189) has pointed out, ‘right from the beginning demonstrated that he was genuinely

interested in alliance with the Whiteman'. He ensured the safe passage of Count Teleki's expedition through southern Gikuyuland and entered into a blood brotherhood treaty²¹ with Frederick Lugard who was then a company agent. Following this agreement, Waiyaki allowed Lugard to establish a fort on his land. However, when later Waiyaki's requests, such as the possession of firearms were declined by the agents of British colonialism, Waiyaki turned against them and invaded the company's fort at Dagoretti. Subsequently, he again varied his tactics and made an alliance with the British in a diplomatic effort to safeguard his position, but he was captured and deported to Kismayu²², (Ranger, 1962: 231).

Waiyaki's behaviour illustrates the point, that no African was a 'resister' or a so-called 'collaborator' all his life. African People changed their tactics in accordance with the prevailing situation and also as their understanding of the colonial situation increased. The colonial situation was dynamic, not static, and so were the reactions of the Africans, (Moffat, O.I., 19/10/16). Lenana of the Maasai similarly allied himself with the British, which was contrary to the wish of another section of the Maasai opposed to British presence in their territory. Therefore, the British rewarded him with the position of 'Paramount Chief' of the Maasai in Kenya, (Ojwando, 1973: 179).

Along the coast, the Mazrui family resisted the take-over by the IBEACo. This resistance was led by Mbaruk bin Rashid who organized guerrilla warfare against the superior weapons of the British forces. It took reinforcements of Indian troops

²¹ The blood brotherhood ceremony was the highest expression of trust among the Agikuyu, and was rarely administered, (Kongo, O.I., 11/01/2016)

²² Waiyaki never reached the coastal town as he died and was buried in Kambaland.. There are contrasting accounts of his death but suffice to mention that the death was controversial and the British never accounted for it satisfactorily. Multiple oral sources confirmed this position

brought in by the British to defeat him. Rashid fled to Tanganyika, only to fall into the hands of the Germans. The Mazrui resistance was caused by British attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the coastal societies, (Leys, 1973: 235). Further inland, the Akamba detested British interference in their affairs. The establishment of Machakos station by the IBEACo in 1889 led to hostilities between the company and the Akamba community. Company agents looted the surrounding areas for food and property - mainly goats and cattle. They also interfered with religious shrines which people regarded as sacred. In response to this, the local population under Nziba Mweu organized a boycott of the IBEACo station in 1890, refusing to sell it food. Peace only prevailed when Lugard, a company agent, arrived to make a peace treaty which involved the signing of a 'blood-brotherhood' accord with the local population (Kamweti, O.I., 10/09/16).

In northern Kenya, the Ogaden Somali strongly resisted British incursion of their territory. Again it took Indian reinforcements to defeat them in 1899. Similarly, the Taita who had resisted caravan traders' interference in their country were besieged in 1897 by IBEACo troops under the command of Captain Nelson, who reported that they 'made a most determined attack.... coming up to the guns. The fight progressed for about twenty minutes and eventually, the enemy fled in all directions, leaving a large number of dead on the ground including Mwangeka, their leader' (Uzoigwe, 1971: 217).

Elsewhere in western Kenya, among the Abaluyia, the pattern of response was the same, involving diplomatic alliance as well as military encounters. According to oral sources, (Otuma, O.I.10/08/16), King Mumia of the Wanga was particularly shrewd

in the use of diplomacy. He saw the British as a crucial ally whom he could use to extend his influence over the whole of western Kenya, and subdue his traditional enemies, especially the Iteso and the Luo. Wanga kings had a tradition of employing mercenaries to fight for their cause. Thus, in Mumia's thinking, the British were simply another group of mercenaries to be used. Likewise, the British saw in Mumia a willing agent to help them to extend their control over a wide area (Boahen, 1972:114). Indeed, the British occupation of western Kenya was accomplished largely through Mumia's help. This debt was freely acknowledged by British official Sir Harry Johnston who noted that 'he (Mumia), from the very beginning regarded British officials and the idea of a British Protectorate with hearty good-will', (Uzoigwe, 1971: 219).

Quite evidently, the extension of British authority to most of Kenya, which some have called *Pax Britannica*²³, was not so much the outcome of peaceful and carefully planned extension of British administration, as of a series of punitive expeditions by British troops, dispatched against the Kenyan communities which were rather hostile to the colonial intrusion, (Tignor, 1976: 75). The pacification campaigns and the ensuing activities of the colonial administration fuelled inter community hostilities in Kenya. This was to impact negatively on ethnic relations even after independence.

It is the view of this study that colonization of Kenya has retarded post-colonial political processes, as the excessive use of force in addressing political problems has been carried over to the post-independence period.

²³ See work by Carol Elkins, (2005), for a more elaborate discussion of the British occupation of Kenya.

2.5 COLONIAL POLICIES AND THEIR POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS ON AFRICANS

British occupation of Kenya was very expensive and the government needed to urgently convert the 'external, costly and destructive forces of conquest into internal productive powers', (Lonsdale, 1989:11). This was done by developing Kenya into what has been referred to as a 'settler economy'. Colonial authorities therefore encouraged white immigration into the colonies and provided Incentives in the form of free ninety-nine-year leases and low interest loans. Land acquired by colonial settlers ranged from a few hundred acres to hundreds of thousands of acres. Among the wealthiest entrepreneurs and British settlers with the largest landholdings in colonial Kenya, for instance, were Lord Delamere and Captain E. S. Grogan. Lord Delamere had been lured to Africa with an initial offer of 100,000 acres of land²⁴ and Captain Grogan with 64,000 acres, (Schatzberg, 1987: 204). Africans who had occupied those lands before the Europeans arrived were no longer allowed to access them, even if they were not being worked at the time. Trespassing ordinances were strictly enforced. Many complaints were sent to the colonial authorities in London by the affected Africans but these were largely ignored. Among the Africans sent to press the British government for the return of the alienated land was Kenyatta. The loss of land became the most serious grievance of the Kenyan people against colonial authorities, (Muchai, O.I., 16/5/2016).

It soon became clear that the settlers did not have adequate manpower to work the land and would have to decide on measures to generate the needed labour. Some Africans, realizing that they could not live off their land anymore, signed up to work

²⁴ This was actually ten times over the limit that had been set by the colonial administration!

for the white farmers; others moved into the upcoming towns, more so Nairobi, to look for other types of work, (Mwende, O.I., 14/6/16). African working conditions were horrendous. A publication in 1931 in Kenya reported that it was “accepted as a matter of course that farmers, planters and estate managers shall on occasion inflict corporal punishment, usually with a whip made of rhino hide ... for insolence, theft, desertion, laziness, breakages.....” (Schatzberg, *ibid*: 210). It was not uncommon for white farmers to guard their workers with rifles, firing in the air occasionally or at the workers’ feet to terrorize them into working harder (Muchai, O.I., 16/5/2016).

Furthermore, wages were extremely low and insufficient to make much difference in the lives of the Africans. The wages were initially determined exclusively by the farmers, and later by the colonial governments completely dominated by the settlers themselves. They were based on the amount of work done. In patterns repeated by farm labourers everywhere, it often took a male worker, his wife, and children to complete the allotment of work for each day, (Muchai, O.I., 16/5/2016). Indeed, only the male worker got paid, and payment was partly in cash and partly in food rations.

Farm work was not that attractive for the Africans and shortages of labour persisted. Something had to be done. It is against this background that various forms of taxes were imposed on Africans. There were two reasons for introducing taxes in colonial Africa. One was to raise revenue to pay for the cost of running a government in the colonies and also for rudimentary services for the small settler communities. It was the policy of colonial powers that the colonies should shoulder an increasing share of the financial burden of running their administration, instead of having to rely on

appropriations from the metropole, (Schatzberg, 1987: 103). The need to raise local revenue grew even stronger following World War II, when European countries became nearly bankrupt from the cost of the war. The second reason for imposing taxes was to coerce more Africans into the labour market, (Tignor, 1976: 155).

Even though colonial authorities argued that the imposition of taxes had nothing to do with exploiting African labour, that it was only for raising administration revenue, and that Africans had the chance to refuse to work, the nexus between tax and the demands for labour cannot be denied. According to Mwenesi, (O.I., 16/6/16), the tax had to be paid in European currency, and the only way one could access the currency was by joining the colonial labour force, often as a worker for an European business in town, quite often Nairobi. The first type of tax to be introduced was the hut tax, which was levied on each hut found in a typical African homestead. In Kenya, the hut tax was introduced in 1901, with devastating consequences on African social and economic set-up, (Rotberg, 1988: 79). The tax inflicted hardship on the Africans and was disruptive to their traditional way of life, depleting their traditional means of livelihood (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16). The Maasai for instance were forced to sell their livestock to obtain the cash to pay their taxes. Since the Africans knew that the money collected was not being used for their own benefit, in some communities, as a way of demonstrating their opposition to taxes, Africans sent only enough workers to earn the amount required to pay the tax and then quit. In response to this kind of resistance, the colonial authorities imposed in 1910, a poll tax, which was levied on each African male aged sixteen and older, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16).

Still, labour shortage continued to plague the colony from the turn of the twentieth century onward and especially between the two world wars. In Kenya, the end of World War I coincided with an increase in European immigrants. Many of the new arrivals were war veterans encouraged to settle in the colonies and offered choice land as a form of reward for their sacrifices in the war, (Berman, 1990: 187). These new immigrants needed more farm labourers. Existing industries and businesses in Nairobi needed workers to restart their operations after the war. The colonial government also required labourers to work on, harbours, railroads and other capital projects. Forced labour recruitment, therefore, was now initiated as government policy. African chiefs and village headmen were enlisted to produce assigned quotas of workers. Thousands upon thousands of labourers were recruited in this way, (Omosa, O.I., 13/6/16).

All the European colonial powers employed forced labour, although there were laws on the books prohibiting it and from time to time questions would be raised about the issue of forcing Africans to work against their will. Both in the case of tax and forced conscription, it was virtually impossible for the Africans to resist, (Odera, 12/6/16).

‘If you did not pay your tax, you were picked up by the administrative police²⁵, speedily convicted, and sentenced to hard labour, which meant that you would end up working on the same projects as those who had signed up. As convict labour, you did not get paid. If you tried evading conscription, you were harassed and hunted down by the labour bureau or the chief’s police, determined to make sure that their chief’s quota of conscript labour was met. When you were caught, your situation was that much worse for having tried to

²⁵ Many of these roamed villages looking for tax evaders in order to apprehend them

resist the order to sign up. Either way, you ended up providing the labour that was being sought, (Mwende, O.I., 14/6/16).

The chiefs played an important role in the forced labour draft. Labour conscription accelerated the African people's perception that the chiefs were part and parcel of the colonial establishment. Many of them were, more than ever before, alienated from their own people, (Schatzberg, 1987: 227).

Apparently, colonial rule in Kenya started the process of capitalist penetration in the Kenyan society, undermining the existing stability. As Zeleza, (1982: 97) has pointed out, the colonial state acted as instrument of primitive accumulation of capital on settlers' behalf. Penetration and expansion of capitalism in Kenya led to the formation of new classes among Africans. The development of Kenya into settler economy inevitably impacted on many spheres of life among Africans. The colonialists introduced to Africans the notion of unequal development and access to resources and promoted individualism. This phenomenon of individualism was adopted by the Africans when the first group of elite emerged, (Macharia, 2012:61).

To escape from the repressive policies of the colonial regime, many Africans migrated to Nairobi, more so those mostly affected by the colonial policies, especially Kikuyu and others in proximity to Nairobi. This African influx influenced patterns of politics in Nairobi County in the colonial and post-independence period. African societies in Kenya became integrated within capitalist relations. The development of capitalism among African people led to agitation for equal economic, political and social rights with the whites, (Macharia, 2012: 75).

2.6 COLONIAL ORIGINS OF NAIROBI

The British like other European powers of this period, resorted to chartered company rule as they did not want to incur heavy expenses in ruling the colonies. A private company, the British East Africa Company (BEACo) was formed in 1886 under the presidency of William McKinnon. In 1887, it became IBEACo when it was given a royal charter by the British government. This authorised it to administer the British spheres of interest on behalf of the government and exploit such spheres in order to effect political and economic authority in British territories, (Himbara, 1994) (as cited in Kiruthu 2006: 44). A road was soon built from coast to Kibwezi but the long line of communication and the high cost of portage made heavy inroads into the company's capital. Although these trading companies were given enormous political power, this should not make us forget that the mission of the companies was economic exploitation of Africa and not political power per se. At best, political power was merely a means to economic power, (Akeh, 1981: 48 as cited in Kiruthu, 2006: 45).

The company embarked on the process of establishing a series of stations and forts beginning from the coast. Mombasa became the headquarters of the company while stations were established at Kismayu, Malindi, Lamu, Kibwezi, and Machakos. It was from these stations that control was gradually extended to the interior. It set up small posts along the caravan route to Uganda to provide food supplies and military protection. All overland transport for the company and early administration depended on human portage. Porters were usually hired at Mombasa. There

existed about 1000 porters by 1895, (Berman, 1990 as cited in Kiruthu, 2006: 45). Caravans engaged these coastal workers in large numbers.

The African communities demonstrated their ability to take advantage of the new political and economic environment that was occasioned by the British domination of the country. At Machakos, the pioneer company station on the inland caravan route, the Akamba took advantage of the station by providing foodstuffs, (Mwenesi, O.I., 16/6/16). Good relations developed with the British, and Machakos became the administration capital of the whole region, (Cowen and McWilliams, 1996) (as cited in Kiruthu, 2006 46). Similarly, among the southern Kikuyu, commercial relations with the British followed a similar pattern of their relations with Waswahili traders. A station was established at Dagoretti in 1890, and then shifted to Fort Smith in late 1891, (Mackenzie, 1998 as cited in Kiruthu, 2006:46).

Apparently, the company experienced insurmountable problems, forcing it to surrender its mandate and hand over the royal charter to the British Government in 1895. Subsequently, the foreign office took over its responsibilities. The British then declared the territory a protectorate on 18th June 1895. Yet, it demonstrated how little interest that it had in the East African protectorate by putting it under care of the British Consul-general in Zanzibar, (Lonsdale, 1992: 16). When the foreign office accepted the responsibility for the work which had been begun by the company, it pledged itself to build a railway line from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. Apparently, the rail road was meant to facilitate access to Uganda by linking the inland territory of Uganda to the outside world, (Werlin, 1974: 37) (as cited in

Kiruthu, 2006: 47). Kenya was still regarded as land lacking in economic potential and almost as wasteland.

The Uganda railway was what might be termed in modern parlance, a semi military 'task force' with wide powers. Its separation from civil government was emphasized by the early decision to put the control of the project in the hands of Uganda Railway Committee at the foreign office, a body of men in London to whom important decisions of policy were referred. Whitehouse, the engineer in charge, was given wide powers to lay the line over any land irrespective of ownership or occupation, and to reserve a mile-wide zone on each side of the line for railway purposes. When the railhead reached Nairobi in June 1899, the effect of these powers was to secure to the line the whole of the plain on the south side of the Swamp, which came under the absolute ownership and control of the railway authorities. The control of land and leases within their reserve was therefore to be a railway matter.

The construction of the railway was the main factor that transformed Nairobi into an urban centre. George Whitehouse, the engineer in charge of the work, significantly contributed towards making Nairobi an important centre along the line, when he made it, first a warehouse for the construction materials, and later the railway headquarters, (Werlin, 1974:108 as cited in Kiruthu, 2006: 52). Though Nairobi was not, as a town, favoured or approved by all the British officials, Sir Molesworth who was charged with the task of surveying the route from coast to the lake praised the judgement of selecting the site for the railway's principal workshops, (Hake, 1977: 122). To the engineers building the rail, Nairobi offered many advantages for a camp. Ahead of the railway lay much steeper slopes, with the Kikuyu escarpment

presenting big construction challenges. Apart from the gradient of the site selected for railway depot, there was also abundance of water afforded by the Nairobi River.

The railway headquarters attracted many white, Asian traders, and African communities. Asian and Arab traders who had established themselves along the coast were attracted by the trading opportunities afforded by the railway town. Many Indians shifted their businesses from Mombasa to Nairobi, (Visram, O.I., 10/11/15). Many coastal traders of Arab and Swahili stock also followed the rail workforce and camped in Nairobi. The railway authorities found themselves with a lot of responsibility. They not only administered the operations of the railway, but also the growing community of Nairobi, (Kiruthu, 2006: 119).

The coming of the railway presented two problems to the civil government. The first was that the centre of gravity for good government had shifted, and the little fort at Machakos was no longer strategically useful as headquarters of the Ukamba Province. The second was the need to provide good administration to the fast expanding community around the railway station and grounds in Nairobi. It was technically the duty of the Uganda Railway, but the protectorate government felt bound to assume some responsibility. These considerations led to the decision in August 1899, to transfer the Provincial Administration under Colonel John Ainsworth, the Sub-commissioner for Ukamba province from Machakos to Nairobi; some 40 miles south east, (Zwanenberg, 1975: 265).

Ainsworth's choice of a site for an administration centre was limited because of the wide jurisdiction of the Uganda railway. The arrival and interference of a second

authority was not greeted with enthusiasm by the Railway whose freedom of action, particularly on matters of land, was being restricted. Mainly for this reason, Ainsworth, the officer in charge of government administration, selected a site on the high ground on the north side of Nairobi River and away from the railway camp, for his new headquarters, where he inaugurated a scheme for the erection of government offices and quarters and, later, a shopping area to the east of his headquarters. His coming to Nairobi created two growth nuclei in the town, the Boma (administration camp), with its shopping centre the north of the swamp, in the Ngara area, and the railway complex, south of the Nairobi River swamp, (Kingoria, 1980: 121). The railway town was therefore divided into two parts.

A noticeable feature of the Nairobi scene at this early period was the physical disparity between the apparatus of the government administration and that of the railway administration. The Railway had large funds at its disposal, which enabled it to have its own doctors, magistrates and police force, together with a highly development technical and administration staff. Its buildings were numerous and substantial. In contrast, the government administration had few staff who were miserably accommodated, (Morgan, 1967: 100).

The railway allocated a part of their land between the camp and the swamp for commercial development, and surveyed several plots in the newly laid-out Victoria Street²⁶ for European development only. This step was taken in order to make its holdings of land revenue-producing, and in response to applications from several firms which had been associated with the earliest development of East Africa.

²⁶ Victoria Street was the first street to be occupied, (See Werlin, 1950).

Meanwhile, on the other side of the swamp, the sub-commissioner, Ainsworth, and his assistant Mr. Traill, were trying to cope with the influx of Indian, Somali, and Arab traders and coastal Africans who were arriving day by day. All the newcomers had somehow to be fitted into the commercial area adjoining the Boma, or in the locations which had been hurriedly laid out nearby.

Dualism of control made the situation untenable. The railway was finding that its work was being hampered by an influx of settlers it had never planned for, and an understaffed Provincial Administration clamouring for civil amenities which the railway could not provide and was critical of the terms of land-leases offered by the railway, (Morgan, *ibid*:103). The railway resented government interference in such services as it afforded to the little community. Further, the large holding of the railway's land was more of a burden than a blessing to the Chief Engineer. Railway and government authorities were often in a conflictual relation, over the land question and the administration of the township, (Berman, 1990: 188).

As the conflict intensified, Commissioner Eliot made it clear he would not tolerate playing second fiddle to the railway authorities. In 1901, the railway cut its loss and after demarcating the land which was required for purely railway purposes, withdrew from its holdings south of the swamp, and the government took control, (Berman, *ibid*: 1189). Apart from the considerations of convenience in the new orientation, the old Boma had never been considered a healthy spot, and in March, 1901, Ainsworth announced that his office and the other government offices on the north side of the swamp had been removed to an area west of the bazaar. A small Indian bazaar and a military barracks had been established on the north side of the swamp by 1900, (Mullah, O.I., 25/10/15).

In 1903, commissioner Edward Steward left Mombasa and established himself at Nairobi, taking his residence in the former house of the chief railway engineer. Nairobi was gradually being transformed from the railway capital and the headquarters of Ukamba Province, to the administration capital of the whole protectorate. All these development made Nairobi an important political, social and economic centre of the protectorate, (Kiruthu, 2006: 56). By 1906, the population of the town was found to be 13,500, far higher than the official estimates of 4,700, (Hake, 1977: 36). The declaration of Nairobi as the official capital of the colony in 1907 increased the importance of the town. The Legislative Council (LegCo) met for the first time in Nairobi in 1907.

The population increased as importance of Nairobi increased. Many Africans were flocking to the city, hand in hand with the Asians, attracted by the prospects of an emerging town, (Kabochi, O.I., 15/9/15). Hundreds of whites were also coming in. By 1900, the city population hit 8,000 people. In a census taken in 1906, the population was 13,514, with Africans numbering 9,291, Asians 3,071. This number increased to 1601 in 1911, (Hake, 1977: 112). Nairobi continued to grow from approximately 15,000 inhabitants in 1919, when it was allowed a municipal status with corporate rights, to 266,794 according to the 1962 census, (Morgan, 1967: 154). This influx of Africans into Nairobi had immense impact on patterns of colonial politics with regard to segregation as discussed in the subsequent section.

2.7 COLONIAL RACE RELATIONS IN NAIROBI COUNTY

If a racial history was the dominant feature of Kenya's politics during the colonial period, 'land' was the issue around which it revolved. The building of the Uganda Railway gave rise to a need to justify economically such an expensive undertaking. Since much of the land through which the railroad passed seemed at the time to be sparsely populated, relatively fertile, and climatically attractive, the decision was soon made to invite European settlement, (Tignor, 1976: 62).

Kenya's second commissioner Sir Charles Eliot, was of the view that white agriculture would enable the colonial administration to run the colony through funds derived from the settler agriculture²⁷. It was assumed that Africans had neither the mental capacity nor the numerical strength to work this land profitably, and it was rationalized that the growing number of Asians in the country would prefer the warmer climates near the coast and Lake Victoria, (Visram, O.I., 10/11/15).

Many Europeans responded positively to Eliot's invitation, and Kenya henceforth developed for the benefit of the white community. The full implications of such an undertaking only came to be realized gradually. Since independence from colonial rule was hardly conceivable in the initial period of settlement, the settlers in various ways sought to gain a formidable political position within the colonial framework, (Mungeam, 1966:74). The development of Kenya into a settler colony invariably

²⁷ In a speech he made in 1903, Sir Charles Eliot guaranteed practically exclusive rights to Europeans to the land between Machakos road station and Fort Ternan, (see Seidenberg:1983)

impacted on all other spheres of life. By 1906, the 600 resident settlers had succeeded in obtaining a LegCo²⁸.

The settlers soon afterwards began to demand elected representation based on a franchise restricted to the Europeans. A high level of organization and unity intensified the power of settlers who were led by the Colonists' Association. Between the two world wars, the constitutional arrangement was such that the Europeans elected from the rural constituencies in the Highlands dominated the proceedings in the Legco, (Bennet, 1963: 110). In 1919, the settlers gained elected representation, justified by the expansion of European population during World War 1 and following the decision to give farms to British war veterans. Again, the settlers were permitted to be very influential in all levels of administration. The settlers eventually gained an even greater degree of political control in Nairobi than in whole of Kenya. Thereafter, settler efforts were directed to an expansion of their powers in the government of Nairobi by minimizing interference from the central government and the colonial office, (Mullah, O.I., 25/10/15).

The Asians, mostly from the Indian state of Bombay²⁹ and Punjab, had for a long time traded along the East African Coast, but their penetration inland came with the building of the railway, (Morris, 1968: 27) and Makhan, (O.I., 21/01/16). They worked as artisans, clerks, craftsmen, and traders. After the railway construction ended, many went back to their country while others decided to remain in Kenya, mostly as traders. Many arrived even after the construction, and this could explain the existence of a large number of Asians in Kenya, in spite of the colonial

²⁸ This colonial law-making body was representative of Whites only in its initial stages

²⁹ what is now Gujarat

government efforts to control their migration, (Himbara, 1994: 79). Thereafter their population rapidly increased, attracted as they were by the favourable economic opportunities and geographical conditions of East Africa. By 1911 there were 11,886 Asians in Kenya, as against 3,167 European settlers; and this approximate three-to-one ratio of Asians to European more or less persisted, (Hake, 1977:118).

The Indians were instrumental in the establishment of colonial rule in Kenya, (Makhan, O.I., 21/1/16). They facilitated not only the conquest, but also the opening up of the interior of East Africa during the pioneer years of colonial rule. It is evident Asians enjoyed huge patronage of the colonial government in the pioneer years. This facilitated their dominance in the field of commerce during the early period of colonialism. Asian presence in Kenya, and Nairobi in particular, had important implications in the political and economic development of the colony, (Kiruthu, 2006: 48). Specifically, they contributed to the monetisation and the widespread use of currency, Rupee. This solved the problem of payment of tax and wages of government employees, (Kiruthu, 2006: 77). Asians sought to entrench themselves in Nairobi not only economically but also politically, (Kiruthu, 2006: 88). Indian investors invested in Nairobi on the assumption that the East Africa Protectorate would develop as a colony of British India, in which the subjects of the crown would be treated equally, (Murunga, 2000: 89).

Though Nairobi as a town was created mainly to serve the interests of the migrant races, the African factor in the town remained neglected right from the pioneer times, yet they comprised majority of the population of the city, (Kiruthu, 2006: 56). A large number of African communities in early Nairobi earned their livelihood

through offering labour to either the railway or the colonial administration and as such, the pioneer Africans were primarily recruited as soldiers, porters, gardeners and cooks. Nairobi was not really an industrial town, and had weak employment base, (Burton, 1993:156). Business and landed property was in the hands of the Asians and the whites, (Mutuma, O.I., 10/11/15).

Many Africans such as the Kikuyu, Luo, coastal people, migrated to the city. The Kikuyu established settlements near today's city park, (McVica, 1968 as cited in Kiruthu, 2006: 59). Many Waswahili soldiers and coastal people moved into the area. The settlement that emerged was called 'Ngambo', meaning the far side of the river, or Pangani. It was one of the few villages to the north-east of the town centre, and was actually the largest, (Sanderson, 2002 as cited in Kiruthu, 2006: 59). Pangani was situated beside the Mathare River on the edge of the Karura forest. It had served as a camp on the trading route from the coast for a long time, and retained strong coastal influence. It served as a lodging place for Africans working in Nairobi, (Kamoreh, O.I., 12/5/16).

A squatter's settlement emerged on the north bank of the Nairobi River, below today's quarry road. An African settlement established downstream was called Gikomba while the one near the cemetery was called *Kaburini*. It was mostly inhabited by the Kikuyu. *Maskini* settlement, occupied a strip of marshy land between the Mathare River and the forest road. Many Kikuyu 'ahoi'³⁰, and Africans from other communities migrated to Nairobi to seek wage employment, (Burton, 1993: 146). The increase of Africans in Nairobi continued unabated during the

³⁰ 'Ahoi' were poor, landless Agikuyu who became tenants on the land of the rich.

colonial period in spite of the big efforts instituted by the colonial authorities to limit their number, (Kamoreh, O.I., 12/5/16).

Those affected by the colonial changes in the rural areas came to cities as places of refuge. This circuit frequently blurred clear division between the city and the country, (Simone, 2001, and Kiruthu, 2006: 65). In particular the Kikuyu found themselves hemmed on all sides; to the south, east and north were settler farms, and to the west the government-controlled forest reserve of Aberdares; to the south -east was the expanding urban centre of Nairobi, (Elkins, 2005: 143). Apart from land shortage and taxation, some went in search of good quality life, and to escape from increased tensions in the African political economy which resulted in over-use of land. Many of the 'ahoi' in Kiambu rendered landless moved to Nairobi as the town became a place of refuge for the poor, (Kabochi, O.I., 15/9/15).

The unique situation of Nairobi contributed immensely to the transformation of the life of African communities, particularly those in the vicinity of Nairobi, like the Agikuyu, Akamba, and Maasai - especially Agikuyu of Kiambu. The new town provided many chances for wage labour, and trading, (Atieno, O.I., 15/9/15). Some were employed by the railway, or the colonial administration. Those not employed were viewed as surplus to city needs, and were officially not catered for. They became the nucleus of the population of the 'illegal city, (Mittulah, 97: 109). African neighbourhoods were not considered to be urban, but from the beginning, a part of the colonial realities. Housing was not only inadequate but also squalid, (Kanogo, 1989: 15).

The municipal council became concerned, especially with the large number of Africans in the city, many of whom had no housing. It sought to control this growing population. It also established the Pumwani African settlement. Many Africans were settled here, (KNA/RN/1/68). The Municipal council particularly wanted to remove Africans from Kileleshwa and Pangani to pave way for the increasing number of whites and Asians. Because Africans were regarded as merely temporary residents in the town, leaving their families in the rural areas to which they would periodically return, and eventually retire, very little public accommodation was provided until 1930, (Njama, 1966:178). Owing to the migratory habits of labour, it was not desirable to encourage permanent African settlement. It was pointed that so long as African wages remained abysmally low on the average, good family housing in the urban areas could never be an economic proposition, (Wesulah, O.I., 21/11/2015).

In addition to inadequate housing, Africans in Nairobi had to endure a lack of medical and educational facilities. The upshot of European thinking was an apparent neglect of the needs of the Africans until the shock of the Mau Mau troubles in the 1950's, (Njama, 1966:180). Two facts are especially relevant to seeing Nairobi in a historical perspective. First, it is essential to remember the newness of urban life for most east Africans, prior to the arrival of the Europeans, majority of people in interior did not have experience of urban life, (Muturiah, O.I., 10/11/15). The British viewed Africans as an agricultural society, based on the village. This viewpoint stemmed from Herbert Spencer's philosophical teachings.³¹ Those who shared this

³¹ These postulated that traditional culture was an organic structure of mutually dependent parts which would be seriously disturbed by the innovations associated with urbanization. The resulting cultural void would provoke violence and decadence.

outlook tended to distrust the westernized, educated African. The chief native commissioner at the time, in supporting strict control on African migration to towns, contended, 'It is the case with any colony with a native population, that among those to whom a town naturally offers attraction are idle, vicious, or criminal natives ,who seek to avoid tribal control or any control at all. Such do not come to town to work.... and they become not only a menace to public security but a definite incubus upon the honest working natives, that Africans who broke away from tribal forms of control would be encouraged to challenge the existing European forms of control'', (Boahen, 1972: 140).

From the very beginning of colonial occupation and operationalization of colonial institution in Kenya, the vast majority of the African people were consigned to the voiceless of the society. They were both socially, politically and economically disposed by the new colonial masters. The African colonial subjects were the 'subalterns' of the colonial process³². In pretext of disease, crime, and a rise in the cost of land, racial segregation was very early insisted upon by the politically dominant European settlers. The government very openly prevented non Europeans from buying certain plots in Nairobi, (Mullah, O.I., 25/10/15). In 1926, the land set aside for use by Europeans, comprising only 19% of Nairobi's population, encompassed 2,700 acres of the total municipality area of 6,400 acres, leaving the far more numerous Asians, at 30 % of the town's population with only 300 acres for residential purposes, (King'oriah, 1985: 53). During the early period of colonization, the most vocal protests against the actions of the colonial administration and the

³² see Spivak (1987) for a comprehensive discussion of the subject

settlers came from the Indian community, the Africans having been temporarily pushed to the background by the military expeditions, (Mullah, O.I., 25/10/15).

As Asians sought to entrench themselves in Nairobi not only economically but also politically, the settler population in Kenya gradually developed phobia for their fast growing population and economic prosperity especially in Nairobi, (Kiruthu, 2006: 83). The hostility that ensued between the two migrant races was to feature permanently in the political development of the colony. As early as 1920, the Indian leader, A. M Jeevanjee advocated a common electoral roll including the Arabs and natives, with common qualifications. He argued this would force the candidates to seek the goodwill of all sectors of the population³³. Asians continued challenging the control exercised by the European settlers over Nairobi and the colony in general, and racial discrimination that went with it, (Wesulah, O.I., 14/11/15).

The rivalry between the two races intensified as the political power of the European settlers expanded. The Asians were especially opposed to the 1919 arrangement, under which the European settlers were allowed two seats on the Executive Council³⁴ and eleven elected representatives on the Legislative Council, compared to a mere two nominated members for the Asians, (Mullah, O.I., 25/10/15). They were also resentful of the “white highlands,” the increasing pattern of urban segregation, and the threat to restrict Asian immigration.

The main political conflict in Kenya in the first 20 years after the European arrival was therefore between the Europeans and the Asians. This situation had great

³³ The Feetham Report put an end for many years to any possibility of a common roll election.

³⁴ This advisory body to the Governor was later re-named the Advisory Council

significance for the development of Nairobi. The persistent political wrangles between the white settlers and the Indians motivated the whites to scheme for the destruction of Asian prosperity. The economic position held by the Asians in Nairobi created conflict between them and the white settlers in several ways. In 1908, the Nairobi East Township company sold some plots exclusively to the Asians. This was in the area later known as Eastleigh. This allocation was opposed by a section of the whites who were of the view that the municipal authorities were allowing Asians to settle in neighbourhoods more suitable for whites in Nairobi (Kiruthu, 2006: 84). By 1910, whites had moved away from Ngara, near the Nairobi River. They moved further westwards to Muthaiga, almost 4 km from their initial settlement. Asians on the other hand, mainly occupied Ngara and Eastleigh, areas considered less prestigious by the whites. Wealthy Indians acquired land in today's Parklands, much to the annoyance of the whites, (Hake, 1977:85).

The bazaar where the Asians lived and worked was a continual source of plague during the early years of Nairobi's history, (KNA/MOH/1/5768). The overcrowding in the bazaar was a constant problem for the municipal authorities. But the whites took advantage of this problem to spread malicious propaganda against the Indians, which linked race and sanitation problem in the bazaar, (Kiruthu, 2006: 85 and Murunga, 2002). Eastleigh, which was laid out in 1913 to relieve overcrowding in the bazaar, had to be abandoned during the 1920's because it lacked roads into town in wet weather and lacked proper water supply.

In 1913, the government appointed Simpson, a sanitation expert, to advice on the town planning of Nairobi. He examined the problems, especially sanitation, and recommended complete removal of the bazaar to the north of the River Nairobi,

(KNA/MOH/1/5768). The report recommended racial segregation and zoning, in the interest of each community and of the healthiness of the locality. 'It's absolutely essential that in every town, there should be well defined and separate quarters for Europeans, Asiatic, and Africans, with easy and good communication between them, as well as those divisions which are necessary in a town of one nationality' (Burton, 1993:154).³⁵

The bazaar was clearly lacking adequate sanitation, which resulted in the plague. Yet, the plague was blamed on Africans and Asians for 'lacking hygiene'. Ainsworth had indeed observed that the problem of sanitation in Nairobi derived from the unhealthy site where it was located and the unplanned nature of its pioneer growth. The racial segregation policy proposed by Simpson following the second plague was similar to that practised in his country, South Africa. The Indians were ordered to relocate from the overcrowded bazaar. It was argued the Asians were unhygienic and should not be allowed to own land in white highlands, (Visram, O.I., 10/11/15). Whites used this excuse to marginalise the Asians, and exclude them from political participation, together with Africans. The whites came to associate Asian and African presence with squalor and disease and, in the case of Africans, with crime. Africans were thus pushed to African locations, away from white neighbourhoods, (Kamore, 12/5/16).

Asian segregation served a variety of material interest although it was couched in the discourse of sanitation and disease, (Kiruthu, 2006: 86, and Murunga, 2002). The underlying source of segregation against the Asians was more often the whites'

³⁵ The findings of Simpson Report were later to be invalidated by another report repudiating racial segregation as official policy.

resentment of Asian commercial dominance, (ibid). The colonial regime openly supported the whites in their economic war with the Asians. For instance, when in 1919, two settlers were nominated to the Executive Council, Asian plea for similar representation was turned down by Governor Northey, (Maxon, 1973: 216). The arguments used against sharing political power with Africans could not so readily be used with regard to Asians. Since the aggregate wealth of the Asians, based on their increasingly important commercial position, surpassed by 1919 that of the Europeans, the contention often used by the European settlers that taxation and political power should go together “no taxation without representation”, could easily be re-directed against them. Likewise, the educational advantage possessed by Europeans was not large enough to support their case, (Visram, O.I., 10/11/15).

It is significant in this regard that in 1919 a proposed amendment to the voting laws, suggesting that certain selected Indians of approved university standing should be added to the voting rolls, was contemptuously rejected, (Range, 1962: 210). A common roll based partly on education, as contained in the Wood-Winterton Proposals in 1922, was vehemently opposed by the government of Kenya in support of the European contention that the acceptance of the principle of election on a common roll, regardless of safeguards, would inevitably lead to ‘Indian domination’. In the towns, the Kenya government supported the European demands that Asians live in separate, segregated enclaves (Spencer, 1985: 16). Denial of equal political power with the Europeans, and the lack of any formal political structures to represent Asian interests, led to the creation of the East African Indian national Congress in 1914, (Mullah, O.I., 25/10/15).

Lacking rational argument for denying to Asians the civil rights they demanded for themselves, the settlers vented their fears in other ways. As early as 1906 an anti-Indian propaganda campaign was initiated, led by a small group of settlers from South Africa, urging that Indian competition would force up land prices and lead to “Asiatic domination”, (Visram, O.I., 10/11/15). This animosity towards the Asians frequently took the paternalistic guise presented in the 1919 final report of the Economic Commission, composed of Lord Delamere, Major Grogan, and a number of other militant settlers. Among the accusation herein contained were: ‘physically, the Indian is not a wholesome influence because of his incurable repugnance to sanitation and hygiene. In this respect the African, is more civilized than the Indian, being naturally clean in his ways; but he is prone to follow the example of those around him’.

Moreover, ‘the moral depravity of the Indian is equally damaging of the African who in his natural state is at least innocent of the worse vices of the East. The Indian is the inciter to crime as well as vice, since it is the opportunity offered by the ever ready Indian receivers which makes thieving easy’, (Patel, 1997: 79).³⁶ “Therefore”, concluded the report: “it is our firm conviction that the justification of our occupation of this country lies in our ability to adapt the native to our civilization. If we further complicate this task by continuing to expose the African to the antagonistic influence of the Asiatic, as distinct from European, philosophy, we shall be guilty of a breach of trust.” “There never had been heard, inside or outside Kenya,” notes R.K. Pankhurst regarding this period, “so much outspoken advocacy

³⁶ Report of the Economic Commission, 1919, as cited in Smart, (1950).

of the welfare of the 'native' as when the Indians were being attacked, (Spencer, 1985: 126).

The need to protect the interests of the Africans, here so benignly acknowledged by the European settlers, was eagerly seized upon by the British government in 1923. This is the basis for the famous "paramountcy of native interests" decision in the white paper by the Duke of Devonshire: 'Primarily, Kenya is an African territory, and his Majesty's Government thinks it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. Obviously the interests of the other communities, European, Indian, or Arab must severely be safeguarded. But in the administration of Kenya, His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races'³⁷.

The settler objective of establishing an independent country governed by settlers was seriously challenged by the White Paper of 1923, and by the more specific 1930 Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa. Even so, the expectation that Kenya would continue to be controlled by Europeans under the patronage of a sympathetic colonial office persisted until the Lancaster House Conference of 1960. Nevertheless, the characteristic feature of Kenya's colonial politics continued to be a

³⁷ See The Devonshire White Paper (1923) for a discussion of government position on race relations in colonial Kenya

rigid hierarchy based upon race. Despite the declaration of racial equality by the White Paper of 1923, the whites continued to enjoy many privileges, (Bennet, 1963: 117).

Although the Devonshire White Paper prohibited separation of the races in the townships by means of legislative enactments, the same effect was gained through restrictive covenants and policies followed to preserve the white highlands and best residential areas in Nairobi for whites, (Kibet, 24/8/15). In 1956, the government of Kenya announced that there were more than 100 Kenyan ordinances differentiating between people because of race, (ibid: 145). Stimulated by post-war liberation ideas came a new demand by the Asian community in the city for greater representation in colonial and municipal affairs. In municipal affairs, the Asians had been offered 4 seats for members nominated by the governor.

The opposition to this level of representation and the adoption of segregationist schemes which had their root in the Simpson Report were crystallized in the Asian refusal to pay rates to the council on the basis of unimproved site value, (Singh, O.I., 19/5/15). The governor had to call a conference of the council and Asian community in order to establish an agreed system of Asiatic representation, but this was boycotted by Asians and the Europeans said they would not commit themselves to a decision at any such conference, (ibid). During 1923, negotiations on Asian claims to freedom of land tenure and representation were conducted between the

government, the settlers, the Asians, and the colonial office, and culminated in the Command Paper of 1923.³⁸

In order to completely resolve the deadlock in the municipal affairs, the governor appointed a municipal commission, (the Denham Commission) to report on municipal representation. It received evidence during 1924 and finally recommended a solution which was accepted by the Asians, the whites and the government. In February 1925, the report of the commission was published. Under its terms, the council was reconstituted as; 5 elected whites, 4 elected and approved Indians³⁹ one government official, and one other member chosen by the council, (Singh, 1969:217). The compromise was accepted by all those concerned but the Asians were still unhappy since they had thought the government would support them in their claim for a common roll.⁴⁰ The whites on the other hand accepted the plan on condition they retained the majority, and the Asian elected members would need to be approved by the governor. Asians returned to the council chamber in April 1925, after an absence of 6 years, (Hyden, 1992: 94). The contest between the two alien races had great significance on the development of politics in Kenya, specifically in Nairobi County. It also posed serious impediment on European effort to turn Kenya into a Whiteman's country. Some of the Indians continued to agitate indirectly by supporting African claims as well as helping to arouse African political consciousness. Racial conflict pitting Europeans against Asians continued to influence the affairs of Nairobi as the rest of the colony till 1963. Among Africans, the penetration and expansion of capitalism led to the formation of new classes,

³⁸This is the policy document in which Her Majesty's government declared itself against racial discrimination in the disposal of municipal and crown land.

³⁹ Asians would be elected in communal poll but then approved by the Governor.

⁴⁰ a joint roll of white and Asian voters, rather than a racial roll

which included the elites. Class interests inevitably became important in the establishment of ethnic politics in Kenya, particularly in Nairobi County.

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided the historical background of politics in Nairobi County. The main aim was to place the research problem in a historical context. The chapter has discussed pre-colonial African societies showing power relations that existed in the pre-colonial societies. They were they highly democratic and egalitarian societies. The imposition of colonial rule is discussed, showing how this subverted existing patterns of leadership, as the Europeans allied themselves with some African rulers in line with the policy of indirect rule. Indirect rule strengthened macro-ethnic identities and constructed a sense of 'ethnic territoriality'. Tribal societies represented a form of 'social order' and 'culture' which colonial officials also valued and regarded as 'natural' for Africans. For colonial officials, 'every African belonged to a tribe, just as every European belonged to a nation', and they believed they confronted 'an Africa comprised of neatly bounded, homogeneous tribes'. Ethnicity was thus embedded in the administration system and therefore in the politics of Kenya, from the earliest day of colonial era.

Indirect rule intensified ethnic identification and stunted the growth of national political consciousness. The system undermined traditional African patterns of authority, and made the task of nation building difficult in post-independent Africa. Africans were forcefully subdued and subjected to oppressive colonial policies such as forced labour, taxation and land expropriation. The ensuing poverty and landlessness compelled the Africans to move to emerging towns such as Nairobi to

search for new opportunities. After Nairobi was selected as the headquarters of the railway and later the capital of the colony, it continued growing in importance and attracting not only Africans displaced from their land, but also immigrants from the other races.

The chapter has shown how the emergence of Nairobi as the headquarters of colonial regime was closely linked with the European interests in the region. Nairobi was established for the economic and administrative convenience of Europeans. Unlike other capitals in East and Central Africa, there was no large cluster of African population near the site upon which Nairobi came to be situated. The interests of Africans in Nairobi remained uncatered for. The colonial government also had a negative opinion of the urban African, as it conceptualised the movement to towns as constituting a process of detribalisation, (Southall, 1969) (as cited in Kiruthu 2006: 98).

