RELATIONS BETWEEN KAMBA AND SOMALI COMMUNITIES OF KITUI-TANA RIVER COUNTIES IN KENYA 1850-1963

MALUKI KYAVOA

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Maluki Kyavoa

Signature…… Date……

C50/CE/28784/2019

Supervisor

This thesis has been submitted for review with our approval as university supervisors.

Dr. Edwin Gimode

Department of History, Archeology and Political Studies

Kenyatta University

Signature…… Date……

Dr. Lydia Muendo

Department of History, Archeology and Political Studies

Kenyatta University

Signature…… Date……

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DEDICATION

To all lovers of history.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DC : District Commissioner

EAA : East African Association

IBEA : Imperial British East Africa

IMF : International Monetary Fund

KAU : Kenya African Union

KADU : Kenya African Democratic Union

KANU : Kenya African National Union

KAR : Kings African Rifles

KNA : Kenya National Archives

KNBS : Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

KTI : Kitui

LNC : Local Native Council

LTD : Limited

NRA : National Resistance Army

OI : Oral Interview

SNM : Somali National Movement

USC : United Somali Congress

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Ethnic group: Population whose members identify themselves with each other on basis of common heritage and predecessors, common culture, behavioral patterns, language or religion. In Kitui-Tana River border zone, ethnic groups include the Kamba and the Somali.

Peace building: Mechanisms that are put in place to ensure cohesion and harmonious living between the Somali themselves, Kamba themselves and between Somali and the Kamba of Kitui east sub-county.

Ethnic Relations: Relations that involve coexistence, cooperation and conflict between two ethnic groups, in this case the Kamba and Somali.

Madaraka: Internal self-governance.

Relations: This refers to coexistence between distinct identities within the borders in which the identities may or may not be in contact with each other.

Community: this term is used in the study to denote a form of sociocultural, economic and political unit whose members share certain values in common.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Kamba

Musyi	Home
Ng'undu	Cultivatable land where homesteads were established
Kyengo	Privately used but not permanently owned land
Kivalo	Settlement made up of several villages
Atumia	Elders
Mundu mue	Medicine man
Mumbi	Creator
Kyathi	Sharpening of upper two teeth in spatulate form
Mwathani	prophet

Somali

Diya	Money paid for committing a crime that involved shedding of blood
Garad	Headman
Guu	long rains

ABSTRACT

This study examines the relations between the Kamba and Somali communities in Kenya from around 1850 to 1963. An analysis of these relations in the precolonial period was taken in an attempt to lay a foundation for assessing the relations in the colonial period. Colonial policies and their impact on the Kamba-Somali relations up to 1938 were investigated. Effects of the Second World War and decolonization process on the relations between Kamba and Somali up to 1963 were assessed too. The study argues that the initial settlement of both the Kamba and Somali communities in the area of study was majorly determined by environmental factors which in turn shaped the demand and supply of products and therefore relation between the two communities. With the onset of colonialism, relations between the two communities were heavily influenced by the policy of pacification which endeavored to create a rigid boundary between the two communities and so affected free interactions and trade. Later, during the Second World War and the period after the war, the relations between these two communities were characterized by tension, division, and suspicion. The trends of interaction were interpreted using constructivism and social interdependence theories. The study was justified in that it examined two communities instead of one and demonstrated trends that come from such dynamic interactions as contrasted with relations within one group. Literature on inter-ethnic relations was reviewed for sharper conceptualization of the study. Two research designs were used. These two included descriptive and historical research designs. Methodologically, a purposive sampling technique was employed. Snowball sampling technique was also used where knowledgeable informants referred the researcher to others who also had information about the study. Data for the study was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was verified against secondary information. Secondary data was obtained from books, journals, archives and newspapers.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background of the Study

Ethnicity refers to a shared cultural heritage often defined by common language, ancestry, religion, and historical experiences. Inter-ethnic relations encompass the patterns of interaction, cooperation, competition, and conflict between different ethnic groups. These relations have shaped human societies throughout history, influencing political structures, economic systems, social organization, and cultural identity. From ancient empires and trade networks to modern nation states, interactions among ethnic groups whether through conflict, cooperation, assimilation, or resistance have left enduring legacies.