Asians played an important role in the entrenchment of colonial rule in Kenya. The influx of the Asians to Kenya during and after railway construction touched off an extreme anti-Indian reaction on the part of the settlers, who began scheming on the destruction of Asian economic prosperity. The anti -Indian sentiment centred on four main issues namely, the white highlands, representation in the Legco, residential segregation in urban areas and immigration restrictions. This contest between the two alien races had great significance on the development of politics in Kenya. It also posed serious impediment on European effort to turn Kenya into a Whiteman's country. Some of the Indians continued to agitate indirectly by supporting African claims as well as helping to arouse African political consciousness. The chapter was guided by the Marxist and Neo-Marxist theories in reflecting on various economic and political issues emerging in colonial Kenya, and their impact on Nairobi county

politics. Colonial economic and political policies led to the emergence of new class divisions, resulting in the emergence of elite. This nascent elite class used their education and political awareness to demand for economic and political rights, as discussed in subsequent chapter. The next chapter discusses the ethnicity with regard to nationalist politics from 1930 to 1963.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. ETHNICITY AND NATIONALIST POLITICS - 1930 TO 1963

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter further accomplishes our first objective which is to analyze the extent to which various colonial policies and practices manifested in the politics of Nairobi politics from 1895 to 1963. The chapter discusses the colonial mistreatment of Africans in Nairobi, showing how the development of political consciousness among Africans started in Nairobi. Africans established political associations to champion their rights. The characteristic feature of these associations was their ethnic orientation. Nairobi became the centre of militant opposition and base for co-ordination of protest against colonial oppression. Anti-colonial movement however took an ethnic angle. This created deep animosity between the Kikuyu and other communities in Nairobi. The Mau Mau oath-taking of 1940's and the assassination of suspected collaborators such as Tom Mbotela by the Mau Mau accelerated the isolation of the Kikuyu from the other African people, especially in Nairobi. A big percentage of those detained in Nairobi during the emergency were Kikuyu, with the aim of controlling the Mau Mau rebellion. As the Kikuyu were either deported to reserves or detained, other communities especially Luo took up the economic and political space vacated by the Kikuyu. Consequently, African political leadership in the colony and Nairobi in particular passed to the Luo. This had important ramifications on independent Kenya's politics.

The chapter traces the emergence of KANU during the transition towards independence. KANU was a coalition of the big communities, principally Kikuyu and Luo. KADU on the other hand was formed by smaller ethnic group that felt KANU did not adequately represent their interests. This chapter is guided by Instrumentalist perspective, which focused on the manipulation of ethnic identities and loyalties for political and economic ends.

3.2 AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NAIROBI COUNTY

The emergence of African politics that was increasingly hostile to the colonialists forced the regime to establish local government body in Nairobi County to channel communication between Africans and the regime in order to counter the hostility.

In the context of this development, the Nairobi African Advisory Council was established in 1926 to take over the task of the Native Village Councils. The Native Village Councils had been formed in 1923 to channel communication between Africans and Government and, more specifically, to advice on the expenditure of Native trust funds, (Parker, 1948:219). Initially, the Nairobi African Advisory Council was composed of representatives from tribal and religious groups. Later, representatives from various functional or occupational associations and from village committees (those set up in the urban locations) were added. Following the suggestion of the African Affairs Officer, the African Advisory Council was changed in 1955 to the African General Ward Council, with representatives chosen entirely on the basis of place of residence rather than on religious, tribal, or occupational affiliation, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16).

The transformation of the Advisory Council to Ward Council was done in an effort to attract Africans with a wider affiliation and outlook than the particular tribal or occupational groups which had previously been represented, (Smart, 1950: 180). In other words, it was felt by many European observers that Africans on the Advisory Council were supporting the limited interests of their narrow affiliation (particularly traders) rather than Africans as a whole. Moreover, inter-tribal conflict seemed at times to be encouraged, and the more educated, capable Africans, to be ignored, (ibid, 184). However, both as Advisory Council and as Ward Council, this government-sponsored agency meant to channel communication and ease African political pressure never really proved successful, though it was useful as a training device and was at time taken seriously by the City Council, (Masinde, 12/5/16).

It was never accorded executive powers of any sort or control over expenditure of funds. Some of the positions it took proved to be unpopular, such as a 1947 request that the influx of Africans into Nairobi be controlled and the unemployed Africans be expelled from Nairobi. Yet another unpopular view was a 1948 recommendation that African policemen be housed in the locations to act as village constables, and a 1956 proposal that the poll tax be increased to provide for social services, as well as a 1960 complaint regarding the allocation to Africans of additional hawkers' licenses, (Parker, 1948: 49). The *raison d'être* of the Nairobi African Advisory Council was not only to discuss all matters affecting Africans in the urban area, but also to exercise influence in the enactment of policy. 'What the African wants is not principally greater representation,' according to Desmond O'Hagan, a Native Court Officer in Kenya writing in 1949, "but greater recognition of the Advisory Council, a greater readiness to respect its views on matters affecting Africans, a greater

sympathy in listening to its complaints and more patience in allowing it to discuss changes of policy proposed by the Municipal Council”, (ibid: 51). Yet, the constant pleas of Africans in Nairobi for better living and working conditions, better health and educational facilities, the removal of discriminatory by-laws, and the promotion of Africans to responsible administrative positions continued to go more or less unheeded.

Thus, African leaders increasingly turned to other ways of getting what they wanted because, to quote a 1957 speech by Tom Mboya in the Legislative Council: “. . . the African Ward Council cannot in effect be a substitute for the need of Africans to be represented on the City Council of Nairobi. . .”, (Ojwando, 1973: 79). The advisory council became important in decision making, but the Kikuyu, who formed approximately 55% of the capital’s African population, were seriously under-represented in the council, while people from coast comprising only a small fraction of the Nairobi population, were extremely influential. Khamisi, Mbotela, Jimmy Jeremiah, and Maulid Jasho, who were the most influential members of the council all came from Coast province. In contrast, only two of the leaders, Muchoki Gikonyo and Dedan Githigi, were Kikuyu, while Juto Obwa, was Luhya, (Mutahi, O.I., 20/5/16).

Thus, the leaders of the African Advisory Council were isolated by class and ethnicity from the Kikuyu who formed by far the largest element in African Nairobi, (Simone, 1998: 108). The advisory Council was not even being consulted on matters affecting Africans as had been promised. With time, it appeared to have lost respect by Africans. Mboya argued that “there have been aspects of the functions and

responsibility of the advisory Council which have tended to isolate and discriminate as far as the African is concerned, sometime under the guise of giving him a privileged position, but very often having the result of making it impossible for him to be effectively represented at the place which matters, the City Council,” (Simone, 1998: 111).

Africans remained seriously underrepresented in the real decision-making body, the Nairobi City Council.⁴¹ From 1946 to 1953 the number of African councillors in Nairobi remained at two, (Mutuma, O.I., 10/11/15). The frustration felt by these two African Councillors is indicated by one of their memorandums quoted by Mary Parker in 1948:

“At the moment being only two against overwhelming majority by Europeans and Indians, our views have little influence, and more particularly as we do not have the sympathy of the Europeans councillors and Aldermen, who have by far the greatest influence on city the council matters. It is our experience that unless we have increased representation, present representation may be of little effect. For this reason we are convinced that it is essential, in the constitutional development in urban affairs, to consider most seriously the question of increasing African members to the Town Council. African population is rapidly increasing and with it more problems affecting them. To solve these problems, African opinion should not be ignored”, (Burton, 1993: 165).

The fact that these African Councillors were nominated by the Government, on the basis of the Advisory Council’s recommendation, made them vulnerable to the

⁴¹ This was a completely European body, composed of representatives of the coffee farmers in the outlying areas.

charge of being “stooges.” This was especially true during the tense period prior to the declaration of the state of Emergency when the two nominated Africans become identified with the increasingly repressive police measures supported by the Council to solve the growing housing shortage. “Their participation in the Council’s Jubilee celebrations⁴²,” John Nottingham point out, “was the signal for an attempted assassination and one more symbol, to be ignored, of Kenya’s malaise.” Later, several of the African Council members gained positions of importance, but this did not really change the over-all situation, (ibid: 168).

In 1953 the Government agreed to increase by one the number of African City Councillors because “of the growing burden of work.” At the same time, the newly formed Nairobi City Council was to have two liaison members on the Nairobi City Council, thus off-setting the slight gain in non-European members on the Council. This meant, as Eliud⁴³ was quick to point out, that Africans, comprising 60 per cent of Nairobi’s population, were a minority of only 10 per cent in the City Council. But it was then clear that Africans would have to wait until they had increased their political power nationally to gain more power in the City Council, (Anderson, 2005b: 84). Their frustration, however, was intensified when they failed to gain the extent of political power in the Nairobi City Council as in the Legco.

⁴² Nairobi was named a city during the jubilee celebrations of 1950. This aroused serious apprehension among Africans that their conditions of life would become more difficult and more unbearable.

⁴³ Eliud Mathu was the African member of the Legislative Council.

3.3 POLITICAL AGITATION AND ETHNICITY

The period after the First World War (1914-1918) witnessed a notable upsurge in African political agitation. As early as 1917, returning African World War veterans seemed to worry the colonial authorities because of the wide exposure that they had gained in the war, (Nairobi Law Monthly, April –May 1991: 27). Hence the colonial government put in place a deliberate strategy to encourage tribal rather than country-wide nationalism. This strategy was fuelled by the British policy of divide-and rule. According to Ajulu (2002:255), the colonial government intended to encourage the formation of tribal associations extended only to narrowly-defined tribal issues.

Between 1920 and 1940, several ethnic based organizations emerged, all pursuing a tribal agenda. Their grievances ranged from land alienation, taxation, *kipande*⁴⁴, forced labour, to demands for African participation in Government. The first such association was the Kikuyu Association (K.A.), founded by colonial chiefs in Kiambu in 1919. This pioneer association, headed by Chief Kinyanjui, mostly focused on land alienation in Kiambu, (Gakuru, O.I., 16/6/15). It began later to write memoranda to the colonial government, addressing various Agikuyu grievances such as wages, taxes, and land registration, (Ogot, 1972: 69). Since the K.A. was dominated by chiefs and had missionaries directing the affairs of the association, young educated men led by Harry Thuku, an avowed critic of the chiefs, decamped and founded the Young Kikuyu Association (Y.K.A.). Thuku was one of a number of young Agikuyu then living in Nairobi who felt the need to organize themselves into a body that would rival the chiefly-dominated K.A. It is not surprising,

⁴⁴ Identification documents that were mandatory for Africans to carry in order to curb desertion from work

therefore, that the Agikuyu chiefs were quite unhappy with the activities of Thuku and his followers

Apparently, African emerging middle class was fighting against discriminatory practices of the colonial authorities. Ethnic differences pervaded the Africans as individuals drew individual ethnic identities and advanced themselves in a host of competitive situations set up by the colonial economy, (Holmquist et al., 1994:73). Heightened ethnic consciousness and tensions were products of new administrative patterns and uneven development of the colonial state, (Macharia, 2012:70). In this context, the East African Association stood out as a unique body in the early 1920's in the sense that it did, at least on paper, set its sights on encompassing the whole colonial territory of Kenya and beyond, (Nairobi Law Monthly, June - July 1990:22). The Association was trans-ethnic, and its name reflects its Kenya-wide concern. Founded in 1921 in Nairobi, its leaders included Harry Thuku, Jesse Kariuki, Job Muchuchu and Abdulla Tairara⁴⁵. It has been suggested that these young men were modelling themselves on the Young Baganda Association. More importantly, Thuku and the young men in Nairobi felt that there was a need for a Kenya-wide African organization, (Spencer, 1985: 184). As Thuku wrote to the *East African Standard* on June 15, 1921, it was felt 'that unless the young people of this country form an Association, the Native in Kenya will always remain voiceless.'

This quest for solidarity is what led Thuku to fraternize with the Kamba, Luo and Ganda young men then living in Nairobi. The organization passed resolutions on the

⁴⁵ It was given life and direction by Harry Thuku, who was working in the as a clerk in the Treasury.

subject of *kipande*, forced labour, excessive African taxation, and education. Thuku cabled these resolutions directly to the Colonial Office in London, (*East African Standard* in June 15, 1921). The Indian politicians, A. M. Jevanjee and B. M. Desai, played a key role, helping Thuku in the drafting of the memorandum to the British government and printing a newspaper for the association. These links with the Asians caused much furore among the settlers at the time, (Seidenberg, 1983: 218).

Of more importance for this research were the efforts by Thuku to involve non-Agikuyu in this association at this time, when similar associations were predominantly ethnic-based. There were attempts at propagating this association among the Kamba. But if the Kamba in Nairobi were enthusiastic, the rural Kamba were not. When Thuku held a public meeting with Chief Mathendu at Iveti in Machakos, the elders snubbed his overtures, refused to sign the papers he had presented, and advised him to ‘return to the Agikuyu, with whom the Akamba had little in common’, (Mwenesi, O.I., 16/6016).

The situation was different in Nyanza, where the association found a corresponding body in the Young Kavirondo Association. By December 1921, the leaders of the latter group were in touch with Thuku and had assured him that they were ‘struggling with him for the country’, and had contributed financially to the association (Schatzberg, 1987:211).

The link-man between these two organizations was James Beuttah, then a member of Thuku’s association employed at Maseno, (*East African Standard*, August 25, 1962). In his own words: There was a large school there with well-educated African teachers, most of whom were interested in politics and who wanted to learn about

the E.A.A. It was the only group I knew of outside Nairobi which was concerned with Nationalism. These people.... were enthusiastic and contributed 90 rupees to send to Nairobi to support the movement. They wanted to join with the Kikuyu and the coastal people, and I think I was the one who got them interested, (Berman, 1990: 218).

The proximity of Maasai country to Nairobi, and the problems the Maasai had experienced at the hands of the British with regard to their land, made Maasai elites likely allies in any protest movement taking place in Nairobi at this time. Most of these Maasai elites had received education at Thogoto, or at the African Inland Mission schools in Kijabe and Siyiapei, (Sapit, O.I., 21/5/15). According to oral sources, they became the supporters of Harry Thuku among the Maasai. Among them were Molonket Ole Sempele and Maitei Ole Mootian. There is hardly any evidence that they organized a political movement in the Maasai countryside, as they were, by and large, urban workers. Their influence among the rural Maasai was to come after 1923 when they were posted back to their districts. It is from their home base that they were to organize support for the E.A.A., (Kina, O.I., 20/5/15)

Of special interest to Thuku was the Young Baganda Association, whose secretary, Joseph Kamulegeya, corresponded with Thuku on a number of issues. Kamulegeya introduced Thuku to the Pan-Africanism, and Thuku wrote to Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Du Bois, and the Tuskegee Institute soliciting for black American aid to Kenyan nationalists. No lasting associations were created however, although Garvey's paper, the *Negro World*, was subsequently sent to Thuku, (Schatzberg, 1987: 219).

The colonial administration was upset by Thuku's populist assertions. On 14th March 1922 Thuku was arrested, the intention being to deport him. While in confinement at Kingsway Police Station in Nairobi, his followers and the general African populace in Nairobi who were apparently on strike from work as well, stormed the police station, (Atieno, O.I., 15/9/15). In the ensuing fracas, police fired into the crowd, killing about twenty-one Africans. Following this incident, Thuku was deported to Kismayu and his association went into disarray.

E.A.A. was the first important African political group to have an impact on Nairobi, (Muchina, O.I., 17/6/15). While motivated generally by post-war unrest and economic depression, it was specifically directed against the repressive Nairobi by-laws, associated with the pass-system and the *Kipande*. The association was not successful as the name would suggest, though it gained considerable support from Kamba, Luo, and Maasai among other communities. But the bulk of its support came from the Kikuyu, (Spencer, 1985:39). E.A.A. provided a forum for the small group of educated elites to articulate the grievances of Africans. These grievances were not much different from those aired by the Y.K.A. Maxon (1989: 80), the rapid growth of E.A.A. presented a potentially revolutionary threat to the existing colonial order and foundations of imperial rule in Kenya, something that the colonial authorities were not prepared to experience.

The alliance that had been forged between the colonial state and the chiefs was one of the most important and fundamental foundations of colonial rule in Kenya. The actions of Thuku and his colleagues in the E.A.A presented a direct threat to the position of the Kikuyu chiefs as the intermediaries between the masses of Africans

and the colonial state, (Maxon; 1989:80). The colonial government was not prepared to allow authority of the chiefs to be undermined, and neither was it going to allow a party that had a pan-ethnic appeal and was creating protest links with other groups in rural areas of Kenya to exist. This explains the harsh repression of the E.A.A. No organization with similar pan-ethnic aim was allowed to emerge in Kenya during the 1920's to challenge colonial policies, (Maxon, 1989:81). Only ethnically based associations were tolerated by the colonial regime. According to Kibet (O.I., 24/8/15), this was a major blow to the course of African nationalism. Thuku's E.A.A had been a big attempt to build a national political party, with a national focus and following. It however failed to attain the status of a truly national movement because of the hostility of the colonial state.

The oppression and segregation meted by the colonial authorities on Africans impacted heavily on Africans in Nairobi. This explains why the development of political consciousness among Africans during this period started in Nairobi, (Odera, O.I.,12/6/16). African locations easily emerged as the locus of political life in colonial Nairobi. Pangani, Nairobi's oldest and largest village, was targeted by the government for demolition, requiring Africans to relocate to Pumwani. It was the centre of African economic, social, and political activities. It was the home of many supporters of Thuku and E.A.A. Abdalla Tairara, Waiganjo, and Nyanjiru who led in marching to Kingsway Police Station to demand the release of Thuku, were all residents of Pangani, (Kiruthu, 2006: 126). Because the Agikuyu were more politically conscious than the other ethnic groups of Kenya, they tended to dominate the African political organizations that arose in Nairobi at this time, including as the E.A.A, (Kandie, O.I., 18/5/15).

After British gunpowder put an end to any pretensions that the Nairobi Africans had entertained on multi-ethnic political organization in the inter-war years, politics among the Agikuyu from this time on took a more ethnic dimension. The new organization that emerged was the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA). Its headquarters was at Kahuhia in Murang'a where it was launched under the leadership of Joseph Kang'ethe and James Beuttah, (Kabochi, O.I., 15/9/15). It started organizing the disaffected Kikuyu and administering oaths so as to galvanize their unity. The KCA agenda for recruitment at that time was articulated around the twin issues of ancestral land and continued validation of a historic sense of Kikuyu nationhood, (Kyle, 1999: 39). As to what it stood for, one interviewee remarked that, 'Our main goal in the KCA was to get back the land Europeans had taken from us', (Mutura, O.I., 10/11/15).

The KCA was a body representing those elements among the Agikuyu who did not fully accept the ideas and practice of European dominance. They were more militant in their approach to change than the establishment chiefs and mission educated young men such as Thuku, (Kabochi, O.I., 15/9/15). In a word, the KCA stood for dissent. In general terms, its members were protesting against the excesses of the colonial situation in so far as these manifested themselves in Agikuyu society. The racial indignities which the Agikuyu suffered as a result of the cultural arrogance of the white rulers coupled with the many resented policies and actions of the colonial administration were the driving force behind its formation, (Spencer, 1977: 102).

Something of their attitudes may be garnished from the list of grievances the KCA leadership presented to the Governor when the latter visited Murang'a in 1925. They

protested against the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 which had made all Africans tenants at will of the Crown. They also requested the release of Harry Thuku, and asked for ‘appointment of a paramount chief with judicial powers for trying our cases, one who should be well educated and to be elected by the majority of our people’, (Spencer, 1977: 104). The petition also dealt with the local problems that the colonial administration created for the people, such as the compulsory rebuilding of sanitary huts to prevent plague and the banning of the growing of cotton and coffee by Africans, (Kamore, O.I., 12/5/16). Finally, it put forward programmes for improvement, asking the administration to expand the training facilities for hospital orderlies, for the building of a high school, and for the setting up of a school for girls. These requests made little impression on the colonial authorities, (Spencer, 1977: 107). But official scorn did not deter these leaders. By 1927 something of a rapprochement was made with the Kiambu politicians, when Jomo Kenyatta was asked by the Association to take over the post of general secretary, a job which he took up the following year, (Mutahi, O.I., 25/5/16).

The fortunes of the KCA improved in the following two years for reasons both local and international. Kenyatta’s efforts as party Secretary led to a cultural revival. In his efforts to build up grass-root support for the Association, Kenyatta appealed to the Agikuyu through *Muigwithania*,⁴⁶ to be proud of their cultural heritage. The pages of the monthly ‘Muigwithania’ were full of riddles, proverbs and stories which encouraged the readers to think of themselves as Agikuyu. This paper also narrated the day-to-day activities of the KCA in detail, thus bringing it to the attention of the readers. This cultural revival was to be intensified when a major

⁴⁶ This is translated as Reconciler. Kenyatta became the editor of this monthly publication.

conflict broke out within the churches of Gikuyuland the following year. The issue at stake was clitoridectomy. The Association strongly advocated the Agikuyu position on the matter and assisted disaffected Agikuyu to establish independent churches, (Muthoni, O.I., 27/5/17).

Beginning with the petition and evidence of the Kikuyu Central Association to the Hilton Young Commission in 1928⁴⁷, the Agikuyu placed their land grievances at the centre of their problems. Kenyatta was part of the KCA delegation that gave evidence to this commission. The gist of their grievance was captured in this statement of evidence, which noted that, ‘We have tried for many years to make the government give us title deeds for our land but we have not got them and we cannot know whether it is our land or whether it is Crown Land, (*East African Standard*, July 20, 1960).

This concern with security of tenure in the African ‘reserves’ was reiterated by Kenyatta when in 1929, the KCA sent him to London to articulate their demands. In London, Kenyatta summarized the KCA’s aims as being the security of their lands; increased educational facilities of a practical nature; the abolition of the hut tax for women, and elected representation to the Legislative Council, (Spencer, 1977: 151). This theme was to be pursued with more vigour in 1931 when Africans were invited to submit evidence before the Kenya Land Commission.⁴⁸ The KCA took an active

⁴⁷ This commission was formed to investigate the question of federation of the east African territories, as advocated by the settlers. The KCA made a strong presentation in opposition to the proposed federation.

⁴⁸ This body was set up as a result of a parliamentary recommendation in 1931 that African land problems should be looked into.

part in helping the ‘mbari’⁴⁹ to prepare their evidence. And when the report came out, the KCA marshalled all the Agikuyu political groups to draft a unanimous memorandum of rejection and protest, (Abuor, 1973: 118).

During the 1930’s, KCA emerged as the strongest and most influential local political association among the Kikuyu in Nairobi, (Maxon, 1973:101). Pangani hosted KCA leaders who relocated their headquarters from Fort Hall to Nairobi, (Kiruthu, 2006: 126). In June 1939, KCA leaders including Jesse Kariuki and George Ndegwa collaborated with the Asian trade unionist, Makhan Singh in encouraging African railway workers in Nairobi to go on strike in order to pressurise the government to improve their conditions of work. Challenges posed by the association to the colonial government especially in Nairobi, were checked through the proscription of the party and detention of its leaders in 1940, (Tignor, 1976: 164).

The Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association was a product of the missionary impact in colonial Kenya. Its parent body, which was subverted by government manoeuvres, was the Young Kavirondo Association, founded in 1921 by the alumni of Maseno School in Nyanza, (Abuor, 1973: 123). The issue in contention was the change in status of the colonial territory⁵⁰. The leaders of the association read into the transformation an attempt by the British to change the status of Africans and possibly expose western Kenya to European settlement, (Schatzberg, 1987:210). This territorial concern was married with the local grievances to precipitate a strike at Maseno School. Jonathan Okwiri, Jeremiah Awori, Reuben Omulo and Simeon

⁴⁹ Agikuyu lineages

⁵⁰ In 1920 Kenya was transformed from the British East Africa Protectorate to a Crown Colony - the Kenya Colony and Protectorate

Nyende as teachers took part in this strike, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16). Very soon, word was spread that there would be a public meeting at Luanda to discuss the grievances of the Luo and the Abaluyia people. This meeting was held on December, 23, 1921. The outcome was the setting up of the YKA with Jonathan Okwiri as chairman, Benjamin Owuor as secretary and Simeon Nyende as treasurer. Various resolutions were passed calling for, among other things, the establishment of a separate legislature for Nyanza with an elected African president; the election of paramount chiefs for Nyanza; the abolition of the *kipande*; the reduction of taxes; an increase in wages paid to Africans; the revocation of the Colony status and reversion to Protectorate status, (Schatzberg, 1987: 218).

A delegation was subsequently meet to see the Provincial Commissioner to present these resolutions to him in person. The Provincial Commissioner declined the request but as tensions were running high, the governor finally came to meet the petitioners at Nyahera on July 8, 1922, (Atullo, O.I., 10/11/15). None of the demands was immediately granted, but this nascent elite had demonstrated outstanding ability at mass mobilization. The government thus moved to counter it. The action preferred was that of colonial patronage, through a missionary, Archdeacon Owen. The leaders of the Young Kavirondo Association felt that Owen would be a good go-between for them. In July 1923 Okwiri handed the presidency of YKA⁵¹ to Archdeacon Owen, (Spencer, 1977: 153).

Owen proceeded immediately to make YKA 'respectable' by subverting it. He now shifted the basis of its support from the masses to the elites. Political agitation was

⁵¹ Or Piny Owacho as it was more popularly known,

replaced by new demands for better houses, better food, better clothing, better education and better hygiene. Members were often required to commit themselves to ‘kill so many rats a week’, ‘to plant two hundred trees a year’, ‘not to mix cow’s urine with milk’⁵², ‘to build latrines’⁵³. In other words, Owen removed the mass political orientation from this association, which from then on took on the new title of Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (KTWA), (Atullo, O.I.,10/11/15).

Owen encouraged and organized the now low-key leadership to write memoranda to the authorities, whenever there was a political grievance. The memorandum became the main tool for the association, so much so that these leaders were referred to as Jo-Memorandum⁵⁴, (Masinde, O.I., 12/5/16). The association was rendered even more ineffective by its split into Luo and Abaluyia factions in 1931. The Luo wing limped on under Owen’s leadership until 1944, its firebrand approach having been stifled by Owen’s intervention and by the siphoning off of the radical leadership into government positions⁵⁵

At the Coast, the Young Nyika Association emerged among the Mijikenda to protest against, among other issues, the harsh economic conditions brought by the depression of 1930, (Berman, 1990:226). The Akamba formed the Ukamba Members Association to protest the destocking decree. This misguided government

⁵² One informant told us this was a traditional delicacy in the community, (Otuma, O.I: 16/5/16)

⁵³ to make one bed for each hut in the village, not to get drunk, and not to encourage marriage for girls before the age of sixteen, were other requirements for members, (Berman, 1990:219).

⁵⁴ Translated as ‘people of memorandum’

⁵⁵ Jonathan Okwiri and Odindo both became chiefs, Simeon Nyende was appointed to the Local Native Council and Apindi was the Nyanza representative before the Joint Select Committee into the Closer Union in East Africa, (Berman, 1990:221).

policy was only halted after several thousand Kamba marched to Nairobi with a protest note to the Governor, (Mwende, O.I., 14/6/16). The Taita Hills Association formed in 1939, protested lack of land after large scale alienation of Taita land, (Berman, 1990:231).

Quite evidently, the political parties that championed the nationalist struggle were basically distinct “ethnic unions”. The activities of these associations were confined to narrow defined tribal issues. At no time did the pioneer African associations hope to join together into one national organization. While these associations were an expression of ethnic, it was ethnic, rather than territorial nationalism, (Macharia, 2012: 88). Their major focus of protest was local grievances over the implementation of colonial policies in specific areas. Most of their political activity was ‘local’ in nature, in that it focused on localities normally inhabited by a single ethnic group. What efforts there were to form a nationalist movement (one that went beyond mere protest against government policy to the creation of a viable state) were largely frustrated. These political associations were completely immersed in local and tribal politics, (Berman, 1990:240).

The racial segregation policy and divide-and- rule made the creation of strong unity between the Africans and Asians difficult, despite the fact they were both subjected to discrimination. Some Asians, through their own experiences under the British sympathised with the African predicament, (Seidenberg, 1985 as cited in Kiruthu, 2006: 124). One Asian who supported African political leaders was M. A. Desai. He made the grievances of Thuku’s EAA to be published in the Asian owned *East African Chronicles* and assisted in legal matters. Asians also taught the Africans

how to organise trade unions, (Zezeza, 1982: 116). The Labour Trade Union of East Africa embraced workers of all ethnic backgrounds, though most of its membership was African or Asian. In 1937, both African and Asian members staged a general strike of construction workers, under Makhan Singh and Fred Kubai, (Kiruthu, 2006: 124). This marked an important milestone in the anti-colonial protest.

3.4. ETHNICITY AND FREEDOM STRUGGLE

In the white highlands, in the reserves, and above all, in Nairobi, the plight of the majority of African had never been desperate as it was after 1947, as increased overcrowding and high unemployment sharpened social and economic differentials among the cities dwellers, (Omosa, O.I., 13/6/15). In line with the idea of indirect rule, the British had no understanding of what could be considered ‘detribalised urban African’. Thus in the period 1947 to 54, the presence of administration was extremely weak in the African locations in Nairobi. These were abandoned to the control of political militants and their allies among the Kikuyu-dominated street gangs, who terrorised people of other communities such as Luo, Luhya, inhabiting the city, (Maloba, 1993: 116).

Freedom from government interference enabled the radicals to establish secure headquarters in Nairobi, from where they controlled the induction of Mau Mau oaths, into the Kikuyu reserves and the white highlands, and organised concerted political action against the colonial state, (Kamoreh, O.I., 20/5/16). Nairobi became the centre of militant opposition and provided the required anonymity for the militants to coordinate protests in the reserves and the white highlands and to control

the introduction of Mau Mau oath to unite the Kikuyu against the colonial regime. The Kikuyu formed over half of the city's total population, (Branch, 2009: 125).

Nairobi was thus characterised by African political conflict from the late 1940's. Rule of law had almost completely collapsed in some African locations, such as Pumwani and Shauri Moyo. Groups of people roamed the streets, armed with various weapons. A report to the Criminal Investigations Department by the Superintendent of African locations warned, "it's common knowledge that armed gangs move around the African locations at night...the cases of assaults and threats to persons at night is on the increase. The number of police patrols available in these locations are inadequate to tackle these people....", (Bannet and Njama, 1966: 172).

Askwith, the Municipal African Affairs officer agreed with report, and informed the police 'I have come to the conclusion that the lawlessness is part of a carefully concerted plan to bring the wheels of government to a standstill by creating conditions of anarchy'. He argued the situation in places such as Pumwani had reached such critical a stage that only large bodies of police, operating in military fashion could be successful against such formidable opponents. 'Drastic action is essential before a crime wave hits the CBD, and the European and Asian suburbs of the capital', (ibid). Askwith identified Heron Maina from Ziwani as the ringleader of the gangs and organiser of the 'Forty Group'⁵⁶. Police agents in the 'Forty Group' warned the special branch that at meeting in Kariokor, early in October 1947, it had been decided that all Europeans should be thrown out of Kenya, and that

⁵⁶ This was the militant wing of nationalist movement. It was made of made of men initiated in the 1940's, some of whom had participated in the Second World War.

preparations were being made to attack prominent African loyalists. Some of the criminal groups had close links with several African political organisations, (Abuor, 1973: 169).

The capital, like the white highlands, had largely been left to the control of settler-dominated municipal councils, which showed little if any concern in the appalling social problems of the African parts of the city. Council only became concerned in the locations when discontent threatened to spill over into the white areas or the suburbs, (Ibid: 174). Throughout 1947, discontent simmered and threatened to erupt to violent confrontations in Nairobi and the three Kikuyu districts, (Nairobi Law Monthly, April-May, 1989:26). According to Atieno-Odhiambo, African locations in the 1940s were republics all of their own right. The few policemen couldn't do much in manning them at night. In this way, linkages with Kikuyu countryside were maintained with oathing being administered in African locations in Nairobi. Leadership of KAU and trade unions shuttled between Nairobi and rural areas, coordinating violent nationalism, (Bannet and Njama, 1966: 117).

Some colonial government officials opined that tribal associations might have provided the most effective mechanisms of social control. Askwith observed that, 'the introduction of the full panoply of rural government, based on the various tribal associations, was essential'. He urged that the municipal authorities should acknowledge their corporate influence and foster their development into an effective system of urban control,' (ibid: 155). These proposals were widely accepted by the white administration but were rejected by the African elite serving on the Nairobi Advisory council. This articulate section of African population, led by Francis

Khamisi-the general secretary of Kenya African Union (KAU), and the Luhya political activist, W.W.W Awori, condemned the proposals as ‘a retrograde measure designed to preserve ethnic suspicions in order to facilitate divide-and rule’ policy, (Parker, 1948: 107).

Instead of relying on tribal solidarities, as did most urban Africans, the elite representatives on the advisory council, wished to secure their own incorporation into the colonial state and be recognised as full participants in the political life of colonial Nairobi, with their own members on the Municipal council. Their denunciation of the proposals forced the Chief Native Commissioner to reconsider and devise a more democratic system of consultation, more in line with the colonial office strategy of greater African political participation. According to Askwith and other like minded administrators, most Nairobi Africans were still enmeshed in ethnic rivalries and were not yet ready to enter the democratic multi-tribal future espoused by the KAU and the African Advisory Council. Thus, ‘the aspirations of the elite were completely unrealistic, given the tribal particularisms of the vast majority of the capital’s African population’, (Parker, 1948: 115).

The ‘Forty Group’ and Mau Mau were to show that most urban African could ‘only be mobilised by appeal to tribal solidarity and cultural specificities’, (Mwende, O.I., 14/4/16). Askwith had perceived that control could only be achieved by appealing to the same forces. But the elite feared any official recognition of the tribal associations’ power, as this would diminish their own influence and bloc their incorporation. Khamisi therefore protested Nairobi Africans were not divided by tribalism and claimed any attempt to establish ‘native authorities’ in the capital in a

modified system of indirect rule would fail. When Mathu, Odede and Khamisi met Askwith to discuss the future organisation of the locations, they successfully persuaded the officials to abandon the idea of reinforcing the power of the tribal associations and to introduce a ward structure, dividing the locations into three areas, Kaloleni, Shauri Moyo, and Pumwani, rather than along ethnic divisions, (Mc Vicar, 1968: 78).

The blocking by elites of attempts to establish an effective administration presence in the African parts of the capital in alliance with the tribal associations left the locations at the mercy of political gangs, which conducted organised crime. Kenya's urban poor particularly in Nairobi lived on or below, in many cases, the official poverty line, (Throup, 1987: 8). Gang warfare and crime continued to be the most visible manifestations of African discontent with slum conditions, rampant inflation and growing unemployment. The rising crime wave was already causing such concern among the settlers that members moved an emergency debate in the Legco. The two members representing Africans, Mathu and Beecher stressed the social-economic dimension of the crime. For them the crime was 'the outcome of social and economic disturbances' (Mc Vicar, 1968: 81). The administration, the settlers, and African moderates identified the crime wave as the most important problem to be tackled. In December 1948, Mbotela, for example considered that the rule of law had collapsed in 'outcast Nairobi', and drew an alarmist comparison with the anti-British revolt in Malaya, which had just began, (Maloba, 1993: 112).

Evidently, there was close correlation between African militancy and the deteriorating socio-economic conditions of the African. One informant told us that

the desperately poor were involved in a vicious battle with the state. Already antagonised by land loss, especially those from Kiambu and condemned to an alien urban existence, it was not surprising that the Kikuyu poor, who formed more than half of Nairobi's population, vented their dismay in political violence, (Muchai, O.I., 16/5/16. Overcrowding, inflation, unemployment, hit urban poor hard. Pushed to the limits of human endurance, the urban poor created their own alternative society in clandestine opposition to the forces of law and order to the colonial state. 'Muhimu'⁵⁷ was behind the militant politics in the 1940's. Majority of young KAU leaders joined Muhimu and the radical wing that was advocating for political change through violent means, (Maloba, 1993:114).

It should be noted that Africans in Nairobi were, however, not a homogenous community united by despair and violence, but were bitterly divided by class and ethnic animosities. Whereas the elites were concerned with better work terms, the urban poor were pre-occupied with the struggle for survival. Condemned to a constant battle for existence, constitutional politics had nothing to offer them, it seemed, but deception. Men like Mbotela were identified as their enemy, stooges of the whites, (Africa Confidential, Vol 23 no. 8 April, 14, 1982). But class was not the most important divide. Linguistic and cultural differences ensured that tribalism remained the most important influence upon the daily life and political allegiances in the African locations. Tribal associations not only provide the most effective mechanisms of social control, but were also the only rudimentary welfare most Africans encountered. Life in the towns intensified rather than diminished ethnic

⁵⁷ Muhimu or 'inner circle' was the militant wing of KAU, principally constituted by the KAU Nairobi branch officials. It was behind the oath-taking of Africans living in Nairobi in the 1940's. See Kanogo (1987) for a more detailed discussion of the organization.

rivalries, financial assistance, moral welfare, and burial expenses were all provided within the confines of the tribe, or of even more parochial district associations. The 'detrivalised urban African' envisaged by the colonial authorities was more of a myth than a reality, (Leys, 1973: 191).

As the largest element in the population, the 30,000 Kikuyu and members of the related Aembu, Ameru, subjected the 12,000 Nyanza Africans and 7,000 Akamba to unending reign of terror. Crime opened up new avenues for social advancement, it enabled the outcast to gain prestige provided the gang didn't prey upon their own kind. Their own kind was defined in strictly tribal terms. For the Kikuyu criminal, this didn't include the Luo and the Luhya poor, (Bennet and Njama, 1966: 122).

The spate of militant violent activity in Nairobi alienated the non Kikuyu elements in the African population. Often exploited by Kikuyu landlords, who owned most of the accommodation in the African locations, and subjected to the tyranny of these Kikuyu street gangs, the Luhya and Luo, for instance, became disillusioned with Kikuyu militants, (Throup, 1985:97). According to one oral informant, this explains why in 1952, when the state of emergency was declared, most of the non- Kikuyu African population adopted a neutral stand in Nairobi, (Wesulah, O.I., 26/6/15)

It is true that greater educational and economic advancement gave the Luo and the Kikuyu a common political consciousness that made both receptive to radical nationalist demands. But apart from a very small number of educated elites, the mass of these ethnic communities do not appear to have developed good relations, (Sapit, O.I., 21/5/15). Their differences included a record of conflict between the

members of two tribes in urban areas particularly Nairobi during the 1940's. As Mboya put it, 'in Nairobi, the antagonism between the Kikuyu and the Luo was such that they fought on sight. As soon as a Kikuyu saw a Luo, the first thing he did was to pick up a stone and hit his head', (Mboya, 1973:71). Furthermore, there had been some dissatisfaction in 1944 among educated Luo over the alleged preference given to the Kikuyu with the appointment of the first African, Mathu, to the Legco. The Luo also questioned Kikuyu dominance in KAU, (Africa Confidential, Vol 23 no. 8 April, 14, 1981).

The destitute in Nairobi also looked upon the trade unionists of the African Workers' Federation, Chege Kibachia, Kubai, Kaggia, and Mwangi Macharia, for leadership. The militants organised the capital's first general strike in May 1950. Makhan Singh and Kubai, the two most prominent trade union leaders were arrested and charged with being officials of an unregistered organisation. Chege Kiburu, another trade union leader was also arrested, (Bennet, 1963: 39). One year later, Kubai and Kaggia captured the leadership of the Nairobi KAU branch from Mbotela and the educated elite and began to use it as base from which to usurp the position of the aspiring alternative elite. Trade union activity became less important as the militants switched to nationalist politics, behind the façade of which they continued their mass oathing campaign, which they expanded beyond Nairobi into the Kikuyu reserves and the white highlands.

The rural linkages were quickly established between the reserves and Nairobi as reverberations of trouble in the districts were registered throughout the colony, (Kershaw, 1997: 79). Indeed, local action was increasingly directed from Nairobi.

Country buses, taxis and railway from the city 'provided the arteries along which African politics flowed as urban militants began to organise rural resistance. Multi-faceted discontent involving, particularly, landless squatters and Nairobi's poor boiled over into increasingly violent forms', (Furedi, 1989: 176).

After the Second World War, African politics began to take over from settler politics as the main cause of government apprehension. According to Furedi, Nairobi urban poor were to be particularly active as leaders of the Land and Freedom Army, as the urban workers became the focal point of African militant political action. One of the factors that made the land and freedom movement an urban phenomenon as a rural one was the fact that many Africans were discontented with poor living conditions especially in Nairobi, (Furedi, 1989: 189). The state responded with hostility to the nationalist demands presented lawfully by KAU. It used state power to harass the party, and continued relying on divide and rule to weaken the party's national focus by emphasizing ethnic and regional differences and inequalities. In fact, KAU gained the bulk of its support from the Kikuyu - reflecting the differential development of the preceding years of the colonial period. KAU's failure to bring about reform of the colony through peaceful, constitutional means shifted the nature of political struggle from reforming the colonial regime to outright challenge to colonial rule, (Singh, O.I., 19/5/15).

It's therefore the oppression of Africans particularly in Nairobi that resulted in the outbreak of the Mau Mau war. This could explain why Mau Mau activism in Nairobi involved frequent murders and other forms of violence against whites, Asians and African loyalists who enjoyed colonial patronage, (Kanogo, 1987: 111). Moderate African leaders were also attacked, culminating in the assassination of

Chief Waruhiu and Tom Mbotela in 1952. In September, 1952, the new governor, Sir Evelyn Baring arrived to take over from Mitchell, (*The East African Standard*, June 22, 1955). By this time, violence had escalated to shocking levels, especially in the capital. This was attributed to the Mau Mau and the ‘Forty Group’. Against this background, and following the murder of prominent loyalist, Waruhiu wa Kung’u, the new governor declared a state of emergency on October, 20, 1952, (Elkins, 2005: 158).

Colonial state responded to the Mau Mau challenge of violence with firmer control and increased coercion. A decision to clamp down on Mau Mau resulted in a colonial approach that lumped KAU together with Mau Mau. Hence many Kenyan Africans were arrested, including KAU leaders⁵⁸. When KAU leadership was arrested in, it left ‘*muhimu*’ as the only political organisation in Nairobi. The organisation’s leaders continued collecting ammunition, recruitment of fighters, and oathing activities, (Kiruthu, 2006:170 and Atieno-Adhiambo, 1995: 114). Curfews were ruthlessly enforced in African locations in Nairobi. Loyal home guard patrolled the streets of Nairobi and anyone seen outside at night could be shot on sight. During the day, police and home guard patrols intercepted Africans on the streets, checking work permits, pass books, and arms, with the Kikuyu being the main target, (Kiruthu, 2006: 68).

Colonial authorities argued that Mau Mau was carrying out a campaign of intimidation and had instituted a type of protection racket aimed at Asian and other non- Kikuyu traders in Nairobi. The government embarked on arrests and wanton

⁵⁸ KAU leaders arrested and charged with managing mau mau included the so-called ‘Kapenguria six’, namely; Jomo Kenyatta, Bildad Kaggia, Ochieng’ Onoko, Kung’u Karumba, Paul Ngei and Fred Kubai (see EAS, September 30, 1961).

demolitions of markets owned by groups associated with Mau Mau, (Kiruthu, 2006 169). The Mathare Valley was identified as a key centre of militant nationalist movement and acquired reputation for violence. The colonial government discovered bodies buried in mass grave during the Mau Mau war. After the declaration of emergency, the colonial government destroyed the settlement and detained majority of the inhabitants, mostly Kikuyu, (Elkins, 2005: 218).

Colonial authorities did not want to be seen as being guilty of having brought the social and economic contradictions which caused the Mau Mau rebellion. The government waged an intense propaganda campaign to alienate other communities from the Kikuyu, (Macharia, 2012: 103). The oathing ceremonies were depicted as primitive and atavistic, and the Agikuyu as dangerous to the rest of the society (Mungai; 2004: 207). This denied the Mau Mau movement any meaningful support outside members of the Kikuyu community in Nairobi, (Kandie, O.I., 18/5/15).

On November 27, 1952, Tom Mbotela, a Nairobi African Advisory council member, regarded as collaborator, was assassinated near the Burma market. The Mau Mau was believed to be responsible, (Bannet, D., and Njama, K., 1966:112). The government took advantage of the murder to create further antagonism between the Kikuyu and the Luo. Police raided the Burma market, arrested all the traders and took them to Kingsway Police Station for interrogation. Two hours later, fire broke out at the market, believed to have been started by the home guard. Burma was one of the hotbed areas of the Mau Mau, (Kiruthu, 2006: 168). Backed by the settler propaganda, the Luo of Nairobi organized a demonstration against 'Kikuyu gangsterism'. From this demonstration came a government statement implying that

the Provincial Commissioner (PC) of Nairobi had been asked by the delegation of the Luo to be allowed to start a tribal war against the Kikuyu, (Abuor, 1973: 205-206). The PC urged them to join the colonial home guard.

Ambrose Ofafa, the Treasurer of the Luo Union was also assassinated by suspected Mau Mau in Kaloleni in 1954. He had been accused of collaborating with the colonialist as he took over shops previously owned by the Kikuyu. Many people concluded that this killing represented a Kikuyu plot against the Luo. The suspicion of the other African communities against the Kikuyu was increased, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16). The Luo in particular were thoroughly embittered by this killing. They argued that it was they and the Abaluhya who had dauntlessly come forward to take over the leadership of KAU from where Kenyatta and his detained colleagues had left off, and that with assistance from members of other tribes who were free from Mau Mau involvement, they had wholeheartedly organized the workers to voice strong opposition against the mistreatment of the freedom fighters, why should a prominent member of their community been killed by the Mau Mau? The serious weakness of the Mau Mau movement was revealed; based on an "Oath of secrecy," it appealed to the Kikuyu but could not be used to build a mass trans-tribal party, (Njogu, 2001: 104). The Mau Mau oathing from 1950 onwards further accelerated the isolation of the Kikuyu from other African peoples, especially in Nairobi.

During the period between 1953 and 1957, many restrictions and controls were imposed and enforced on Africans in Nairobi, especially Kikuyu, Embu, Meru communities. To stay in Nairobi, they had to show evidence of having paid poll tax, (Mutura, O.I., 10/11/115). If they were found in the city looking for job, but without

evidence of having paid tax, they were liable to arrest and imprisoned. But those without jobs could not pay tax. It was indeed a vicious cycle. Out of 20,000 people arrested and detained in Nairobi when the state of emergency was declared, 80% of them were Kikuyu, (Karume, 2009: 158). According to Parkins (1969), the grounds given by the British for singling out the Kikuyu for restriction and imprisonment during the period was that Mau Mau movement was led by the Kikuyu, (Parkins, 1969: 77).

On April 24, 1954, the British military forces launched an ambitious operation code-named Operation Anvil, to reclaim the control of Nairobi by purging the city of the Kikuyu living within its limits. Nearly 25,000 security force members under General Erskine were involved in the operation, which involved cordoning of the city's African locations, (Elkins, 2005: 213). The entire city population was caught off guard by this operation. Large numbers of Kikuyu were rounded up and removed from Nairobi. They were either returned to the reserves or sent along to detention camps. Prior to the commencement of the operation, about 1000 Kikuyu per month were being expelled from Nairobi in line with emergency regulations, (Masinde, O.I., 12/5/16).

During the operation, more than 37,000 of those identified as Kikuyu, Embu and Meru (Gema) were removed from Nairobi, a deportation that fought a counter wave of immigrants fleeing starvation in the reserves, (Kiruthu, 2006: 170 and Hake, 1977). It's from the rural areas of Central Kenya that the majority of Nairobi's African inhabitants had been drawn from prior to 1952. Members of Kikuyu community were also removed from ethnically mixed housing estates and concentrated in guarded areas of their own, (Kiruthu, 2006: 172). Many Kikuyu were detained in government camps in far of paces like Manyani and Mackinnon

Road. Other camps such as Embakasi were established to accommodate those suspected of being Mau Mau. The only ones not arrested were those who had express government permission such as loyalist traders. Kagwaja, (2003), observes that a number of Gema resorted to Islam as a strategy to camouflage themselves in the face of colonial repression in Nairobi. Some settled in areas such as Kibera to avoid colonial harassment.

Kikuyu traders were targeted for being suspected of funding the Mau Mau. With the purge, Kikuyu domination and access to trading facilities and housing was lost. Many trading stalls at Shauri Moyo, Kariokor, and elsewhere were vacated by Kikuyu and re-allocated to members of other communities such as Luo and Kamba, (Oucho, 2002:109). As the Kikuyu were evicted, many people migrated from western Kenya to places such as Kibera and Kawangware to replace the Kikuyu. Kibera became popular settlement for Africans because the Sudanese inhabitants were spared strict emergency regulations, unlike other African locations, perhaps because they had provided good services to the colonial government, (Kandie, O.I., 18/5/15).

In Kaloleni estate, which had been built for Africans in 1945 with the Kikuyu being the largest group in the estate before the Operation Anvil, it was mainly the Luo who took over. Even today, the Luo dominate the estate, (Kiruthu, 2006: 172). As fortunes of the Kikuyu declined, those of others especially Luo, rose. Forceful removal of Kikuyu gave the Luo more opportunity to take over jobs previously dominated by the Kikuyu in Nairobi. However, in some instances, a number of Kikuyu traders who had been detained temporarily awarded the guardianship of

their enterprises to Luo friends. This demonstrates the close ties that sometimes existed between the two communities which impacted on politics of independence. Such traders went to the extent of encouraging intermarriage between their relatives and the male Luo so as to cement partnerships, (Kiruthu, 2006: 173 and Parkins, 1969: 115).

In a nutshell, it can be argued that the reinforcement of immediate primordial differences between the Luo and Kikuyu probably first began when the British started deporting Kikuyu from Nairobi to control the Mau Mau upsurge in Nairobi. As Kikuyu left, the Luo began to fill the opportunities for employment and petty businesses operated by departing Kikuyu. This degenerated into bad feelings between the two communities, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16).

3.5 PRE-INDEPENDENCE POLITICS AND ETHNICITY IN NAIROBI COUNTY

It should be noted that the British government rapidly recognized that military means alone could not defuse the Mau Mau rebellion and the grievances that underlay it. Economic and constitutional reforms had to be carried out to erode local support for Mau Mau and to help restore law and order. The year 1954 would be a crucial in this regard. It witnessed the formalization of a programme for agrarian reforms in the form of Swynnerton Plan⁵⁹, and for new constitutional arrangements that opened the way for greater African participation in the government, (Branch, 2009: 214). The Swynnerton Plan opened the way for the transformation of African agriculture and the rapid decline of settler economic power over the next decade.

⁵⁹ This plan provided for a land consolidation, adjudication, and registration programme for Africans

On the political front, the colonial government decided to introduce a number of reforms in order to contain the crisis. The Lyttelton Constitution⁶⁰ of 1954 attempted to end the competition among the races which had been a regular feature of Kenyan politics before this plan. This multi-racial constitution gave the Africans a voice in the government but preserved the dominant position of the Europeans in the colony, (Spencer, 1977:166).

In June, the government withdrew the emergency prohibition of African political organizations in line with the Swynnerton Plan. A new programme for African political development was introduced. According to the plan, the first step would be the formation of district associations, to which all adults within their districts could belong. The district units would register as societies, and as registered societies would have approved constitutions and organisations. When the district associations had become well established, they would be grouped into regional conventions covering specific areas of Kenya. Each regional convention would be closely linked with the members of the Legco for its area. At a later date, the district associations would be allowed to form a central convention. Through this plan, the government was seeking to avoid the appearance of another body like KAU, 'a relatively rootless, centralized organisation, which a small vocal group of politicians had controlled easily', (The *East African Standard*, June 22, 1955).

⁶⁰ The Lyttelton Constitution provided for the establishment of a multi-racial Council of Ministers to replace the existing European-only Advisory Council

A series of associations subsequently emerged which were ethnic in character. Though most of these district associations were politically insignificant, they were, according to Mboya, considered “a threat to national unity, because we could see district loyalties building up and reflecting tribal loyalty”.⁶¹ African political activity was to adopt a district focus till 1961. Summarizing the impact of this refusal to allow national parties from 1955 to 1960, Mboya concluded: “We have never been able to escape completely from the district consciousness which developed during this period. No other country under British rule has started off with such difficulties in forming a national movement as we faced after the emergency” (Kellas, 1991: 95).

The year 1955 is apical in this narrative, for it witnessed the final emergence of a post-Mau Mau African leadership that would articulate the nationalist goals of the Africans into the time of independence in 1963. Central to this emergence was the articulate youthful leadership that was ready to contest white hegemony on its own terms. Argwings-Kodhek, the Luo lawyer-intellectual who since 1952 had taken up the defence of Mau Mau guerrillas in the colonial courts, often pro bono, emerged as the main leader of Africans in Nairobi. “Africa for the Africans” and “Independence Now” became his rallying call, (*The Times*, December, 22, 1955). The Kenya Police were certainly aware of both the potency and legitimacy of this simultaneous nationalist and Pan-Africanist trajectory. They sought, as a counter-factualisation, to criminalise it by painting a fearful scenario of conspiracy by “C. M. G.” and his Kikuyu supporters in Nairobi, (Kellas, 1991: 97).

⁶¹This is because district and tribal boundaries were often the same.

In the absence of national political parties, a Nairobi party would have the highest profile and, since Kikuyu had been massively expelled from the capital in Operation Anvil, it was the Luo and Luhya who filled the vacuum. Political discussions in Nairobi were centred on the Kaloleni Club. Members were then principally Luo, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/15). More than 1000 Africans of varied ethnicity assembled in Nairobi at December 18, 1955 at the Kaloleni Club to start the Kenya African National Congress. They nominated Argwings-Khodhek as President and selected a committee of eight to draft a party constitution, (*The East African Standard*, December 19, 1955).

Although the new party was ostensibly a Nairobi association, its aim and its declared objective of promoting a national political organisation gave it a much wider scope than the district of Nairobi alone, (*The Times*, December 19, 1955 and December 22, 1955). The Congress pledged itself to national aims such as a reversal of the Lyttelton Constitution and the opening of the white highlands to African occupation, abolition of racism and universal adult suffrage. Even more radically, Khodhek called on Mathu to resign from the Legco. The colonial government's response was to pre-empt Argwings-Khodhek's national platform by denying the need for a territorial-nationalist African political party. The government declared it was not going to allow the proliferation of political organizations among Africans having national connotation. Argwings-Khodhek was compelled to have the name changed to Nairobi District African Congress, which was then registered in March 1956, provided the Congress 'would not in any way merge or affiliate itself with any other organization or association', (Anderson, 2005b: 117).

The basis for the government action was the emergency regulations that ‘forbade’ the registration of any African political association, if the membership is not restricted to Africans living within the prescribed limits, if the name does not indicate the particular area to which it is confined, and if the membership includes any Kikuyu, Embu or Meru who is not a registered voter.⁶² Colony-wide parties were therefore still banned by the time of the 1957 election for the African members of Legco, conducted in line with the Coutts Constitution. The election was of great importance in the development of African nationalism, even though the extremely complicated franchise allowed only about 10 per cent of those of voting age to register, and though political meetings were relatively few and unpublicized and limited to about 600.⁶³ It meant, according to Michael Blundell, that: “all the African members, who had entered Legislative Council by nomination through the old electoral college system were swept away, and in their places stood men who were conscious of representing their people for the first time”, (Mueller, 1978: 148).

Argwings-Khodhek emerged as a populist politician and was considered to be easily the front runner for the high profile Nairobi seat. The regime’s counter strategy was to play the ethnic card of divide-and-rule by setting up Tom Mboya as the rival of Argwings-Kodhek for the control of Nairobi politics, (Furedi 1973 and Mutiso 1993: 117). His success as a trade union leader in Kenya was unprecedented, which was cleverly harnessed for political objectives in Nairobi.

⁶² The government permitted GEM to join district political associations only when they passed a loyalty test and been registered as voters.

⁶³ This was the number that could get into the designated halls, as required by the colonial government

One potential source of political leadership for Africans was the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions (KFRTU)⁶⁴, the labour organisation that embraced the entire colony. Mboya, the General Secretary of KFRTU, used it as a source of power to build himself a secure political standing among the urbanized Africans living in Nairobi. After a brief experience in politics as a KAU official in 1952-53, he joined the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions, KFTRU and became its General Secretary in 1953. In the absence of KAU, he turned the KFTRU into the principal voice of Nairobi Africans. Because KFRTU was affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Mboya was able to make his mark early at the international level.

Through links with American trade unions, he obtained funding for the construction of Solidarity House, the headquarters of the KFTRU. They also made funds available for what was in effect political activity. He was awarded a scholarship to Ruskin College, Oxford, for the academic year 1955 to 1956. The colonial regime sponsored him to fight Argwings-Kodhek. He returned in 1956, the tacit instructions from his England being to contest the Nairobi seat, (Kyule, 1999: 79). Mboya announced he would contest the Nairobi seat against Argwings-Khodhek. Argwings-Khodhek launched his campaign by producing the 'A-K Plan'⁶⁵. It contained a pledge for compulsory education for African children, African access to land in the White Highlands, and universal adult suffrage. Many other candidates subsequently incorporated these pledges into their campaigns, (*East African Standard*, February 12, 1958).

⁶⁴ This umbrella organisation of the trade unions in Kenya was later renamed the Kenya Federation of Labour, KFL.

⁶⁵ Argwings-Kodhek Plan was the election blue-print for the candidate

After the Kenyan government had established the basis on which Africans could vote, registration commenced and ended on December 31, 1956. Franchise was based on education, income and property, (under Coult's multiple voting scheme). There were special provisions for GEM due to their involvement in the Mau Mau. In addition to the common requirements to other voters, they had to pass a loyalty test administered by the District Commissioner, (Mutahi, O.I., 20/5/16). 126,508 Africans registered to vote. The election was, in essence, politics without the Kikuyu, since only loyalty certificates-holders were permitted to vote. Polling took place over two days, on March 9 and 10, but the electorate was rather tiny. In Nairobi, there were only 4,255 votes cast, (Kyule, 1999: 76). The result of the poll was that Mboya thrashed Argwings-Khodhek by polling 2,138 votes to 1,746. Although Nairobi had a Kikuyu candidate in the name of the incumbent, Muchoki Gikonyo, he was never considered a serious contender. In the event, he secured only 238 votes and lost his £25 deposit, (Kyule, 1999: 77). All the same, it did not escape Kikuyu plotters that Mboya sat as a Luo for a Nairobi seat, thanks to the disenfranchisement of the Kikuyu majority. Many Kikuyu felt this condition would not be allowed to prevail in the next election, (Kabochi, O.I., 15/9/15).

In the elections, by colonial design, all the African constituencies represented were essentially ethnically based. Thirty-seven candidates stood for the eight African seats. Seventeen of them failed to get 1/8 of the votes cast in their constituencies and therefore forfeited election deposit⁶⁶. All the six original nominated Members of Legco (MLC's) were beaten except Moi, plus two recently added MLC's. A major

⁶⁶ Candidates were required to offer £25 election deposit which was only refunded when a candidate secured more than 1/8 of the votes cast.

opponent of Mboya who triumphed at the poll was Jaramogi. It was an augury of future politics that his ally, Argwings-Khodhek, had been thrashed by Mboya. Mboya, the winner of the Nairobi seat and the most prominent candidate, led the other elected members into forming a united front, and refusing to participate in the council of ministers. They demanded the creation of 15 new African seats in the Legco to provide adequate representation for the African population. Mboya wrote a letter to *The Times* in May, stating that African elected members had never accepted the Lyttelton constitution. They had pledged during the campaigns to overturn the constitution, which strengthened European interests. In response to their demands, the Lennox-Boyd Plan of 1958 was adopted. It partially satisfied the desires of the Africans and Europeans, while retaining the multi-racial pattern of government which Lyttelton had established in 1954, (Branch, 2009: 175).

In March 1958, Mboya went to Ghana to attend Ghana's First Anniversary celebrations of her independence. Much stimulated by his experience, he came home determined to step up the pace of political organization. He took the step of forming a political party named in imitation of Nkrumah's successful movement, the Nairobi Peoples Convention Party (NPCP), which adopted a "cell-type" organization to survive efforts of the government to outlaw it. It was this organization that Mboya used both to act as a voice of the nationalist movement, and to spread his influence beyond Nairobi. Since Mboya was not allowed to start a national party, he began to reach out from Nairobi to penetrate the various district parties that were legally operating, so that when national parties were licensed, his men would be well-placed politically. He used the periodical 'Uhuru' to agitate for constitutional change, to

campaign for the release of Kenyatta, and to make him a nationalist symbol, (Goldsworthy, 2008: 75).

Those who disregarded the instructions of the NPCP, such as the Nairobi City Councillor Musa Amalemba, in agreeing to cooperate with Europeans and Asians under the 1957 Lennox-Boyd constitution⁶⁷, were discredited. Though the NPCP was never allowed to become a national party and though it eventually merged with the Kenya African National Union, it was most useful in providing an urban-based, trans-tribal foundation for African nationalism in Kenya, (*East African Standard*, October 30, 1961). The explanation for the party's success, according to Mboya's biographer, Alan Rake, was its emphasis upon urban workers, drawn from all tribes and held together by a good organization and by loyalty to Tom Mboya's brilliant leadership,

In 1958, with the easing of restrictions on the movement of Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru peoples, many who had been detained or expelled from Nairobi returned, (Muthee, O.I., 25/10/15). They were naturally resentful of the fact that, during their absence, jobs and positions of leadership that they had held (or might have held) had been taken by non- Kikuyu, or "loyalists." Some of this latent hostility was utilized by a group of the more ambitious Kikuyu "intellectuals" and their associates to challenge Mboya's political leadership, till the period of independence, (Goldsworthy, 2008: 79). It is worth to note that much of the plight of Africans in Nairobi prior to the independence of Kenya stemmed from their limited influence

⁶⁷ The Lennox-Boyd Constitution increased African representation to 14, making it equal to settler representation.

upon public policy. It was not until 1944 that an African was appointed to the Legco⁶⁸ and no African was appointed to the executive council until 1951 or elected to the legislature until 1957. The Nairobi City Council was even slower than the Central Government to give Africans adequate representation.

Despite the uneasy political situation prior to independence, the principle of African majority rule embodied in the 1960 Lancaster house constitution was firmly established at the national level. However, this principle was not established at the local level. This meant in the case of Nairobi, that after 1960 the political orientation of the city council began to sharply diverge from that of the central Government. The hesitancy of the Central Government to reform the City Council's racial composition in accord with the Lancaster House Constitution caused the council to be burdened by severe political tension, (*East African Standard*, December 2, 1961).

The goal of Africans was to gain greater political power in Kenya as a whole. On the other hand, African political control of Nairobi was tied to developments leading to the independence of Kenya. Because the institutional structure of the Nairobi City Council was determined by the Kenya Legislative Council, Africans had to gain power at the national level before they could do so in Nairobi.

3.6. KANU, KADU, AND THE POLITICS OF 'BIG' VS 'SMALL' TRIBES

The prospect of extending the duration of colonial rule by force encouraged the government of Harold Macmillan to begin preparations to transfer power to African

⁶⁸ Three more Africans were nominated by Government in 1948.

government after the 1959 general elections in Britain. The result of his initiatives was the lifting of the State of Emergency, and ending the ban on national political movements. Despite this breakthrough, problems remained in the way of African political advancement, (Branch, 2009: 193). White settler dissatisfaction and its potential negative effect on the Kenyan economy and public opinion in Britain represented one such difficulty, while potential divisions along ethnic and regional lines was another one. The British government solved the first problem by providing funds to buy out the European farmers who wished to leave Kenya, and to underwrite the continuing expansion of commodity production by small scale African farmers. A key landmark was the opening of the White Highlands, to ownership by other races, (Mungai, 2002: 208).

Meanwhile, the political front forged by African elected members collapsed due to squabbles. Two groups came into contention in the African Elected Members' Organization, AEMO⁶⁹. On the one hand was Muliro-led multi-racial Kenya National Party (KNP) formed in 1959 with the support of Ngala, Moi, Nyaga, Khamisi, Mate, Towett, Ole Tipis, Kiamba, Mwimi, one European and six Asian elected members of the Legco. The remaining six AEMO members joined with eleven district associations to form the mono-racial⁷⁰ Kenya Independence Movement (KIM) with Odinga as President, Mboya as Secretary, and Kiano as Chairman, (Ogot, 1972: 61).

⁶⁹ AEMO means African Elected Members Organization. This body provided a forum for the African elected ML's to articulate African grievances. It rejected both the Lennox-Boyd and Lyttelton constitutions and instead demanded a constitutional conference to work out a constitution acceptable to the Africans.

⁷⁰ The movement was Largely Luo and Kikuyu (see Ogot, 1972).

The split into KIM and KNP reflected the divide in political ideology between those who embraced the notion of regional politics and gradual political reform, i.e KNP, and those who argued for a national perspective and campaigned aggressively for rapid political change i.e, KIM, (Ogot, 1972: 63). According to Macharia (2012), the difference between the two movements and the roots of the polarization of African politics was a result of colonial patronage and the interference in African nationalist politics with the aim of splitting it. “It can be argued that it was the absence of a solid foundation of national political organization during the colonial period that led to the fragmentation of African politics, (Macharia, 2012:105). Mungai (2004: 208) argues that the already entrenched nature of regional associations was bound to be a predominant feature of political organizations in the period just before independence, and in post-independence Kenya.

Attempts however continued to form an umbrella party to articulate the interest of all Africans, resulting in a meeting on March 27, 1960 in Kiambu. It was at this meeting that KANU was formed, (*East African Standard*, March 26, 28, and 29, 1960). KANU was then registered as a society and gazetted as such under the Societies Ordinance of 1952 in Gazette notice no. 2883 of June 17, 1960. Registration had been refused initially because KANU had included the detained Jomo Kenyatta as an official, (Kanyinga, 2001:133). Colonial government still refused to release the designated leader of KANU, Kenyatta, despite his having completed prison sentence at Lodwar. Gichuru, a former president of KAU, was elected president on an acting capacity with Odinga as his deputy. Since the highly politically conscious Kikuyu community was re-entering legitimate political activity

for the first time since Mau Mau, much attention was devoted to the Kikuyu politics, (Kyule, 1999: 117).

In election of party officials, the real battle for KANU's posts was for party Secretary-General. Mboya was elected to the position with Arthur Ochwada as assistant Secretary-General. Mboya won the seat by one vote, and many Kikuyu expressed disappointment and condemnation of his election, (Masinde, O.I., 12/5/16). Neither the Kikuyu nor the critics of the Kikuyu sounded happy at the outcome. It was stated that the Kikuyu would never be led by a Luo and that Mboya was trying to mislead the masses. Gichuru was the sole Kikuyu among the new political leadership. There was anger because Mungai Njoroge had been nominated for each office and had not been elected to any, (Crowley, 1969: 113). Kikuyu politicians demanded a post of organizing Secretary be created and be filled by a Kikuyu, and Mboya to concentrate on day-to-day correspondence matters, (Atulloh, O.I., 10/11/15).

KANU officials made it clear they wished all associations and branches to become part of the new party, but several African elected members were initially cautious from the onset. Mboya had not moved immediately to dissolve his network of district parties, prompting Odinga to censure him publicly. Mboya was planning the merger of long-time rival parties, his NPCP and Khodhek's NDAC, with an aim to forming a Nairobi branch of KANU strong enough to stand up to the Kikuyu intrigues, (*Africa Confidential*, Vol 23 no. 6 April, 17, 1983). In June, NPCP and NADC were reportedly disbanded and merged as the Nairobi branch of KANU. Kodhek had not fully accepted the merger, following which he decided to move to

Luo country. He later stood in Central Nyanza as KANU Candidate against Odinga⁷¹. Ngala and Moi had been invited in absentia to join KANU. Mungai (2004; 209) argues this was intended to build a broad-based coalition of ethnic leaders to facilitate independence without hitches. When Ngala, and later Moi, turned down the offer of position of treasurer, it was clear KANU would not have the political arena all to itself, (Mungai, 2004:210).

Many regional and ethnic parties emerged following the formation of KANU. Ngala presided over the formation of the Coast African Political Union, (Wanyande, 2006; 71-2 and Ajulu, 2002; 257). Moi also formed Kalenjin political Alliance, Muliro formed Kenya African Peoples Party; others included Maasai United Front, Somali National Association, and Coast African Peoples Union. In June 1960, these associations united to form KADU, (Crowley, 1967: 116). One Large ethnic political organization, the Luhya political Union was formed the following month by Amalemba. It remained outside KADU until after the 1961 election but worked closely with KADU leadership. Ngei also formed African Peoples Party (APP) to negotiate a place for himself in the post-independence power structure, (Wanza, O.I., 17/6/15).

KANU brought together the big ethnic groups: The Kikuyu, Embu, Meru, Gusii and Luo and part of Luhya which, together, comprised close to half of the colony's African Population, (Crowley, 1967: 200). This was strength in the sense that that the party was assured of substantial support, and at the same time a weakness. It was a weakness because it engendered great fear among the smaller communities that their traditions and autonomy was in danger, particularly from the Kikuyu. KANU

⁷¹ In some constituencies KANU sponsored more than one candidate, as official KANU candidates.

took pains at this stage to point out that its officials included representatives of the Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Giriama, Tugen, and that its constitution contained provisions designed to preclude large tribe domination, (*East African Standard*, June 23, 1960 as cited by Crowley, 1967: 306).

When it was imminent that the colonial authorities were about to transfer power into the hands of African elites, ethnic identities appear to have been constructed as instruments of negotiating access to power. Formation of KANU and KADU should be understood against this background, (Macharia, 2012: 109 and Ajulu, 2000: 257). Both parties were loose alliances of pre-existing district political organizations, which were forged with great care by the colonial government as vehicles of ethnic sub-nationalism. “At a more important level, they were coalitions of ethnic elites”, (Macharia, 2012: 110). The most striking difference between KANU and KADU existed in their view about the role that the central government should play in the administration of the country. KANU wanted a unitary government with strong central executive authority in parliament. KADU was committed to regionalism and strong provincialism, and argued that KANU could not be trusted to protect ethnic minorities and the settlers. That KADU membership was open to the settlers did not endear it as a party to some of the African Leaders like Odinga, who argued that majimboism was a settlers’ plan to undermine genuine independence for Kenya, (Badejo, 2006: 65).

Colonial networks of patronage and clientage continued to mobilize African politics for individuals such as Moi, Ngala and Muliro, (Anderson, 2005b:530). These men were inexperienced politicians and had little in common with Kikuyu and Luo

politicians such as Mboya, Odinga and Gichuru. This state of affairs explains the politicization of African political leadership into KADU and KANU, (Macharia, 2012:106). The fears that fed KADU's cause were the product of colonialism. According to Macharia (2012: 108), the mobilization of the small ethnic groups within KADU established a bulwark against the dominance of the larger, wealthier and better educated Luo and Kikuyu who were in KANU. KADU's promotion of Majimbo was a logical and potentially effective means to disarm the overwhelming political and economic power represented by the Kikuyu-Luo. Again, the demonization of the Kikuyu during the Mau Mau period between 1952 and 1960 had done much to foster distrust of all Kikuyu politicians, (Macharia, 2012: 108).

Public opinion polls conducted prior to the election of 1961 consistently pointed out the tendency of whole communities to side with one or other party.⁷² The phenomenon Bennet and Rosberg called "one-party tribe" clearly presented itself. Both KANU and KADU agreed that Kenyatta would be entitled to take the leadership position once he was freed. KANU went beyond this by selecting only an acting president, and virtually making Kenyatta president in absentia. Within KANU, there were endless efforts to outdo one another in proving loyalty to the party and attempts as well to tarnish reputations by accusations of disloyalty. Mboya was most often accused of the latter. A series of polls in 1960 and 1961 showed him to be the most popular African leader, more popular for a while than Kenyatta.⁷³

⁷² See for example the Marco public opinion poll no. 3 (Nairobi, January, 1961) and no. 9 (Nairobi, January, 1962- East African standard, January, 18, 1961).

⁷³ See Marco opinion polls Nos. 2, 3 and 10 (Kenya's constitutional issue, Nairobi, May, 1961-East African Standard, May, 12, 1961).

At the same time Mboya's appeal was increasing with the people, it was decisively decreasing among African politicians. Many of former friends began to turn away from him at this time, joining their criticism to that of Mboya's staunch rival, Odinga. Whatever the merit of the charges against Mboya, their growing volume provided some measure of the contest for leadership because all who made such charges were not merely interested in proving their veneration for Kenyatta. The Mboya/ Odinga supremacy contest emerged as the main crisis in the party.

KANU's principal problem from the beginning was disunity. The divisions of the 1950's were superficially covered by the creation of two large party organizations, but did not disappear. KANU was bedevilled with inter-and intra-ethnic rivalries, personality conflicts and ideological and generational discord, bringing the party close to disintegration in the lead-up to independence, (Crowley, 1967:123). The emergence of the two parties further polarized politics in Nairobi County as the big communities, principally the Luo and the Kikuyu aligned themselves with KANU. This made KANU the dominant political force in Nairobi as discussed in subsequent section of this study.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has described how post-war liberation ideas witnessed the cropping up of various political associations by Africans agitating for improvement of living conditions. E.A.A. was the first association to have an impact in Nairobi. African locations in Nairobi emerged as centres of African political agitation in the colony. Mau Mau came as a result of deterioration in the lives of Africans after the Second

World War, and the contradiction brought by colonialism, including the widening gap between the Christians, westernized middle class and the rural peasants and squatters. The period of the Emergency restrictions, from 1952 to 1960, caused almost traumatic anguish and upheavals for the Africans of Kenya, more so in Nairobi. Especially hard pressed were the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru with who were evicted from Nairobi, with Nyanza peoples largely replacing them. The Gem who were allowed to remain were placed in separate locations and strictly controlled by means of a curfew and passbook system. Africans generally were restricted in their movement, but none so long or so systematically as the Kikuyu. Under the circumstances, political leadership in Nairobi (and thereby, Kenya as a whole) passed to non-Kikuyu, the most prominent being Mboya and Khodek.

As independence loomed, African nationalist movement split along ethnic lines, and this impacted on politics of the capital city. The Main Report of the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) observes⁷⁴ “The divisions among Africans were, in part, the result of restrictions that prevented them from establishing country-wide political parties. Parties were district-based and inevitably, they tended to attract strong ethnic or tribal following. Tribal consciousness was stimulated, and a common nationalism was hindered by the colonial policy of using the tribe as the unit of administration and communication among Africans.

The emergency restrictions of the Kikuyu and their eviction from Nairobi left political leadership in the hands of Luo and Luhya. In the event, the contest for the Legco seats in line with the multiracial arrangement of 1954 was dominated by the

⁷⁴ See the CKRC Report, Nairobi, Kenya, September 18, 2002, :15.

Luo. With Tom Mboya emerging the winner in 1957, this sparked off intense scheming against him from a section of the Kikuyu.

After 1960, the principle of majority rule embedded in the Lancaster Conference was fully entrenched at the national level, but not at the local level. In the case of Nairobi, political leadership remained in the hands of whites till Africans gained full independence in 1963. Meanwhile, two main political parties emerged dominating the political landscape. This development impacted on politics of Nairobi County as the 'big' tribes aligned them with KANU, making it the dominant political force in Nairobi County, as reflected in ensuing electoral contest. The chapter has relied on instrumentalist theoretical formulation in analyzing colonial regime with regard to ethnicity and ethnic mobilization. This perspective helps us to understand the ethnic alignment of Kenyan communities in the lead-up to independence. This subjectivity in political action was aimed to maximize the social interest of the concerned communities. Marxist theoretical formulation also helped us to reflect on a variety of issues relating to the social, economic and political set-up in colonial Kenya which has led to a rather unique nature of politics in independent Kenya. The next chapter traces the trajectories of ethnicity and its effect on KANU politics in Nairobi County during the Kenyatta era from 1963 to 1978.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. NAIROBI COUNTY POLITICS AND KIKUYU DOMINANCE- 1960 TO 1978

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses patterns of Kikuyu dominance over the Nairobi County politics during the period of transition to independence to 1978. It traces the dismantling of the opposition soon after independence, which paved the way for the Kenyatta regime to modify the architecture of the independence constitution. Kenyatta state consolidated power in the newly created position of president. The chapter focuses on the Kenyatta regime as it maintained patronage and clientalist networks at the national level in order to maintain power. Kenyatta created a typical patrimonial state where state resources were used to reward his loyal supporters through patronage networks. The Kikuyu-Luo coalition collapsed and Kenyatta incorporated ethnic elites from other communities to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the Kikuyu Luo alliance that gave KANU victory in the independence election. This led to marginalisation of Luo and intensification of ethnicity, which was reflected in the configuration of politics in Nairobi County.

In order to contain the sub-nationalism of various ethnic groups, Kenyatta established elaborate client-patron networks which enabled him to dominate politics. Under him, KANU became moribund, only becoming active during party and parliamentary elections, in order to conduct clearance of candidates and ensure only those in favour of Kenyatta regime were cleared. A thoroughly weakened KANU was replaced by Gemina as the most powerful organ for political mobilisation. Gemina

heavily influenced electoral politics in Nairobi and Central Kenya. The Kikuyu dominated politics in Nairobi, controlling the KANU branch leadership through Gema. However, KANU politics in Nairobi was characterised by intense rivalry between the Kikuyu of Kiambu on one hand and those of Murang'a and Nyeri on the other hand. The last years of Kenyatta presidency saw many ethnic associations emerge, each determined to influence the Kenyatta succession. The formation of Gema and similar ethnic associations, each geared towards ethnic sub-nationalism, was responsible for simmering ethnic tensions and conflicts based on ethnic claims to power.

This chapter is guided by the neo-patrimonial theoretical formulation in analyzing the Kenyatta regime with regard to ethnicity and ethnic mobilization. The regime established patrimonial networks where resources were used to reward supporters among and elite of various communities. Those favoured by the system therefore used the state as avenue for wealth accumulation. As (Geertz: 1962) observes, patrimonialism implies an instrumentally profitable lack of distinction between the civic and personal spheres.

4. 2 INDEPENDENCE POLITICS AND ETHNICITY IN NAIROBI COUNTY

Africans voted for the expanded Legco in February 1961. The general election of 1961 put KANU against KADU. Thirty-three seats were open to Africans in this election, out of the 53 contested, in line with the recommendations of the new Colonial Secretary, Ian Macleod, (Crowley, 1967:202). The absence of harmony within KANU was especially manifest in the 1961 election campaign, (Bennet and

Rosberg, 1961:126). In picking party nominees, KANU branches were supposed to recommend candidates and submit their choices to the national party machinery for approval. The party governing council was however unable to officially interfere with local selection and in many places, individuals who failed to obtain branch endorsement ran away from the party. It was the faulty organization that caused many members to run as independents.

To add to the confusion occasioned by the argument as to who was entitled to display the official party label, many KANU candidates found it expedient to avoid listing their party affiliation on election posters. Several constituency battles provided particularly forceful proof of KANU'S challenge. At Nakuru, for example, where the party anticipated clear victory, three candidates ran on party affiliation and the seat was won by KADU. Two KANU candidates ran in KADU'S Kipsigis stronghold, where they collected 158 votes between them to Taita Towett's 56,455, (*East African Standard*, January 24, February 8, April 14, 1961).

The one constituency where the KANU theory that national politics should not relate to tribalism would be put to test seriously was Nairobi East, the only seat in the capital that was not reserved for a minority candidate. The most significant and revealing battle for the KANU ticket took place in this constituency, where KANU was certain to triumph, but not sure who would be the party candidate. In January, Mboya was selected as the official KANU nominee of the constituency after rumours of the previous month that he was planning to form a new party, (Crowley, 1967: 204). The African communities who had been removed from Nairobi during the Emergency began trickling back to the city during the 1960's. By 1961, GEM

had reasserted their pre-eminence in the city, and Kikuyu politicians began scheming to capture the seat.

There arose persistent plotting by Kiano and other Kikuyu politicians to find a prominent Kikuyu challenger to take on Mboya, who was, after all, the General Secretary of their own party, (Kyule, 1999: 125). After various names such as that of Gichuru and Njoroge Mungai had been canvassed in vain, the Independent candidate for Nairobi East turned out to be none other than Dr Munyua Waiyaki, a Kikuyu whom Mboya had trusted to be his branch chairman. Dr. Waiyaki had been elected chairman of KANU's Nairobi branch in September 1960, ironically with support of Mboya, to the dismay of the latter's ardent rival, Argwings Kodhek who also sought the office, (Crowley, 1967:125). Dr. Waiyaki announced he would challenge Mboya by running as an independent⁷⁵.

The decision by Waiyaki intensified ethnic animosity and scheming within the party. Odinga, together with Mungai, Dr Kiano of the KANU Youth League and Margaret Kenyatta, Kenyatta's politically active daughter, openly supported Waiyaki's candidacy, (Masinde, O.I., 12/5/16). Mboya in turn gave support to Ex-KAU leader Odede, against Odinga in the latter's Nyanza constituency. Kiano, somewhat covertly, was also attempting to organize Central Province against Mboya, (Kyule, 1999: 125). Other leaders, particularly acting party president, Gichuru, sided with Mboya as numerous branches urged the party to take action against Munyua. The party president suspended Odinga on 30th January 1961, as Vice-President for supporting Waiyaki, and called for a special meeting to effect the action. The party, said Gichuru, must rid itself of destructive elements and not appear to be influenced

⁷⁵ Several other KANU members also ran as party independents in Nairobi East

by Russia or China. ‘We are determined not to allow another Congo to develop in Kenya,, (Kyule, 1999: 127).

Citing these and other reasons, Gichuru announced in March that Odinga had been suspended from the party. Odinga proved strong enough to repel this move. The resultant uproar, during which Odinga rejected the suspension with considerable backing from other party groups and authorities, brought about a special meeting of the KANU Governing Council. After a 12-hour session, the Governing Council declared the suspension null and void, reinstated Odinga and strongly rebuked Gichuru, Mboya and Odinga. They were all called upon to “do their jobs more conscientiously” and impose stricter discipline upon themselves and the party, (*East African Standard*, April 4, 1961). These decisions succeeded in keeping the party together, even though the internecine struggle was little abated.

The rumour that Mboya had been ear-marked to be Chief Minister to cut out Kenyatta, was now being assiduously promoted, (Murage, O.I., 29/12/15). Odinga issued a press statement on 16th January accusing Gichuru and Mboya of holding ‘furtive meetings’ with Macleod with that object in view. Addressing the Governing Council of the party on 3rd February 1961, about this ceaseless clash of the officials, ‘.....which has led many to think that KANU is a mere house of wax’, Mboya accused Odinga of not being motivated by anything else than the wish to eliminate me from politics life’, (Bennet and Rosberg, 1961:22). The bitterness engendered by this struggle was in part responsible for bringing KANU perilously close to a complete rupture in the later stages of the campaign.

According to oral evidence we received from one informant, Waiyaki’s strategy was based on an open appeal to ethnic loyalty in his attempt to beat Mboya in the

election, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16). Gichuru could point out that the KANU leadership included men from diverse ethnic backgrounds, and that the constitution of KANU provided for representation of all district branches on an equal basis in the party's governing bodies, (Crowley, 1967; 224). However, actualities of ethnically-oriented behaviour could not be counteracted by such observations, nor by harsher efforts made by other leaders to de-emphasize the ethnic motif.

With the ending of the emergency and the removal of any residential or voting disqualifications from the Kikuyu this community would provide 27,000 out of the nearly 40,000 registered voters in Nairobi, (Kyule, 1999:125). In those circumstances, the big question was whether Mboya could hold the seat. Or, as put by some, was it right that after the Kikuyu had endured so much during the Emergency, they should now be denied the high profile representation that was 'their due? (Mutahi, O.I., 25/5/16). Only one thing could now save Mboya: his ability to reach out to the people. He put a spectacular campaign, using the slogan of 'Ndege'⁷⁶. When vote counting was concluded on February 27, Mboya had won a major victory, gaining 31,407 90% of the votes, against Munyua Waiyaki who obtained a paltry 2,668, (Bennet and Rosberg, 1961: 80 and Crowley, 1967: 204). This stunning success ensured his unchecked prominence up to and beyond independence. It did not, however, end the intrigues against him by some within the party.

⁷⁶ Symbolizing the student airlifts to US which he helped to organise. Through them ,many Africans were offered scholarships to study in the US

In Nairobi, the election turned out to be the playground for astute forces competing for higher prices elsewhere. The nascent political elites were now consolidating themselves. This elite would continue influencing the politics of Nairobi county and the country. Outside Nairobi, strong tribal loyalty was exhibited. Many results were of highly lopsided nature as between parties. In such cases, the party indiscipline which resulted in an official candidate being challenged and in some case, such as Kisii, being defeated, by a fellow party member did not really matter, (Kyule, 1999: 126). In several other cases⁷⁷, KANU lost the seats because its vote was split. In the colony and protectorate as a whole, a remarkable 84% of the electorate voted in the forty four contested seats. KANU was able to contest only twenty five seats, KADU 18 and the parties opposed one another in all but ten constituencies. In four of the latter, opposition was only token. There were in addition twenty three members of KANU who run as “party independents”. KANU received 67.4% of the vote and nineteen seats. KADU polled 16.4% and eleven seats. Baluhya political Union secured 3 seats, (Bennet and Rosberg, 1961: 119, and *East African Standard*, December 14, 1961).

The national leaders of KANU were still divided as to which group to support for the European seats in Nairobi. Gichuru and Mboya favoured the New Kenya Group candidates, while Odinga backed those of the Kenya Coalition. For the 12 special seats⁷⁸, the alliance between NKP and KADU was fully revealed, as rivalry surged in KANU. The party’s elected members had apparently agreed on their choices, but pressure was applied by a number of branch representatives seeking to change the

⁷⁷ This was especially so in Nakuru Town and North Nyanza

⁷⁸ The 12 specially-elected members were elected by the elected MLC’s

nominations, on ethnic basis. In the end, the elected members divided, mainly along ethnic lines and the party leadership could not impose effective discipline. As a result, the KADU/NKP alliance won 7 of the 12 seats and this significantly boosted its position in the Legco, (Crowley, 1967: 133, and *East African Standard*, March 9 and 17, 1961). By superior discipline and careful manoeuvre, the two parties extracted huge advantage. The only KANU-backed European who got in was Derek Erskine, a former MLC who had to resign his seat because of the extreme unpopularity of his pro-African views, (Kyule, 1999: 127). Bruce McKenzie, though elected a national member on the NKP ticket, was shortly to identify himself with KANU, (Sifuna, O.I., 24/8/15).

Odinga was determined to make the contest 'the Kenyatta election' and in this, he largely succeeded. Under pressure, Mboya and Gichuru felt obliged to commit themselves not to take office until the release of Kenyatta. KANU therefore declined the offer by the colonial government to form an African government as long as Kenyatta was still in prison, (*Africa Confidential*, Vol 23 no. 6 June, 14, 1983). Consequently, the governor, Sir Patrick Renison asked Ngala to form a minority government in coalition with the Asian and European members of the New Kenya Party of Michael Blundell. Ngala became the Leader of Government, (Bennet and Rosberg, 1961: 193-201).

The close of the election campaign brought no relief for KANU'S internal miseries, though open demonstration of discord somewhat subsidized. The next several months were devoted mainly to the attempt to secure Kenyatta's release, an objective on which all segment of the party could at least publicly agree. Still, there were frequent charges and counter-charges that one or another leader –particularly

Gichuru, Mboya or Odinga - was intent on usurping the position reserved for Kenyatta, (*East African Standard*, August 16, 1961). It was assumed by many that once Kenyatta had obtained his freedom, these charges, other forms of intra-party conflict and even the KANU/KADU clash, would end⁷⁹, (Crowley, 1967: 206).

Renison permitted Gichuru, Mboya, Ngala and Muliro to visit Kenyatta in detention, soon after the election. However, their respective party colleagues were opposed to that. Their suspicion was that if only the four went, they might persuade Kenyatta to authorize them to take office, (*East African Standard*, June 16, 1962). It was therefore left to KADU to break the barrier that so long separated Kenyatta and other detained leaders from Kenyan political life. Kenyatta expressed impatience over the party divisions and asked to see the representatives of both parties.

A mixed delegation subsequently visited him on March 23, 1961. He was told of the bitter disputes within the KANU branches between ex-loyalists and ex-detainees but vigorously denied that he was for either one or the other, (Kyule, 1999: 128). He said he had read the party policies of both KANU and KADU and could see no difference between them. He blamed quarrels and disunity for his continued incarceration and wanted the meeting to pass a resolution 'that from now on, KANU and KADU work as one body on all national issues', (ibid:130). This however was blocked by Moi who wanted it known that under no circumstances would KADU consider a merger with KANU. The real problem, he said, was within KANU; it was

⁷⁹ In fact, the KANU manifesto for Independence, Social Democracy and Stability released on 20th November 1960, declared- Kenyatta's great popularity and moral authority among all people will enable us to overcome the stresses and the strains, and to secure the unity of the nation by smashing tribalism and tribalists.

there that the personality problems and lack of discipline were to be found. Both parties committed themselves to work together on two objectives; Kenyatta's immediate and unconditional release, and achievement of 'uhuru' by 1961, (*East African Standard*, June 16, 1962).