Globally, inter-ethnic relations have been largely shaped by trade, migration, warfare, and cultural exchanges, producing both positive and negative outcomes. Romanucci (1995) argues that the preservation of ethnic boundaries is a sign of strong ethnic identity. The cases of the Kurds in Turkey and the Serbs in Bosnia exemplify how such boundaries have led to tension and conflict.

Africa's pre-colonial history featured a rich mosaic of ethnic groups interacting across diverse ecological and cultural zones. These interactions included cooperative alliances, intermarriage, religious conversions, and violent conflict (McEwen, 1971; Ben Arrous, 1996). Environmental conditions, economic specialization, and patterns of mobility played significant roles in shaping these relations. Long distance trade networks such as the trans Saharan and Indian Ocean routes facilitated interactions between groups with complementary resources.

When two ethnic communities share a common border, as with the Kamba and Somali, disputes often arise, primarily over access to scarce resources. These disputes can

escalate into conflict and loss of life (McEwen, 1971; Ben Arrous, 1996). Contestations often concern not the physical placement of boundaries but their meaning and value, which are embedded in historical contexts. According to Asiwaju (1985), many contemporary conflicts in Africa originate in border regions, where disputes over territorial demarcation hinder integration, peace, and cooperation. Clapham (1996) similarly argues that boundaries in Africa are largely artificial and subject to constant change, leading to crises over natural, immovable resources such as water and grazing land.

Pre-colonial African territorial boundaries were fluid, negotiated through occupation, usage rights, and kinship ties (Berman, 1998:5). Pre-colonial political, social, and cultural boundaries were flexible, allowing individuals and groups to identify with multiple and sometimes conflicting collective identities. According to Berman, power relations in African communities were shaped by patriarchy and applied across differences in gender, age, lineage, clan, language, and culture. Mutiso (1975) supports this by arguing that inter-ethnic connections existed in Africa long before colonialism.

As Gluckman (1973) notes, both conflict and cooperation are inherent aspects of social life. Ochieng (1975) observes that while African communities had strong ethnic loyalties, disagreements whether internal or between groups were typically resolved through established mechanisms. Within and across ethnic groups, inequalities emerged. Elders, often viewed as custodians of tradition, were entrusted with authority over aspects of food production and distribution. Internal disputes sometimes led to the formation of new settlements. For example, the migration of Ganda clans into conquered regions undermined clan cohesion and gave rise to more personalized cultural identities within the precolonial Buganda kingdom (Iliffe, 1995).

According to Berman (1998), precolonial societies were characterized by constant change, instability, conflict, and rivalry. Recurring famines, wars, and epidemics destabilized existing communities, prompting displacement and the formation of new ones by survivors and refugees. He contends that while inter-ethnic tensions existed before colonialism, modern African ethnic identities were significantly shaped during the colonial era. Although these identities retained some features of precolonial societies, colonialism fundamentally altered their structure, scale, and meaning through its cultural, political, social, and economic impact.

Leys (1975:199) argues that colonialism reinforced and divided ethnic groups by transforming pre-colonial social norms. Colonial policies favored some communities while marginalizing others. Kakai (2000:82) further contends that colonial rule created new terrains for conflict, often framed along ethnic lines as seen in tensions between the Somali and Galla of Northern Kenya. Kisiang'ani (2003:1) adds that colonialism introduced new ways of life that disrupted Africa's previously rich and diverse traditions, leading to a lasting identity crisis with wideranging social, political, and economic consequences.

In Kenya, inter-ethnic relations have historically been shaped by migration, trade, and competition over natural resources especially in frontier regions where different economic and cultural systems converge. The Kamba and Somali communities, who traditionally inhabited neighboring or overlapping areas in present-day Kitui and Tana River counties, offer a significant case study. While these communities have coexisted, intermarried, and traded with one another, episodes of ethnic conflict have also occurred. The central objective of this study is to explore the nature of inter-ethnic interactions between these two bordering communities in Kenya.

From around 1850 onward, inter-ethnic contact intensified due to overlapping factors such as the expansion of trade networks and ecological pressures (e.g., drought and resource scarcity), which triggered migration and competition over land, pasture, and water. The Kamba were heavily involved in regional trade, particularly the ivory trade and later in colonial labor markets, thereby engaging in broader regional dynamics. Simultaneously, Somali groups expanded southward into Kenya, driven by internal clan dynamics, the pursuit of economic opportunities, and disruptions caused by colonial policies. The Kitui East-Bura sub-county area thus became a zone of convergence, contestation, and accommodation between the two groups.

Colonialism played a pivotal role in reshaping Kamba-Somali relations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The imposition of British rule, drawing of administrative boundaries, and adoption of indirect rule and ethnic zoning disrupted traditional power structures and interactions. Colonial administrators often classified ethnic groups based on their perceived economic and cultural roles, portraying the Kamba as dependable soldiers and laborers, and the Somali as nomadic pastoralists. These classifications influenced recruitment practices and reinforced ethnic stereotypes that continued to affect inter-ethnic dynamics throughout the colonial period and beyond.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Inter-ethnic relations are a global phenomenon that arises wherever two or more ethnic communities coexist. These relations are also historical in nature, evolving over time in response to both physical and social environments. Such interactions have typically taken the form of social, cultural, and economic cooperation, as well as conflict driven by competition over resources. In Africa, the nature of inter-ethnic relations has been shaped by various agents and variables across time. . Ethnic relations are generally

characterized as either harmonious or conflictual. In the African context, these dynamics became particularly pronounced with the onset of colonial rule, which often intensified hostilities among communities. With the arrival of colonialism in the early 20th century, African societies were restructured under new sociopolitical frameworks, which significantly redefined inter communal interactions. In what is now modern**-day** Kenya, communities have historically experienced both cooperation and conflict in their relations. Notable examples include the Borana and Gabra in Marsabit County, and the Oromo and Pokomo in Tana River County. This study focuses on two ethnic groups in the lower eastern region of Kenya: the Kamba of Kitui East Sub County and the Somali of Bura Sub County. These two communities share a longstanding historical relationship. The study aims to examine the nature of their interethnic relations during the pre-colonial period and to analyze how these relations were influenced and transformed throughout the colonial period in Kenya.

1.3 General Objectives of the Study

The study specifically addresses the following objectives:

i. To discuss the in migration and settlement of the Kamba and Somali communities into Bura and Kitui east sub-counties and the subsequent development of their relations before 1895.

ii. To analyze the establishment of colonial rule, its policies towards the Kamba and Somali, and how these influenced the relations between the two communities before 1939.

iii. To assess the impacts of the Second World War and decolonization process on the relations between the Kamba and Somali communities from 1939 to 1963.

1.4 Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following questions:

i. How did the settlement and subsequent neighborliness between the Kamba and the Somali communities develop into a robust inter-ethnic relation before 1895?

ii. How did the various colonial policies towards the Kamba and the Somali affect the relations between the two communities, 18951938?

iii. What characterized inter-ethnic relations between the Somali and the Kamba from 1939 to 1963?

1.5 Research Assumptions

i. The study area occupied by two neighboring ethnic groups provides a chance to describe how inter-ethnic relations develop over time influencing each other.

ii. The British pursued different policies in an effort to divide and cause animosity between the two communities thereby undermining their relations.

iii. The inter-ethnic relations between the Kamba and Somali communities were characterized by tension, suspicion and division during and after the Second World War.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

Inter-ethnic relations have continued to attract global attention over an extended period. This ongoing interest highlights the importance of historical studies in understanding how different ethnic communities have coexisted, experienced conflict, and attempted to resolve their differences.

This study takes a historical approach by analyzing inter-ethnic relations over the course of a century, specifically examining the patterns and dynamics between the Kamba and Somali communities. While most existing studies on inter-ethnic relations emphasize conflict **such** as Resource Scarcity and Ethnic Conflicts in Northeastern Kenya by Alice Anyango and Ethnic Identity, Citizenship, and Conflicts in Southern Ethiopia by Selamawat Bekele this study seeks to offer a more balanced perspective.

Deliberately, it examines both conflict and cooperation to demonstrate that intercommunity interactions often involve more collaboration than discord. Furthermore, unlike many studies that focus on a single ethnic group, this research centers on the relationship between two ethnic communities, offering a comparative and relational understanding of their interactions.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study covers the period from 1850 to 1960 a sufficiently time frame to demonstrate the evolving trends in the relationship between the two groups. Geographically, the study focuses on lower eastern Kenya, specifically the Kamba of Kitui East Sub County and the Somali of Bura Sub County. This area provides a suitable scope for research and allows for generalization of the findings regarding the interactions between these two communities.