Kenyatta was released from detention in August 1961, but the idea that his return to active politics would produce an instant reconciliation between KANU and KADU was quickly dispelled. Rather, it opened a period of divisive confrontation between the two. He spent a brief period trying to reconcile KANU and KADU while at first refusing to declare his allegiance to either of the two parties, (Crowley, 1967: 239). There were three questions to be settled about his immediate political future: whether he wanted to enter the Legco, whether he would join existing parties or form his own, and whether the law would be altered to allow him, an ex-convict, to enter Legco. And if he wanted to enter the Legco, who was going to vacate a seat for him? Each KANU candidate had pledged not to take office without Kenyatta and to resign, if elected, to create a vacancy for their leader. Odinga thought he had the perfect answer. Kenyatta should join KANU, but a new type of KANU in which all the officers, except Odinga himself, were ex-detainees. He reminded all KANU MIC's of their individual pledges to resign in Kenyatta's favor and argued that the Nairobi seat, having the highest profile, the ideally placed candidate for running on his own political sword was Tom Mboya, (Kyule, 1999: 119).

Kenyatta joined KANU formally and accepted to be party president on 28th October 1961 but showed no interest in the Nairobi seat. Maulding accepted, instead, an

offer⁸⁰ to enter Legco as a member for Fort Hall. Still, he continued to refuse to define a clear ideological position. It was hoped that at least he would restore harmony to that dissension-ridden organization. He had been preceded into KANU in September by a number of “old guard” KAU leaders, several of whom he had been tried and imprisoned with. The return of the old guard presented a new difficulty for KANU, which Kenyatta was completely unable to resolve.

The Economist reported that KANU under Kenyatta was a “gathering of local political bosses, all unwilling to accept his supreme authority, (*The Economist*, August 25, 1962: 672). He had difficulty making a choice between competing leaders, alternately giving his attention, for example to Mboya, and then Odinga, (Kyule, 1999: 229). Kenyatta was moved to describe himself in late October as “a general without an army”, (*East African Standard*, October 30, 1961). Inter-personal rivalries intensified under Kenyatta’s leadership. Some termed Kenyatta as a “weak, ambivalent party president” who had shown “powers of chairmanship rather than leadership”, (Kyule, 1999: 229). An “embarrassment to his party, who had turned KANU into a “melon, split wide open covered with a piece of thin gauze, (*The Listener*, March 21, 1963: 484). By January 1962, feuding intensified between Odinga and Mboya. Odinga was reportedly circulating proposals for a reorganization of KANU which would demote Mboya and increase his own influence (*The Guardian*, October, 20, 1961).

Kenyatta had made a warning the previous month aimed in part at the stratagems of these two competitors and more generally, at the pervasive lack of harmony in the

⁸⁰ One out of only 4 actually made.this despite the fact that all KANU elected MLCs had pledged to vacate their seat for Kenyatta. The seat for Fort Hall had been won by Kariuki Njiiri.

party. "It seems" he said "that every one considers he is a law unto himself and demonstrates the most contemptuous disregard for the survival of KANU". "Should such practice continue", he added, "disciplinary action, perhaps expulsion, would be necessary, (*East African Standard*, December 2, 1961). Neither the supporters of Mboya nor those of Odinga were silenced by this threat, and other internal disputes also continued unabated. Various efforts were often made to restore order and unity in the KANU party, most notably in the form of delegates' conferences or meetings of KANU Governing Council. In one such meeting held in August, intra-party strife was discussed in bigger detail, and after three days of speeches and discussion, Kenyatta was given a unanimous vote of confidence and new powers to enforce discipline, (*The Guardian*, September, 1961).

Ethnicity in the party was condemned and leaders called upon to refrain from whipping ethnic emotions and attacking one another. It was agreed that the party newspaper *Sauti ya Mwafrika* which had been a forum for such vitriol, would henceforth concentrate on reflecting party rather than individual views. KANU leaders held a seminar in June 1962, which in view of the accumulating dissension in the party, was to inquire into possibilities of re-organizing the party. On the opening day of the meeting, Kenyatta outlined the chief causes of conflict: I must, as strongly as possible, warn against any elements in KANU who pay lip service to unity but engage in tribalist manoeuvres (*Crowley, 1967: 220 and East African Standard*, June 30, 1962).

The Luo and Kikuyu remained big rivals especially over control of Nairobi KANU branch, (*Mullah, O.I., 25/10/15*). As wrangles intensified between the two principal

KANU communities, a new association called the Luo Political Movement was formed in August 1962, and was joined by many Luo members of KANU. It was formed because of the increasing fears among the Luo that Kikuyu leaders were intent upon turning KANU into an instrument of Kikuyu domination, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16). Later, the Kamba left KANU to support Ngei's purely ethnic party, the African People's Party, (APP). The move of Kamba to form APP was ethnically inspired. The formation of the Luo Political Movement at the time came "as a warning to the Kikuyu in KANU to abandon their dreams of domination of the party", (*East African Standard*, August 20, 1960 and Crowley, 1967: 223). Former detainees, when they could not obtain KANU national office, sought position in the branch organizations, often splitting the branches in the process. Some of the nationalists incarcerated with Kenyatta, like Oneko, Kaggia and Ngei, were key participants in the conflict, (*East African Standard*, August 2 and 25, 1962, and Crowley, 1967:209). KANU organizing Secretary, John Keen described this rivalry as the main cancer within the party, (*East African Standard*, August 23, 1962). The ethnic rivalry between Kikuyu/Luo overlapped with that involving the old guard because it was in part the attempts of Kikuyu ex -KAU leadership to secure high level positions for themselves which frightened the Luo politicians. Curiously, however, Odinga was supported by and frequently aligned with the old guard, (Crowley, 1967: 307).

The Luo Political Union did not become a political party, but threatened to do so if what its members perceived as the threat from the Kikuyu continued, but it never reached the breakaway stage, (Odera, O.I., 12/6/16). The Movement was a curious group in any case, since it was founded by urban Luo leaders in Nairobi, rather than

in Luo's Nyanza homeland, and was unable to attract support from some of the principal Luo spokesmen within KANU, (Crowley, 1967: *ibid* 223). But it was nevertheless an ethnic organization, reacting against what seemed to be a peril that was also ethnic in character.

Following the acrimonious Lancaster House Conference of 1962, Kenyatta began to exercise the leadership expected of him. For example, in February, he let it be known that the proposed Kikuyu United Movement would not be tolerated. "There is no accommodation between a tribalist and a nationalist," he declared: "the two are directly in conflict", (*East African Standard*, February, 1962). Kenyatta and Ngala became the joint leaders of the KANU/KADU government formed pending the holding of independence elections in line with the recommendations of the conference.

KANU approached the 1963 election campaign with more cohesion, and was able to pin the label "tribalist" on KADU, the APP, and the various other groups opposing it, much the same way as Nkrumah had done in the Gold Coast nearly a decade earlier, (Edari, 1971: 117). Moreover, throughout the campaign, KADU suffered from lack of funds, defections, and disagreements within the party or with allies. But even if all KADU's candidates had won, too few were entered to win a majority. Consequently, KANU received more than twice as many popular votes as did KADU as well as a clear majority of all votes cast. In the process, it took 83 of the 124 seats in the House of Representatives that were filled (with 33 going to KADU and 8 to the APP). Even in the Senate⁸¹, KANU emerged with a small majority.

⁸¹ Constitutionally, a relatively weak second chamber where the rural areas were greatly over-represented as compared to the urban areas.

The attempt by KADU to arouse tribal animosity was sharply rejected in Nairobi, where such KADU candidates as Musa Amalemba (a former Minister and City Council member) were decisively defeated. With the exception of Mombasa, KANU had little to worry about winning in the urban areas, (*East African Standard*, August 20, 1963). KANU took all the seats in Nairobi. Kibaki took the Bahati seat, Mungai was the winner in Dagoretti constituency, while the Embakasi seat was captured by Karungaru B.M. The Kamukunji seat was captured by Mboya, while Lang'ata was won by Joseph Murumbi. Mathare constituency seat was won by Munyua Waiyaki, while the winner of the Parklands seat was Souza F.D. The Starehe seat was taken by Lubembe C.K. KANU also did extremely well in civic elections, winning all the civic seats in Nairobi, (*East African Standard*, August 21, 1963).

The Kikuyu were in peculiar position in Nairobi County. They were recognized as the most nationally oriented of Kenya's communities, but at the same time, the group most often charged with tribalism and with invoking it among other peoples, (Muchai, O.I., 16/5/16). The task of balancing the Kikuyu tendency for dominance, with an appropriate national perspective, was rather difficult. Too often, Kikuyu leaders based their appeals to the public on ethnic considerations. It is worth noting that half of Nairobi's elected MPs were Kikuyu, (*Weekly Review*, August 13, 1980). Most of them were also from Murang'a. The Kikuyu also won most of the civic seats and provided the city's first African mayor, Charles Rubia. Ethnicity was a fact of life in KANU because it was a fact of life in Kenya, and, although its effects on KANU party politics in Nairobi were diminished after the electoral victory of 1963, KANU went into independence with a lingering problem of ethnicity.

Table 4.1: House of Representatives Results by Party, 1963

party	seats	percentage
KANU	66	58.93
KADU	31	27.68
APP	8	7.14
NPUA	3	2.68
independents	4	3.57

Source: National Elections Data book, Kenya, 1963-1997: IED, 1997:23

Table 4.2: Senate Results by Party, 1963

party	Seats won
KANU	19
KADU	16
APP	2
NPUA	1

Source: National Elections Data book, Kenya, 1963-1997: IED, 1997:23

4. 3 TRANSITION TO ONE-PARTY STATE AND ETHNIC POLITICS IN NAIROBI COUNTY

Kenya came to independence with a multi-party parliamentary system with two major political parties, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). But with the triumph of KANU in the May

1963 election that ushered in self-rule and KANU's subsequent control of the apparatus of power at the centre, "the days of KADU and the APP were numbered", (Leys, 1973: 65). The APP soon dissolved, and Ngei re-entered KANU, but KADU sustained opposition politics. As APP joined KANU, Kenyatta said that those who were slow in recognizing the virtue of the single-party system were often the same people who had been "warming their bellies under imperialist wings" during the struggle against colonialism, and he called KADU a cabal composed of "self-conceited grasshopper politicians", (Widner, 1992: 169). A one-party state with a mass base was just as democratic, in Kenyatta's view, as a state with two mass-based parties. What mattered, he argued, was whether the party or parties established were mass parties.

KANU saw to it that KADU became unviable and the rump of its leadership that had not already closed the carpet, ended up in KANU on the first anniversary of republican government in 1964.

The major figures in KADU joined the ranks in KANU, locating divergent interests within a single party. Thus, Kenya departed rapidly from the independence formula, as did most African countries, moving to a republican system of government with a strong president and to a non-competitive party system, (Blondel, 2001:77). KANU put an end to regionalism, ostensibly to promote national unity. This apparent unity was misleading however, because beneath the surface, many of the old tensions were still alive. Ethnic factionalism continued as some of the Luo and Kamba leadership showed dissatisfaction and the power struggle re-appeared particularly in the person of Oginga Odinga. The disharmony was overlaid by ideological quarrels,

with the militant left-wing of the nationalist movement increasingly demonstrating its disappointment at Kenyatta policies, (Odera, 2010:67).

The merger of KADU and KANU shifted the balance of forces in the ruling party in favour of the conservative elements and created an environment in which the long-running battle between the radicals and the conservatives⁸² could now be fought to a conclusive end. The key players in the battle were Kenyatta and Mboya on the conservative wing of the party, and Odinga and Kaggia on the radical wing. Thus, the radical and moderate wings of KANU were both formed by Kikuyu and Luo leaders, (Mwende, O.I., 14/6/16). However, the ideological and resource competition took an ethnic stance, given the support that Odinga received from his Nyanza backyard, (Odera, 2010:81).

Ethnicity in KANU increased beyond the level it had reached during the colonial period. The new ruling elite used the state framework for accumulation of wealth and turned to ethnicity for political support. Class, power, and ethnicity became increasingly intertwined thereby displacing race as a factor in the political process; the Kenyan society was de-racialised but not de-tribalised. The concept of tribe became more important as the new elites turned to their ethnic groups for support in their competition with each other, (Leys, 1973:50-65).

In 1966, Kenyatta moved to crush the radicals within the party. He called a meeting of delegates at Limuru for March 1966, at which he said he would unveil proposals

⁸² The conservatives advocated retention of existing economic structures with a strongly capitalist system as laid down in Sessional Paper no. 10 of 1965. Radical advocated wealth redistribution and enactment of a socialist economy

for reorganization of the party to streamline its operations. At the conference in Limuru, Moi's role was apparently to neutralize Odinga. Most of the delegates to the conference were handpicked by Moi and Mboya, who played an important role in managing the affair, presumably to preclude a floor fight between the conservatives and the Odinga-Kaggia radicals, (Widner, 1992: 198).

Ostensibly, Because of their heavy representation on the front bench in Parliament and in the party machinery—and because of their relatively greater wealth and consequent ability to dispense patronage, the conservative faction could more easily secure their position than the other group. The party constitution was therefore amended, and 8 regional vice presidents created. Odinga was not even elected to one of the 8 new posts, (Odera, 2010; 103). Among those elected to the position were Mohammed Jula (North Eastern), Ngala (Coast) Nyaga (Eastern), Eric Khasakhala (Western), and Gichuru (Central), (*Weekly Review*, July 20, 1985). As it turned out, 'reorganization' meant getting rid of Odinga and the radical faction. In the actual event, however, the 'radicals' saw the party machinery turning against them and created their own political party, the Kenya People's Union (KPU), just before the conference began. Odinga and his deputy Kaggia were followed into the opposition benches by thirty three MPs representing a cross-section of the country, (Edari, 1971: 140). The one party interlude was terminated as KPU became the formal parliamentary opposition and the multi-party system was restored. The new opposition was recognized on April 28, 1966.⁸³

⁸³ For a Parliament of one hundred and twenty-two members, this was indeed a significant opposition.

The formation of KPU and the return of multi-party competitive politics confronted the Kenyatta regime with its first serious political crisis and, in the end, exposed the authoritarian character of the regime. The party was backed roughly by 1/5 of the members of parliament, among them Kikuyu and Luo who defected from KANU, (Odera, 2010: 122). This development posed serious political threats to the Kenyatta regime. What was to be done about this radical threat now reconstituted into a viable parliamentary opposition? Kenyatta government resolved to amend the constitution to force the newly created opposition to seek fresh electoral mandate. On the same afternoon that the KPU members occupied their new positions, the government introduced a constitutional amendment compelling all the opposition members to resign. Thirteen defectors moved back to KANU. There was initial hesitation on their status, but KANU rejected their appeal forcing them to also vacate their seats, (*East African Standard*, September 19, 1966).

Kenyatta argued that it was necessary to call new elections in districts represented by people who had joined KPU, on the grounds that people had voted for them as KANU candidates and now that their KANU affiliation had ended, their electoral mandate had ceased too, (Otuoma, O.I., 16/5/16). Resignation from the party implied the withdrawal of constituency support, which obliged the member to seek a fresh mandate⁸⁴. The “Little General Elections” were then held in 1966 to fill the vacancies. Election involved twenty nine members, across 18 districts. This election was the first occasion when the issues that had divided KANU were specifically referred to the electorate, (Mutero, O.I., 19/6/15). The election thus constituted a significant occasion in the political debate in Kenya. The regime’s monopoly of

⁸⁴ But why this had not been necessary two years earlier when KADU resigned en masse to join KANU, was not clear

sanctions, economic rewards and patronage ensured that the opposition could not compete openly with the ruling party. This was deployed to close KPU from the parts of the country except Nyanza. KANU's youth wing, police and the Provincial Administration waged war against the party.

In Kandara, Kenyatta and Minister of State, Mbiyu Koinange, took personal charge of Kaggia's political harassment. One informant who requested anonymity informed us that a few days after Kaggia lost the election, his abandoned ballot were papers floating on River Chania. This information was also reported in newspapers (See *Weekly Review*, September 21, 1983). Voter turnout was high only in Kandara and Bondo. Elsewhere, the polls indicated that only a limited section of the electorate took trouble to vote. With the exception of Nyanza and Machakos, the rest of Kenyan electorate elsewhere showed little enthusiasm for KPU. KPU retained only nine MPs; seven from Odinga's Luo stronghold, Oduya Oprong' from Busia District and Kioko from Ukambani, the former APP stronghold. KPU did not win any seat in the Kikuyu strongholds of Central and Nairobi, (*Weekly Review*, July, 17, 1985).

KANU made it known that Odinga was trying to usurp Kenyatta's power. This accusation carried a strong ethnic overtone, for Kenyatta and Odinga symbolized, in many ways, opposing tribes formulating their political stands. The choice before the voters was not just Kenyatta or Odinga, but also Kikuyu versus Luo. Any Kikuyu who voted for KPU would be seen as an enemy of his tribe; a similar sentiment applied to any Luo who voted for KANU, (Atieno, O.I., 19/11/2016).

Though KPU polled a majority of the popular votes, its strength was reduced to Luo Nyanza, and to the extent that the party continued to be perceived as a tribal party, its national image and effectiveness was sufficiently undermined. This suited the ruling party and the government quite well; it was a deployment of ethnicity in a defensive way. Mueller (1984), however, suggests that this was deliberate. KPU's presence nationally, she argues, was much stronger than its Nyanza representation might have suggested, and that the state deployed its repressive apparatuses against the party selectively to achieve this result. Mueller suggests that once it was realised that Odinga was unbeatable in his Nyanza backyard, the state decided to concede Nyanza to KPU, and to ethnicise the contest, the most effective instrument against the opposition being to project it as a Luo ethnic party. KANU branches quickly undermined the new KPU in Kikuyu bastion of Central and Nairobi Provinces. During this brief phase of multi-party politics, KANU exercised strict control over political process, refusing to accept the legitimacy of the opposition, (Mueller, 1984: 115-137).

The KPU goal was to create a more left-wing party to oppose the growing conservatism of the Westminster orientation of the KANU leadership and to try and replace the persistently ethnic basis of politics with a cleavage based on ideological, class or socio-economic grounds, (Waiyiego, 2004: 88). This was however not to be as Kenyatta disbanded the party in 1969. The government accused KPU of being increasingly responsible for deliberate fomenting of inter-ethnic strife and for employing propaganda, rooted in lies, rumours, suspicions calculated to undermine national unity. In the National Assembly, on October 28, Odinga was accused of treason. Moi alleged that KPU was not a national political party but a subversive organisation, (*Weekly Review*, July 17, 1985). With the proscription of KPU, KANU

remained the sole political party up to the early 1990's when political pluralism re-emerged.

The isolation of Odinga came with the exclusion of the Luo top leaders under Kenyatta rule. This exclusion of Luo was partially covered by other ethnic groups since Luhya, Kamba and especially Kalenjin elites were co-opted into the establishment, (Mugeke, O.I., 5/3/16). This meant that once the Kikuyu/ Luo alliance collapsed, new alliances of Kikuyu and former KADU supporters began to emerge. Kenyatta now supported Moi against political rivals such as Taita Towett and Seroney in the Rift Valley. He incorporated Moi and his Kalenjin group in his neo-patrimonial state. The Kalenjin replaced the Luo in the shifting ethnic alliances and this led to the marginalisation of the Luo by the Kenyatta regime, (Atieno Adhiambo, 2002: 178).

Inside KANU, however, the increasing popularity of Mboya was worrying the Kikuyu political clique who began to suspect his ambitions. Mboya was known for having laid a firm foundation for the nation. He did much to bring about unity among the country's ethnic groups because his influence as a trade unionist transcended ethnic rivalries, (Dorcas, O.I., 4/3/16). Even though he was a Luo, he had been elected in a constituency in Nairobi, a region with many Kikuyu voters, where he won with a landslide majority thus proving his popularity to a cosmopolitan bloc. His election triumph in Nairobi had confirmed his beyond-challenge as a pre-eminent non-tribalist, (Goldsworthy, 2008:106). The hatred for Mboya became an open secret because the Kikuyu elite feared that Mboya could easily wrest power from Kenyatta. This clique engaged in a game of 'destruction' using the constitution as an instrument for checking Mboya. Thus, the Constitution

of Kenya Amendment Act no. 2 of 1968 was enacted to block him from ascension to power. It provided for the succession of the president by the vice-president, a reversal of the 1964 Amendment Act no. 28, orchestrated by Njonjo and Mboya himself to keep Odinga out of presidential equation, which had given the Lower House power to elect the President, (*Weekly Review*, March 19, 1981).

Kikuyu antagonism was more dangerous to Mboya than his rivalry with Odinga, because majority of the urbanized Africans in Nairobi who supported Mboya were Kikuyu, (Goldsworthy, 2008: 149). Again, the Kikuyu were the largest tribal group within the KANU party, and they dominated its organization. Therefore, Kikuyu opposition threatened Mboya's position as a nationalist leader. It was widely suspected that it is this Kikuyu clique that masterminded the Mboya's assassination in July 1969, (Kisiang'ani, 2003: 176). This assassination culminated in a fierce Kikuyu-Luo rivalry that threatened to destabilise the Kenyatta presidency and unite the Luo and other ethnic groups behind Odinga against the Kikuyu. The possible resurgence of Odinga's political fortunes struck panic within the Kikuyu elite. The "Family" reacted by seeking cover under Kikuyu ethnicity. The regime orchestrated an oath-taking campaign in Nairobi and Central Kenya to mobilise the Kikuyu behind Kenyatta. Much of this oath-taking took place in Nairobi, (Karume, 2009: 202). Word of Kikuyu taking oath created deep suspicion against the Kikuyu and caused serious deterioration of inter-ethnic relationships, heightening animosity especially in Nairobi, and opening up festering ethnicity wounds. This oath was a big political blunder. It was even administered to children and still expected to be secret, (Karume, 2009: 206).

The assassination of Tom Mboya and the detention of Oginga Odinga led to a sense of betrayal among the political elite of the Luo community, (Gertzel 1970:7-11). In the run-up to independence, KANU's Luo elite had boycotted the first African-led government until Kenyatta had been released from prison. In their eyes, they had withheld their own political aspirations and thus facilitated Kenyatta's claim to power in the late 1950's. By the late 1960's their leaders were either imprisoned or had fallen victim to politically motivated murder, (Ajulu, 2002: 181). KANU completely lost Luo patronage.

What the Kikuyu oathing succeeded in doing was to intensify ethnic consciousness especially in Nairobi and therefore strengthen ethnic organizations such as Gema, Luo Union, and Akamba Union which served mainly as political platforms until the end of Kenyatta's regime. They all had different names and aspirations depending on the communities they represented. They did not contribute to national unity, succeeding only in dividing people along ethnic lines and creating fear and suspicion between communities especially in Nairobi. The oathing exercise cast a lot of suspicion on the motives and intentions of the Kenyatta regime. To cite Atieno-Odhiambo, 'Kenyatta had a fervent vision of the Kikuyu future, but no mental map of Kenya beyond a territory to be governed as much as the colonial authorities had done', (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1995: 190).

As the country approached the 1969 general election, an amendment stated that presidential elections would be direct, but the candidate had to be nominated by a political party. This specific law gave KANU, of which Kenyatta was the unquestionable leader, the preserve on the presidency since it was the only effective

political party in the country. It also ensured Kenyatta would be re-elected president without any competition, (*Weekly Review*, June 10, 1979). In his *Jamhuri* day speech in December 1968, Kenyatta had said that he would consider primaries for KANU candidates for parliament. The president was attentive to the broad base of the demand for open primaries. Developing tensions within KANU were quite evident, (*East African Standard*, July 20, 1969). In a manner consistent with his earlier style, Kenyatta decided to go ahead and institute a system of open KANU primaries in May 1969. David Leonard remarks quite correctly that, to Kenyatta's credit, "the president recognized that if he gave the discontented no place to vent their anger they would eventually turn on him. He therefore introduced relatively open KANU primaries and brought electoral competition within the confines of the party.... He had brilliantly created a safety valve without diminishing the security of his regime", (Widner, 1992: 223).

In December, with the opposition effectively removed from the political scene, Kenyatta scheduled the first general election since independence. Kenya approached the 1969 election a divided house. KANU was badly divided along ethnic lines. The party existed more in name than as a real organization since its leaders did not trust each other. The division within KANU mirrored the entire national political scene as ethnicity continued to influence the politics of the nation, (Kimandu, O.I., 2/11/2015). The National Assembly was dissolved on November 7 and party primaries slotted for December 6, with the final election on December 20. No voting however was expected at the second stage because after the banning of KPU, all candidates would be standing on KANU tickets.

In what turned out to be an all-KANU affair, all suspected sympathisers of the opposition were voted out. Only KANU candidates contested. KANU had introduced a system of vetting all candidates for parliamentary and civic polls. The vetting was done by party headquarters, which could deny a prospective candidate chance to stand for election, if judged “not faithful to the party”, (*Weekly Review*, June 10, 1979). The KANU National Executive Council approved the candidates for parliamentary seat on the recommendations of KANU district branches. Only those deemed loyal to the party were cleared. In Nairobi, ethnicity played a crucial role in vetting and clearing of candidates by the branch; the branch leadership was dominated by the Kikuyu, (Loise, O.I., 27/02/2016). Five out of 616 candidates contesting the 158-member seats were ruled out by the KANU Executive on the ground that they had failed to comply with the party regulation: the basic requirement being that a candidate had to be fully paid-up member of KANU. Ratib Hussein (Lang’ata), Obare Tule (Bahati), Omido (Kamukunji), were some of the victims, (*Weekly Review*, June 10, 1979).

The Kikuyu dominated the parliamentary contest in Nairobi. In Bahati constituency, three out of the five contestants were Kikuyu. Kibaki narrowly beat Jael Mbogo by garnering 5,488 to 4,989 votes for Mbogo. In Dagoretti, there were three Kikuyu candidates. Dr. Njoroge Mungai got 8,098 votes beating to second position E.N. Kuria who got 1,602 votes. The Embakasi seat attracted ten candidates, eight of them being Kikuyu. B.M. Karungaru won the seat with 2,888 votes, beating to second position Olaki Ojwang who secured 2,293 votes. In the Kamukunji race, there were eight candidates, three of them being Kikuyu. Wanjigi won the seat with 4,025 votes, beating to second position J.M. Okinda who secured 3,593 votes. In the

Lang'ata race, there were six candidates, two of them being Kikuyu. Yunis Ali emerged winner after garnering 3,591 votes, with Mwangi Mathai coming second with 3030 votes. In Mathare, the race had five candidates, four of them being Kikuyu. Dr. Waiyaki won with 5,635 votes, Odanga took the second position with 3,372 votes. In Parklands, Kivuitu emerged winner in a race of five candidates, four of whom were Kikuyu. He got 2,873 votes, beating to second position, S.N Mwathi, who got 1,717 votes. In Starehe, Rubia garnered 4,847 votes beating Peter Kinyajui to second position with 3,702 votes. Thus, the Kikuyu won all the seats in Nairobi except Lang'ata and Parklands. Kikuyu also secured most of the civic seats and took the mayoral seat through Nathan Kahara, an ally of former mayor, Charles Rubia who was now the MP for Starehe constituency, (*Weekly Review*, December 19, 1979).⁸⁵

Table 4.3: The General election results in Nairobi, 1969.

Constituency	Winning Candidate	Ethnicity	Votes polled
Kamukunji	Wanjigi Maina	Kikuyu	4025
Langata	Yunis Ali	Nubian	3591
Parklands	Kivuitu S.M	Kamba	2873
Embakasi	Karungaru B.M	Kikuyu	2888
Mathare	Waiyaki F.M	Kikuyu	5635
Dagoretti	Mungai Njoroge	Kikuyu	8098
Bahati	Kibaki Mwai	Kikuyu	5488
Starehe	Rubia Charles	Kikuyu	4847

Source: ECK Election Report, 1963-1997

⁸⁵ See also national elections data book, Kenya 1963-1997, IED, 1997.

This kind of election outcome portends vital conclusions for this study. The fact that six out of the eight seats were captured by the Kikuyu points out the centrality of ethnic politics in the contests across the eight constituencies. GEM formed the bulk of the voters in majority of the constituencies and were able to influence the outcome in favour of Kikuyu candidates. The fact that only KANU candidates were allowed to contest points out the de-facto status of one-party was now firmly entrenched in the country. Furthermore, neo-patrimonialism and clientalism seemed to permeate and define political praxis in Nairobi County at this time. It's thus safe to argue that the line of patronage ran from the president to the MP, then to the civic leader⁸⁶

4.4 GEMA FACTOR IN POLITICS OF NAIROBI COUNTY

GEMA, a pseudo-cultural economic and political organisation, was registered under the Societies' Act⁸⁷. The organization was dominated by opulent Kikuyu politicians and businessmen. Njenga Karume was its Chairman, Ndegwa was the Vice-Chairman, Stanley Njeru the National Secretary, Wilson Macharia the Assistant Secretary, while Kihika Kimani was the National Organising Secretary. Closely allied to GEMA leadership were members of the Kenyatta 'Family'. Perception that GEMA had become an ethnically based political organization with substantial leverage was reflected in J. M. Kariuki's statement in February 1974 that the "ten years of independence have neither been great nor truly independent. . . . The inauguration and strengthening of such bodies as GEMA, Luo Union, and the New

⁸⁶ This was referred to as Councillor

⁸⁷ It was registered in a single day by the Attorney General Charles Njonjo, who was acting under the instructions of Kenyatta, (Ndegwa, 2006:164).

Akamba Union in my view is the most retrogressive step we have ever taken, and constitutes a tragedy in terms of our own advance towards nationhood”, (Widner,1992: 93).

Rejuvenating KANU and its nationalist ideology became one of the main planks in GEMA's strategy. The push for a stronger party started in mid 1972, at the same time that Kariuki and Seroney began to criticize top government officials for constraining political association. This push for KANU reorganization was predominantly Kikuyu-inspired. As 1973 progressed, the KANU reorganization leaders took the first steps towards using the party as a means of political control. In April, the Minister of Defence James Gichuru and the Central Province KANU chairman, James Njiru, both GEMA members, held a KANU meeting in Nyandarua. The MP for Laikipia West Kariuki G.G. observed, “The party is much alive and we all know it. Perhaps those who suggest that the party is dead are not politically alive”, (Widner, 1992: 95, and *Daily Nation*, June 20, 1975).

Those attending the meeting promptly resolved: “Anyone who continues to abuse or level unwarranted charges against President Kenyatta, Mr. Mbiyu Koinange, or Mr. James Gichuru will be dealt with mercilessly.” Gichuru went on to criticize those who preached ‘sectionalism and regionalism’, although, apparently unaware of any inconsistency, he concluded by calling on the ‘*wananchi*’, to join GEMA, which he described as a unifying factor among the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru people, (Widner, 1992:96).

The bid to strengthen KANU was short-lived and unsuccessful, however, because of suspicion that it was a Kikuyu effort to disguise privilege through appeals to nationalism and to meritocratic considerations. Where GEMA's boundaries ended and those of the KANU reorganization group began was unclear. Most of the meetings calling for reorganization took place in Central Province, and many of the early speeches urging party reorganization were delivered by Gichuru, (Widner, *ibid*: 97). Indeed, the first conference to propose the re-organization strategy was announced not by national-level party officials, but by the KANU executive officer for Central Province. Held in Nyeri town, the meeting was chaired by Gichuru, KANU's vice president in Central Province, (*Weekly Review*, April 18, 1978).

Kenyatta did not come out as a public supporter for party revitalization; although neither did he express disagreement with those who argued for a stronger, *de jure* single-party system. In the end, the prospect that Central Province sectional interests would capture the effort to define nationalism made the party a poor vehicle for managing political conflict, as Kenyatta appeared to realize. Eventually, GEMA abandoned the move, (*Weekly Review*, April 18, 1978). As uncertainty on GEMA's game plan continued, Kenyatta dissolved parliament on August 8, 1974 and directed elections be held on October 14 1974. KANU nominations attracted 337 contestants. A government statement said,

‘Any former member of the defunct KPU, who has been detained for subversive activity against the government shall not be eligible for nomination as a KANU candidate unless he has been a member of KANU party for a period of three years from the date of release and he has fully identified himself with the government and party policies’, (*East African Standard*, June 18, 1977).

A further condition issued later required former KPU members to have clearance of their candidature from the president. Odinga and 10 close associates abided by the order, though pointing out that their acceptance of the condition did not mean former KPU members had engaged in subversion, (Odera, 2010: 106). Still, their applications were flatly turned down by a KANU conference. In total, 14 ex-detainees were refused certificates. Those cleared by the party were declared elected on October 28 which was a mere formality since only KANU candidates were contesting.

Nairobi politics was heavily influenced by politics of Central Kenya and ethnicity again emerged as the main issue in this election, (Brenda, O.I., 6/01/2016). Most of the candidates running for seats in Nairobi were handpicked by GEMA. GEMA elections in 1973 had been hotly contested, and were a great deal more acrimonious than the previous parliamentary elections. It seemed most of the parliamentary candidates had realised that GEMA's position in the Mount Kenya region and Nairobi was even more strategic than parliament and that it would be more prudent and tactical to be in GEMA, if not in both bodies, (Kongo, O.I., 11/01/2016). GEMA had the support of the president, the electorate in Central and largely Nairobi, and an endorsement by it was as good a ticket to parliament. GEMA immensely influenced the elections in Central and Nairobi provinces. If it endorsed you, you were as good as elected. No one would be elected without the support of GEMA, (Karume, 2009: 170).

GEMA made frantic plans for the control of elections in Nairobi. GEMA leaders made elaborate plans to take all seats in Nairobi during the 1974 elections,

(Macharia, 2012, 140). Kibaki was convinced by Njenga Karume and his friends to shift base from Bahati constituency in Nairobi to Othaya, a safer constituency compared to the metropolitan Nairobi for Kibaki. GEMA asked Kibaki to propose someone to succeed him in Bahati. He suggested James Muriuki a weak and unknown candidate. GEMA vigorously campaigned for him and Muriuki won the seat. He garnered 7,380 votes with Jael Mbogo getting 6,197 votes. But according to Karume, (2009: 171), the seat was won using huge GEMA funds and influence.

All the other seats were taken by GEMA. Dagoretti race had four Kikuyu candidates. Muthiora emerged winner with 8,533 votes, beating Mungai to second position with 6,339 votes. In the Embakasi race, there were five candidates, three of them being Kikuyu. Muhuri Muchiri won the seat with 4,421, beating Karungaru to second position with 4,262 votes. Maina Wanjigi won the Kamukunji seat again with 6,164 votes, beating to second position Michael Owuor with 4,804 votes in a race that had seven candidates. The Langata seat was taken by Mwangi Maathai who attained 5,463 votes beating Philip Leakey to second position with 3,900 votes. The race attracted ten candidates, with only two being Kikuyu. Dr. Munyua Waiyaki won the Mathare seat with 10,321 while Laban Odanga took 9,130 votes in a race that attracted five candidates, three being Kikuyu. An unknown newcomer and GEMA secretary Wachira Waweru, was elected MP for Parklands trouncing Kivuitu, (Karume, 2009: 171 and *Weekly Review*, March 6, 1977).

Wachira Waweru secured the seat after garnering 5,505, votes, in a race of four candidates, two of them being Kikuyu. S. M Kivuitu got 5,500 votes, losing to Wachira by a margin of only 5 votes. The Kikuyu also dominated the Starehe

contest. Two of the three contestants were Kikuyu. Rubia retained the seat with 7,822 votes, with Peter Kinyanjui obtaining 5,137 votes. Shem Oketch got a paltry 1,009 votes. GEMA communities also took over 90% of the seats in City Council. Kenyatta's daughter, Margaret, Wambui, was elected Mayor, (*East African Standard*, July 7, 1975 and Electoral Commission Report on 1974 Election).

Table 4.4: The General election results in Nairobi, 1974

Constituency	Winning Candidate	Ethnicity	Votes polled
Kamukunji	Wanjigi Maina	Kikuyu	6164
Langata	Mwangi Mathai	Kikuyu	5463
Parklands	Wachira Waweru	Kikuyu	5505
Embakasi	Muhuri Muchiri	Kikuyu	4421
Mathare	Waiyaki F.M	Kikuyu	10321
Dagoretti	Muthiora J.	Kikuyu	8533
Bahati	James Muriuki	Kikuyu	7380
Starehe	Rubia Charles	Kikuyu	7822

Source: ECK Election Report, 1963-1997

This election proved the strength of GEMA through massive influence over the election in Central Kenya and Nairobi. GEMA had bared its teeth and demonstrated what it was capable of achieving, (Karume, 2009: 172, and Macharia, 2012: 146). The impact of this naked show of GEMA's strength could have a disastrous and negative effect on national politics. Kenyatta was not amused by the turn of events.

He expressed concern that Nairobi, the nation's capital, should have a diversity of MPs in terms of ethnic background. Kenyatta may have found, when it had already happened, that it didn't look quite proper to have all the MPs in city of Nairobi being Kikuyu. He summoned Karume, the chair of GEMA to Gatundu where he reportedly asked him, "couldn't you have left even one seat? Shouldn't you have left one for 'igongona'?"⁸⁸ (Karume, 2009: 173).

Kenyatta was sometimes uncomfortable with the extent ethnic bigotry and abuse of power by the Kikuyu tribal elite which made him rebuke GEMA leaders. This GEMA domination would not look good to the other communities, and would greatly affect national unity. He severally warned about GEMA political activities, and indicated he would not hesitate to ban the association if it went overboard. He once said 'there's only one government in Kenya- the KANU government', and warned other social organisations to limit themselves to local activities and not engage in politics, (*Weekly Review*, November 10, 1975).

Karume (2009:180), reports on Kenyatta warning GEMA, at the height of its power, not to imagine that it was the government or was more powerful than KANU and the government. However, the truth of the matter was that GEMA had become 'a party within a party and it had become the government', (Karimi and Ochieng', 2008; 66-76). But Kenyatta probably issued the warning not for hatred of GEMA. After all, his own Daughter Margret was elected the mayor of Nairobi. He also nominated the

⁸⁸ In Kikuyu traditions, every homestead should have at least one goat or sheep which could be used for ceremonial purposes should the need arise. Even if a person's entire flock was confiscated, for instance to pay a debt, the complainant could not take all the animals. They had to leave 'kamwe ka igongona', (Karume, 2009: 172).

GEMA chairman to parliament in 1974. Probably he issued the warning for the benefit of GEMA critics like Moi and Njonjo, (Karume, 2009: 180).

Why, one may ask, did GEM vote for one of themselves in this election? The answer to this question was provided by one informant. ‘We voted for one of our own so that he would channel resources to us. We wanted to send to parliament people whom we believed were close to the president and had his ear, (Muteru, O.I., 03/03/2016). Neo-patrimonialism could therefore form the logic behind this ethno-communal voting in this election.

Nairobi civic positions also were fought on ethnic and sectarian lines, (Agori, O.I., 6/01/2016). This scenario was well demonstrated by the mayoral election slated for 1976. Mayor Margaret Kenyatta had initially declared she would not seek re-election but later changed her mind. She had strong backing of Nairobi KANU branch. The party branch threatened her opponent, Ngumba with expulsion unless he stepped down to let Kenyatta be elected unopposed. The Nairobi GEMA branch also intervened to exert pressure on him. GEMA branch invited him to a meeting to discuss the matter but he declined when he understood that it was meant to ask him to step down. GEMA then announced it was taking step to expel Gumba from GEMA. Even some Nairobi MPs tried to have him step down, (*East African Standard*, July, 18, 1976).

Ngumba’s stand against the wish of GEMA and the party branch was seen by some not as coming from him, but from other politicians who wanted to take control of the city politics and eventually , national politics, (mwanyumba, O.I., 6/01/2016). The

new chairman of KANU in Nairobi, Njoroge Mungai supported Kenyatta's candidature against Andrew Ngumba. Ngumba on the other hand got support from some KANU branch officials such as Charles Rubia M.P for Starehe, and his supporters on the party committee. There were also sharp divisions between city councillors supporting Kenyatta and those supporting her deputy Andrew Ngumba. Following the decision to withdraw from the race by Kenyatta at the last minute, Ngumba was elected as new mayor and Kirima as the deputy mayor, (*Weekly Review*, November 16, 1976).

GEM always voted for one of their own, and being the dominant community in Nairobi, greatly determined KANU politics in the city. The leading city politicians hailed from Central Kenya, (Macharia, 2012: 161). They included Rubia from Murang'a, who was the first African mayor of Nairobi. Other leading city politicians were Maina Wanjigi from Murang'a, Munyua Waiyaki from Kiambu, Njoroge Mungai from Kiambu and Mwangi Mathai from Nyeri, (Wamwea, O.I., 20/01/2016). GEMA communities dominated not only the city politics but also most of the African controlled businesses. GEMA was hated much by other communities as they saw it amass massive property and gobble up all parliamentary and civic seats in the capital city, (Lesiyempe, O.I., 27/01/2016). No other ethnic based group had ever operated on such a massive scale before and this had occurred just within four years. Those who were not GEMA members or those with an eye on Kenyatta succession felt that GEMA was unstoppable and would sooner or later take over the leadership of the country. The whole concept of GEMA was anathema to them, (*Weekly Review*, January 4, 1977).

At the national level, the years 1976-1977 saw the replacement of a thoroughly weakened KANU with GEMA. GEMA was replacing KANU as the most powerful organ for political mobilisation. As the *Weekly Review* of May 19, 1975 observed, GEMA 'was the most influential organisation within KANU, a position which it had strengthened further by having many of its national and branch executive officials elected to parliament and various local government bodies including Nairobi city council. One informant who wished to have her identity not disclosed informed us that after the 1974 elections, Kikuyu dominance of the government and KANU party was greatly reinforced.

The formation of GEMA and promotion of Kikuyu ethnic sub-nationalism was responsible for the simmering ethnic tensions and conflicts based on ethnic claims to power, which was to characterise most of post-independence politics in Kenya in general and Nairobi in particular, (Mungai, 2004: 214, and Macharia, 2012: 162).

4.5 NAIROBI KANU BRANCH AND KIKUYU DOMINANCE

Within the context of Neo-patrimonialism, GEM dominated not only parliamentary and civic elections in Nairobi County, but also the Nairobi KANU branch. Thus, after the formation of KANU, Muniyua Waiyaki was elected the first chairman of the Nairobi KANU branch. On attainment of independence, Mboya became the party Secretary-General and first chairman of Nairobi KANU branch. After Mboya's assassination, Rubia made successfully contested for the branch chairmanship. Rubia remained the branch chairman till he was dislodged by Njoroge Mungai in 1976, (*Weekly Review*, May 15, 1977). Mungai was secretary of the preparatory

committee which convened the first KANU conference in May 1960. After formation of KANU he was elected a member of the National Executive. Initially, he remained chairman of KANU, Thika district branch. In the independence elections of 1963 he was elected MP for Nairobi West comprising later Dagoretti constituency. When he ousted Rubia for Nairobi party branch Chair, he held onto the post tenaciously, using it as a springboard for his national political ambition.

For long, Mungai was centre of attention by other politicians, fearful he was planning to rise to position of power within the party and the Government. It was alleged he was planning to reorganize the politics of KANU in such a way he would be appointed Prime Minister and have extensive power delegated by president, thereby neutralizing the Vice President position. His election to branch chairmanship now made him the senior-most politician in the city, elected by representatives of the KANU members of the whole branch. Furthermore, Nairobi branch was regarded the hub of KANU party politics. Among district chairmen, he was seen as more senior to the others. As the Nairobi KANU branch chairman Mungai accumulated such political power that in the mid-seventies, his name was mentioned in awe as a leading contender to succeed Kenyatta, (*Weekly Review*, October 20, 1989).

GEMA waged a struggle for control of the KANU branches which were then holding elections in 1976, especially in central Kenya and in Nairobi. For most of 1960's and the 1970's, Kikuyu politicians dominated KANU branch leadership in the city, (Miriti, O.I., 27/01/2016). Mungai was the chairman of the party branch for a long period. He was also the only minister from Nairobi. Muhuri Muchiri of

Embakasi was branch secretary; Maina Wanjigi was the assistant secretary-general, for most of the 1970's, (*East African Standard*, December 19, 1978). GEMA also dominated party sub branch leadership positions. In the parklands constituency sub branch election of 1976, out of 4 elected officials, 3 were Kikuyu-Laban Muiruri (Vice chair) Richard Karanja (Secretary) and Kariuki Karanja (Treasurer). Only councillor of Spring Valley, Walter Midamba, was elected chairman, (*Weekly Review*, January 17, 1977).

The politics of Nairobi also witnessed a struggle for control of the city between politicians from Murang'a and Kiambu, with Rubia championing the interests of the Murang'a camp. There was an abrasive conflict between the Kiambu Kikuyu on the one hand and the Nyeri, Kirinyaga, Murang'a, Nyandarua Kikuyu on the other hand. Mungai's battle for branch chairmanship with Rubia in 1976 was seen as a part of this conflict, (Veronica, O.I., 12/02/2016). At the national level, KANU party remained so dormant in the public's perception that the populist Butere MP, Shikuku complained in parliament that 'KANU is dead - KANU has been killed', a remark that soon afterwards landed him in detention, (Edari, 1971: 211).

The prospect of national elections in 1977, the first party elections since 1966, offered Mungai and his faction of GEMA group another way to pursue state power, after the change-the-constitution⁸⁹ attempt to block Moi from succeeding Kenyatta flopped. Because, by law, the president and vice president had to be members of a registered political party, the capture of the top party positions would theoretically

⁸⁹ The campaign to change the constitution was launched by prominent Gema politicians including Kihika Kimani, Dr. Mungai and Njenga Karume. It sought to repeal the constitutional provision for the Vice President to serve in an acting capacity for upto 90 days in case of a presidential vacancy.

give GEMA the power to remove the President or Vice President, (Branch, 2011:105). The contest between the Mungai and Moi factions was waged intensely. Luo areas received keen attention from both camps, with Mungai attempting to pursue a revitalization of the original KANU alliance and Moi seeking to prevent consolidation of the Nyanza vote, by playing on existing divisions in the Luo community, (Widner, 1992: 115). In the month before the elections, the vice president and his backers moved swiftly to build a coalition that would simultaneously capitalize on existing ties in western Kenya and draw attention to Mungai's reliance on a GEMA network, forcing Mungai to scramble to include representatives of other groups and expend energy forging alliances he did not have and might not secure in time for the polls, (*East African Standard*, October, 7, 1977).

The Moi group had proposed that Minister for Finance Mwai Kibaki, previously unassociated with either camp, run for the national party chairmanship. Although a Kikuyu, Kibaki was a technocrat and lacked a strong base in Central Province, (Muteru B. O.I., 04/03/2016). His candidacy was acceptable to many Central Province residents left out of the 'Family' network and was therefore useful in undercutting accusations that Moi had blocked the Kikuyu from access to the state, (Widner, 1992: 120). Packaging a slate was no easy matter, however, as both groups would learn from the troubles they encountered. There were eight party posts under contestation: chairman and vice chairman, secretary general and assistant secretary general, organizing secretary and assistant organizing secretary, treasurer and assistant treasurer. The position of party president was not seriously at issue; Kenyatta's authority went unquestioned. The vice presidency was a more

complicated matter, in view of the fact that the vice presidency of the party was generally equated with vice presidency of the republic. The winner of the position would most likely succeed Kenyatta, (Wasike, O.I., 21/10/2015).

In the meantime, the Mungai slate was shaping up, with the MP Taita Toweett being the one to challenge Moi for the vice presidency, Luhya kingpin Masinde Muliro pitted against Robert Matano for the post of secretary general, and the Maasai John Keen, an Oloitipitip rival, nominated for organizing secretary. Nyanza Province Odinga allies received the nominations for treasurer and assistant secretary general. The chairmanship was left to Central Province, as it was in the Moi coalition. Just prior to the election, the slate still had no room for Paul Ngei, an old ally—or for any candidate from the Akamba areas of Eastern Province, (Widner, 1992:122).

The last-minute scramble came to nought, however. On the eve of the polling, with delegates already in Nairobi and ballot papers printed, the elections were called off. The group associated with Mungai had loudly complained of the way party headquarters were doing preparations for the elections. However, they denied having interest in stopping the elections. “We are ready for the elections. We don’t want them postponed”, (*Weekly Review*, April 11, 1977). The constitution stipulated that only a recognised party could nominate a candidate for the presidency and KANU was the only party existing since Kenya was one party state de-facto, (Tarmakin, 1979: 25, and Macharia, 2012: 180). The ‘Family’ had therefore plotted to use the KANU elections to block Moi. The postponement of the election on the last minute resulted from the apparent failure of GEMA to marshal enough support to control KANU fully so as to take over the presidency, (J.Mugambi, O.I., 04/03/2016).

GEMA called a three- day delegates conference at Nyahururu soon afterwards, and castigated politicians who “misused the President’s name in the recent campaigns for posts in KANU.” Resolution called upon all GEMA leaders to speak with one voice, assured all GEMA the freedom to contest any post within KANU, except that of party president, (Macharia, 2012: 182). The conference resolved to campaign for fair competition and democratic process of election to all posts in KANU. Further, “the national chair of GEMA and National Committee should as and when convenient convene a leaders” meetings with GEMA, and KANU district leaders representatives of GEMA areas with a view to strengthen the unity of all leaders representing GEMA people in GEMA and also in KANU so as to ensure that all GEMA people, whether in GEMA or KANU, speak with one voice in all matters affecting or likely to affect GEMA people, (*Weekly Review*, April 25, 1977).

Speaking at the same meeting, Kihika Kimani observed, ‘during the JM affair when the nation faced a serious crisis, we are the people who stood with the government because we have the interest of this nation at heart.’ Identifying GEMA with the KANU nationalist cause, he continued,

“We do not want people attacking KANU and GEMA. We do not want KANU to attack GEMA or GEMA to attack KANU.... we want all of us to remain under one party. KANU is the government and GEMA is under it, just like young chicks under the wings. KANU should not be opposed by GEMA, and KANU should not oppose GEMA. For it was GEMA which was instrumental in

laying the foundation of the KANU government. So if I may ask: *Are these organisations not the same thing?*⁹⁰ (Widner, 1992: 117).

After the cancelation of the elections, the country settled back to into the uneasy quiet that prevailed for the remainder of 1977 and most of 1978. GEMA leaders continued assuming, quite naively, that one of them would take over after the death of Kenyatta. The GEMA communities formed an overwhelming majority in government and some of the leaders assumed that this was just the nature of things, a *fait accompli*, and that it would always be so, (Kameru, O.I., 18/12/2015). GEMA's avowed ambitions led other groups to revive the welfare associations that had lain dormant since the colonial period. Ethnic associations mushroomed and extended their membership throughout the country. Each association felt it could manipulate the system easily to ensure that a politician of its choice succeeded Kenyatta. The pressures these groups generated would shortly bring about the demise of the old KANU nationalism GEMA favoured and the rise of KADU-style federalism within the 'KANU shell', (Widner, 1992: 118). Within GEMA itself, a serious political rift had emerged which in fact worked later in favour of Moi on the Kenyatta succession question. The division among the Kikuyu elite in KANU was vital for Moi and without it, it was unlikely Moi would have succeeded in ascending to power in 1978, (Macharia, 2012: 183).

⁹⁰ Emphasis is mine. This statement attests to the extent to which Gema had captured the KANU machinery and transformed the party into an ethnic conclave towards the heydays of the Kenyatta's presidency.

4. 6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that the centrality of ethnic politics was launched soon after independence. It has discussed how the dissolution of KADU robbed Kenyans of true democracy, as there was now no organised opposition to keep KANU on check. Kenyatta forged new alliances of the Kikuyu and former KADU supporters. Over time, KANU started putting in place schemes to kill dissent by stifling internal democracy and tolerance within its ranks. Thus when dissent started to emerge in late 1960's with Odinga and his group questioning the establishment, it was abundantly clear they would have to look for space outside KANU. Kenyatta became the centre of all the political institutions Kenya inherited from the colonialists. Political individualism took over, and its beneficiaries were the dominant class of a few privileged politicians, senior civil servants and some other agents of the state. Kenyatta's critics derisively referred to his rule as the "Kikuyunisation" of the Kenyan state.

The 1960's struggle between the competing ruling factions to define the economic and political ideology of KANU quickened the pace of centralization of power by Kenyatta and intensified ethnicity in party and the country. Kenyatta transformed the ideological conflict with Odinga into an ethnic feud between the Kikuyu and the Luo, thus intensifying ethnicity. The Kenyatta state marginalised Luo thereby destroying the Kikuyu-Luo KANU coalition. Once the alliance collapsed, Kenyatta incorporated Moi and the Kalenjin into his patrimonial state. The Kalenjin replaced Luo in the shifting ethnic alliances. This shaped the organisation of politics in the country. The chapter has demonstrated that GEMA impacted heavily on politics and the nation. Its effect was much realised in the elections of 1974, when it handpicked

the winners of parliamentary and civic seats in Nairobi. The activities of GEMA influenced other ethnic communities to establish their own ethnic groups with an eye on Kenyatta succession. GEMA's plan to block Moi from succeeding Kenyatta did not work because of division within the organisation. The chapter has discussed how political tribalism was nurtured during Kenyatta's regime. The Kikuyu elites used political tribalism to further their interests. This was at the expense of other ethnic groups. The centrality of ethnic politics remains one of Kenyatta's most durable legacies.

The chapter has supported our second premise that the Kenyatta regime consolidated political party mobilization using ethnic platform, and this was reflected in politics in Nairobi County during the period from 1960 to 1978. The concept of Neo-patrimonialism has enabled us to understand the patronage exercised by Kenyatta regime. Kenyatta ensured loyalty by distributing favors to his fellow tribesmen and loyal followers from other communities. He developed client-patron relations to distribute the largesse and other favours in order to maintain political power between 1963 and 1978. The system of patronage during the Kenyatta regime percolated all the way down to local level politics in Nairobi County. This explains the centrality of ethnic politics during the period. The next chapter analyses the trends in ethnic politics in Nairobi County during the reign of Moi from 1978 till the establishment of multi-party politics in 1991.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. ONE PARTY STATE AND KIKUYU DOMINANCE IN NAIROBI COUNTY- 1978 TO 1991

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses how ethnic mobilization and the ethnic phenomenon in Kenya influenced the politics in Nairobi County during the Moi era from 1978 to 1992. Moi initially maintained Kikuyu dominance over the state, and used popular Kikuyu leaders such as Kibaki, Njonjo and G.G Kariuki to consolidate and legitimise his regime among the Kikuyu. However, he planned to create a coalition of ethnic elite which would enable him to undermine the Kikuyu hegemony. Moi thus took steps to establish a power base of his own and create a political class loyal to him. He undertook a purge of the Kikuyu in key state posts, replacing the Kikuyu with Kalenjin. Patterns of Kikuyu dominance of the state were altered. The Kikuyu power was thus replaced with Kalenjin power, as the state became more ethnicized.

The Moi state completely outlawed any opposition to KANU, as Moi moved to rejuvenate the party, which had remained moribund during the Kenyatta era. KANU was revitalised as the main tool of political control. Party politics was fused with the administration of the country, resulting in what has been referred to as 'party-state'. Ethnicity became increasingly politicised as ethnic elites appealed to ethnic groups for political affinity. This intensification of ethnicity in the Moi state impacted heavily on politics in Nairobi County in different ways. Moi also used the historical

cleavage between the Kikuyu of Kiambu on one hand and those of Murang'a and Nyeri on the other to weaken the Kikuyu control over the Nairobi KANU branch.

Despite the Kikuyu retaining the leadership of the Nairobi branch, they were getting increasingly challenged by elites of other communities who established their political base in Nairobi. The chapter discusses how Moi consolidated power in his hands as state institutions were subordinated to KANU. A single-party authoritarian rule was established as the governance process became more ethnicised. KANU became more intolerant to criticism, and intensified repression and expulsion. The demotion of Kibaki coupled with the mlolongo voting of 1988 intensified Kikuyu hatred for KANU. Hence Kikuyu elements such as Matiba and Rubia spearheaded a campaign for the restoration of multi-party democracy. The regime countered that the crusade for multi-party was a Kikuyu affair aimed at restoring Kikuyu hegemony. Some averred that it was part of attempt by the Kikuyu to secure power not only in Nairobi but in the whole country. The chapter is largely guided by the concept of Neo-patrimonialism to explain the salience of ethnic politics and its impact on politics in Nairobi County the period between 1978 and 1992. Moi established personalized rule in which he selectively distributed favours to loyal followers. He used political tribalism to further the interests of certain communities and established patronage networks to reward his clientele. The state was thus used for systematic patronage and clientele practices in order to maintain power in the hands of the elite.

5. 2 MOI'S RISE TO POWER AND CONTINUED KIKUYU DOMINANCE

Despite serious obstacles placed on his way by Kikuyu tribal chauvinists, Moi dribbled his way to power after Kenyatta's death in 1978. There was no struggle for succession as earlier anticipated. Indeed, political friends and foes rallied to support Moi, (Tarmakin, 1979, 29-36, as cited in Macharia, 2012: 183). Politicians hitherto opposing Moi were eagerly endorsing him for the presidency. GEMA also endorsed Moi for as GEMA's choice for president, (Macharia, 2012: 185). Trade unions, welfare organisations, various political interest groups, supported election of Moi as president. By October 6, 1978, when KANU delegates' conference was convened, all KANU branches had endorsed him as sole candidate for party and country's president. He was declared elected as president on October 10, and on October 14, was sworn in as second president, (*Daily Nation*, October 15, 1978).

Being new in the state house, Moi undertook to maintain the status quo, at least for the time being, so as to mask his real intentions. When he took over, he maintained a cabinet whose majority were Kikuyu⁹¹. Initially, he had no alternative but to rule through the section of the Kenyatta coalition which had ensured his succession in face of Change-the- Constitution Movement. Thus, for the first four years he relied on Kibaki, former Minister of Finance under Kenyatta, whom he made his vice-president, and Charles Njonjo, Kenyatta's Attorney General who had been instrumental in thwarting the Change- the- Constitution Movement. Moi used these and other popular Kikuyu leaders such as G.G Kariuki to consolidate power and

⁹¹ In fact, his first cabinet consisted of only 2 Kalenjin, 7 GEM, 3 Luo, 2 Luhya, 1Taita, 1 Gusii, 1 Kamba, 1 Maasai, (*Weekly Review*, Nairobi, October, 13, 1978).

legitimise his regime among the Kikuyu during the initial phase of his rule, (Miriti, O.I., 13/11/2015).

Yet, he knew he had to purge the anti-Moi forces within the Kikuyu and eliminate the dominance of the Kenyatta- era leaders in Kenya's political set-up. To achieve this, he exploited the Njonjo- Kibaki axis, and created a coalition of ethnic interest which would enable him to undermine Kikuyu hegemony (Throup and Hornsby, 1998: 28). It was a clear case of divide and rule. Top on the Moi's list of Kikuyu friends were his new vice-president, Mwai Kibaki, Gikonyo Kiano, and Njonjo. While he intended to rule in the image of his predecessor, he began undertaking a series of populist reforms. Moi was aware that Kenyatta had undertaken to Kikuyunise the military, the civil service and the cabinet. When he promised to follow in the footsteps of Kenyatta, the Kikuyu interpreted this to mean the maintenance of the status quo in Kenya and the continued political and economic dominance of the Kikuyu, (Kipchirchir, O.I., 11/ 02/2016). However, Moi clearly wanted to follow Kenyatta's footsteps by first de-Kikuyunising Kenya's life and second by Kalenjinising many aspects of the Kenyan state.

He first embarked on plans to reorganize and revitalize KANU party machinery, which had been dormant since Mboya's death. This overhaul necessitated party elections from the grassroots to the national level. Mathu, Mboya's successor, issued a statement calling for KANU national delegates' conference, which was to be held in October 1978 as a preliminary to the National Assembly elections scheduled for 1979. Branch elections were to precede these national elections. During the Nairobi branch elections, the Kikuyu retained their dominance, with Dr. Mungai retaining

the Chairmanship, (*Weekly Review*, July 17, 1980). In the national elections, Njonjo and G.G Kariuki worked out a regional slate whereby seats on the National Executive Committee were divided amongst the country's provinces and by extension, ethnic communities.

Candidates who did not abide by the slate were discredited. Munyua Waiyaki, a Nairobi MP had decided to contest for Secretary-General post, having realized the post was slated for another province not Nairobi. However, the caucus of Nairobi MPs told him they had decided to vote for Robert Matano, for the post of Secretary-General, in line with the provincial strategy. The seat slotted for Nairobi was that of Assistant Secretary General. The caucus endorsed Kibaki (although from Central Province) for the vice presidency⁹². With the provincial strategy, Munyua Waiyaki still could not count on Central delegates in the race against Matano, (*East African Standard*, June 23, 1979).

The outcome of the party elections was success for a slate, not individuals. Each province got a seat, and the slate developed prior got elected in all the positions. Emerging as winners were Moi as President, Kibaki for Vice President, Omolo as Chairman, Matano as Secretary, Ole Tipis as Treasurer, Nathan Munoko as Organizing Secretary, Maina Wanjigi as Assistant Secretary General, Ngala Mwendwa as Assistant National Treasurer, and Ahmed Ogle as Assistant Organizing Secretary, (*Weekly Review*, January 19, 1984). Delegates from Nairobi and Central Province voted in the same way. In this election, ethnicity and regional balance of the candidates was paramount. Keeping an equitable balance of

⁹² This was the post slotted for Kikuyu

representation was more important than pre-occupation with electing one particular person or the other, (*Weekly Review*, June 28, 1985, 4 – 5).

Later in November 1978, elections were organised for representatives from each province on the Governing Council. Each province was to elect its representatives and here, local politics, not national ones, was at play. In most provinces, the arrangement was for representation to the Governing council to come from tribe or district where colleagues in National Executive Council (NEC) did not hail from. However, the politics of the city was so intricately interwoven with national politics as to make the formula unworkable. There were spill-over from national politics. According to oral information we received, the main focus of attention in the election of Nairobi province representative was Mungai (Loise, O.I., 27/02/2016). Mungai had stayed out of the October 1978 election for NEC to quell suspicion that he had been interested in National Presidency, prior to Kenyatta's death, (*Weekly Review*, December 11, 1978).

Although the pattern of Kikuyu dominance over Kenya politics was altered when Moi took over in 1978, the Kikuyu still retained control over Nairobi County politics. In the 1979 general election, Kikuyu won most of the parliamentary and civic seats in the city as the case was in 1974, (Kipyegon, O.I., 27/02/2016). However, three parliamentary seats were captured by non-Kikuyu candidates. Philip Leakey, a Kenyan of European descent won in Lang'ata, Krishan Gautama, an Asian, won in Westlands, and Mr. Nicholas Gor, a Luyha, took the Kamukunji seat after beating Maina Wanjigi by a margin of only 160 votes. The defeat of Wanjigi who had been widely expected to capture the seat was mainly attributed to the fact

that there were many Kikuyu candidates contesting the seat, resulting in a split of Kikuyu votes, while Gor benefited from solid Luo and Luhya support, (*Weekly Review*, September 23, 1980, 18-17). All the other seats were taken by the Kikuyu. KANU branch chairman, Mungai retained Dagoretti seat. Kinyanjui, Rubia's perennial rival, opted out of the race prior to the elections, making it easy for Rubia to clinch the Starehe seat against the relatively unknown new-comer, Kinuthia Njoroge.

Table 5.1: The general election results in Nairobi, 1979

Constituency	Winning Candidate	Ethnicity	Votes polled
Kamukunji	Nicholas Gor	Luhya	7447
Langata	Philip Leakey	White	8559
Parklands	K. Gautama	Asian	6286
Embakasi	Ezra Njoka	Kikuyu	6510
Mathare	Waiyaki F.M	Kikuyu	20685
Dagoretti	Mungai Njoroge	Kikuyu	12525
Bahati	Fred Omido	Luhya	5483
Starehe	Rubia Charles	Kikuyu	13339

Source: *Weekly Review*, September 2, 1983.

5. 3 ETHNIC POLITICS AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

A detailed discussion of ethnic politics at the national level during Moi era is well beyond the scope of this research. However, it is important to point out the political trends of national politics in order to understand political events in Nairobi County.

The elections of 1979 were a watershed, giving Moi the opportunity to exploit the centralized personalized state created by Kenyatta. The election had brought the largest contingent of Kalenjins- eight, into the cabinet, (Kioko, O.I., 20/02/2016). Although Moi's cabinet after the elections maintained a Kikuyu majority, underneath, Moi worked tirelessly to remove Kikuyu from the civil service. His plan was to "de-Kikuyunize" the civil service and the state-owned enterprises previously dominated by the Kikuyu ethnic group during Kenyatta's regime. He appointed Kalenjin to key state posts. Permanent Secretaries, Provincial Commissioners, District Commissioners, District Officers, were shuffled in favour of the Kalenjin community. Like the previous regime, Moi's regime eventually came to rest on a small clique, mostly comprising the Kalenjin. To paraphrase Mamdani (1997:79), the new power was self-consciously a Kalenjin power, as institutions previously dominated by the Kikuyu were 'Kalenjinized'.

Moi also started restructuring Kenya's political economy by diverting resources and patronage from the Kikuyu to his own ethnic group in Rift Valley and to his political allies, the Abaluhya and various groups from Coast Province. He made it almost a policy to reward friendly ethnic groups and isolate the unfriendly ones, (Jonjo, 2002: 99). Patronage and clientelism were employed to construct and deconstruct his coalition. The president then moved to counter the ethnic associations that had taken the place of KANU as the main organ for political mobilization. He ordered that ethnic welfare societies wind up their activities, (*Africa Confidential*, Vol. 20 no. April, 16, 1983). The proscription of ethnic welfare societies still did little to reassure Moi that his grasp on the country's highest office was assured. State House had not necessarily undercut the power of GEMA or the Luo Union in his view. The

leaders of these societies could salvage the financial resources they had accumulated and seek to advance their interests in other ways, he feared.

His mind turned increasingly to fear of underground opposition, rooted, he believed, in the university system but fomented by the former leaders of the ethnic unions. The president appeared increasingly fearful of dissidence in any form. During the period before and after the measures to eliminate ethnic welfare societies, he continually cautioned Kenyans to beware of disgruntled elements and warned that traitors would receive ruthless treatment, (Widner, 1992: 211).

As repression intensified, opposition towards Moi began coalescing around powerful political personalities who had been locked out of KANU but who could not be allowed to form another political party. The leading voice of this group was former Vice-President, Odinga. In May 1982, Odinga declared Kenya was ripe for the creation of a second political party and launched the Kenya African Socialist Alliance (KASA). At the launching ceremony in London, he criticised the government for refusing to allow political parties to function. He further lamented the rampant abuse of power by many African leaders who, in his words, ‘proceed to stampede parties out of existence. Sooner rather than later, these one-party systems become non-party system....’, (*The Standard*, May 17, 1982, 4). Anyona, an ex-detainee, declared that Kenya was in fact a multi-party state and that nothing had constitutionally changed since the 1962 Lancaster House Conference which mooted out a constitution for independent Kenya.

Sensing trouble, and in view of the fact that Kenya was a de-jure multi-party state, Moi went out on the war-path. First, he declared Odinga expelled from KANU and encouraged his supporters to follow him, (*The Standard*, May 21, 1982, p.1). Second, he ordered the detention of Anyona and John Khaminwa, (Alhuwalia and Steeves, 1986:93-115, as cited in Kisiang'ani, 2003: 227). Moi then instituted a constitutional move to transform Kenya into a single party state de-jure. This development, pushed through parliament on June 3 1982, became law six days later, (*The Daily Nation*, June 4, 1986). With the amendment, all prospective political parties remained effectively proscribed as the de-facto status of Kenya as a "one-party state" was made mandatory. Further, with the amendments designing KANU as the only political party, every candidate for presidency and parliament was required to be a member of KANU and nominated by the party. Endorsement by KANU as presidential candidate was henceforth tantamount to election.

The one party system fused the presidency with party chairmanship. The dividing line between party and Government became more and more diffuse, since senior Government officials were also party officials at various levels, (Widner, 1992, 182).

This was a setback to democracy. It gave leeway to the president and members of his inner circle considerable scope for manipulation since the only avenue for political recruitment was through KANU. According to Mueller, (1973), in a democratic society, it's essential that party politics be separated from the administration of the country to facilitate accountability. The fusion was a violation of the principle of separation since the executive was synonymous with KANU. This impacted negatively on political recruitment to parliament.

Holding the Kikuyu in great suspicion, Moi began to rely on new sources of support. He embarked on a purge of the Njonjo-Kibaki axis and hit other Kikuyu elites. He now sought to consolidate his regime by marginalising those who had campaigned to stop him from ascending and those who helped him, (Macharia, 2012: 191). Moi targeted Kibaki and in February 1982, he was moved from the powerful ministry of finance to Home Affairs. This was taken to be further proof of marginalization of the Kikuyu, (*Weekly Review*, September 22, 1989, 4). It was followed by sustained onslaught against the Kibaki allies. There was even an attempt to remove Kibaki from the post of KANU party vice-president, (*Weekly Review*, September 23, 1983, 6-8.) Moi continued purging the civil service, military, police, provincial administration, replacing the Kikuyu with Kalenjin, (Karei, O.I., 27/01/2016).

The attempted coup in 1982 is considered to have been a critical turning point in Moi's leadership style. By confirming Moi's fears for his own position, the coup exacerbated his paranoia and triggered a fresh round of predation. Politically, Moi developed a pathological hatred for dissenting voices. He saw any opposition as being tantamount to treason. Most obviously, Moi introduced Kenya's most dramatic phase of elite rotation. Many Kikuyu ministers, administrative officers, and senior figures within the upper ranks of the military and police were replaced with loyal Kalenjin, (Sifuna, O.I., 25/3/2016). He surrounded himself with members of his ethnic group and placed many of them in key positions in the government. Members of the Kalenjin community dominated the armed forces and virtually all sectors of the public service relative to other ethnic groups in the country. Inevitably, he also turned to Rift Valley politicians from his own Kalenjin for advice. Top on the list of his advisors were Henry Chemboiwo, Henry Kosgey, Isaac

Salat, Nicholas Biwott and Mark Too, (*Africa Confidential*, Vol. 23 no. 8 April, 14, 1982). These Kalenjin personalities identified sources of dissent and recommended to the president the actions to be taken to overcome any opposition to his rule. Politics was ethnicised and ethnicity became increasingly politicised as political elite appealed to its ethnic group for political affinity.

Meanwhile, information started filtering in soon after the coup attempt that Njonjo had been planning to capture the presidency⁹³. Many believed the traitor affair was stage- managed by Moi and his allies, (Mulili, O.I., 22/3/2015). Moi appears to have been keen to outmanoeuvre Njonjo before he staked claim to the presidency, in line with a secret agreement made between them prior to Moi ascending to the presidency. At the commission of inquiry formed to probe Njonjo, it emerged that Njonjo had worked out a three-pronged strategy to oust Moi from power. He planned, through buying the support of parliamentarians, to get a majority of MPs to pass a motion of no-confidence in the president, made attempts to influence KANU sub- branches and branches to support him for president, and sought the support of foreign governments to effect his scheme⁹⁴ (*Weekly Review*, May 11, 1986).

The Njonjo affair occasioned a thorough purge in KANU, with 14 individuals being expelled, in a huge show of power and strength (*Weekly Review*, May 11, 1990). Disloyal elements in the party were marked and expelled. This included Kamotho from Murang'a who was identified as a key ally of Njonjo during the inquiry. He was expelled from KANU and lost his Kangema parliamentary seat. Some branch and national-level KANU officials fully exploited the issue to remove unwanted

⁹³ This matter, popularly called 'the Traitor Affair', was divulged by Moi at a public rally in Kisii in the month of May 1983.

⁹⁴ See Miller Commission of Inquiry Report on Njonjo Inquiry, (1984).

politicians from their positions. To have such expelled from the party, all the branch had to do was link the unwanted officials with the camp of “the traitors”. Some politicians wanted the “traitor” issue to have ethnic dimension, (Miriti, O.I., 27/01/2016). This incident culminated in further marginalization of the Kikuyu and polarization of politics. At the same time, KANU branches across the country began to assert their power in a series of KANU branch ‘coups’, as upcoming politicians tried to topple the old ones. If the old officials had lost favour within the Moi system, the party approved branch recommendations to suspend such officials or expel them from KANU altogether and this further increased tension and rivalry within party branches, (Kariuki, 2002: 66).

5. 4 ELECTORAL POLITICS AND ETHNICITY; 1983-1988

By early 1983, preparations were underway for a national conference, to launch a national recruiting drive for new KANU member. In April, it was announced that the party had enrolled nearly 1.7 Million members, or 22% of the eligible voters, (*Weekly Review*, June 11, 1983). The campaign, which had been regarded as a preliminary to national elections in 1984, was cut short when Moi unexpectedly summoned the KANU Governing Council on May 17, 1983 and announced that elections would be held on September 1983, (kipyegon, O.I., 27/02/2016).

Despite the continued marginalization of Kikuyu by the Moi regime and KANU, the Kikuyu retained their domination of politics in Nairobi. Virtually every constituency had a front –running Kikuyu candidate for the snap election. In Dagoretti, the main contestants were Njoroge Mungai and Clement Gachanja, (Onsoti, O.I., 12/02/20116)

Gachanja's focus on Mungai's role in Change-the Constitution campaign of 1976, was aimed at winning the non-Kikuyu voters. The contest turned to be kind of a long standing political battle between two traditionally opposing camps in the constituency. Although Gachanja had consistently denied any interest in parliamentary politics before the elections were declared in 1983, when in October 1982 a group of KANU leaders from Dagoretti made an abortive attempt to oust Mungai as the branch chairman, many suspected Gachanja was behind the move, (Kioko, O.I., 20/02/2016).

In Langata, the race was between three main contestants- Nathan Kahara, Philip Leakey and Achieng' Oneko. Racial and Ethnic overtones cropped up in the contest between them. Leakey complained of a candidate who was telling voters that if elected, he would fight for Uhuru "we achieved uhuru 20 years ago", he told campaign meetings, (Atullo, O.I., 10/11/2015). On his part, Oneko concentrated on national plans, and his politics remained the brand of early years of independence. He attempted to project a national image as opposed to the more localized images which other candidates in the constituency were projecting- calling for closer links between Kenya and her neighbours. His opponents accused him of making indirect appeal to the substantial Luo voter in the constituency, (Visram, O.I., 10/11/2015).

Leakey appealed to voters not to elect a candidate who hailed from outside, observing that they would have difficulty accessing him because he would go home on weekends. He promised to do more to assist lift the living standards of Langata residents, declaring he was not inclined to serve along ethnic lines. However, he was projected in negative limelight when he was quoted as saying the electorate should

reject “an uncircumcised candidate”,⁹⁵ (*Weekly Review*, September 23, 1990: 10-11). Kahara made his campaign mostly non-ethnic. However, a number of his supporters defected at the last minute to campaign for Oneko. Oneko accused Kahara of being responsible for the mess in Langata during his tenure as mayor, but Kahara charged that city council problems had nothing to do with Langata politics, (Nyaseda, O.I., 17/02/2016).

The Kamukunji race had six contestants. The contest narrowed down to Maina Wanjigi and incumbent Nicholas Gor, Omollo Sivanga, a strong Luo candidate. Their contest also had heavy ethnic overtones, (Masika, O.I., 04/03/2016. Majority of candidates in Parklands were also Kikuyu targeting the populous Kikuyu vote in the constituency. The contest was overcrowded attracting 13 candidates, but the race was mainly between former MP Wachira Waweru and James Karani⁹⁶. An Asian Amin Walji was targeting the Asian bloc. In a race where ethnicity was proving key, Wachira kept appealing to parklands voters not to make the same mistake they made in 1979, when Asian Krishna Gautama, clinched the seat, (*Weekly Review*, September 16, 1983, pg 6-7).

In Mathare, the contest had narrowed down to Andrew Ngumba and Munyua Waiyaki, with veteran contestant, Laban Odanga aiming at solidifying the sizeable non-Kikuyu vote. He was hoping to gain from a split of Kikuyu vote between the two strong Kikuyu candidates. Ngumba was busy advancing loans to residents to buy houses and matatus, through Rural –Urban Credit Finance. Mungai claimed the

⁹⁵ This was taken as an affront on the Luo community which initiated its men by removing the six front lower teeth. Some other communities used this custom to demean the Luo community for political reasons.

⁹⁶ 6 of these were Kikuyu; Kariuki Gitau, Charles Wachira, Wachira Waweru, Maina Kamanda, Nganga Njoroge and Jesse Kamau.

money Ngumba was using was from South Africa, a claim that was dismissed by Ngumba. Ngumba on his side pointed out that Munyua Waiyaki had brought little development in the constituency. Odanga charged that the two candidates were not residents of Mathare, were outsiders and not suitable to represent the constituency. He argued that Mathare was a constituency beyond ethnic affinity and needed a parliamentary representative resident in the area, (Oloo, O.I., 21/01/2016).

The Bahati race was also dominated by Kikuyu. Six out of the nine contestants were Kikuyu, the front runners being James Muriuki, Francis Mutura and George Muchai. Each of the candidates argued their support was not limited to members of their tribe, (Kabochi, O.I., 15/9/2015). Muriuki argued that his track record as MP far transcended any ethnic consideration. Mutura contended that having been brought up in the area, he had grown up with members of different ethnicities, who had come to regard him as one of them. Aiming for a control of Luo votes also was Rading Omolo, who had performed fairly well in Langata in 1979, but was now contesting in Bahati, (*The Standard*, September 4, 1983).

The Starehe seat attracted Rubia, Njoroge Kinuthia, Kiruhi Kimondo and Dan Owino. In total, there were nine contestants, five of whom were Kikuyu. Owino was expected to benefit from a split of the Kikuyu vote among the Kikuyu candidates. Though having a substantial Luo vote, Starehe, had never had a Luo MP, something Owino was pointing out especially to the non-Kikuyu voters, (Ester, O.I., 29/12/2015). He also repeatedly focused his attacks on Rubia, accusing him of being inaccessible, especially to non-Kikuyu residents of the constituency. Kimondo had been a strong supporter of Rubia's in 1979, but had now managed to build a power

base during his tenure as a councillor with the city council, (Kamuchii, O.I., 12/01/2016).

The Kikuyu attained victory in most of the contests. In Dagoretti, the race turned out to be an upset for Njoroge Mungai who acquired 8,413 votes to lose the seat to Gachanja, who collected 12,847 votes. Mungai however remained KANU branch chairman. In Langata, Leakey emerged victorious after garnering 10, 244 votes. The second position was taken by Oneko who garnered 8,758 votes. The contest was dominated by non Kikuyu candidates, with the top Kikuyu candidate Kinyanjui, obtaining 3,059 votes. In Parklands, the Kikuyu vote was split up among the six Kikuyu candidates, leading to narrow defeat of Wachira Waweru, by Samwel Kivuitu. Waweru garnered 2,459 votes while Kivuitu garnered 2,509 votes. A seemingly easy constituency for Kikuyu contenders was Embakasi, where Godfrey Muhuri emerged victorious by garnering 4,832 votes. A Luo candidate, Otieno Ombanjo got 2,743 votes with another Kikuyu, David Mwenje coming third with 1,930 votes. Yet another Kikuyu, John Murugu came at the fourth position with 1,092 votes.

The top three candidates in Starehe turned out to be Kikuyu with Rubia garnering 5,799 votes, Kimondo 3,041 votes, Murungi 1,426. The top non-Kikuyu candidate was Dan Owino who got 997 votes. In Mathare, Ngumba emerged winner after obtaining 16,042 votes followed closely by another Kikuyu candidate Munyua with 6,274 votes. Two Luo candidates, Laban Odanga and Nahason Omondi came up next with Odanga obtaining 3,699 and Omondi having 6,402 votes, (*Weekly Review*,

September 16, 1983).⁹⁷ In Makadara, the effect of having many Kikuyu contesting was a split of Kikuyu vote, giving an edge to the winner, Fredrick Omido, who scored 4,390 votes against the closest Kikuyu Candidate, James Muriuki with 3,235 votes. Rading Omolo secured 4,110 votes. The top Kikuyu candidate was James Muriuki with 3,235. In Kamukunji, Wanjigi got 6,330 votes while Gor had 4,814, (ibid).

Ethnicity and sectarianism had a big impact on the poll outcome in Nairobi. In Dagoretti, which is next to Njonjo's former Kikuyu constituency, pro-Njonjo sentiments were deeply reflected. Gachanja, regarded to be very close to Njonjo benefited immensely from this sentiment, and largely contributed to his victory over Njoroge Mungai. Pro-Njonjo sentiments were also responsible for the ouster of the long-serving MP for Mathare, Munyua Waiyaki, a sworn foe of Njonjo, who was defeated by a Njonjo ally, Ngumba. The battle for Dagoretti and Mathare turned out to be between pro-Njonjo and anti-Njonjo forces in the city, (Mutuku, O.I., 04/02/2016). The number of non-Kikuyu MPs remained three after the snap election. Gor, however, lost his Kamukunji seat while Leakey retained his. In Makadara, a Luhya, Mr. Fred Omido, was elected. Kivuitu captured the parklands seat that he had lost to Gautama in 1979.

Oral testimonies analysed indicated that coalescing around the ethnic pole overrode any other considerations among majority of voters in Nairobi County. The power of power of ethnic mobilization for political ends, over any other form of mobilization,

⁹⁷ See also the National Elections Data Book, Kenya 1963-1997, IED, 1997.

was clearly demonstrated in the Kikuyu dominance over electoral politics in Nairobi County. After the snap election, the regime edged out of power the remaining pro-Kenyatta and Kikuyu leaders, (Jonjo, 2002, 95 and Murunga, 2004: 278). The election was followed by the 1985 KANU elections which were meant to get rid of leaders “disloyal to Moi and KANU”. The election got rid of many former Njonjo associates and enabled Moi to assert his full authority in party and government hierarchy. Moi was able to sideline his opponents, play powerful Kikuyu political and commercial interests against each other, and project himself as the country’s unquestionable leader, (Oyugi, et. al., 2003). KANU increasingly became a centre of political power with most national political activity being channelled to the public through the party. The new shift towards making KANU a centre of national political life became evident with the emergence of a strong grassroots base that saw the rise into power of district branch chairman, who then played a crucial role in reshaping the party. At the forefront was Moi who spearheaded nationwide party recruitment drive that saw over 5 million Kenyans enrolled in KANU in 1985, (*Weekly Review*, October 14, 1988: 8).

KANU's relationship to the state changed significantly, as the administration and the party began to trade functions. The distinction between the personnel attached to the State House and those attached to the management of the party eroded in practice, as did the distinction between the holders of elective office and the administration. The dividing line between party and Government became more and more diffuse, since senior Government officials were also party bosses at various levels. The party acquired some new roles, too. Party branches acquired surveillance functions through the creation of youth wings and disciplinary committees, for example, as

well as responsibility for helping the administration maintain public order.. The party became a vehicle for transmitting the views of the president to the grass roots and for controlling the expression of interests within the country, (Widner, 1992: 251).

Most of the key elements in the new relationship between KANU and the Office of the President were in place by the end of 1985. The Office of the President controlled the election of candidates to high party office and converted KANU into a vehicle for monitoring opposition at the local level. The party youth wings and disciplinary committees were key elements in this system. Their own excesses prompted greater centralization of the party and enforcement of a vague “party line” indistinguishable from the will of senior decision makers at the State House. KANU was no longer an organization for the representation of views and the aggregation of divergent interests into cogent platforms. And in that sense Kenya had become what Widner has termed as a ‘party- state’, (Widner, 1992: 223).

The executive’s control over political space was further enhanced by the introduction of queue voting in party elections. Although the idea of queue voting had been alluded to by Moi, it was the Nairobi branch that had implemented it, in a resolution passed by the branch that all parliamentary elections should be preceded by preliminary elections where voters queue behind a candidate. In the event, queuing was first used in the 1985 KANU grassroots elections, even before it was endorsed as a party policy. The decision to replace the secret ballot with queuing in KANU election was based on the party’s leadership desire to further control the election process rather than on any wish to facilitate it as was claimed, (Atieno, O.I.,

15/9/2015). The system culminated in grievous irregularities in the manner in which the 1985 KANU polls were conducted. In some places, winners were announced even before queuing was concluded! (Kariuki, 2002: 110). The system enabled the regime to identify and punish those brave enough to line up behind ‘disloyal’ candidates. Initially, this empowered Moi to eliminate opposition during the KANU elections, and re-invent the party as a body wholly beholden to the President. It got rid of former Njonjo associates and enabled Moi to assert his full authority in party and government hierarchy, (*Daily Nation*, September 13, 1989).

Nairobi branch conducted elections before the other branches. City’s political alignment underwent a dramatic change, with traditional rivals in the dissolved Nairobi City Council (NCC) ganging up together to vote on one side. The elections turned out to be a come back into the political limelight by a group of powerful former Nairobi councillors, some of whom orchestrated the downfall of former Mayor, Nathan Kahara, and the eventual dissolution of the NCC. A rival of Kahara, and former councillor with the defunct NCC, Zachary Maina, was elected Vice-chairman, Kimani Rugendo was elected branch organizing secretary. Apart from Muhuri Muchiri, MP for Embakasi (who was elected branch secretary), and Mungai (elected Chairman), the other party officials were former councillors. The post of treasurer formerly held by Mutisya was taken by former councillor, Joseph Mbutia who defeated Omido, Bahati MP. Isaac Njooora was elected assistant treasurer while another former councillor, Ng’ang’a Gitau, was elected assistant secretary. Apart from Muchiri and Omido, no other MP vied for any seat at the branch level, although all of them took part in the elections except Kivuitu. All the MPs, except Omido voted on one side with Mungai’s group.

The MP for Lang'ata, Leakey, had earlier lost in his attempt to capture the Lang'ata sub-branch chairmanship, with Omido also losing at his Bahati sub-branch. Omido often sought to exploit Mungai-Gachanja feud in an effort to take the branch leadership, (*Weekly Review*, March 12, 1986). Gachanja, who had won a seat at the ward level in Dagoretti, did not show up to challenge Mungai for the sub-branch seat as had been widely expected. Although in 1983 he had been able to dislodge Mungai with a 4,000 vote margin for the parliamentary seat, he could not garner enough back-up among party faithful to make a dent in Mungai's support in Dagoretti sub-branch and Nairobi party branch. Gachanja and his supporters were only able to win ward seats in the constituency, while Mungai took all the rest, including the sub-branch chair and the branch chairmanship. Starehe MP, Rubia, who was returned in Starehe as sub-branch chairman, and who in previous elections fought it out with Mungai, had also decided that Mungai should be unopposed, (*Weekly Review*, June 28, 1995). Mungai's re-election unopposed surprised many observers considering how, in 1982, his political rivals, led by Gachanja, put up a spirited attempt to oust him from the chairmanship, though they were not successful, (Muchemi, O.I., 26/01/2016).

At the national level, only three out of the nine office-bearers retained their seats. Moi retained the party presidency, Kibaki the vice-presidency, and Ole Tipis treasurer. Nabwera beat Matano for national secretary-general⁹⁸. In the election, the delegates' conference concentrated more on maintaining a regional balance in the distribution of party offices, as was the case in 1979, (*The Standard*, July 20, 1985).

⁹⁸ Matano's defeat ended his 16-year long role as KANU's chief spokesman

In 1986, KANU again sought to implement a system of queue voting during the Mathare by-election, in which party members selected the three top candidates from among those contesting the parliamentary seat. The Mathare seat became vacant when Ngumba ran into exile in 1986, after investigations began into the collapse of his Rural – Urban Credit Finance Company Ltd, (*Daily Nation*, September 18, 1986). Prior to escaping, he had been dismissed as assistant Minister. In an interview he gave in Sweden, he was quoted as having implied he was exiled for political reasons⁹⁹. He was said to have remarked that silent opposition to the Government was gaining ground both locally and internationally. Moi expressed surprise that Ngumba, a ‘fugitive who had embezzled depositors’ funds’, was being transformed into a political dissident, (*Weekly Review*, August 18, 1986). Parliament on the other hand asked Government to take tough action against dissidents. KANU immediately announced Ngumba suspended from the party.