The content primarily focuses on day today activities involving economic exchanges, colonial interactions, and occasional conflicts over the course of a century within an otherwise predominantly harmonious relationship.

1.8 Significance of the study

This study contributes to the global body of knowledge, particularly on inter-ethnic relations. Currently, conflicts between the Kamba and Somali communities over

grazing lands continue to result in violence and bloodshed. Examining the historical evolution of the relationship between these two groups may offer insights and contribute to finding sustainable solutions to the persistent clashes over access to water and pasture.

1.9 Literature Review

Globally, there exists a substantial body of literature on ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations. The term ethnicity was first included in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1972, although the word ethnic had been in use in English since the fourteenth century (Green, 2005). Originally, the term referred to non-Christians, non-Jews, Gentiles, and heathens. Over time, this derogatory connotation shifted. In the United States during the 20th century, the term came to denote immigrant groups, particularly those of Northern or Western European heritage (Eriksen, 1993). As anthropologists sought to define ethnicity more precisely, the concept gained increased significance in the social sciences. This study adopts the following definition:

"Ethnicity is the end result of an ongoing historical process that is always both ancient and new, rooted in the past and constantly engaged in creation." (Berman, 1998:1)

Ivo Banac (1992) explores inter-ethnic interactions in the context of conflict in the former Yugoslavia. He argues that as early as 1948, President Josip Tito was concerned about emerging tensions, especially among Montenegrins and Croats who resisted unification. By the early 1970s, signs of instability regarding Yugoslavia's future were evident. In 1977, the Serbian government voiced concerns about the constitution and, following Tito's death in 1980, began dismantling the federalist structure (Banac, 1992: 1085–1093).

Banac further contends that by 1991 amid the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe opposition parties had won elections in Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia Herzegovina. Serbia and the Yugoslav People's Army, increasingly isolated, resisted further federal fragmentation. War erupted when Slovenia and Croatia declared independence in June 1991, with The Serbian Cultural Weekly even publishing an obituary for Yugoslavia. These events demonstrate that ethnic friction and conflict typically evolve gradually, a key insight that guided this study's investigation into Kamba–Somali relations.

Kemal Kurspahic (1994) notes that the ethnic and religious groups in Bosnia Herzegovina had long coexisted peacefully. He attributes the outbreak of war to external forces, particularly the "Greater Serbia" project conceived in Belgrade, which sought to militarily annex neighboring territories. This campaign led to massive loss of life and destruction. The insights from Kurspahic's analysis broaden the lens for examining inter-ethnic relations in Kenya, particularly between the Kamba and Somali along the Kitui–Tana River corridor.

Ali Mazrui (1969) attributes the growing prevalence of ethnic conflicts to two modern revolutions: communication and identity. He compares the Scottish nationalist movement with the Biafran War in Nigeria (1967–1970), arguing that the collapse of Nigerian nationalism and unity is best understood through historical context. In collaboration with Tidy (1984: 203–207; 219–222), Mazrui also analyzes the effects of the Biafran War and ethnic tensions between Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi and Rwanda. This study similarly emphasizes the role of identity in shaping interethnic dynamics.

Rotimi Suberu (1993) traces Nigeria's ethnic relations from 1914 to 1993. He identifies the challenge of unifying the Christian Igbo, religiously diverse Yoruba, Muslim Hausa

Fulani, and other ethnic groups into a cohesive nation state. He underscores how minority groups often felt marginalized by dominant ones. This ethnic imbalance, according to Suberu, led to the collapse of Nigeria's First Republic, the military takeover in 1966, and ultimately, the Biafran War. While Suberu's study spans an entire nation, this research narrows its focus to inter-ethnic dynamics between two adjacent counties in Kenya.

In the Horn of Africa, Ryan (1971) examines how external influences have contributed to the deterioration of racial and ethnic relations. Focusing on Sudan, he identifies race and religion as major causes of civil conflict. Southerners viewed Arabs as racists and imperialists attempting to perpetuate the legacy of African enslavement. Resistance to Arabization and Islamization efforts in traditionally Christian southern Sudan further exacerbated tensions. Ryan's study offered a valuable framework for analyzing how cultural factors can either facilitate or hinder peaceful inter-ethnic coexistence.