Acrimony however erupted in the Bahati KANU Sub-branch when the chairman, Francis Karani, criticized the Nairobi KANU branch, saying it was not enough to condemn Ngumba without exposing his colleagues and stooges. He told a branch meeting “those who used to dine and wine with him are here in our midst and I can name some of them”, and demanded that KANU branch chairman, Mungai , disclose how Ngumba had fled as they “used to be friends”, (ibid). On the same day, Minister Peter Okondo called a press conference to demand that Government screens all leaders for Mwakenya links. His view was that if Ngumba had been a member of the underground movement, there must be other high ranking Government officials in the movement. Various politicians also made claims to the

⁹⁹ He claimed that he had offered his services to lead Mwakenya

effect the Government was riddled with Mwakenya sympathisers and outright operatives, (Hassan, O.I., 19/11/2015).

At the same time, accusatory fingers were pointing at Central Province as Mwakenya's base¹⁰⁰. Claims also began filtering in that funds embezzled from Ngumba's financial body were being used to fund anti-government activity. The President however intervened into the matter, declaring his confidence in the loyalty of the Kikuyu Community, making exceptions only in the case of a number of leaders from the province. The president noted that Ngumba claimed to have fled because of Kikuyu being finished, but said that if anybody finished the Kikuyu's wealth, it was Ngumba himself, (*Daily Nation*, November 18, 1986).

The Mathare by-election to replace Ngumba was dominated by Kikuyu candidates. Maina, (a former Mayor), and Josphat Karanja were the main contenders. The seat was won polled 91.6% of votes in the poll, which was conducted using the *mlolongo* system¹⁰¹, (Wamwea, O.I., 20/01/2016). The advocates of the new method used in the 1985 party elections and the Mathare by- election were determined to adopt it for the party and parliamentary elections slotted for 1988.

There was huge outcry from different parts of the country when the Government announced that the 1988 election would be preceded by nomination of candidates by queue voting. Many people felt this process was open to gross manipulation. According to the rules of queue voting, if a candidate attained 70% of votes at the preliminary stage, he would not proceed to secret ballot but would be declared the winner. It was alleged that for some favoured candidates, this threshold was attained

¹⁰⁰ Ngumba, though representing a Nairobi constituency, was a prominent member of Kikuyu community.

¹⁰¹ This system was also referred to as mlolongo voting.

artificially at the queue voting stage, (Macharia, 2012:199). Third placed candidates at nomination stage were barred from proceeding to the secret ballot stage where two top contestants received the prescribed vote count. It was this rule that knocked down many contestants such as Collins Omondi in Makadara, George Mahindi in Dagoretti and Kimeu Katha in Embakasi, (*Weekly Review*, August 18, 1986).

Sixty candidates went to parliament unopposed, but at least a third of electoral contests were manipulated in favour of ‘the right’ candidates, (Throup, 1995: 45). Rubia, who had long been MP for the Nairobi constituency of Starehe, was among those who succumbed to the new 70% preliminary election rule. In the outcome that was highly disputed, Rubia was beaten by a relatively unknown politician, Kiruhi Kimondo, 29% to 71%. Oral evidence revealed to us that Kimondo’s rise in city politics was due to his association with the Vice President Josphat Karanja and the desire in the Establishment circles to tame Rubia politically, (Awori, O.I., 6/01/2016). Rubia claimed the election was rigged and that the nomination figures had been manipulated to give his rival the 70% margin that ensured Kimondo’s sailing through without requiring secret ballot voting. If anything, the figures Kimondo was given didn’t add up to 70%¹⁰². In a subsequent altercation between him and Karanja, where Karanja publicly hit out at the former MP for Starehe, Rubia took the opportunity to wonder aloud about when exactly Karanja had assumed the mantle of ‘the prefect of Nairobi politics’, (*Weekly Review*, June 6, 1989).

¹⁰² The figures were promptly amended to make up to 70%, see *The Weekly Review*, June 13, 1988

The *mlolongo* system was alleged to have been aimed at facilitating election malpractices, which might have contributed to the widespread allegations of rigging. KANU passed at the nominations stage only those with favour of the party. Only KANU members were allowed to vote at the nomination stage, (Brenda, O.I., 6/01/2016). Party constitution also required candidates seeking KANU clearance to make application to the party president and sign a separate document pledging their loyalty to the president before the party could sponsor them. Interviewing of the candidates was vested in party branches. In Dagoretti, violent confrontation erupted after Gachanja was declared loser, (Mulatya, O.I., 20/02/2016).

The voter turnout at nomination was shockingly low, and a major political concern. For instance, only 7% of KANU members turned out in Mathare constituency – raising serious questions on the propriety of the 70% provision for nomination of a person as sole candidate for election. Many who made it to parliament unopposed were nominated by much less numbers than that which brought the previous occupants of those seats to parliament in 1983, (*Weekly Review*, September 20-27, 1988). This defeated the stated purpose of queuing. Writing of the largest constituency in metropolitan Nairobi, a local newspaper summed up the situation. “If the voter turnout at the nominations is as awfully low as it appeared at Mathare in Nairobi, where less than 7 % of KANU members appeared for election, then serious questions arise over the appropriateness of the 70% provisions for nomination of a person as sole candidate for the general election”, (*Daily Nation*, September 20, 1988). A weekly magazine, (*Weekly Review*, September 20-27, 1988), summed up the situation thus. “On Monday, many people who made it to parliament unopposed were nominated by a much smaller number than that which

brought the previous occupants of those seats to parliament in 1983. That is clearly not what the queuing system was meant to achieve.”

Mlolongo voting was an indication that the intentions of the political elite were pretty much the same as before- political domination, marginalization and exclusion of opponents. The election witnessed serious executive control and manipulation through clearly manipulated outcome. The election seemed to be confirming to Cowen and Laasko’s ‘Legitimization of state theory’, (Cowen and Laasco, 2002).

In Nairobi province, Kikuyu candidates still dominated the contest in almost all the constituencies. Before the election, Westlands MP Samuel Kivuitu, and Bahati’s Dan Omido, threw Nairobi KANU branch in a spin by claiming that there was a plot a foot to make sure that all Nairobi parliamentary seats were captured by Kikuyu candidates. Kivuitu was reacting to a situation he personally faced in his Westlands turf, but Omido feared that Kikuyu dominance in the city politics made him almost a non-entity as far as city politics outside Bahati was concerned, (*Weekly Review*, November 20-27, 1986). In Makadara, the main contestants were Laban Odanga, Kihara Waithaka, and Collins Omondi. In Kamukunji, the contest was mainly between Philip Gor and Maina Wanjigi, (*Weekly Review*, September 30, 1988). The Starehe contest was mainly between Kiruhi Kimondo, Charles Rubia, and Gerishom Kirima. Langata contest was between Mwanzia Nzomo, Ratib Hussein, Philip Leakey, Francis Gitonga, Rogo Manduli and Shem Varaghi. Dagoretti attracted Gachanja, Grace Wahu, Jackson Mahindi, and Kamuyu Chris. The ticket for the

newly created Westlands¹⁰³, was being sought by Njoroge Mungai¹⁰⁴, B. Kemoli, Wanguhu Nganga, Amin Walji, former MP Wacira Waweru and Kivuitu.

The Mathare seat was being sought by Njoroge Karanja, Irungu Mwangi, Njuguna Karanja and Muchiri Gikonyo. In Embakasi, the contestants were J.M Okeyo, Muhuri Muchiri, J.Kimeu, J.M Mbillahie and David Omenye. Maina Wanjigi was trying to defend his seat against a man who gave him shock defeat in 1979 while in Mathare, Dr. Karanja was seeking a new mandate having won the seat just more than a year in a by-election, (*Weekly Review*, September 26, 1988).

The MP for Parklands Samwel Kivuitu had claimed that there was a plot by Kikuyu politicians to capture all the parliamentary seats in the city, like they had done in 1974, (Nelius, O.I., 23/11/02). The outcome of the election cemented continued Kikuyu dominance over the politics of Nairobi. The Westlands seat was captured by Dr. Mungai. Amin Walji however rejected the outcome and pledged to petition the results. He claimed that Mungai, in collaboration with Chris Kamuyu, induced voters to register in Westlands while they were already registered in Dagoretti. He argued that those voters voted in both constituencies while they should have been ineligible due to double registration. Walji further claimed voters were imported from other constituencies particularly Kikuyu and Limuru to register and vote in Westlands. In Dagoretti, the man who defeated Mungai in 1983, Clement Gachanja, lost the seat to a newcomer, Chris Kamuyu. Gachanja similarly rejected and petitioned the Dagoretti results, claiming that numerous voters registered in

¹⁰³ Westlands had been enlarged to take parts of Dagoretti

¹⁰⁴ When Dr. Mungai decided to move from the Dagoretti constituency he had represented in the past in order to seek the mandate of the electorate of the newly created Westlands constituency, he had to weather criticism that he was running away from a seat he had lost in 1983 to safer ground

Dagoretti had also registered in Westlands and voted in both, (*Weekly Review*, September 20-27, 1988).

The Kikuyu maintained their dominance over electoral politics in Nairobi, capturing six of the eight parliamentary seats. Again, out of the six winning Kikuyu candidates, four came from Murang'a: Maina Wanjigi in Kamukunji, Kamuyu in Dagoretti, Kimondo in Starehe and Mwenje in Embakasi. Only two of those elected; Mungai in Westlands and Karanja in Mathare, came from Kiambu. Leakey won in Langata and Omido in Makadara, (*The Standard*, November 5, 1988).

Table 5.2: The 1988 election results in Nairobi

Constituency	Winning Candidate	Ethnicity	Votes polled
Kamukunji	Wanjigi Maina	Kikuyu	8033
Langata	Philip Leakey	European	5409
Westlands	Njoroge Mungai	Kikuyu	7121
Embakasi	Muhuri Muchiri	Kikuyu	13951
Mathare	Josphat Karanja	Kikuyu	unopposed
Dagoretti	C.K Kamuyu	Kikuyu	8124
Makadara	Fred Omido	Luhya	7078
Starehe	Kiruhi Kimondo	Kikuyu	unopposed

Source: Weekly Review, March 25 1988.

The elections marked a turning point. On the one hand, the 'defeat' of many of the most senior non-Kalenjin figures within Parliament tilted the balance in favour of

outright exclusion, and represented the final nail in the coffin of KANU's elite alliance. On the other hand, the open rigging of the general elections served to undermine public faith in one of the only institutions left that conferred any legitimacy on the regime, (Oketch, O.I., 29/12/2015). In short, executive predation led to a process of elite fragmentation. In turn, fragmentation provided the alternative elite leadership required to transform Kenya's 'diffuse' opposition into a mass movement for change, paving the way for political liberalization.

The debate on the *mlolongo* system pre-occupied the nation for over one year and the process generated acrimonious exchanges between the state and the church to the extent it turned into a church-state conflict and created impression of the church assuming the role of an organized opposition party, (Elizer, O.I., 20/01/2016). The elections had a big impact on Kenya's political stability, generating deep hatred for KANU among the general populace since its formation. The abuse of queue voting in the elections can be considered as the most critical factor that was to fuel the multi-party euphoria in the early 1990's, (Bennet, 1963: 211).

Queue voting was again used in the branch elections conducted after the general elections. The system was used to lock out candidates who had fallen out of favour with Moi. Kibaki's reaction to the widespread discontent that accompanied the elections results announced by DC's¹⁰⁵ was that of incredulity. "Rigging requires some intelligence", Kibaki declared, pretty summing up the national disgust over the results. "This scheme is by people who have no sense of intelligence. It is not rigging but direct robbery", (*Weekly Review*, March 15, 1989). This election once

¹⁰⁵ , District Commissioners's were the officers in charge of the election in their respective areas

again saw the Kikuyu retain their domination of Nairobi KANU branch. Omido abhorred the Kikuyu dominance over Nairobi KANU branch and even raised the issue loudly, shortly before the election when he expressed fears that there was a tribal plot afoot to dominate the capital city. He later went on to benefit from Dr. Karanja's clout at the KANU elections when Dr. Karanja pushed for an ethnic balance in the city that saw Omido get the Nairobi KANU branch Vice Chairman position. Richard Kimani was elected branch secretary while Sammy Maina won the organizing secretary post, (*The Standard*, December 16, 1988).

The party held national elections in September 1988, and once again, top executive positions were distributed in accordance with what were then perceived as the party's regional and ethnic strengths on the ground. The position of the vice president went to Joshat Karanja from Central province. Although Dr. Karanja was an MP for a constituency in Nairobi, he hailed from Central Province which had to be given a senior post on the NEC, as a way of maintaining regional balance in the party's top election, (*Weekly Review*, November 10, 1988). The other seats were decided on a representative basis, with each province nominating a candidate to replace an incumbent from the same province. The strategy, perfected at the 1978 party elections, ensured that there was no flood of candidates, as most potential candidates didn't bother declaring interest in any seat unless they were sure of the support of their provincial power brokers. Peter Oloo Aringo had no trouble winning the party chairmanship from the late David Okiki Amayo. Similarly, the late Moses Mudavadi had no problem landing the post of secretary-general, reserved for Western province, where he replaced Mr. Burudi Nabwera, (*Weekly Review*, November 10, 1988).

The appointment of the Josphat Karanja, Mathare MP as Vice President introduced a new twist in ethnic politics in Nairobi. Karanja¹⁰⁶ was elected MP for Mathare in the by-election of 1986. Though the possibility Kibaki would be dropped was already the subject of much speculation in political circles, Karanja would have been regarded an unlikely option for the slot. The general view on this action, among the Kikuyu, was that the community had been weakened politically, and even more important, they had been denied a chance of producing a future president, (Marite,O.I., 27/02/2016). Yet, many non-Kikuyus saw Karanja's appointment as representing a perpetuation of Kikuyu dominance in Kenya, and Nairobi politics, (*Weekly Review*, April 1, 1988: 6).

Karanja was to remain the Vice President of the state and KANU from March 1988 to May 1989. He was forced to resign as vice president and expelled from the party after serving for only one year. Though Karanja used to pride himself on his cosmopolitan bearing and distaste for ethnic politics, he was accused of fomenting disunity and pursuing ethnic interests (*Weekly Review*, April 28, 1989). Upon appointment as V.P, Karanja “projected an aura that assured his quick rise to a level of political power, quickly establishing himself as the ultimate power broker in the city politics, and showing an appetite to extend his tentacles to Kikuyu land; especially in Kiambu, where he had failed to dislodge Magugu in 1979 and 1983”, (*Weekly Review*, May 5, 1989). His schemes provoked panic among Kiambu politicians, especially Arthur Magugu.

¹⁰⁶ Dr Karanja had twice failed to achieve election victory in his native Githunguri constituency

It was Kuria Kanyingi and Embakasi's David Mwenje who led forces in the onslaught against him. He was accused of trying to rally the Kikuyu around himself in a "tribalistic scheme for power", (Oucho, 2002:148). Other accusations against him revolved around asking KANU officials in Nairobi to kneel before him, mobilizing Kikuyu and claiming Kikuyu were being finished, claiming the President had to appoint him Vice President as way of thanking Kenyatta¹⁰⁷, (Mugeke, O.I., 05/03/2016).

The Nairobi KANU branch Vice-Chair Omido and Embakasi's Mwenje immediately joined in the fray, vowing to press for action on the vice president at a meeting of the Nairobi KANU branch. Mwenje's bitterness against Dr. Karanja emanated from the party elections of 1988 when he made it known that V.P's influence had prevented him from capturing the Embakasi party sub-branch chair, (*The Standard*, December 6, 1988).

As drama around the V.P continued unfolding in Nairobi, the Langata party sub branch vice chair Ratib Hussein, issued a press statement, hitting out at Karanja. The branch however denied any knowledge of Ratib's allegations and invited him to provide more concrete information. Ratib responded with a strongly worded statement, this time suggesting that Nairobi KANU branch Chair, Mungai, Langata Sub-branch Chair and KANU branch organizing Secretary Richard Kimani, were party to the tribal schemes of the Vice-President. Under pressure from the V.P's opponents, a meeting was convened by Nairobi branch to discuss the Karanja. However, Karanja's supporters, led by Starehe's MP, Maina Kamanda, objected to the Chairman raising the issue, arguing the meeting had no agenda in the first place,

¹⁰⁷ This was taken as implying that the seat belonged to the Kikuyu

the Karanja case was rooted in Kiambu, not Nairobi, (*Weekly Review*, December 17, 1988).

Newly-elected KANU Secretary-General Joseph Kamotho was suspected of having played a key role in the manoeuvres leading to the ouster of the Karanja. Kiruhi Kimondo charged that it was Joseph Kamotho, who was scheming for the downfall of the V.P and Kimondo himself. According to Kimondo, Kamotho was part of MTO, a group comprising of city politicians from Murang'a, who were scheming to dominate politics in Nairobi province. Part of their scheme was to seize the position of V.P. Also, Omido, Maina Wanjigi, Mwenje, all city politicians, played a crucial role in Karanja's final fall. In parliament, it was Mwenje who rose on a point of order to demand that the V.P should come out and defend his case in view of the serious allegations made against him, and moved motion for his ousterto remove him, (*Weekly Review*, December 17, 1988).

Amid the countrywide condemnation, the only politicians who appeared to defend Dr. Karanja in the whole saga were Kimondo and a few members of Mathare KANU sub-branch, a testimony of the extent of Karanja's political isolation. When things got bad, the sub-branch officials toned down their stand and declared that while they upheld Karanja's impeachment, they were unhappy that the Nairobi party branch met to deliberate his case without first seeking the views of the Sub-branch, (*Weekly Review*, May 5, 1989: 16).

During the debate, Mungai had taken his time before joining the anti-Karanja crusade, leaving Omido, Mwenje, and Maina Wanjigi to spearhead the campaign. The debate highlighted the pitfalls faced by Mungai in KANU Nairobi politics, the

ethnic divide, coupled with the sectional rivalries between the Kikuyu of Kiambu and those from Murang'a, (Muteru, O.I., 04/03/22016). With Karanja and Mungai hailing from Kiambu, and with two of the city politicians pushing the fight against Karanja; Mwenje and Kamanda, hailing from Murang'a, the stage was set for a revival of the political tug-of-war in the city between personalities from the two districts of Central province, (Kariba, O.I., 13/12/2016). Mungai's apparent indecision on a crucial political battle left him particularly vulnerable. He was often accused of being part of a plot to keep the Kikuyu the dominant force in the city politics. Also, allegations were made that he was party to Karanja's alleged tribal designs, (*The Standard*, June 19, 1989).

The fall of Karanja can be viewed from a patrimonial perspective, identified by the behaviour of the 'big man' as its embodiment. Karanja was apparently on a mission to patronize the Kikuyu in Nairobi County. In this context, his manoeuvres provoked intense counter scheming by politicians opposed to him

With the fall of Karanja, Maina Wanjigi, as Minister, could now claim to be the senior-most politician in Nairobi. Wanjigi had been uneasy about Karanja all along, particularly because he believed he had supported opponents against him in the 1988 general election. Karanja considered Maina Wanjigi a potential threat to his ambitions. Even more disturbing for Maina Wanjigi, was the belief that Karanja had formed an alliance with Mungai, (*The Standard*, June 19, 1989). With Karanja under pressure, Omido raised again the topic of Kikuyu dominance in Nairobi and pointed a finger at Karanja as the mastermind of the alleged scheme to return Nairobi to the

situation that existed between 1974 and 1979, when all city parliamentary seats were occupied by the Kikuyu, (*Weekly Review*, April 28, 1989:7).

5.5 THE CLAMOUR FOR MULTI-PARTYISM AND POLITICS IN NAIROBI COUNTY

Under the monolithic KANU regime of Moi, Kenya developed a highly centralised political system in which the ruling party assumed supremacy over parliament and the civil service. The result of this was that the resources of the country were used for political patronage. Patrimonialism, Macharia (2012:53) observes, implies an instrumentally profitable lack of distinction between the civic and personal spheres. The Moi regime sought to forestall political tension by rewarding political supporters of KANU with public land especially in Nairobi. Neo-patrimonialism could therefore form the logic behind the demolition of slums and evictions in the 1990's in Nairobi, as the slum land was ear-marked for allocation to Moi regime's supporters.

One of the most brutal evictions of the informal sector that took place during the time was that of Muoroto village that lay near the Machakos country bus station. The residents of the village were evicted in a dramatic raid in October 1990. After a three day pitched battle between the police and the residents,¹⁰⁸ demolition squad cleared structures while owners slept inside, (*Daily Nation*, May 26, 1990). The manner of Muoroto evictions, and the brutality that accompanied it, caused much shock and consternation among Kenyans and raised political temperatures to a near fever pitch. Nairobi Kikuyu MPs protested bitterly, saying that the move would

¹⁰⁸ Most of these were elderly Mau Mau women (Otuma, O.I: 16/5/16).

cause suffering to the owners¹⁰⁹, (Mwariri, O.I., 21/2/2016). Nairobi KANU officials also reacted angrily to the demolitions, saying it contradicted an agreement arrived at earlier by various city authorities. Through this agreement, reached upon under pressure from Nairobi MPs, the NCCo chaired by Fred Gumo had committed itself not to undertake arbitrary demolitions of kiosks and other structures before consultations and discussions including city MPs, leaders and Provincial Administration. No evictions would be carried out unless an alternative site was available for the squatters, (*The Standard*, May 28, 1990).

In the aftermath of the demolitions, Maina Wanjigi called for resignation of Gumo, the chair of NCC, referring to him as a ‘colonialist’ from Kitale. He linked the demolition to Operation Anvil of 1952 and called on the evicted hawkers to return to their sites. Gumo interpreted Maina Wanjigi’s reference to him as a colonialist as intended to mean he was a ‘colonialist’ in Nairobi because he was not a Kikuyu, (*Weekly Review*, June 8, 1990: 6-7) “His remarks are nothing but tribal”, charged Gumo. “Just the other day, he was championing the Murang’a Take Over and now he has come out in his true colours”. Gumo observed that Nairobi is the nation’s capital and “doesn’t belong to any one tribe”. He observed that those were not the first evictions in the city and wondered why Maina Wanjigi did not protest the evictions in the past when the NCC was headed by Kikuyu mayors, (*Weekly Review*, June 8, 1990: 6-7).

Accusations of tribalism against Maina Wanjigi also came from William Ntimama, Bahati MP Fred Omido, and Saboti’s Wafula Wabuge. According to Assistant Minister Noor Ogle, Maina Wanjigi was exercising tribalism simply because the

¹⁰⁹ The kiosk owners comprised of an influential bloc of Kikuyu voters. It would have been foolhardy for any kikuyu politician to remain aloof

residents of Muoroto were all Kikuyu. “I have been there personally and confirmed this”, (*Weekly Review*, June 8, 1990: 6). But Maina Wanjigi defended himself against the charges of tribalism and organised for his sub branch, where he was the chairman, to come to his defence. When replying to accusations by Gumo, and Ntimama that Maina Wanjigi was a tribalist, the Kamukunji sub-branch took the stand that the attacks on their chairman were motivated by tribalism and sectarianism. Addressing a Madaraka Day rally, Moi had claimed that on the night before the demolition, Deputy Director of City Inspectorate, Wahome, had visited Muoroto where he incited the residents into fighting the Commission Askaris. The Kamukunji sub-branch took the view the president was misinformed when he made the claim that Wahome and Kariuki, (the Clerk) had played a role in the incitement. According to the branch officials, whoever framed the two did so merely because they were Kikuyu. Ntimama on his part exonerated city Inspectorate Director, Kaittany. It was claimed this move was tribal, with allegations being made that there was an attempt to heap all the blame on the Kikuyu, (Brenda, O.I., 6/01/2016).

Sectionalism that characterised Kikuyu politics in Nairobi also came to play. Former Embakasi MP, Muhuri Muchiri, accused Maina Wanjigi of showing lack of confidence in the Government and asked him to resign. He went on to accuse him of not only being a tribalist but also a sectionalist, (*Weekly Review*, June 8, 1990: 8). The questioning of the validity of President’s remarks by the Kamukunji KANU Sub- branch officials appeared rebellious and contributed to Maina Wanjigi’s sacking as Minister. After criticizing Wanjigi’s role in the saga, and indicating that the former Minister was involved in a tribal exchange with Gumo, the president instructed Mungai, in his capacity as KANU branch Chairman, to deal with

‘tribalists’ in the city. The Kamukunji sub-branch officials hit out at Mungai, whom it considered as part of the scheme against Maina Wanjigi, (*The Standard*, June 13, 1990). The saga appeared to be exacerbating sectarian rivalry between the Murang’a and Kiambu Kikuyu, (Wacera, O.I., 20/02/2016).

Nairobi KANU branch called a meeting to discipline Wanjigi, Mungai’s long-time rival who had often made unsuccessful attempts to oust Mungai from branch chairmanship. Omido told a press conference after the meeting that “the constitution is clear that anybody can seek election anywhere in the country and we found on this ground that Maina Wanjigi is propagating tribalism”, (*Weekly Review*, June 15, 1990). On contradicting the president, his guilt arose from remarks made not by himself, but from the contents of a press statement that was authored by the officials of his sub-branch, Kamukunji claiming that the president had been misinformed. When pressured by the branch, Maina Wanjigi claimed he was the one who wrote the statement and asked the officials to sign it. After the suspension, Wanjigi stopped being chairman of Kamukunji KANU sub-branch, (Wafula, O.I., 29/12/2015). Soon after the demolition, a senior KANU politician is believed to have grabbed the land and sold it to the cooperative society of Kenya. (Macharia, 1996 as cited by Kiruthu, 2006: 234).

Although Muoroto demolitions were strongly condemned by the Law Society of Kenya (LSK), NGO’s, and various church leaders, such demolitions nonetheless continued. They were extended to other squatter villages like Kibagare, where massive brutality was witnessed in the demolitions. The reason behind this brutality lay in the fact that commercialisation of land was enjoined by the existing administration prerogative that simply expanded mechanisms of private

accumulation for the elite and reproduced clientele networks, (Kiruthu, 2009: 240). The land allocated by public authorities could be resold at big costs, and proceeds shared with the political elite.

In the aftermath of these demolitions, a cassette was produced in Kikuyu. It had a Kikuyu title “*Mathina ma Athiini a Muoroto*¹¹⁰” and was ascribed to Wanyeki. The cassette highlighted what happened in Muoroto and talked about the need for a second political party to which hawkers in the city and their kin could address their problems, (Macharia, 2012:169). These evictions and wanton destructions of property contributed enormously to the rising of political temperature and tension in the country and particularly in Nairobi in the 1990’s. After the disturbances, residents of slum villages formed ‘*Muungano wa wanavijiji*’. Others joined the Kikuyu based religio-political movement called ‘Hema ya Ngai wi Muoyo’¹¹¹, founded by Ngonywa wa Gakonya. Many of the youth belonging to the movement participated in the Saba Saba riots of July 1990 in Nairobi, (*Weekly Review*, July 12, 1990). These riots marked the climax of the social and economic disruptions that characterised the pro-reform movement in Kenya against the Moi regime. When Matiba was detained, the detention order listed among other reasons, incitement to jua kali artisans in Nairobi, organising and recruiting touts, matatu operators, to incite disturbances, disaffection and ill-will, especially in Nairobi, (*Weekly Review*, August 18, 1990).

¹¹⁰ The tribulations of the poor people of Muoroto Village

¹¹¹ ‘The Tent of the Living God’. This sect advocated return to Gikuyu indigenous religion and culture

Moi established hegemony by playing one ethnic group against the other and one politician against the other. Under him, ethnicity became increasingly politicised as the regime sought the support of the Luo and the Luhya ethnic groups to expand his power base through an inclusion of the numerically big communities to undercut the Kikuyu. There was change of faces in the police and the Provincial Administration. As single-party authoritarian rule rapidly deepened, the ethnicisation of the governance process became entrenched, and the delivery of services deteriorated, (Throup and Hornsby, 1992:115). Corruption intensified, social services deteriorated, transport and communication infrastructure collapsed, unemployment and poverty shot up and economy stagnated, (Kisiang'ani, 2003: 228). In the wake of these problems, the Moi state successfully maintained a pliant parliament which drove the nation into hopelessness. Most members of parliament had won seats through rigging and owed their positions to the president, (Kisiangani, 2003: 229). In return for the support given to them by the president, ministers were expected to demonstrate unwavering support to the president. Moi was once quoted as saying 'I would like ministers and Assistant Ministers, and others to sing like a parrot for..... Where I put full stop, you put a full stop', (Kisiangani, *ibid*: 230).

Ultimately political dissent translated into pressure for a multi-party political system. The campaign for restoration of multi-partyism was spearheaded by those who had been locked out of KANU, the clergy, and members of the Civil Society, and intellectuals, (Ontunya, O.I., 29/12/2015). They demanded economic and political changes which could guarantee basic human rights and fairness. Proponents of multi-party believed it would end Moi's rule and bring in a new and more responsible government, (Murunga, 2004: 283).

After Mwai Kibaki was removed from the vice presidency in 1988, disaffection with the KANU regime intensified among the Kikuyu. The regime attributed the springing up of opposition against KANU to the Kikuyu. The entry of Matiba and Rubia in the crusade for multi-partyism made the government intensify propaganda against the Kikuyu, (Throup and Hornsby, 1992: 63). It was claimed in parliament that the multi-party crusade was a Kikuyu affair, (*Weekly Review*, July 20, 1990: 10). Moi's portrayal of the crusade for multi-party as a Kikuyu affair intensified ethnic cleavage and a resurgence of Kikuyu sub-nationalism. At the height of this crusade, the debate on MTO resurged, (Mwanyumba, O.I., 6/01/2016). Some politicians, such as Mark Too accused MTO group of attempting to seize supreme power in the country. Previously, the outfit was thought of as merely seeking political advantage within the confines of Nairobi County, (*Weekly Review*, December 7, 1991).

Murang'a KANU leaders showed particular distaste to charges like those of Too and Aringo, linking Rubia's sentiments to Murang'a in general. Kamotho, the KANU secretary –General, while dissociating Murang'a people from Rubia's and Rubia's campaign, asked other leaders not to generalize while making their statements on the agitation for multi-partysm, (Kongo, O.I., 11/01/2016). In May 1990, Murang'a KANU Chairman, Gikonyo Kiano issued a statement which was signed by all 5 local MPs, which, denied knowledge of an MTO group, and dissociated people of Murang'a from sentiments of Matiba and Rubia, since the two were 'not the district spokespersons'. Murang'a political leaders dismissed MTO as a "figment of people's imagination", (*The Standard*, May 18, 1990, and *Weekly Review*, May 15, 1990: 11).

Matiba and Rubia took great exception to the accusations that they were Kikuyu tribalists and Murang'a sectionlists. Rubia in a statement insisted he had little to do with Murang'a, other than the fact he was born there, and stressed that his political activities were confined in Nairobi, (*The Standard*, May 18, 1990).

As pressure on the Moi regime intensified, towns became the centres of political activism and agitation for multi-party democracy. Apparently, there was a ready army of unemployed youth in towns especially Nairobi, who were more than willing to stand up to Moi regime. This unemployed youth crystallized into armed militia such as mungiki. The Sabasaba riots that took place on July 7, 1990 for three days, quickly extended to towns throughout Kikuyu land, (Macharia, 2012:189). The pressure for restoration of multi-party democracy was spearheaded by key political leaders who felt that the single party system had denied them access to political power.

As the pressure intensified, an umbrella of political groups, Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) was formed in August 1991. FORD was centred on prominent figures such as Oginga Odinga, Kenneth Matiba, Masinde Muliro, George Nthenge, Paul Muite and Martin Shikuku¹¹². Eventually, KANU ceded to the demands for political pluralism and repealed section 2A of the constitution, thus restoring multipartism, (*Daily Nation*, December 22, 1992). As the country approached the multi-party elections of 1992, FORD split into two factions, FORD-Asili led by Matiba and FORD-K (Kenya), led by Odinga. Even though Kibaki had vehemently opposed the repeal of section 2A, he left KANU and formed the Democratic Party of

¹¹² For a more detailed analysis of the subject, see Ndegwa (1997), and Odera (2010)

Kenya (DP), once it became clear his political ambitions could not be realized in the Moi-controlled KANU. Thus the opposition approached the multi-party election of 1992 as a divided house, (Odera, 2010: 127).

5. 6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the Moi era and shown how political tribalism influenced the organisation of politics in Nairobi County. Moi transformed patterns of politics in the country to establish a power base of his own, and create a political class loyal to him. His pledge to follow Kenyatta's footsteps apparently meant that the state would be changed by first 'de-kikuyunising' Kenya's public life and secondly by 'Kalenjinising' many aspects of the Kenyan state. Moi thus purged the Kikuyu in the civil service, provincial administration and state-owned enterprises, replacing them with the Kalenjin. Institutions previously owned by the Kikuyu were 'Kalenjinised', and state resources and patronage networks diverted to Moi's ethnic community.

Kenya was also transformed into a 'de-jure' one party state, making KANU the only avenue for political recruitment till 1991. Party politics was fused with the administration of the country, with the executive becoming synonymous with KANU. The dividing line between the party and the government became more and more diffuse. With this, Kenya had become what some scholars have called 'party-state'. Moi then used the snap elections of 1983 to get rid of leaders disloyal to him and KANU, and assert his full authority in the party, sideline his opponents and make KANU a centre of political power with a strong grassroots base. As Moi sought to assert his full authority in the party, he organised a KANU poll in 1985,

where the Nairobi party branch adopted queuing as a method of voting. This method was adopted in the parliamentary and party election of 1988, resulting in massive irregularities in the way the election was conducted, and eroding any legitimacy of the Moi regime and generating deep hatred for KANU.

Patterns of Kikuyu dominance over politics at the national level were altered when Moi took over, but the Kikuyu retained control over politics in Nairobi County. The Kikuyu also retained the majority of the city's parliamentary seats. The appointment of Karanja as the V.P after the *mlolongo* election of 1988 intensified scheming and counter-scheming among the Kikuyu politicians, leading to the downfall of the Karanja. The cleavage between the Kiambu Kikuyu on one hand and those of Murang'a and Nyeri on the other hand was evident in the debate concerning the fate of Karanja. Talks began emerging of a previously unknown 'MTO' whose objective was to maintain the dominance of a group of politicians with origin in Murang'a, over the politics of Nairobi County. The group had tacit backing of the newly elected KANU Secretary-general Joseph Kamotho.

The slum demolitions of 1990 provoked further ethnic acrimony in KANU, culminating in the sacking of the foremost city politician with origin in Murang'a, Maina Wanjigi, and intensifying ethnic and sectarian politics in Nairobi. This chapter has supported our third research premise that ethnic mobilization and the ethnic phenomenon in Kenya largely influenced the configuration of politics in Nairobi County during the Moi era from 1978 to 1992. Guided by the concept of neo-patrimonialism, we have shown how the distinction between public institutions and their occupants became increasingly eroded as Kenya moved towards the 'party-

state'. Patrimonialism could explain the intrinsically profitable lack of distinction between the civil and personal spheres in the highly ethnicised Moi state. The regime distributed material benefits to loyal supporters in an elaborate patron-client system. These loyal supporters were allowed to seize largesse from the state resources through the support of the patrons. Politics became more ethnicised in this context. The next chapter discusses KANU politics and ethnicity in the context of multi-party system

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 ETHNICITY AND POLITICS IN NAIROBI COUNTY IN THE CONTEXT OF MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY-1992 TO 2002

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to analyze the extent to which ethnicity and ethnic mobilization influenced the changing trends of politics in Nairobi County during the multi-party era from 1992 to 2002. It discusses how KANU ceded to the demands for multi-party system and repealed Section 2A. This paved way for the multi-party election in 1992. Unlike other provinces where one or two presidential candidate got the vote, the cosmopolitan nature of Nairobi made it a battleground for the four main parties. However the voters rejected KANU candidates and voted overwhelmingly for FORD-Asili. Voting patterns in Nairobi echoed those of Central province. The election maintained ethnic domination of Nairobi at the political level by the Kikuyu who were strongly anti-KANU. The outcome of the election demonstrated that ethnicity was the main factor shaping political competition at the local level in Nairobi.

Ethnic acrimony intensified in the Nairobi KANU branch after the election. A faction revolving around Fred Gumo and Westlands MP Amin Walji sought to dismantle Kikuyu dominance over the Nairobi KANU branch. This faction wanted the branch leadership to reflect the cosmopolitan nature of Nairobi. Talk of the MTO group intensified. This group was accused of attempting to seize power not only in Nairobi but in the whole nation. Throughout the 1990's, the Nairobi KANU branch remained polarised into a Kikuyu and non-Kikuyu camp. In the 1997 election,

Nairobi voters once again rejected KANU. Ethno-political factors influenced the election outcome in favour of the Democratic Party (DP).

After the election, factionalism intensified in KANU over the question of Moi succession. In order for Moi to influence his succession, he planned a merger of KANU and Raila's NDP into New KANU. New KANU evolved a governance structure that was meant to ensure that all the main ethnic groups in the country were accommodated in the leadership of the party. The structure served as an important political mobilisation tool. Moi's succession plan however crumbled when he single-handedly picked Uhuru Kenyatta as his successor. A rebel KANU faction under the banner 'Rainbow Coalition' teamed up with the opposition alliance National Alliance of Kenya (NAK) to form the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC), which handed KANU a crushing defeat in the 2002 poll. The Chapter is guided by the instrumentalist perspective in analyzing the salience of ethnicity in Kenya's politics.

The theory is supplemented by the dual concept of neo-patrimonialism and clientelism school of thought in analysing politics with regard to ethnicity. This theoretical paradigm helps to understand Moi as he employed state patronage to retain power after re-introduction of multi-party system. Moi established client-patron networks through which state largesse was distributed to loyal followers and communities. This impacted on patterns of politics in Nairobi County.

6.2 THE 1992 ELECTION, ETHNICITY AND OPPOSITION WIN IN NAIROBI COUNTY

The KANU candidates for the parliamentary seats in Nairobi for the 1992 election were picked in undemocratic manner, by party leaders rather than the rank and file.

The overbearing issue of ethnicity played a key role in the process. Party leaders controlled the nomination process to a degree not acceptable in a democratic country with ethnic backgrounds of the candidates playing a crucial role, (Makau, 2009: 239). KANU, FORD-Asili, FORD-Kenya and DP sponsored candidates in all the constituencies in Nairobi, (Lepoit, oi, 11/01/2016). In all, 40 contenders stood for the Nairobi parliamentary seats. Even with multi-party system, the Kikuyu candidates still dominated the electoral contests in Nairobi and as in the past, fierce battles between Kikuyu contenders began shaping up in various constituencies. The blend of multi-ethnic and multi-party politics made for a volatile concoction and a complicated and fascinating electoral battle for the capital city's parliamentary seats in this first multi-party election, (*Weekly Review*, December 18, 1992).

Mathare, the complicated and largely low-income constituency, became one of the city's most pro-opposition constituencies. Four candidates who had previously been MPs were in a race to clinch the seat. Leading contenders were Ngumba of DP, Gakunju of KANU and Macharia Muraya of Ford Asili. Gakunju was widely believed to have been rigged out of KANU nominations in the 1986 by-election won by Karanja, (Kongo, O.I., 11/01/2016). He sat out of the 1988 elections which Karanja won again with a landslide. Gakunju eventually made it to parliament in the by-election occasioned by the downfall of Karanja in 1989, (*Daily Nation*, December 16, 1989). In all his years in civic and later parliamentary politics, he accumulated immense experience and built an extensive network in Mathare politics.

This put the KANU candidate at a strong footing. But his main challenge was the party, which stood little chance in the heavily Kikuyu and opposition leaning constituency, (Mwanyumba, O.I., 6/01/2016). The leading non Kikuyu candidate was Fredrick Masinde of Ford Kenya. His scheme was to galvanise the non Kikuyu votes, particularly the Luhya votes that Waiyaki's greatest adversary in the past, Laban Odanga, used to bank on. He was also banking on the bloc Luo vote and a split of the populous Kikuyu vote between Ngumba, Gakunju and Muraya. The huge Ford Asili following in Mathare was believed to be for the party's presidential candidate and not the parliamentary candidate, (Osieny, O.I., 27/202016).

In Kamukunji, KANU candidate, James Kariuki, found himself on the defensive concerning the past events that had troubled the constituency, specifically the Muoroto debacle. This event and the infamous sabasaba riots became vital campaign issues. Incumbent Wanjigi defected from KANU to Ford and later to KNC following wrangling in Ford, (Ontunya, O.I., 20/10/2016). Ford Asili's Nthenge, though a leading light in the party, had no experience in Nairobi politics. Also, he was contesting in a predominantly Kikuyu constituency where ethnicity had hugely shaped past elections. He was banking on the large Luo presence, which Gor galvanised behind him in 1979 when he ousted Wanjigi, and again in 1983 and 1988 when he emerged a strong second from Wanjigi, (*Weekly Review*, May 12, 1995: 27).

Conscious of the predominance of the Kikuyu population in Kamukunji, he attempted to dwell on his role in FORD during the multi-party campaign, and on the close links that he had developed with Matiba. In his rallies, he dwelt on these

themes at large, speaking disparagingly about Matiba rival Kibaki whom he accused of having remained on the fence when he and other multi-party crusaders were fighting KANU. Wanjigi of KNC appeared to face a major backlash from Ford Asili supporters who accused him of abandoning Matiba to join the KNC, (*Weekly Review*, December 21, 1992).

There is a large Luo presence in Kamukunji, which Ford- Kenya's James Anyango was banking on. The overwhelming bulk of this vote was believed to be pro- Ford Kenya, (*Weekly Review*, December 11, 1992: 27). It is this Luo vote that Gor galvanised when he defeated Wanjigi in 1979, and again in 1983 and 1988 when he came a strong second to Wanjigi. But this time, the Luo vote was not too big since many of them registered in Langata to support Raila's candidacy, (Opiyo, O.I., 07/03/2016). The large shifting of Luo voters to Langata was affecting his strategy. DP's Hassan Adam, born in Murang'a, and fluent in Kikuyu, attempted to use this to appeal to Kikuyuto vote for him. Jimmy Kuria was contesting on a KANU ticket.

Starehe's three front-runners were all Kikuyu. They all hailed from Murang'a and had also served as councillors and MPs of the area; Kimondo of Ford Asili, Rubia of KNC, and Kirima of KANU. The only non-Kikuyu candidate was Ford Kenya's Mary Rogo. Rogo was banking on support by women's organisations and a non-Kikuyu bloc vote. Kirima of KANU was banking on a split of opposition votes. Rubia was a major player in Nairobi politics having served as MP for Starehe for an uninterrupted period of almost 20 years till his controversial defeat by Kimondo in the mlolongo poll of 1988. He relied much on support from the business community in Nairobi's CBD, maintaining unassailable support from this powerful network of

mainly Murang'a-born medium and large-scale traders that always rooted for him, (Mureithi, O.I., 27/11/2015).

In Dagoretti, the contest had narrowed down to KANU's Gachanja and Ford asili's Kamuyu, who defected from KANU shortly after the dissolution of parliament, (Koiloeken, O.I., 04/03/2016). Gachanja won the seat in his first attempt in 1983, against Mungai, but was himself beaten by Kamuyu, making first attempt in 1988. By then, Mungai had shifted base to the newly created Westlands. After the 1988 elections, Gachanja's fortunes plummeted and he was ousted by Kamuyu as Dagoretti KANU sub-branch chair, (*The Standard*, November 15, 1989). Mungai's brief defection to Ford in 1992 gave a lifeline to Gachanja. Gachanja was brought on board quickly and elected the new chair of Nairobi branch, (Veronica, O.I., 12/02/2016). Mwenje was voted as the treasurer, Gerishom Kirima the Secretary, while Omido was retained as the Vice chairman.

Gachanja began a powerful campaign to lead KANU's counter-offensive against the strong opposition wave in the city. Widely dismissed as a traitor by the Kikuyu electorate predominant in the city's constituency, Gachanja remained undeterred. He won the KANU nominations and then launched campaign for the seat, (*Weekly Review*, May 12, 1995:18). Working closely with former local civic leaders, he targeted the non Kikuyu voters in the area, especially Luo, Luhya, and Kisii, settled in the semi slum areas around Kawangware, Riruta, Uthiru and Kangemi. He expected to benefit from a split of the Kikuyu votes between Kamuyu and Mugo. While Ford Asili and DP campaigns were well received, voters saw Gachanja's

many ‘meet the people tours’ as chance to ‘benefit from the free-flowing largesse’, (Mueni, O.I., 19/11/2015).

Up to 1988, Westlands was the most placid of the city’s eight constituencies. The complex multi-ethnic constituency was often seen as the best chance for newcomers. In 1988, one of the country’s political heavyweights, Mungai crossed over from Dagoretti following a change in electoral boundaries. He waded off strong challenge from Walji and managed to capture the seat. Walji was again in the contest of 1992, and was able to beat Mungai in the KANU nominations.

Early in 1992, Mungai defected to Ford Kenya, and then back to KANU after a few weeks. He was then given the post of national vice chairman that appeared to have very little clout. Walji took advantage of the vacuum in local KANU affairs to take over the KANU recruitment exercise and soon registered thousands of members, all also registered voters, a factor that saw him emerge triumphant against Mungai during the KANU nominations, (*Weekly Review*, December 18, 1992). In Makadara, former chairman of the N.C.Co Daniel Kongo had been campaigning for the KANU ticket, but he later backed down opting to run for a civic seat on a KANU in Hamza. Kongo was among KANU’s most visible supporters, (Mutiso, O.I., 24/8/2015). This left the KANU ticket to Omido. But the main challenge for Omido was that there was a plethora of non Kikuyu candidates who looked poised to eat into the non Kikuyu vote, which Omido had always thrived on. The main threat to him came from Khaminwa of Ford Kenya, another Luhya candidate who was expected to capture near-fanatical following by Luhya and Luo, hugely populating Kaloleni, Makongeni, and Offafa Jericho.

Khaminwa's candidature would easily split the significant Luhya vote who in the past gave Omido a big boost. Omido's candidature was further affected by the entry into the race by another Luhya, John Omutere. According to Onyiso, (O.I. 25/10/2015), a huge influx of registered Luo voters to Langata to support Raila's candidature was expected to have an impact also on electoral contest in Makadara. Ford Asili and DP were banking on solid Kikuyu support to unseat Omido. Before Omido stepped into the picture as MP in 1979, the constituency was the veritable preserve of Othaya-born politicians, starting with Kibaki, and then Dr Muriuki. Omido was determined to prevent the resurgence of this trend, through victory by either Waithaka of KNC or Makanga of DP. Waithaka camp kept alleging that they had brokered a deal with DP to support him while he was to use his extensive local networks to deliver the Makadara presidential vote to Kibaki. Critics regarded this attempt by Waithaka to hitch his wagon to the DP engine as an effort to consolidate Kikuyu votes in order to unseat Omido, (Meshack, O.I., 28/10/2015).

In Langata, the main contest was between Raila of FORD-Kenya and Kimani Rugendo, a former city councillor contesting on a FORD-Asili's ticket. It was widely expected the duel between the two would eclipse Leakey. When Ford split into Ford Kenya and Ford Asili, the Ford Kenya nomination went to Raila, while Ford Asili went to Rugendo. The battle between the two also came to represent most clearly the Kikuyu-Luo divide that led to the split of Ford into two bitterly-opposed parties, (*Weekly Review*, December 12, 1992). The KANU ticket went to incumbent Leakey. In the complex ethnic bloc-voting that made up the constituency, Leakey had, during his long tenure, benefited greatly from the huge Kikuyu vote. With Rugendo, who was strongly prevailed upon to step down in favour of Leakey in

1988 contesting in 1992, alongside the man Leakey ousted in 1979, Mwangi Maathai, Leakey was now targeting the strong Luhya vote which was regarded as up-for-grabs; as was often the case in the past. Raila was banking on a bloc Luo vote.

Keen observers noted that Luo voters in Nairobi had crossed over to register in Langata, (Onyiso, O.I., 25/ 10/2015). The sudden upsurge of Luo voters in the constituency was something that greatly unsettled the other contestants. Raila also looked likely to benefit from a split of Kikuyu vote between Rugendo and Maathai. Likewise, Leakey was hoping that the Kikuyu-Luo vote would be divided among the three main opposition candidates, leaving him to romp home with the backing of other ethnic groups- mainly Luhya, Kamba, and Nubians. Leakey had wadded off a strong challenge by Perez Olindo for the KANU ticket. There was big speculation that some of the votes for Olindo came from Raila's supporters still holding KANU membership cards as part of a plot to lock out the stronger incumbent at an early stage during the nomination, (*The Standard*, December 19, 1992).

Some interesting observations with important conclusions for this research can be made from this election outcome. First, Nairobi remained opposition stronghold, with FORD-Asili sweeping nearly all the seats. Some of the eventual winners, especially on Ford Asili tickets, were propelled from virtual obscurity to victory by dint of the popularity of the party's presidential candidate in Nairobi. In Makadara, FORD-Asili's John Mutere garnered 12,668. FORD-Kenya's Khaminwa got 11,009, DP's Mwangi Makanga got 8,486, and Omido got 8,416. In Kamukunji, George Nthenge of Ford Asili got 16,847, FORD-Kenya's Gordon Jalong'o got 6,233, DP's

Hassan Ali garnered 7,338 while Jimmy Kuria of KANU secured 4894 votes, (Eck Report on 1992 Election).

In Starehe, Kimondo of FORD-Asili got 17,108, Kirima of KANU got 5,907, Rubia of KNC got 6,307. In Lang'ata, Leakey received 11,901 votes, Kimani Rugendo of FORD-Asili received 13,430 votes, Raila won with 24,261 votes, and DP's Mwangi Mathai obtained 6,282 votes. In Dagoretti, Gachanja of KANU had 5,833 votes, Kamuyu of FORD-Asili received 29,863 votes, and Beth Mugo received 7,292 votes. In Embakasi, Mwenje of KANU got 6,490 votes, FORD-Asili's Ruhii Muriana received 18,477 votes, FORD-Kenya's Munyua Waiyaki had 12,772 votes, while DP's Muhuri obtained 15,049 votes, (*Daily Nation*, January 5, 1993).

KANU was not expected to win any seat but ended bagging Westlands through Amin Walji. Walji got 8687 votes, Wangahu Ng'ang'a got 7602 votes, Betty Tett obtained 5909 votes. Walji's entry into parliament marked the second time that a Kenyan of Asian origin had been elected to parliament since independence, both times in Westlands. The election maintained ethnic domination of Nairobi at the political level by one ethnic group, the Kikuyu, (Mwongela, O.I., 13/01/2015). KANU was completely eclipsed by FORD-Asili. The table below shows the national distribution of parliamentary seats by party.

The percentage votes obtained by the KANU candidates corresponded with the percentages scored by the KANU presidential candidate in the corresponding constituencies. The results confirm the accuracy of responses given by interviewees. These informants confirmed to us, 'we rejected KANU because we believed Moi

had mismanaged the country and it was time for him to quit', (Mugeke, O.I., 05/03/2016).

Still, the fact that KANU won the Westlands seat indicated there were other internal factors shaping political contest at this time, besides ethnicity.

Table 6.1: Distribution of Parliamentary Seats by party and Province, 1992

Elections

Province	KANU	FORD-K	FORD-A	DP	KNC	KSC	PICK	TOTAL
Nairobi	1	1	6	0	0	0	0	8
Central	0	1	14	10	0	0	0	25
Eastern	21	1	0	9	1	0	1	32
N-Eastern	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	10
Coast	17	2	0	1	0	0	0	20
R. Valley	36	2	4	2	0	0	0	44
Western	10	3	7	0	0	0	0	20
Nyanza	7	20	0	1	0	1	0	29
Total	100	31	31	23	1	1	1	188

Source: Throup and Hornsby 1998: 443

Even before the 1992 poll, political analysts had projected a Matiba win of the presidential vote followed by Odinga, Kibaki, with KANU's Moi coming a distant fourth. Unlike other provinces where one or two presidential candidates got the vote, with the others trailing far behind, the cosmopolitan nature of Nairobi made it a battleground for the four main parties. While Matiba did well, KANU surprised

pundits by obtaining over 16% of votes and partly capturing Westlands through Amin Walji, (Throup and Hornsby, 1998: 213).

With the presidential vote firmly in his grip, Matiba's lead in the distribution of the city's eight parliamentary seats turned out to be a foregone conclusion as shown by his party's ability to capture most of the seats. Matiba's lead in the city stemmed from the presence of a large number of people from Kiambu and Murang'a, which turned to be FORD-Asili's strongholds in Central Province, (*Weekly Review*, January 1, 1993). Ethnicity was used as a medium through which political mobilisation could be undertaken, further polarising the country.

Table 6.2:1992 presidential election results per constituency in Nairobi

Constituency	Mwai Kibaki (DP)	Daniel Moi (KANU)	Matiba (Ford-A)	Oginga Odinga (Ford-K)
Makadara	9542	8554	15941	9658
Kamukunji	9111	6117	18137	6236
Starehe	8649	6337	23726	4082
Langata	7834	12365	13737	22800
Dagoretti	5753	6038	31867	2220
Westlands	5700	8709	9271	2696
Mathare	9834	7216	29829	18200
Embakasi	13292	6534	23045	9996

Source: Electoral Commission of Kenya, 1993.

Table 6.3: 1992 Presidential Election votes by party in Nairobi

KANU	FORD-A	DP	FORD-K	total
62,402	165,533	69,715	75,898	375,574
(16.6%)	(44.1%)	(18.6%)	(20.2%)	

Source: *Daily Nation*, January 2, 1993

Apparently, it seemed to Kikuyu that Matiba was the only opposition candidate who could take Moi head-on. His pro-people rhetoric, entrepreneurial accomplishments, and massive wealth portrayed him as an individual capable of bringing real socio-economic change, (Sifuna, O.I., 24/8/2015). Hyden and Leys (1972: 397) observe that the structure of Kenya's one-party elections "put a premium on clan- and tribe-based politics". Writing About the 1969 single-party contest, they aver; "When we examine the evidence from individual constituencies it is clear that clan and locality cleavages were of fundamental importance. All the constituency reports without exception emphasized the priority accorded by voters to the candidates' tribes (in urban areas) and clans (in rural seats). . . . The candidates' electoral arithmetic..... began and largely ended with calculations of tribal and clan support, (Hyden and Leys, 1972: 401).

With the shift to multi-party electoral competition in 1992, however, the relevant lines of ethnic cleavage changed. In the new institutional setting, the politicians' local ethnic backgrounds were trumped by the regional ethnic orientations suggested by their party affiliations. Throup and Hornsby (1998) also describe the change: In previous elections, in the one-party state, the main electoral factors had been clanism and localism. . . . Many observers and candidates expected that the 1992 general

election would be fought on the same basis. . . . This was not to be. . . . In the end . . . regional and ethnic blocs were to prove key to the outcome, (Throup and Hornsby, 1998: 339).

At the national level, voters wanted to place their political leaders in positions that would put them in good stead to compete for resources. They believed that this would confer tangible benefits on individuals from their own ethnic groups, and the ethnic group at large. This “we” vs “they” of the national politics percolated to the local level in Nairobi. Ethnicity was the main factor directing political competition at the local level in Nairobi. Opposition to KANU by the major tribes heavily influenced the outcome of electoral politics in Nairobi during Multi-party election of 1992, (*Weekly Review*, January 10, 1993).

During previous elections, in the Kikuyu community perspective, the decision to vote for candidate ‘A’ or ‘B’ seemed to be embedded in the more circumscribed ‘sites of power’ politics that were pre-occupied with the question of ‘who’ the candidate was associated with in the community and country’s political leadership. In 1992, the question was mainly, for the Kikuyu voters in Nairobi, whether the candidate was in the ‘right’ party. The emergence of such sites of power and their delimitations was largely a consequence of ethnic-historical experiences and an expression of the community’s expectations for the future, (Throup and Hornsby, 1998 495). These experiences and expectations were predominantly economic and were based on the voter’s perception regarding the link between themselves and the state resources.

FORD-Asili also dominated city council elections, capturing 35 out of fifty five electoral seats. Of the seventy-three councillors, 37 were Kikuyu (with 31 sponsored by FORD-Asili, and 4 by the DP), 11 were Luo, and 5 were Luhya, while the rest, all winning on KANU, were of various ethnic groups. In the ensuing mayoral elections, KANU fronted Joe Aketch, basing its calculations on ethnic arithmetic. Having served as a Nairobi KANU branch Executive Officer for close to ten years, he was expected to bag Luo and Luhya votes and all the KANU civic leaders. However, the seat was captured by FORD-Asili's Steve Mwangi, (*Weekly Review*, May 9, 1995).

KANU emerged victorious in both the presidential and parliamentary elections. The party garnered 100 out of the possible 188 seats in parliament, and close to 2 million presidential votes, (*Weekly Review*, January 8, 1993).

Several factors enabled Moi and KANU to win the 1992 election. Division among opposition made the party unable to present a single candidate to face Moi. Also the election took an ethnic and regional dimension. Election irregularities were also alleged since the state was biased and the electoral process worked to Moi's advantage, (Throup, 1998: 500-528). Despite the repeal of section 2A, Kenya still operated largely under laws of a single party state, which were favourable to Moi. Money was an equally important factor, especially if one puts into consideration the role played by the Youth for KANU '92¹¹³ and other related groups. The KANU-funded lobby groups allegedly dished out money in order to weaken the opposition

¹¹³ Under the leadership of Jirongo, this outfit included William Ruto and other key upcoming politicians. It is believed to have immensely contributed to Moi's victory by vigorously campaigning for the party.

in their strongholds. It was alleged KANU government pumped about ksh. 11 billion to its campaign to tilt the election in its favour, (Throup, 1998: 500-528).

In a show of ethnic solidarity, the Kikuyu community completely rejected the KANU candidates for the three elections¹¹⁴. KANU desperately needed a Kikuyu elected MP since Kamotho was a nominated MP (Jonyo, 2003: 285). After the election, KANU began wooing opposition legislators and civic leaders in Nairobi to defect from their parties. Kamuyu, who was on friendly terms with a number of top KANU functionaries, was a prime target for KANU. He had been siding with Shikuku against Matiba in the party factional battles. Later, Kikuyu MPs deserted Shikuku and trooped back to Matiba; including Kamuyu. They feared they might lose their positions in future elections if they continued to antagonize Matiba.

Kamuyu expressed his disillusionment with FORD-Asili after being trounced by Beth Mugo in the Dagoretti sub-branch party polls. The ruling party had been quick to exploit any discontent expressed by any of the opposition MPs against their parties, (Kanyinga, 2003:139). After losing the sub-branch chairmanship, Kamuyu defected to KANU, though the party was still thought unelectable in the opposition stronghold of Nairobi. In the absence of a strong political base, a number of FORD-Asili MPs either abandoned elective politics altogether or defected to other parties, especially KANU. Ford Asili lost the Starehe seat to KANU after the double defection of Kimondo and his successor, Steve Mwangi, as KANU tried hard to

¹¹⁴ Under the previous constitutional framework, a voter cast vote in the presidential, parliamentary, and civic election at the same time

make inroads into the solid FORD-Asili bastions of Nairobi, Thika, Kiambu, Maragua, and Murang'a, (Macharia, 2012:176).

6.3 THE POLITICS OF 'OUR TURN TO RULE' IN NAIROBI COUNTY

Even after KANU lost Nairobi to Ford-Ford Asili in the multi-party elections of 1992,

Kikuyu personalities continued dominating KANU party politics in the city. The Kikuyu clique that had dominated the branch for long revolved around David Mwenje, Clement Gachanja, Zachariah Maina, Andrew Ngumba and Kiruhi Kimondo. Former branch leader Njoroge Mungai remained virtually inactive since his appointment to a national post. However, with multi-party politics came a big challenge to the Kikuyu dominance over KANU city politics, (Mukindia, O.I., 10/03/2015). Since the multi-party elections of 1992, Nairobi KANU branch experienced political infighting and intrigue, attracting the attention of party headquarters. Persistent squabbles culminated in the abortive ouster of Gachanja by Mwenje in July 1993, when the Walji camp sponsored Mwenje to declare a coup and unilaterally assume leadership of the branch. Mwenje's 'coup' line-up had included Mwanzi as secretary, Walji as treasurer, former councillor Tom Mulamula as assistant secretary and Omido, MP of Makadara as branch Vice-chairman, (*Weekly Review*, July 25, 1993).

It seemed the Walji camp thought it needed a Kikuyu at the helm of the plot to eject the current Kikuyu leadership. Evidence appeared to suggest that Mwenje had clandestinely been working with Amin in the plot and the eventual manoeuvres against Gachanja. The plot was immediately shot down by party headquarters. The party headquarters declared the 'election' null and void since it had not sanctioned

any elections in the branch. It was evident that Gachanja was a strong ally of Kamotho. Since the forces aligned with Mwenje against Gachanja seemed intent on dethroning Kikuyu leadership of the branch, Kamotho moved in to save his 'Kikuyu' ally, Gachanja, (*Weekly Review*, September 19, 1993). Gachanja called a delegates meeting in August 1993, and when a vote of confidence in their branch chair was put to them, the delegates passed it unanimously, demonstrating to his adversaries he was fully in charge of the party branch. Gachanja's leadership however continued attracting heavy criticism from the faction gravitating around Mwenje.

Gachanja's hold on the branch chairmanship, and Kikuyu domination of the city KANU politics however appeared to be more threatened and complicated by the entry into city politics by Mr. Fred Gumo in 1995. Gumo was intent on capturing the leadership of Nairobi KANU politics. This caused much friction within the branch leadership. Gumo, with the support of Amin Walji of Westlands, KANU's only elected legislator in the city, wanted to introduce a new phase in Nairobi KANU politics by crusading for what they considered to be a fair, balanced, multi-ethnic and multi-racial representation in line with the city's cosmopolitan nature, (*Daily Nation*, July 12, 1995).

Gumo emerged as the centre of a camp whose main pre-occupation was to dismantle the firm hold the Kikuyu had on KANU leadership in Nairobi. In his line-up was Walji, city Deputy Mayor Ali Mwanzi, Daniel Kongo who succeeded Gumo at the city commission, Nicholas Gor, and former MP for Kamukunji Fred Omido. This camp was often known as the 'challenger camp', (*Weekly Review*, April 28, 1995:15). At the forefront for the campaign for what they called balanced leadership

in the city party branch, Gumo and Walji had been arguing that other ethnic groups had for long remained on the periphery of city leadership and that it was now time for them to get fully involved. While Gumo declared his interest in capturing the KANU branch chairmanship, Walji announced he would support anybody for the post as long as 'that person doesn't belong to the forces that have dominated city politics in the past, (*Weekly Review* April 28, 1995: 15).

The simmering anti-Kikuyu sentiments in the Nairobi branch entered a new phase after Walji won a petition filed against his election, by Bett Tett of DP for the Westlands seat. Walji called for the immediate dissolution of the branch leadership. It appeared like Walji and those in his camp had just been waiting for the outcome of the petition before making their move against the branch leadership, (*Weekly review* March 3, 1995:4). In a press statement, Walji called upon the president to dissolve the branch leadership because it had been 'infiltrated' by 'opposition elements', who were 'hell-bent on disorganising the party', (ibid: 6). He spoke of a crisis threatening the branch which, if not nipped in the bud, would cause the branch to fail to deliver to the electorate and thus sabotage KANU's plans for the capital and the country at large.

The Westlands MP observed that the issues that caused Mwenje to engineer the 1993 coup were never dealt with 'satisfactorily' but were only swept under the carpet. He observed, 'the fact that the branch leadership in Nairobi, a cosmopolitan city hosting people of diverse origin and tribes, is made up of one community, dominating the party's hierarchy, and doesn't seem to want to let other communities play their part, is creating hostility in the ranks and fresh elections are needed to solve this problem.....now! (*Weekly Review*, March 3, 1995:6).

KANU leader Moi responded almost immediately to Walji's call. On the day the *Kenya Times* of March 1, 1995, reported Walji's call, the president came out with a statement from State House that the branch leadership was now dissolved to pave way for fresh registration of members and to prepare for elections to be called at a later date. The announcement baffled many, including the branch officials under chairmanship of Gachanja, who were already in a meeting. It was reported someone interrupted the chairman to inform the meeting of the new development after catching news on the president's statement, (*Kenya Times*, March 3, 1995).

After dissolving the branch leadership, Moi urged leaders in the branch to open a new chapter of leadership and to shun ethnic groupings during the forth-coming polls 'Nairobi is a cosmopolitan branch-city, and party leadership in the branch should reflect this', he observed, (*ibid*). Aspirant for the deputy chair of the branch, Mwanzi, observed that by denouncing tribal groupings in the city branch politics, the president was telling politicians in the branch that the days when KANU was the sole party in the city were gone with the coming of competitive politics, (*The Standard*, March 5, 1995). Meanwhile, Mwenje welcomed the party president's comments and declared that he would not defend his treasurer's post but would instead contest the chairmanship.

When Gachanja learnt of Moi's dissolution of the branch, he postponed the planned demonstration against John Odongo, and his alleged guerrilla movement, from the next Saturday to Monday March 3, 1995. But it appeared things were now out of his control. The demonstration went ahead but was now organised by Gumo. Gumo was accompanied to the demonstration by non- Kikuyu Nairobi politicians- Walji, Ali, party activist and nominated councillor Tom Mulamula, veteran city politicians Gor and Omido. Conspicuously absent were the senior outgoing branch officials,

Gachanja as chair, Mwenje as Treasurer, and Secretary Gerishom Kirima, (*The Standard*, March 7, 1995).

During the march, the Walji/Gumo faction took the opportunity to launch their attacks on the Gachanja/Mwenje factions, which skipped the demonstration. The faction asserted that it was time Nairobi residents realised that the city, being the seat of the government, 'needed representation from all communities, not just one tribe'. Gumo, who was speaking of his 'group', alluded to planned elections, and said that his 'group, would ensure that each ethnic group would be represented on the branch executive committee. The MP argued that since Nairobi was a cosmopolitan city, the party branch leadership should reflect this by having leaders from all communities living in the city instead of 'just one community', the Kikuyu. He claimed that the Nairobi KANU office had long been dominated by the Kikuyu, and that it was time to change the status quo, (*Weekly Review*, June 28, 1996: 9). Walji and Gumo made a scathing attack against the Mwenje faction and their perceived ethnic political set-up. Apparently, city KANU politicians had evolved into two distinct factions, one revolving around Walji, Gumo, Mwanzi and Tom Mulamula. The other faction revolved around Mwenje, Kirima, Ngumba, Daniel Kongo (last chairman of NCCo), and Zechariah Maina.

The Mwenje faction organised yet another demonstration the following Saturday, March 7, 1995, culminating in a rally at KICC, attended by those who skipped the previous one, (*The Sunday Nation*, March, 8, 1995). Gachaja also skipped, presumably to avoid a clash with Mwenje. No remarks were made about the other faction or their march. The faction endeavoured to portray image of a united front;

Kamukunji's Jimmy Kuria played down the perceived differences with Mwenje; Kirima averred that there was no problem between him and his rival for the KANU ticket for Starehe for 1994 by-election, Kimondo. It's what remained unsaid in this second march that revealed the intrigue. No mention was made of Gachanja, or any explanation offered for his absence. The camp cautioned that ethnicity could cause anarchy on the national front, (*Weekly Review*, March 11, 1995: 11).

Many of the politicians at the second march were the Kikuyu old guard that had been at the top of city politics since the 1970's, and a few people from other ethnic communities. These included Youth for KANU (YK'92) official Sam Nyamweya, former Nandi boss of Youth for KANU (YK'92), Fred Kiptanui and former MP for Makadara Omido. The participation of these politicians was perhaps encouraged to do away with allegations by the rival faction that this second faction was exclusively Kikuyu and prone to penetration by the opposition DP and FORD-Asili, the predominantly Kikuyu parties. This was the threat alluded to by Walji when he called for the dissolution of the branch. Keen observers of city politics were noticing that the party headquarters appeared to prefer a non-Kikuyu as chairman of the branch. Nyamweya's growing participation in the city's politics on the side of Kikuyu faction was seen as a move sanctioned by the party establishment figures especially Kamotho and Saitoti, (*Weekly Review*, March 11, 1995).

Following the dissolution of the Nairobi KANU branch leadership in March 1995, the office operated on an ad hoc basis, as it awaited the announcement of a date from party headquarters for snap party poll. The first such poll in the city's KANU branch since the dawn of multi-party in Kenya, they were sure to bring home to

Nairobi's KANU politicians that the political equation in the city had changed dramatically. A major confrontation appeared to be in the offing. It seemed Nairobi would witness an explosive election with all Nairobi KANU big wheels fighting in one camp or the other, with the exception of Gachanja. Gachanja escaped from the city's volatile politics to his native Gatundu Constituency, after giving up any hope of ever recapturing the branch chairmanship, following the dissolution of the city branch.

The Gumo camp argued that for far too long, the city's politics had been dominated by the Kikuyu and more specifically, a clique of Murang'a politicians, who appeared to have an unbreakable stranglehold on the political affairs of the country's capital, both at the local and parliamentary levels. The parliamentary representation and party leadership were closely intertwined, (Neville, O.I., 12/01/2015). He observed on the need to strengthen and diversify Nairobi's KANU leadership on a platform of change and equitable ethnic and racial representation in the city's political affairs, which, he felt, had for far too long been dominated by the Kikuyu, something of an anomaly for a thoroughly cosmopolitan major metropolis that is also the capital city, (*The Standard*, August 8, 1995). The dissolved branch executive was top heavy with members of Kikuyu community.

The Walji group had apparently fallen out with Mwenje after his coup against Gachanja backfired, but the main bone of contention between the two factions was whether a Kikuyu could be trusted with the city's top KANU seat given the community's widely perceived past tendency to "grab everything" for themselves, (*Weekly Review*, September 24, 1995). Worse still, Mwenje was associated with the

group known as the 'MTO', which allegedly sought to dominate KANU city politics on an ethnic hegemony basis, allegedly at the behest of party secretary-general Joseph Kamotho.

It thus appeared that now Mwenje was sidelined by the Walji faction, in line with what appeared to be the current climate at the branch. According to the prevailing atmosphere, 'small tribes' were now taking over from the 'big tribes', (Sasaka, O.I., 21/10/2015). It was no longer expedient to have a 'Kikuyu' who was in the past part of the MTO in the early 1990's on board. Gumo, who now seemed to be driving the anti-Kikuyu camp, was also a big enemy of Mwenje. They parted ways politically since the days Gumo chaired the NCC and the two clashed politically over city matters, (*Kenya Times*, November 8, 1995).

Another key player in the Gumo camp was Mwanzi who, by virtue of being the city Deputy Mayor, was the highest ranking KANU member on the opposition dominated NCC. He was also declaring interest in one of the party posts in the coming elections. Aware of the Kamotho-Gachanja alliance and ethnic arithmetic in the city politics, and the likelihood of these determining the outcome of the present contest, Mwanzi came out with a cautious statement on the dissolution of the branch. He observed, 'the party headquarters shouldn't be partisan in the Nairobi election process', (*Daily Nation*, April 2, 1995). He said he was for anybody who was out to help KANU and who would seek the mandate of party members, and that as the branch Chairman Daniel Kongo and other senior officials were only in office on an interim basis, it was only fair for them to come out and seek the mandate of the people. He however hit out at the outgoing branch officials for practising ethnic politics and observed that what the city needed was unity, not acrimony.

With the death of Walji in March 1996, Gumo's main political ally in Nairobi politics,

Gumo was left running a basically one-man crusade to break the Kikuyu domination of politics in the country's capital. KANU conducted its nominations for the by-election occasioned by the death in May 1996, where Gumo emerged victorious, (*Daily Nation*, May 13, 1996). KANU secretary-general, Mr. Joseph Kamotho announced Gumo's nomination had been revoked by party headquarters due to perceived irregularities. Gumo hit back, publicly denouncing the party decision and the secretary-general, then traversed the city in a vehicle with a trail of noisy supporters telling the Luhya to quit KANU en masse. Gumo was very bitter with Kamotho, openly accusing him of exercising 'naked tribalism' by favouring a Kikuyu candidate, specifically from Kamotho's own Murang'a District. Gumo also charged that Kamotho had all along been against his candidacy, but had only reluctantly allowed it in the hope that it would not succeed, (*Weekly Review*, May 13, 1996). As he had perhaps planned it, Gumo's action generated a lot of heat in the corridors of power and within the party hierarchy. It was an extremely embarrassed Kamotho who announced soon afterwards that, due to "circumstances beyond the party's control", the nullification of Gumo's nomination had been rescinded, (*Weekly Review*, May 13, 1996).

Gumo's attempt to capture the KANU branch leadership earned him a lot of political enemies among the Kikuyu, even those within KANU. Kikuyu politicians remained hostile. They poured scorn on him, describing him as an intruder who had no business dabbling in city politics. They advised him to forget the notion that he can be elected in Nairobi and to instead try his luck in his home district of Trans Nzoia.

Not only was Gumo being seen as a meddler in the Kikuyu-dominated city politics, but he was also finding it hard to distance himself from the ghost of Muoroto evictions during his tenure as city commission chairman, in which some people are alleged to have died, and the scandal-ridden administration that he presided over then, (Osoro, O.I., 17/11/2015).

Kamotho and other Kikuyu KANU stalwarts in the city remained hostile to Gumo, but were instructed to support him for the by-election as a sign of the ruling party's solidarity. The Westlands by-election was held on June 14, 1996. KANU's Gumo was facing off with three opposition contestants-Mr. Wanguhu Ng'ang'a of Ford Asili, Mrs. Betty Njeri Tett of the Democratic party (DP) and Mr. John Harun Mwau of the party of independent Candidate of Kenya (PICK). Gumo went on to win the by-elections beating Betty Tett narrowly. The by-election was characterised by a dismally low voter turnout, with only 4,000 out of the registered 44,000 taking part, (*Daily Nation*, June 15, 1996).

The issue of ethnicity and ethnic inclusivity continued dominating KANU city branch, with non-Kikuyu politicians lamenting the Kikuyu dominance of the branch. Gumo hoped to capitalize on this resentment to galvanize support for himself, so as to 'introduce balance in the city's ethnic equation.' His lack of grassroots support was compounded by the fact that he was up against people who were fairly well entrenched in the city politics. Furthermore, his campaign appeared to be splitting the city electorate along ethnic lines and solidifying the Kikuyu, making his attempts at getting to the helm of Nairobi KANU politics seen rather difficult, (*Weekly Review*, November 10, 1995).

With Amin's death, Gumo was now counting on the support of deputy mayor Ali Mwanzi, Makadara's Fred Omido and former Kamukuji MP Gor, councillor Joe Aketch, Langata branch chairman, Ratib Hussein, in his fight for branch leadership. Aligned against Gumo, was the Kikuyu bloc comprising former Embakasi MP Mwenje, Starehe KANU MP Kirima, enjoying the support of KANU secretary general Kamotho. The faction comprised mainly of Kikuyu city politicians who had had a stranglehold on Nairobi KANU politics for years, and who the Gumo group was out to remove. They derided him as an opportunist who had failed to decide where to build his political base and as a result, had been jumping from one place to another 'in search of a political vacancy to fill'. Ethnicity emerged as predominant as the two camps fought for the branch leadership. The battle for the control of city KANU politics polarised the city into clearly defined camps along, more or less, ethnic lines.

The different forces in the city clearly manifested their ethnic inclinations at KANU recruitment venues, (*Weekly Review*, April 28, 1995: 14).

As campaigns for the branch leadership intensified, the membership recruitment drive ordered by Moi when he dissolved the branch was relegated to the periphery. Recruitment rallies were transformed from recruitment meetings to campaign rallies. They were changed to mud slinging affairs, and became mere platforms for trading insult. Apparently, the opposing factions that emerged after the dissolution of the branch were not interested in recruiting members. Former chair of Nairobi City Commission, Kongo observed that this was making it difficult for those who wanted to recruit to do so. Observing that KANU was not making much headway in wooing supporters, Kongo said that the party would be cheating itself if it continued to treat

what was going on in Nairobi as recruitment. He accused party headquarters of not paying much attention to the confusion in the branch. He observed the headquarters was permitting individuals to purchase receipt books worth million of shillings which they were issuing to their respective supporters free of charge.

Kongo said he had drawn the attention of the party Chair Ayah and Secretary Kamotho to what was going on, but they made no effort to remedy the situation, (*Daily Nation*, July 19, 1996). Apparently, the party headquarters had left contending factions, interested in capturing branch leadership, to carry out the recruitment. Politician Sam Nyamweya supported the sentiments expressed by Kongo, and also accused party headquarters of failing to intervene to steer the recruitment exercise in the branch. He noted ethnic alignment was hampering the recruitment exercise and stability in the branch, and was bound to undermine the outcome of the coming party polls, (*Weekly Review*, May 12, 1995:19).

It was claimed party secretary Kamotho was closely associated with a section of city KANU politicians with origin in Murang'a, his home district. He was alleged to be close to the immediate former branch chair, Gachanja, and former Embakasi MP, David Mwenje. Gumo fired the first salvo at Kamotho, charging that the secretary was working behind scenes to frustrate non- Kikuyus interested in the branch leadership. Gumo noted the lack of interest by party headquarters to investigate claims by his camp that fake KANU recruitment cards were in circulation in Nairobi. He charged that the silence over the fake-cards was part of Kamotho's interference in the ongoing recruitment, to undermine the non Kikuyu aspirants. He

said that Kamotho was to blame for the wrangles in the city branch, (*The Standard*, August 6, 1996).

City KANU politicians eyeing branch leadership remained firmly polarised into ethnically-defined camps jostling to position themselves strategically ahead of the polls. The Kikuyu faction launched sustained attacks on Gumo, accusing him of inflicting severe suffering to Nairobi slum residents when he was the chair of NCC, (*Weekly Review*, May 12, 1995: 18). They hurled stinging tirades at Gumo, over the infamous eviction of Muoroto slum dwellers, telling their supporters to refer to Gumo as 'Muoroto'- as a reminder of the evictions. Gumo immediately hit back, dismissing his accusers as a 'bunch of tribalists'. But the damage was already done. Gumo and his camp became aggressive in attacks on their opponents, whom they accused of promoting tribalism within the city leadership, (Mwenesi, O.I., 21/2/2015).

As the 1997 general elections approached, an arbitration committee was set up to resolve the branch acrimony. KANU wanted to make sure any contentious issues were dealt with before the general elections to avoid wrangles that could jeopardise party chances in the elections. The party wanted to present itself as a united party, and one without the kind of political problems facing the opposition parties. Peace and unity in the crucial capital city's branch could immensely boost party image but ethnic politics was adversely affecting this plan. In November 1996, KANU's second vice-chairman, Njoroge Mungai, was appointed the 'coordinator' of the branch affairs and 'arbitrator' between the various warring factions as unity became more and more elusive, (*Daily Nation*, November 7, 1996).

He was given the mandate by party headquarters to try reorganizing the fractious Nairobi branch but he never took up the position because of resistance from a section of Nairobi party branch officials. The effort failed miserably when the ethnic equation refused to balance, with one of the contenders for the branch chairmanship, Mr. Fred Gumo, apparently thwarting attempts to install his rivals into leadership. A dejected Mungai and the KANU executive officer, Mr. Geoffrey Kathurima, had to report their failure to their party chiefs. The matter of installing a co-ordinator for the moribund city branch was temporarily shelved after the fracas, (*Weekly Review*, November 9, 1996).

The plan to install Mungai as the coordinator of the fractious and non-performing Nairobi branch of the ruling party had been carefully hatched by the national executive council of the party chaired by President Moi. It was aimed at reviving the fortunes of the ruling party within the city, which had been largely diminished not only by a predominance of opposition parties, but also by the ineptitude and a penchant for mischief by the KANU's own branch officials and operatives, (*ibid*). Groupings based on ethnic considerations were nothing new in Nairobi politics, but within the city branch of the ruling party, disagreements within these groups were now carried with vengeance and a kind of petulance that often irked the party's top hierarchy.

As such, the party secretary general was not an entirely disinterested arbiter of the Nairobi KANU political wrangles. Gumo's supporters saw Kamotho's hand in the attempts to make Mungai the city's party boss, although Kamotho and the former minister Mungai were not on the same side of the political alignments. Unlike Kamotho, who hailed from Murang'a, Mungai was from Kiambu and did not fit into the category membership of the Murang'a Take Over Group. One theory advanced

was that Kamotho, having failed to get a suitable candidate for the city KANU post from his native Murang'a, would rather have Mungai, a fellow Kikuyu, than Gumo, (*Weekly Review*, September 13, 1996).

Kamotho was often regarded as part of the problem of wrangles, incessant feuds within the party's branches, especially Nairobi. His name kept coming up that he was partisan in some of the wrangles within branches. There had been stirring of discontent against Kamotho, brought about by competing ethnic interest within KANU, and especially from among communities which provided the core support for the party. This campaign was spearheaded by Gumo and other Luhya leaders, who attacked Kamotho as 'a passenger' in the party. The KANU secretary-general came under a great deal of pressure to resign his post and for the ruling party to finally hold its long delayed national elections as Luhya political leaders bayed for his blood. He dismissed a move by Luhya MPs to have him removed from his post as "hypocritical manoeuvres and image tainting". As the pressure mounted on Kamotho, it took the party's national chairman, President Moi, to stop the debate in its tracks. Instead of chiding his secretary-general as they expected, Moi came to Kamotho's rescue, denouncing his detractors and declaring that the secretary-general was one of the most faithful servants of the party and the country, (*Kenya Times*, November 18, 1996).

What seemed as a crusade against Kamotho by the Luhya politicians led by Gumo, however, later emerged as a personal crusade by Gumo who appeared to have issues to settle with Kamotho, and to manipulate the secretary General into allowing him have his way in Nairobi KANU politics. Moi, however, defended Kamotho,

dismissing the campaign against him as hinged on the loyalty of his community in order to ‘maintain the party’s image as a coalition of communities in the country, (*Weekly Review*, November 29, 1996). He was not going to ostracize him because “the campaign against him as ‘a passenger in the party’ amounted to an attempt to parochialize politics within the ruling party”. Moi’s reaction appeared to halt Gumo’s campaign against Kamotho.

The pressure demonstrated that the secretary-general appeared not only to have lost the support of the powerful Luhya lobby Within KANU, but also of other important ethnic constituencies in the party such as the Kamba community. Also, Kamotho did not seem to have the support of MPs from other communities who had signed documents petitioning for immediate election to replace what they referred to as “passengers within the party”. Kamotho was clearly facing a rebellion by the so-called “KANU tribes”, (*Weekly Review*, November 29, 1996).

It was a massive triumph for Kamotho and a return to the usual dormancy for Nairobi KANU politics. Gumo had been shown his limits. Kongo could breathe a sigh of relief, as the real target of Gumo’s attack on Kamotho was him. But even when things appeared to be quiet on the surface over the next two years, matters were seething just beneath the façade of tranquility. Gumo continued to eye the Nairobi KANU chairmanship and various factions of the party within the city jockeyed covertly for positions. Gumo never gave up his ambition of leading the Nairobi KANU branch. In fact, he was reputed to have recruited a group of rowdy and impetuous Nairobi youths¹¹⁵ to advance his political cause, by violent means if necessary. Kongo and his branch officials did not take to Gumo’s violent antics

¹¹⁵ These came to be referred to as “Jeshi la Mzee”

kindly. They decided to suspend him from his post as delegate to the branch from the Westlands sub-branch, (*Weekly Review*, December 5, 1997).

During a planned meeting to discuss youth development, the KANU branch offices at Nyayo House turned into a battleground between the youthful militias of Gumo and Kongo. Gumo and his militia had stormed the meeting of branch officials, claiming that it had been called to ratify his suspension. Anticipating trouble, Kongo had reportedly hired a group of men to guard the venue of the meeting. The two politicians were reported to have drawn their handguns as their bodyguards and supporters used whips, batons, stones and other weapons in close combat against each other. It took anti-riot police to quell the trouble. Kamotho was not amused by the violence, and declared that both Gumo and Kongo would face disciplinary action for their behaviour, (*Kenya Times*, November 16, 1997).

According to Kamotho, a sub-committee formed by party branch headquarters was supposed to deal with any wrangles involving party branch officials. He declared that Gumo's suspension had been unprocedural, since such action could only be taken by party headquarters through a properly constituted branch meeting, and urged Gumo to appeal to party headquarters and the national chairman against the alleged suspension. Kamotho also declared null and void a branch meeting called to suspend Kongo from the branch chairmanship since it did not have the green light from party headquarters. But Gumo maintained that KANU headquarters was to blame for the violent confrontation after failing to take action against Kongo.

Chaos kept erupting within the Nairobi KANU branch. The quietly simmering war between the interim branch chairman, Mr. Daniel Kongo, and Fred Gumo, the MP for Westlands, often erupted in full force. The ruling party's city branch remained something of a serious problem for KANU headquarters. This was attributed to ethnic scheming and counter-scheming on how to capture the branch leadership

6.4 ETHNICITY AND MOI SUCCESSION POLITICS

The 1992 voting patterns in Central and Nairobi had shown that majority of THE Kikuyu people wanted an alternative government that would guarantee economic recovery, democratic culture, and security. After the elections OF 1997, Moi had set out to win much needed support in Central Province and Nairobi. Consequently, the Central Province Development Support Group (CPDSG), a KANU lobby group of wealthy and influential Kikuyu individuals, started charting out ways in which Kikuyu could be wooed back to KANU. CPDSG embarked on a campaign to popularize KANU and persuade Kikuyu to rejoin KANU 'the party that had brought independence and for which the Kikuyu people had suffered for so much' (Makau, 2009: 386).

Moi encouraged the activities of CPDSG. He vehemently denied any involvement in the 1992 politically-instigated violence in Rift Valley in which many Kikuyu were victimized due to their opposition politics. During his trips to Central Kenya, he invoked the history of the ruling party as originally a Kikuyu party that had brought independence. Furthermore, he invoked the spirit of the first president, Kenyatta, and argued that the Kikuyu community had a responsibility of ensuring that the party of the founder of the nation remained in power, (Jacinta, O.I., 17/10/2015).

Though resentment against the Kikuyu people among a powerful section of the Kalenjin elite had grown tremendously, a section of Kalenjin politicians had become convinced that the interests of their community and the success of KANU lay in forging a working relationship with the Kikuyu. This group was behind the GEMA-KAMATUSA talks of 1995 and had developed a symbolic relationship with Kikuyu KANU leaders who, as a lobby group, sought to ensure the interests of the community were protected, (Ndegwa, 1997:218).

The talks were meant to defuse post-election tensions caused by politically-instigated ethnic clashes before and after the 1992 elections. They sought to bring relative amity between the GEMA and (Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana, Samburu) KAMATUSA communities and it was hoped that some form of alliance could be forged for material economic and political benefit. In reality, however, the KANU leaders from Central Province were preparing a political base for themselves, come the 1997 elections, convinced it was possible to wrest Central and Nairobi from the opposition by invoking the discourse of development, (Macharia, 2012:246). The rapprochement was to be tested in the 1996 Kipipiri by-election following the death of FORD-Asili MP Laban Muchemi. The by-election presented KANU with an opportunity to get a foothold in Central Kenya and possibly in Nairobi. KANU launched a high-level campaign for its candidate, J.M Maina, promising development if the ruling party captured the seat. Money was distributed and development was promised. But voters totally rejected KANU. Maina obtained 17.5% of votes, with Githiomi of DP romping home with 82.5% of votes, (Macharia, 2012: 248).

The outcome of Kipipiri badly strained the relations between KANU leaders from the Central province and the government. As it turned out, the by-election was a big blow to the envisaged partnership and rapprochement that was being cultivated. Central Kenya remained an unhappy hunting ground for the ruling party. The same situation prevailed in Nairobi. The ruling party had helplessly watched intermittent wrangling among its party officials in the city branch. Lacking a strong grassroots and branch organization since the dissolution of the Nairobi KANU branch in March 1995, the ruling party had been groping in the dark, with several contending forces threatening to tear its local party machinery in Nairobi apart, (*Weekly Review*, July 19, 1997).

The KANU polls preceding the 1997 elections were clearly manipulated so that in Central and in Nairobi, individuals sympathetic to CPDSG could capture seats. In Thika district, Uhuru captured the chairmanship to make his debut into elective politics. CPDSG embarked on a mission to win support for KANU in Central Kenya and in Nairobi. The lobby group was however rejected by the Kikuyu electorate. KANU and Moi were totally rejected in Central Kenya and Nairobi, (Chweya, 2002: 188). KANU went to the 1997 general elections as more of an umbrella movement of widely differing views, controlled by a small number of ethnic elites. It nominated a contestant for every parliamentary seat in the country. In Nairobi, those nominated were: Kimani Kongo (who defeated Kamuyu in Dagoretti). The other KANU incumbent in Nairobi, Mr. Gerishom Kirima in Starehe and Frederick Fidelis Gumo in Westlands sailed through their nominations in the only constituencies held by KANU in Nairobi. In Lang'ata, Dr. Perez Olindo became the KANU nominee, while in Kamukunji, a newcomer, Mr. Adam Hassan, became the candidate of the ruling

party. Muhuri Muchiri was picked in Embakasi. Vincent Shimoli got the ticket in Makadara, and Lee Kamau in Kasarani, (*Weekly Review*, November 29, 1997).