Several studies have addressed ethnic relations within Somalia. Among them, Dualeh (1994) highlights the historical roles of Somali clan affiliations including the Hawiye, Digil, Dir, Rahanweyn, Darod, and Isaaq clans which have often been marked by suspicion and rivalry. He explores how former president Siad Barre exploited interclan divisions to maintain control, ultimately destabilizing the nation.

Schrader (1993: 13–17) emphasizes that the fall of Barre's regime did not resolve Somalia's crisis. The unilateral appointment of Ali Mohamed as president by the Hawiye dominated United Somali Congress (USC) exacerbated clan tensions. Further instability followed the declaration of independence by the Somali National Movement (SNM) in the former British Somaliland in 1991, intensifying conflict among the USC, SNM, and the Ogadendominated Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM). Despite these

developments, interclan violence in Southern Somalia persisted. Though limited in scope, both Dualeh's and Schrader's works significantly informed this study and helped shape its empirical approach.

The British colonialists, according to Okulu (1974:48–49), promoted the notion of exclusivity or royal lineage in certain regions, which exacerbated ethnic relations in Uganda. He asserts that the Baganda considered themselves a "super tribe" during the colonial era due to their perceived advantages over other ethnic groups in the country. The Baganda wanted Milton Obote to step down in favor of their Kabaka, Mutesa. However, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) was reluctant to appoint Mutesa as the nation's president. This disagreement led to the OboteMutesa conflict, which eventually escalated into widespread ethnic unrest and violence. These tensions have continued to shape interethnic relations in Uganda**.** Conversely, Museveni (1985) claimed that the National Resistance Army (NRA) led a national struggle against dictatorship, injustice, and repression. He described the movement as "antitribalism" and inclusive of all Ugandans. In this study, the perspectives of Okulu (1974) and Museveni (1985) are instrumental in understanding the nature of inter-ethnic relations in Kenya. The body of literature on ethnic relations in Kenya is steadily growing. According to Soja (1968), African cultures were in constant flux during the precolonial period. Ethnic groups frequently formed and dissolved, merged and split apart, in response to relentless struggles for land and livestock. Population shifts and shifting group allegiances occurred due to organized raids, resistance strategies, and the pursuit of new grazing or agricultural territories. Soja further argues that conflicts arose both within and between culturally similar groups, such as pastoralists and farmers. For example, the Maasai frequently engaged in disputes over grazing lands and other resources.

Esese (1994) analyzes ethnic conglomerations, noting both their benefits and limitations. He argues that ethnic groups fostered their own socioeconomic and political development. Citing examples such as the North Kavirondo Chamber of Commerce, the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation (LUTATCO), and the Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru Association (GEMA), Esese highlights how these organizations empowered individuals to accumulate wealth and political influence while also challenging the Asian dominance in retail and wholesale trade. These insights are valuable for the present study.

In contrast, Odinga (1967) and Wolf (1977) discuss ethnic tensions in more fragmented terms. Odinga refers to conflicts between the Abaluyia and Kalenjin ethnic groups in Western and Rift Valley regions, though the analysis is superficial. In the early 1960s, Sabaot groups from Mt. Elgon destroyed ten Babukusu homes, damaged crops, and drove away livestock. However, Wolf does not examine the broader context of interethnic interactions over time.

Pragya (2013) discusses ethnic relations among pastoralists in Northern Kenya. He observes that clan-based cattle raiding was once culturally sanctioned. Only recently have such raids become mechanisms for competing over scarce resources. He adds that, in precolonial times, peace was often brokered by clan elders. Similarly, Pkalya and colleagues (2007), while studying conflict resolution strategies among the Pokot, Turkana, Samburu, and Marakwet, share these observations. Although their work does not address Kamba–Somali relations directly, it provides a useful framework for this study.

Several early scholars, including Owako (1975), Munro (1975), and Bowles (1979), specifically addressed issues among the Kamba. Owako examines land and population

problems in Ukambani up to 1966, focusing on human–environment interactions. He concludes that the failure to balance environmental degradation, population pressure, and recurring famines subjected the Kamba people to severe food shortages. However, his study does not examine famines in depth or explore how environmental degradation affected Kamba–Somali interactions.

Munro (1975), in his study of social change among the Kamba, dedicates a chapter to agrarian distress in Ukambani. He explores political responses to colonial policies such as destocking and land reclamation, but he does not address the implications of these issues for Kamba-Somali relations.