In the 1997 election, Nairobi remained an opposition orbit, and an unhappy hunting ground for KANU. The difference between the 1992 and the 1997 elections was that whereas in 1992 FORD-Asili dominated electoral politics in Nairobi, in 1997, it was the DP that did. The elections were characterized by ethnic bloc-voting expressed through political parties. DP won in Starehe, Makadara, Kamukunji, and Embakasi comfortably, but had difficulty in Kasarani where the DP candidate polled 35% against NDP's 34.5%. In Dagoretti, Beth Mugo of SDP emerged victorious. Lang'ata voted for Raila of NDP. In Westlands, the DP candidate, Betty Tett was allegedly rigged out by KANU's Gumo where the two parties obtained 36.3% of votes. Apparently, KANU needed a seat in the capital and Gumo would deliver it by any means possible. It was widely claimed Gumo had mobilised members of the Luhya community resident in Nairobi to register in Westlands where voter registration continued even after the registration deadline (Kanyinga, 2003: 397).

Gumo was subsequently declared the winner of the parliamentary seat with 18,590 votes against Betty's 17,721. Interestingly, international observers and party officials from the SDP, Ford Kenya, NDP, and DP, all contested the results claiming Betty was the actual winner (ibid: 387). Provisional figures released per polling station had indicated Betty was the winner with 17,829 against Gumo's 17,790, (*Kenya Times*, August 1, 1998). Thus Gumo's votes had been inflated by 800 votes, Tett's reduced by 69, DP officials claimed. They also stated that at one time, the Deputy Returning Officer had congratulated Tett's agents on her triumph. KANU

officials had, however, asserted to a foreign journalist after the release of the last stream count (but before the results were announced by the RO) that Gumo was the winner by 5 votes with 17,885 votes to Betty's 17,880. Although results from the polling stations had been accepted by all the parties, the final results were contested by all the opposition parties in the constituency. Their demands for a recount were rejected.

Surprisingly, even the official results published by the ECK were again different from those announced by the Returning Officer (RO) and from those that appeared in the daily newspaper! The latter gave Gumo 18,590 and Tett 17,721 as announced by the RO (*East African Standard*, January 4, 1998), ECK gave 17,882 to Gumo and 17,877 to Betty. By the time Betty went to file an injunction on 8th January, ECK had already gazetted Gumo as the MP for Westlands. There is no doubt that poor organizational capabilities by the DP headquarters prevented the filing of a petition in the High court. Speed had been crucial in determining the outcome of that seat and KANU had out-sprinted the other parties in this vital race (Throup and Hornsby, 1998: 398).

A possible NDP constituency in addition to Langata was Mathare¹¹⁶. In the 1992 polls, Macharia Muraya of FORD-Asili obtained 23,836 (36.2%) votes, Frederick Masinde of FORD-Kenya got 19,579 (29.7%) votes, Andrew Gumba of DP got 15,147 (23.0%) votes and Zacharia Maina of KANU got a paltry 7,315 or 11.1% votes. The constituency had two by-elections before the 1997 elections. The first was occasioned by the petition filed by Masinde of FORD-Kenya. On the polling day, Masinde perished in a road accident. He was declared winner after polling 6,609 votes against Macharia of FORD-Asili who took 5,984 and Ngumba who had

¹¹⁶ Mathare constituency was renamed Kasarani constituency in 1996

decamped from DP to KANU and got 3,533 votes. A second by-election was held four months later. Ochieng' Mbeo of FORD-Kenya captured the seat after polling 6,203 votes while Ngumba of KANU polled 4,364. Macharia of FORD-Asili got 4,160 votes, (*Weekly Review*, November 18, 1997). In the 1997 elections, a new entrant, Adolf Muchiri of DP polled 16,179 or 35% votes, against Mbeo of NDP who took 15,924 (34.5%) votes. KANU's Lee Kamau polled 6,606 or 14.3% of votes.

Other than the ethnic voting in Nairobi, another factor that can help to explain Mbeo's defeat by Muchiri is the phenomenon of voter migration. It was claimed that during the 1997 elections, most of the Luo in Nairobi registered in Langata in order to vote for Raila, leaving NDP candidates exposed to defeat in other constituencies. A related feature is that Central voters could easily register and vote in Nairobi if there is sufficient motivation to do so, for instance financial. Consequently, patterns of politics characteristic of Central could easily seep into Nairobi (Throup and Hornsby, 1998: 403), and this could also account for Muchiri's victory.

Table 6.4: The parliamentary election winners in Nairobi, 1997

Constituency	Winning Candidate	Ethnicity	Votes polled
Kamukunji	Norman Nyagah	Kikuyu	10477
Langata	Raila Odinga	Luo	22339
Westlands	Fred Gumo	Luhya	17882
Embakasi	David Mwenje	Kikuyu	23953
Kasarani	Adolf Muchiri	Kikuyu	16179
Dagoretti	Beth Mugo	Kikuyu	21745
Makadara	Paul Kamau	Kikuyu	17916
Starehe	Maina Kamanda	Kikuyu	23780

Source: Weekly Review, January 14 1998.

Table 6.5: Distribution of Parliamentary seats by Party and Province, 1997

PROVINCE	KANU	DP	NDP	FORD-K	SDP
NAIROBI	1	5	1	0	1
COAST	18	2	0	0	0
N/EASTERN	9	0	0	0	0
EASTERN	14	8	0	1	10
CENTRAL	0	17	1	0	5
R-VALLEY	39	7	0	3	0
NYANZA	8	0	19	4	0
WESTERN	15	0	0	9	0
TOTAL	104	39	21	17	16

Source: Ajulu, 1998

In the presidential election, NDP and KANU did better in Nairobi than expected although not well enough to dislodge the DP. The DP took 160,124 votes, (43.7%), KANU took 75,272 (20.6%), the NDP took 59,415 (16.2%), the SDP garnered 39,707 (10.9%). The opposition together collected around 80% of the total votes cast. In Westlands, Kibaki polled 35.4% and Moi 34.3%, the highest tally for KANU in Nairobi. Kibaki did well in the other Nairobi constituencies, but only managed 8,664 or 19.8% from Lang'ata. Moi collected 11,420 or 26.1% while Raila polled 14,955 or 34.2%. Clearly, Lang'ata was a closely contested constituency in 1997 but Raila seems to have been in control, (Throup and Hornsby, 1998: 406).

Table 6.6: The 1997 presidential election results in Nairobi for the 3 leading candidates.

Constituency	Mwai Kibaki- DP	Daniel Moi- KANU	Raila Odinga- NDP
Makadara	19147	8628	7138
Kamukunji	17076	7349	3760
Starehe	25403	9973	5406
Langata	8664	11420	14955
Dagoretti	21773	6480	2115
Westlands	17154	16651	3168
Kasarani	20809	6267	14462
Embakasi	30098	8504	8411

Source: Electoral Commission of Kenya, 1997.

The results and the patterns that eventually evolved showed just as the case was in 1992, ethno-political factors influenced the outcome of the elections in Nairobi in favour of the opposition parties. Given the proximity between Nairobi and Central, it is evident that dominant voting patterns in Central almost invariably were replicated in Nairobi, (Mullah, O.I., 25/10/2015). Furthermore, Nairobi is inhabited by many Kikuyu voters. The invocation of discourse of differences and similarities among ethnic groups may lead to a regrouping of others in local and national elections. Consequently, in the 1992 polls, Central Province and Nairobi voted overwhelmingly for FORD-Asili, led by Matiba. In the 1997 elections, the two

provinces rejected KANU again and voted for Kibaki in the presidential elections and went for DP parliamentary and civic candidates, (Blondel, 2001:179).

Though it had won the 1997 elections, KANU soon suffered even more from internal divisions caused by the overarching question of who would eventually succeed Moi, whose end of power was now constitutionally no longer a matter of 'if' but of 'when'.

Prior to and after the election, factionalism intensified in KANU. This culminated in the birth of two factions, KANU 'A' and KANU 'B', (Khasani, O.I., 19/1/216). The factions claimed the support of the president and anointment in the Moi succession that was expected in 2002. Though Moi was not a candidate for the 2002 elections, ethnic elites in the opposition and KANU saw him as an important factor in shaping the election outcome in 2002 elections. Ethnic elites were worried whether he would hand over power and if he did so, whether this would be done in a peaceful manner, (Ajulu, 2002:156) Elites in KANU were worried about whom he would designate as his successor. Senior KANU officials began to jostle to catch Moi's eye for appointment as his successor. These worries became critical in shaping politics and coalition building in KANU prior to and after the 1997 election.

In the 1997 election, KANU received an almost equal share of parliamentary seats with the opposition. The Party therefore lacked a clear majority in the National Assembly. KANU's endangered majority in parliament, factionalism within the party, and recurring parliamentary defeats increasingly threatened the continuation of the Moi regime, and compelled it to begin negotiating cooperation agreements with some of the opposition parties, notably the NDP. The move towards cooperation between KANU and the Luo-dominated NDP "took a symbolic tribal

angle as both the Luo and the Kalenjin are Nilotic as opposed to most Kenyans who are Bantu or Cushites”, (Oloo, 2000:390–391).

The NDP/KANU cooperation was launched in February 1998 at the Homa Bay Stadium, with Moi and Raila as joint chief guests, (*Kenya Times*, February 18, 1998). In 2001, the cooperation between the two parties was enhanced when Moi appointed NDP /Luo MPs to the cabinet, (Olina, O.I., 21/11/2015). Moi appeared to be grooming Raila and the Luo in general to take over KANU, and power, when he retired. The appointment of NDP personalities to the government led to series of preparations for the merger of the two parties. The two parties eventually merged in March 2002 to form the New KANU. As Branch notes ‘the merger of Odinga’s NDP with Moi’s KANU in 2002, it was assumed, was intended to enable Raila to inherit KANU’, (Branch, 2011; 246).

New KANU evolved a new governance structure that provided for a party chairman and four positions of vice chair. The aim of the new structure was to ensure that all the main ethnic groups in the country were accommodated in the leadership of the party so as to win over large ethnic groups to KANU. Simultaneously, KANU elected its national party officials for the first time in over a decade. Its new leadership included Kalenjin, Kamba, Luhya, Kikuyu, the coastal communities, and the Luo, (*The Standard* March 20, 2002). The New KANU structure, therefore, served as an important political mobilisation tool. The senior positions in the party were distributed to each of the main ethnic groups.

When the ‘KANU-cut-leaders’ meeting was held at Kasarani on March 18, 2002, Saitoti’s slot of first National Vice Chairman was dispensed with. In its place were

created four positions of National vice-chairs much like what Kenyatta once did when he wanted to dilute Odinga's VP slot. What was even more humiliating, Saitoti was not even to be one of those four¹¹⁷. In the end, Musalia, Uhuru, Ngala, and Kalonzo were "voted in" as Vice Chairman, but Moi was retained as chairman in a move widely viewed as a ploy of extending his patrimony beyond his presidency, (*Daily Nation*, March 19, 2002).

Another casualty of the Kasarani meeting was Ndolo Ayah, who until then was the second National Vice chairman. KANU and Moi believed in and thrived on regional and ethnic politics. Once Raila got the 'enhanced' Secretary-General's post and a promise for enhanced partnership, Ndolo had to give way. Equally, the distributed Vice Chairman slots were meant to assuage the other major regions. Thus, with the position of Chairman, deputies and the secretary General secured with people from Rift-Valley, Eastern, Western, Coast, Central, and Nyanza provinces, New KANU was set to battle with the opposition for the forthcoming elections. For KANU's strategy, Nairobi could be 'ignored' as it was assumed to be "no man's land" and at any rate, Raila was the Nairobi MP, (Oucho, 2002; 87). In dropping Saitoti, Moi now had an opportunity to play his usual game of giving everyone false hope that he was the heir apparent.

At different times of his political career, it is claimed that he promised many in private that he would anoint them the successor, even when glaring facts on the ground indicated the exact opposite. Nyachae had been a perennial victim of such

¹¹⁷ Moi literally shouted him down, with the famous 'professor Kaa' rebuke, in the full glare of the media.

empty promises. In the twilight of his leadership, he promised Musalia, Mudavadi, Kalonzo, Raila, Dalmas Otieno, and Dr. Bonaya Godana the coveted seat, (*The Standard*, May 22, 1999).

After the KANU-NDP merger, a “Western Alliance” emerged from within KANU (Khamisi, 2011: 121). This caucus in the party was perceived to be pushing for a leader from western Kenya to succeed Moi as the chairman of the party and presidential candidate in the 2002 elections. Some of the pivotal leaders in the alliance were Odinga, Musalia, and Nyachae. Leaders of Rift Valley were also thought to be part of the group. The other wing in KANU comprised leaders from Eastern and Central, key among them, Kalonzo, Uhuru, Saitoti, and Kamotho. This side seemed to enjoy the sympathy of the more conservative leaders of the party from across the country, who were uncomfortable with the newcomers from the NDP. This difference was also ethnic, (Jonyo, 2003: 117).

Although the merger delivered 20 parliamentary seats from Luo-Nyanza to the ruling party and infused young blood into the ‘New KANU’, it also intensified divisions within the party. Four factions have been identified: ‘the old-guards led by then Vice-President George Saitoti and Ministers William Ntimama and Joseph Kamotho; reformist new-guard parliamentarians, mostly elected in 1992 and 1997; a soft middle ground of KANU moderates, including one-time presidential fore-runner, Musalia Mudavadi; and Raila Odinga’s former NDP cohort. The merger also laid the foundation for the eventual fallout of KANU in two ways.

First, the craftily designed formula for sharing seats in the new party sidelined long-time KANU stalwarts, such as Kamotho and Saitoti. Saitoti was completely removed from the leadership hierarchy of KANU, though he was to remain the country's VP. His ethnic background of mixed Maasai/Kikuyu parentage denied him a solid political base and rendered him irrelevant in the ethnic arithmetic and the succession game plan of the prime mover of the party- Moi, (Wanyande, 2007: 111). Kamotho's position of Secretary-General was taken over by the NDP leader as part of the merger deal. The new leadership structures and appointments transformed many of the party loyalists into its most ardent critics.

Though Saitoti maintained a quiet public relations attitude after the merger owing to his position as the country's VP, Kamotho and other hitherto KANU loyalists openly opposed the new developments in the party. The appointment of equally strong party leaders to the positions of vice chairmen and secretary general intensified internal competition within the party. Each of the vice chairmen had a clear ethnic constituency and therefore expected to be nominated to vie for the presidency, as each had numbers that would count in giving KANU support. Raila had a solid Luo base. He had many former NDP MPs on his side and could count on bloc support from Luo Nyanza as the party's presidential candidate. Others were keen on being nominated, and some began to mobilise ethno-regional support in advance.

When Moi eventually declared '*Uhuru tosha*¹¹⁸', the announcement sent the other hopefuls in total disarray. Some of Moi's hitherto loyal ministers started defying him publicly. They began to mount a campaign ostensibly against Uhuru for being

¹¹⁸ Uhuru is capable of ruling the country

undemocratically ‘elected’ or anointed. Their reason was that Uhuru was a political greenhorn and a “disgraced Kikuyu at that” who could not be sold to the wider and “generally anti-Kikuyu” populace. Noteworthy, the Kikuyu voters boasted about 23% of the total registered voters (Oyugi et al, 2003 88). Within the opposition ranks, it was fast emerging that the compromise candidates should be either Kibaki or Wamalwa, depending on KANU’s choice of candidate. The logic was that if a Kikuyu was fronted by KANU, Kibaki should run and if anyone else was, Wamalwa should.

As the National Alliance of Kenya (NAK) was busy putting its house in order, and assembling its war machinery, KANU was on fire with open revolt against Moi renting the air. Day after day, NAK’s support swelled, even as KANU was imploding and being eroded, with the rebellion that was fast building up under the leadership of Raila. Moi did two things to scuttle the rebels’ schemes. First, he appointed the VP, who quickly took up the offer. Secondly, he soon dissolved parliament and called for elections, (*Daily Nation*, November 7, 2002). The KANU rebels, now operating under the banner of ‘Rainbow Alliance’, had little time to organize the next moves. They started to engage the opposition coalition, NAK. The rumours were also that Kibaki had been unanimously picked on as NAK candidate. Thus when KANU picked on Uhuru, NAK’s response was to settle on Kibaki, (Makau, 2009: 217).

For a while, the Rainbow rebels pleaded with NAK not to announce their candidate till they came on board. Some strategists within NAK dismissed this as a ploy by the KANU rebels to derail opposition strategy for the election. NAK then announced

Kibaki as the sole opposition candidate. The rebel group, having now taken over the LDP, promptly reached out for a deal with NAK, with the promise that some of its members would be given plum appointments should the alliance form the government, among them the premiership and the vice presidency. LDP decided to convene its first rally at Uhuru Park ahead of another planned by NAK. According to Orengo, if anyone wanted to mount a million-man march, you would not go to Nyeri or Kisumu. You would opt for Nairobi because therein, you have Nyeri, Kisumu, Kakamega, and everywhere else all together in one blow, (Makau, 2009: 226).

It was at this meeting, attended by NAK, Nyachae's Kenya Peoples Coalition (KPC), and other groups, that Odinga dropped the bombshell '*Kibaki Tosha*'¹¹⁹. From then on, motions were set into high gear to conclude the crafting of the precise relationship between NAK and Rainbow LDP. A new name was soon agreed, NARC. An MOU was also agreed and signed. Quickly, realizing their folly, the NDP brigade started changing their tune that they had gone to KANU as a strategy to destroy it from within. In one sweep of Moi elevating Uhuru, he had alienated the KANU rebels, torn right down the middle of the party he had built over many years; and in the process, assisted the opposition to unite behind Kibaki as its sole candidate. Strangely, Matiba who had up to then been expected to throw his weight behind Kibaki, instead threw weight behind KANU's Uhuru, (Khamisi, 2011; 90).

NARC brought together the leading elite from four of the five major ethnic groups. Left only with Kalenjin as their principal backers, KANU and its candidate, Uhuru,

¹¹⁹ Kibaki is capable of ruling Kenya

could not overcome public resentment against the Moi-KANU regime and the public euphoria over NARC. In December 2007, Kibaki and Narc overwhelmingly trounced Uhuru and KANU at the polls. Kibaki's NARC won 62% of the vote and 125 parliamentary seats. KANU managed 64 seats, (*Daily Nation*, January 3, 2003). In Nairobi, Kibaki garnered 76.5%, the highest score in any province. Uhuru's tally of 30% in Central was higher than that of 20% in Nairobi while Kibaki's tally in Nairobi was higher than 69% of Central, (*The Standard*, January 4, 2003). This scenario was the result of the support for Kibaki in Nairobi by the big ethnic communities, while Central's Kikuyu vote was split up only between the two leading candidates (Makau, 2009: 192). Of the city's eight seats, all went to NARC while in Central, NARC took 21 leaving KANU to take six seats. This defeat ended KANU's reign of 40 years and ushered Kibaki's Narc to power.

Table 6.7: Presidential election results, 2002

candidate	results	percentage
Mwai Kibaki	3,646,277	62%
Uhuru Kenyatta	1,835,890	31%
Simeon Nyachae	345,152	6%
Others	119,216	1%

Source: Electoral Commission of Kenya, 2003.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed multi-party era from 1992, showing how ethnicity and ethnic mobilization influenced the changing trends of politics in Nairobi Count during the multi-party era. The chapter has demonstrated how Moi's regime was

sustained by patronage networks and Moi's tactic of divide-and rule by playing off one community against another. A single-party authoritarian rule was established and the governance process was more ethnicised. Towards the end of 1980's, various political leaders began a campaign for restoration of multi-party politics. The Moi regime had sought to counter the demands by portraying the campaign as camouflaged in Kikuyu attempt to seize power and dominate the nation for a second time.

This provoked the resurgence of Kikuyu sub-nationalism and intensified ethnicity in the country. KANU eventually ceded to the demands and allowed the repeal of section 2(A), reverting to multi-party state. Regional and ethnic blocs were to prove key to the outcome of the first multi-party poll in Nairobi. KANU won only the Westlands seat while Matiba's Ford Asili emerged the winner in both presidential and parliamentary poll. Nairobi and Central Kenya turned out to be Matiba's Ford-A strongholds.

At the national level, the outcome indicated that voters wanted to place their ethnic elites in positions that would confer economic benefits on individuals from their own ethnic group, and the ethnic group at large. This 'we' versus 'they' of the national politics percolated to the local level in Nairobi. This explains the defeat of KANU candidates for the three elections. Despite the Kikuyu having rejected KANU in the 1992 polls, the Kikuyu clique that had dominated KANU politics in Nairobi remained intact. The clique began experiencing serious challenge from elites of other ethnic groups. The camp opposed to the continued Kikuyu domination of the branch revolved around Amin Walji and Fred Gumo. This camp demanded

the diversification of Nairobi KANU leadership on a platform of change and equitable ethnic representation, arguing for far too long, Nairobi KANU branch had been dominated by the Kikuyu, something of an anomaly for the cosmopolitan city branch. Talks also began filtering in of a plot by Murang'a politicians in Nairobi plotting to capture power not only in Nairobi but also in the country.

The simmering anti-Kikuyu sentiments culminated in Moi dissolving the Nairobi KANU branch leadership under Clement Gachanja in 1995 in order to pave way for branch elections. The branch was placed under an interim team headed by a long time KANU loyalist and prominent businessman, Kimani Kongo. The Gumo faction emerged as determined to introduce ethnic balance in the city's political equation. The branch remained polarised along ethnic lines as the Gumo camp faced off with the Kikuyu camp. Throughout the 1990's, the Nairobi KANU branch remained something of a serious problem for the ruling party.

Nairobi voters rejected KANU again in the 1997 polls, as ethno-political factors influenced voting patterns. Patterns of political behaviour in Central Province were replicated in Nairobi. Nairobi is also inhabited by many Kikuyu. After the election, Moi engineered a merger of KANU and NDP in what observers termed as an attempt to influence his succession. When he named Uhuru Kenyatta as his preferred successor, a fall-out ensued in KANU, with anti-Uhuru forces teaming up with opposition to launch NARC which won the 2002 election and ended KANU's reign spanning over 40 years.

The chapter is guided by the concept of political tribalism which describes the competitive confrontation between ethnic groups or 'ethnic contenders for material

resources through control of state apparatuses, (Lonsdale, 2004:73). Guided by this concept, the chapter has argued that politics in Nairobi County during the era of political pluralism was largely influenced by ethnicity. Ethnicity explains the poor performance of KANU presidential and parliamentary candidates during the multi-party era.

However, ethnicity was not the only factor as there were other local dynamics shaping political contestation in Nairobi County, such as the rivalry between Kikuyu districts, class divisions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

this chapter summarises the findings of the study, discusses the extent to which the premise have been proved and outlines some key recommendations with regard to the question of ethnicity and party politics in Kenya.

7.2 SUMMARY

The study made an attempt to demonstrate the influence that ethnicity and ethnic mobilisation had on politics in Nairobi County during the period between 1907 and 2002. The study sought to analyse the ethnic allegiance in Kenya's politics by focusing on the organisation of politics in a cosmopolitan setting. The first chapter consists of the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, research premises, justification of the study, the scope and the limitations of the study, review of the related literature, theoretical framework of the study and the research methodology.

In accomplishing the first objective of the study, the second chapter traces the establishment of colonial rule, showing how ethnicity in Kenya was influenced in form, scope and content by colonial legacy. The third chapter further addresses the first objective. It traces the emergence of Nairobi, a city developed for the benefit of the white community. It discusses how the development of Nairobi and Kenya in

general into a settler economy impacted on race relations and other spheres of life in Nairobi. It demonstrates how settlers gained an even greater degree of control in Nairobi than in the whole of Kenya.

The chapter discusses the role of Indians in the political structure of the colonial state in Kenya. Asian presence in Kenya in general and Nairobi in particular, had important implications on political and economic system of colonial Nairobi. Asians sought to entrench themselves in Nairobi economically and politically, leading to a protracted clash between them and the settlers as the settlers were accorded immense privileges over the Indians. Persistent political wrangles between the two races had considerable significance for the development of the colony. However, African political participation the affairs of colonial Nairobi remained marginal, as the key characteristic of the colonial politics continued to be a rigid hierarchy based upon race. The marginalisation of Africans culminated in the militant nationalism that cropped up in Nairobi in the 1940's spearheaded by the Kikuyu.

Urban militarism however assumed an ethnic orientation and in the process alienated the Kikuyu from the other African communities in Nairobi. The Mau Mau violence was also co-ordinated from Nairobi. Mau Mau oathing in Nairobi accelerated the isolation of the Kikuyu from the rest of Africans. With the declaration of the state of Emergency came many restrictions and controls imposed on GEMA communities, especially in Nairobi. These communities were purged and either detained or repatriated to the reserves in a bid by the colonial regime to manage the violence. In the event, African political leadership in Nairobi in particular and Kenya in general passed to the hands of other communities, especially

the Luo, as the country transitioned to independence after the Lyttelton reforms of 1954.

In addressing the second objective, the fourth chapter sought to analyse the Kenyatta era with regard to ethnicity and the organisation of politics in Nairobi County. It demonstrates how the Kenyatta regime consolidated political mobilisation using ethnic platform, and how this was reflected in politics in Nairobi County. It discusses how the Kikuyu- Luo alliance that propelled KANU to victory in the lead-up to independence crumbled soon after independence. The Kenyatta regime marginalised the Luo as Kenyatta sought alliances with other ethnic elites. The crumbling of the Kikuyu-Luo alliance had serious repercussions on the way politics was structured during this period. KANU became a weak and moribund political party and was replaced by ethnic organisations as the main forums of political mobilisation. GEMA emerged as the main ethnic association and sought to entrench Kikuyu hegemony in Nairobi and the rest of Kenya. The organisation became more powerful than KANU, emerging as the most powerful tool of political mobilisation.

GEMA maintained tight control over politics in Nairobi, and determined those to be elected to various political positions in the city. This greatly impacted on the organisation of politics in Nairobi. GEMA also did serious scheming to influence the Kenyatta succession in the 1970's. The formation of GEMA and its promotion of ethnic subnationalism was responsible for simmering ethnic tensions and conflicts based on ethnic claims to power in the 1970's. However, divisions within GEMA and the organisation's inability to agree on a successor to Kenyatta prevented it from

taking over KANU in the elections planned for 1976. Consequently, Moi took over in line with existing constitutional provisions when Kenyatta died in 1978.

Chapter five examined the third objective which was to analyze how ethnicity and ethnic mobilisation influenced the organization of politics in Nairobi County during the Moi era up to the re- introduction of multi-party politics in 1991. The chapter shows how Moi sought to create a coalition of minority communities to counter the Kikuyu domination of the state. Thus, patterns of Kikuyu dominance over the political and economic affairs of the state were altered during the Moi era. KANU was revitalised and made the only avenue for political recruitment through the entrenchment of Section 2(A) in the constitution in 1982. KANU became Moi's tool of political control as party politics was fused with the administration of the state, resulting in what political historians have called the "Party-state". Politics became increasingly ethnicised as elites appealed to their ethnic groups for affinity. The patterns of Kalenjin domination over the affairs of the state were also reflected in KANU. However, the Kikuyu still retained their control over KANU politics in Nairobi. As Moi sought to weaken the Kikuyu, he played on the division between the Kikuyu of Kiambu on one hand and those of Nyeri/Murang'a on the other hand. KANU politics in Nairobi thus witnessed a conflict between the two sections of Kikuyu. Talks began filtering in of a plot by Kikuyu of Murang'a to dominate the KANU politics in Nairobi at the expense of other Kikuyu and of course, other communities.

Chapter six discussed the fourth objective which was to analyse the extent to which ethnicity and ethnic mobilisation influenced the changing trends of politics in

Nairobi County during the multi-party era from 1992 to 2002. It demonstrates how the Moi regime sought to counter the campaign for the restoration of multi-party democracy by portraying it as a Kikuyu attempt to restore the Kenyatta-era hegemony. However, the regime eventually succumbed to the pressure and repealed section 2(A). The big communities, including the Kikuyu and the Luo, aligned with the opposition, and this was reflected in the outcome of multi-party electoral contests in Nairobi county in 1992 and 1997. Owing to the huge presence of the Kikuyu in Nairobi and the proximity between Central and Nairobi provinces, trends of politics dominant in Central Province were replicated in Nairobi.

However, with multi-party politics came a big challenge to the Kikuyu domination of the Nairobi KANU branch. A camp revolving around the Westlands KANU MP Amin Walji and politician Fred Gumo sought to end Kikuyu domination of the city KANU politics and introduce ethnic balance. This split the branch into two hostile factions, culminating in the party president dissolving the branch leadership in the hands of Kikuyu in 1995. As ethnic rivalry intensified, it became impossible to hold branch elections and the branch remained under an interim team headed by a prominent KANU loyalist Daniel Kongo. The chapter discusses how Moi attempted to install Uhuru as his successor, the fall-out in KANU over Moi's decision to handpick a successor, and the eventual defeat of KANU by the opposition alliance, NARC in the 2002 poll in Nairobi County.

The political policies of the colonial and post-independent regimes influenced the politics of Nairobi County in a huge way. This influence was quite apparent at election time when each candidate or party enjoyed open support from members his

ethnic community. Masses became mere pawns in the game of ethnic politics between the powerful ethnic elites competing for political power. This was going to characterize politics in Nairobi County throughout the period under this study.

Out of the objectives of the study and the findings, the premises were confirmed to be true that; various colonial policies and practices largely manifested in the politics of Nairobi County from 1895 to 1963. The Kenyatta regime consolidated political mobilization using ethnic platform, and this was reflected in politics in Nairobi County from 1963 to 1978. The ethnic phenomenon in Kenya largely influenced the configuration of politics in Nairobi County during the Moi era from 1978 to 1991.

Ethnicity and ethnic mobilization immensely influenced the changing trends of politics in Nairobi County during the multi-party era from 1991 to 2002. The study found that the Kenyatta and the Moi regimes employed state patronage and clientele networks to retain power. Ethnicity and ethnic mobilisation was the main tool used to consolidate power, and this influenced the way politics was organised in Nairobi County. The study revealed political parties in Kenya lack ideology and are regarded as vehicles for attaining and safeguarding political power. KANU as the main tool of political mobilization tended to gravitate around the ethnic pole and lacked national appeal during the period under review. Ethnicity greatly influenced the character and organisation of KANU party politics in Nairobi County during the period under review.

7.3 CONCLUSION

In accordance with the objectives that the study sought to achieve, the following major conclusions were arrived at;

First, ethnicity in Kenya's politics was profoundly influenced in form, scope and content by colonial legacy. Second, the Kenyan political elite is the main factor in galvanising ethnicity as a political mobilisation tool. Third, that Kenya's political parties organised politics around ethnicity during the period under review. Fourth, that elections in Nairobi county were contested mainly on the basis of ethnicity. Candidates enjoyed massive support from members of certain communities during the period under review. This largely impacted on electoral mobilization in Nairobi County.

In this study, we adopted an integrative approach, deriving key concepts and ideas from a variety of theoretical paradigms, bringing them together within a broader framework that facilitates understanding of the phenomenon of ethnicity in Kenya's politics. We adopted some propositions of Marxism in explaining class formation. Class interests are crucial because classes play a vital role in the manipulation of state and politics by the ruling classes in order to safeguard their interests. We argued that the role of upper classes, or elites, in Marxist formulation is crucial. Elites can, for instance, easily rally the masses for a certain political cause. As ethnic elites for instance, ethnicity would assume salience once they choose to mobilize it. It is the elites who decide what use to make of it, when it should be used, and in what direction. This manifests ethnicity as a resource to be mobilized, or an instrument to be used, by particular groups and individuals in pursuit of their political and economic ends. We also adopted the instrumental argument that stresses the forces of political and socio-economic development as prime motivating factors in ethnicity and ethnic mobilization. Instrumentalism focuses on the manipulation of ethnic identities and loyalties for political and economic ends. The

dual concept neo-patrimonialism and clientalism, and the contrasting concept of political tribalism were employed to complement the above theories.

7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made;

First that the real basis of ethnic politics in Kenya has been control of state power in order to access resources. Hence one way of resolving the ethnic crisis in Kenya is addressing the issue of resource allocation. There should be fair distribution of national resources in order to ensure equitable national development and counter the fear of marginalisation and exclusion by some communities in Kenya. Second, that political parties should be streamlined through enforcement of the relevant laws, to reflect the diversity of the people of Kenya and end the culture of ethnic parties.

Third, that devolution should be strengthened to involve the people at the grassroots in decision making, so as to empower communities to manage local affairs. This will reduce the influence of national politics at the local level thus force candidates to focus their agenda on issues affecting the electorate at the grassroots level. Fourth, that legal mechanism should be implemented to ensure ethnic inclusivity in the leadership of Nairobi as the nation's capital. This will reduce inter-ethnic suspicion and cement peaceful co-existence. Finally, further research is required on how economic factors have influenced political competition in Nairobi. There is also need for a research that focuses on the impact that local level politics in Nairobi County has on the national level politics. Also, there is no well-documented historical information on important political personalities involved in politics in Nairobi County during the period under review.

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Weekly Review, 14th Oct. 1988

Weekly Review, 23rd Sept. 1990

Weekly Review, 11th May, 1990

Weekly Review, 15th June 1990

Weekly Review, 20th July 1990

Weekly Review, 1st April 1988

Weekly Review, 26th Feb. 1988

Weekly Review, 6th June 1989

Weekly Review, 28th April 1989

Weekly Review, 11th Dec. 1992

Weekly Review, 1st Jan. 1993

Weekly Review, 8th Jan. 1993

Weekly Review, 28th June. 1995

Weekly Review, 3rd March. 1995

Weekly Review, 28th April. 1995

Weekly Review, 11th March. 1995

Weekly Review, 10th Nov. 1995

Weekly Review, 29th Nov. 1996

Weekly Review, 28th June. 1996

APPENDICES**APP. 1: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION**

Dear respondent,

My name is Antony Kimani Murathi, a student at Kenyatta University carrying out research on “Ethnicity and KANU Politics in Nairobi County c, 1907-2002”. I kindly request you to read and respond to the questions. The information you provide me with will be used for academic purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you for your time and co-operation.

Antony K. Murathi

Kenyatta University.

APP. 2: sample interview guide- (general)**Part A: Bio-data**

Name-

Ethnicity-

Address-

County-

Location-

Occupation-

Age-

Gender-

Part B: please answer the following questions honestly. This information is confidential and is used only for the purposes of this study.

1. Did you participate in the independence elections in 1963?
2. (a) If yes which party did you support between KANU and KADU?
(b) Was your choice guided by party ideology? Was it influenced by ethnicity in any way?
3. (a) Soon after independence president Kenyatta and Vice-President Odinga fell out and Odinga established KPU. Did you support KPU ideologies?
(b) If yes or no, give reasons.
4. Did you participate in “the little general elections” of 1966? If yes, which party did you vote for?
5. In your view, why did the KPU party enjoy huge support in some regions of Kenya and not others?
6. What factors might have led to tribal animosity in Kenya during Kenyatta era?

7. Why did the Moi regime prohibit the formation of political parties other than KANU?
8. Did you support the clamour for multi-party in 1990-1991? Why did politicians and clergy advocate multi-party democracy?
9. Did you participate in the 1992 multi-party election? What factors guided your support for the different political parties?
10. Do you think ethnicity influenced election outcome in 1997?
11. Did you vote in the 2002 elections? Which party did you vote for and why?
12. Why was NARC party popular in many parts of Kenya?
13. What was your preferred party in the 2007 election and why?
14. Do you think ethnicity was a major factor in the post-election violence? Please explain in details
15. In the elections you participated in, did you always vote for presidential and parliamentary candidates of the same party? If yes or no give reasons.
16. In the elections where you participated, did you ever consider the ethnic background of the presidential candidate as relevant in your choice? Give details.
17. Have you ever changed parties, say for example from KANU to DP? If yes what was the reason for your action?
18. Has multi-party benefited Kenya in any way? If yes, explain how
19. Do you support a coalition government such as one that ruled Kenya between 2008 and 2013? Give reasons for your answer.
20. (a) In the elections where you participated, did the party that you voted for always emerge victorious?
(b) If yes or no, why do you think it was/was not victorious?
21. (a) Do you currently support a political party?

If yes, are you a registered member of that political party? For how long have you supported this party?

(b) Why do you support this particular party and not others?

(c) Have you ever supported another political party before?

APP. 3: Interview guide for political leaders

Part A: Bio-data

Name

Address

County

Location

Occupation

Age

Gender

Part B: please answer the following questions truthfully. This information is confidential and will be used only for the purposes of this study.

1. Has your party participated in electoral contest? If yes how did it fare?
2. Who votes for party officials? Delegates or party members?
3. Do you think multi-party system has contributed to ethnic fragmentation?
Explain
4. Have you ever defected from one party to another? If yes why? Please explain factors that encourage defection of leaders from part to another
5. Did you participate in the multi-party clamour of 1990-1991?
6. What are the prominent policies and ideologies of your party? Please elaborate.
7. How does your party select candidates for various electoral seats?
8. What do you consider unique about your party, viz-a-viz other parties?
9. How has the problem of ethnicity affected your party? Please elaborate.
10. What, in your opinion contributed to the disintegration of the NARC party?

11. Do you think the ODM/PNU coalition government succeeded in forging ethnic reconciliation in Kenya? Please elaborate
12. Has your party always presented a presidential candidate during elections? How did it fare in the most recent election?
13. Has your party ever won a presidential election? If yes, were the votes it attained well spread across the country?
14. Has your party ever entered into a coalition or merged with another party? If yes, why did it opt for that?
15. Has your party ever lost an electoral contest? If yes, what were the possible reasons for the loss? Explain how it reacted to the defeat.
16. Did your party participate in the previous General election? If yes, how did it fare in the different elections? (parliamentary, gubernatorial, county assemblies).
17. What do you think contributes to ethnicity in Kenya's political parties?

APP 4: list of informants

name	ethnicity	Constituency	age	Date interviewed
A.Mullah	Asian	Makadara	71	25/10/2015
A.Mwadime	Taita	Embakasi	50	14/12/2015
A.Osoro	Gusii	Embakasi	66	14/12/2015
Alan. Kioko	Kamba	Dagoretti	63	20/02/2016
B. Veronica	Meru	Dagoretti	60	12/02/2016
C. Owino	Luo	Embakasi	51	14/12/2015
D. Ester	Kamba	Starehe	56	29/12/2015
D. Visram	Asian	Langata	58	10/11/2015
Dorcas K.	Iteso	Starehe	59	04/03/2016
Dorcas. N.C	Kalenjin	Mathare	61	27/01/2016
E. Muthee	Kikuyu	Makadara	49	25/10/2015
F. Brenda	Kalenjin	Westlands	66	6/01/2016
F. Gumo	Luhya	Starehe	64	20/02/2016
F. Lepoit	Turkana	Westlands	49	11/01/2016
F. Mohmud	Somali	Langata	55	28/11/2015
G. Atieno	Luo	Makadara	69	15/9/2015
G. Mutoria	Meru	Langata	68	10/11/2015
G. Opiyo	Luo	Langata	56	07/03/2016
G.Alibhai	Somali	Embakasi	39	20/12/2015
George Marite	Embu	Kasarani	62	27/02/2016

H. Kongo	Kikuyu	Westlands	74	11/01/2016
H.Bartoo	Kalenjin	Langata	67	6/12/20115
H.Dujih	Somali	Embakasi	61	20/12/2015
Informant k	Kikuyu	Kasarani	57	20/02/2016
Informant L	Luo	Kasarani	67	20/02/2016
Informant n	Maasai	Westlands	63	11/01/2016
Informant W	Kalenjin	Dagoretti	49	12/02/2016
Informant x ¹	Taita	Embakasi	72	14/12/2015
Informant y	Asian	Makadara	70	05/03/2016
Informant z	Luha	Embakasi	40	05/03/2016
J.Atullo	Luo	Langata	61	10/11/2015
J.Kitulla	Iteso	Starehe	56	6/01/20115
J.Mugambi	Meru	Starehe	69	04/03/2016
K. Jalang'o	Luo	Westlands	57	20/01/2016
K. Kabochi	Kikuyu	Makadara	39	15/9/2015
K. Kibet	Kalenjin	Makadara	60	24/8/2015
K. Kimondo.	Kikuyu	Dagoretti	51	04/02/2016
K.kipyegon	Kalenjin	Kasarani	71	27/02/2016
K.Lemeiyan	Maasai	Starehe	57	20/12/2015
Koiloken. T	Turkana	Starehe	64	04/03/2016
Loise. J.L	Luhya	Kasarani	66	27/02/2016
M. Kamanda	Kikuyu	Westlands	36	11/01/2016
M. Lesiyempe	Maasai	Mathare	80	27/01/2016
M. Ontunya	Gusii	Starehe	70	29/12/2015

M.Elizeer	Embu	Westlands	61	20/01/2016
M.Miriti	Meru	Mathare	60	27/01/2016
M.Mutiso	Kamba	Makadara	48	24/8/2015
M.Mutuku	Kamba	Dagoretti	65	04/02/2016
M.Mwenesi	Pokomo	Dagoretti	64	12/02/2016
Muteru B.	Kikuyu	Starehe	65	04/03/2016
N. Kanini	Kikuyu	Embakasi	54	20/12/2015
N. Nelius	Luhya	Langata	58	6/12/2015
N.Onsoti	Gusii	Dagoretti	64	12/02/2016
Oketch. J	Luo	Starehe	68	29/12/2015
P.K.Singh	Goan	Mathare	68	04/02/2016
P.Ontunya	Gusii	Westlands	59	20/10/2016
P.Wamwea	Kikuyu	Mathare	52	20/01/2016
Petkey. N.M	Luhya	Dagoretti	46	04/02/2016
S. Awori	Luhya	Starehe	48	6/01/2016
S. Karei	Maasai	Mathare	74	27/01/2016
S. Mugeke	Gusii	Embakasi	59	05/03/2016
S.Sifuna	Luhya	Mathare	41	20/01/2016
Sofia Masika	Luhya	Starehe	58	04/03/2016
T.Ndegerege	Maasai	Kasarani	48	20/02/2016
V.mwanyumba	Giriama	Starehe	47	6/01/2016
W. Mutua	Kamba	Langata	47	28/11/2015
W. Wafula	Luhya	Starehe	62	29/12/2015
W.Sifuna	Luhya	Makadara	54	24/8/2015

APP. 5: prominent players in Nairobi KANU politics over the period of the study

Dr. Munyua Waiyaki- Kikuyu

Dr. Njoroge Mungai- Kikuyu

Tom Mboya – Luo

Andrew Ngumba- Kikuyu

Clement Gachanja- Kikuyu

Maina Wanjigi- Kikuyu

Fred Omido- Luhya

Charles Rubia – Kikuyu

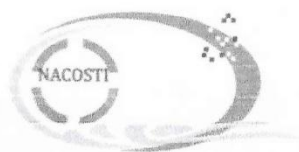
Gerishom Kirima- Kikuyu

Kiruhi Kimondo – Kikuyu

Amin Walji- Asian

Philiph Leakey- Whiteman

Fred Gumo - Luhya

APP. 6. Research authorization by NACOSTI

**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No.

Date:

2nd November, 2015

NACOSTI/P/15/93849/8148

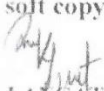
Antony Kimani Murathi
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Ethnicity and KANU Politics: The case of Nairobi County C 1960-2008*," I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nairobi County for a period ending **30th October, 2016**.

You are advised to report to **the Director, Kenya National Archives, the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report thesis to our office.


DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: DIRECTOR GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The Director
Kenya National Archives.

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

APP. 7. Research permit

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. ANTONY KIMANI MURATHI
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 117-10218
Kangari, has been permitted to conduct
research in *Nairobi County***

**on the topic: *ETHNICITY AND KANU
POLITICS: THE CASE OF NAIROBI
COUNTY C 1960-2008***

**for the period ending:
*30th October, 2016***



.....
**Applicant's
Signature**