Bowles (1979) investigates ecological and dietary aspects of agricultural underdevelopment in colonial Kenya, using examples from Machakos and Kitui. He argues that colonial constraints forced peasants into maize monoculture, abandoning inter cropping. This transition driven by tax demands and maize's cash value—led to malnutrition and social decline due to reduced crop diversity. Bowles' insights were especially useful in analyzing how colonial policies influenced Kamba–Somali relations.

Since this study aims to propose solutions to inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts along the border of two Kenyan counties, it was important to examine theoretical frameworks offered by other scholars. Mazrui (1969) suggests that historical precedent can inform conflict resolution. He argues that past conflicts among ethnic groups sometimes enhanced their ability to identify common ground in later disputes. He further proposes that acknowledging interdependence can facilitate reconciliation and that conflicting ethnic groups may achieve peace by developing a shared philosophy.

Kurspahic (1994:138–139) highlights how professionalism helped rebuild inter-ethnic unity in Bosnia. He notes that Serbs, Muslims, and Croats worked together under professional ethics to demonstrate ethnic tolerance. The statement, “You do not have any issues with colleagues from other ethnic or religious backgrounds as long as you are allowed to write about things as you see them,” illustrates this principle. This example informed the present study’s exploration of conflict resolution in Kitui–Tana River.

Marc Michaelsen (1993) describes how Somali clans historically resolved conflicts. When violence erupted over scarce resources, elders convened peace conferences representing their sub clans. These meetings could last hours, days, or even months until consensus was reached. Michaelsen notes that mediators such as U.S. envoy Robert Oakley and UN envoy Mohamed Sahnoun advocated broader participation in local peacebuilding conferences. These included elders, religious leaders, women, intellectuals, and business people, enabling Somalis to take ownership of reconciliation. This inclusive approach provides valuable insights into resolving ethnic tensions.

Soja (1968:11) further notes that in ancient Kenya, inter group links beyond kinship created a sense of unity. Although these ties did not eliminate internal conflict, they facilitated cooperation against external threats. This is relevant given the likely existence of precolonial cultural connections between residents of Kitui and Tana River counties.

Aseka (1994:6) advocates for a supra ethnic value system in Kenya to prevent ethnic conflict and mistrust. He argues that a national democratic philosophy should prioritize collective goals and ideals. Similarly, Manundu (1994:10) proposes that a shared economic, political, and cultural identity can foster unity. He contends that as long as

individuals feel a sense of belonging, shifts in wealth and power will not incite ethnic tensions. These scholars contributed significantly to this study's focus on conflict mitigation and strategies for reducing inter-ethnic tensions in the region.

1.10. Theoretical Framework

Studies on inter-ethnic relations have traditionally employed certain theoretical approaches. The first of these is grounded in modernization theory, which provided a broad framework for progressive development toward "modern" statehood. This perspective was largely conceived from a Western standpoint. Within this framework, borders are seen as instruments of separation and control mechanisms designed to restrict mobility within territories and delineate jurisdiction between states. When applied to Africa, this theory assumes that African boundaries are structurally and conceptually extensions of Western European borders, given their colonial origins (Asiwaju, 2002). This approach is often used in literature focused on international relations and state dynamics, where the experiences and agency of border communities are typically treated as peripheral. Consequently, there is a pressing need for a theoretical lens that centers on community level relations and the multitude of interactions shaped by diverse historical, cultural, and social contexts. The second approach is derived from dependency and underdevelopment theory, which seeks to explain Africa's underdevelopment by emphasizing external constraints and the emergence of class struggle. This theory posits that economic forces are the primary determinants of the relationships between underdeveloped nations and industrialized powers (Leys, 1975; Ake, 1978). It examines the colonial period as a critical point of origin for modern dependency, offering valuable insights into Africa's international relations. In particular, scholars with an economic orientation often advocate for

regional integration and reject the notion of borders as rigid instruments of control, instead highlighting intrastate boundary relations as essential to national development. However, this theory was not suitable for the current study, as its primary focus lies on economic structures rather than the localized social dynamics under investigation. The third theoretical approach is Marxism, which views social class divisions as a fundamental source of conflict. Marx argued that all societies are historically defined by class struggles, and that transformative societal change occurs through violent upheavals that alter class structures. He framed conflict as a product of the antagonistic relationship between capitalists—who control the means of production and workers who possess only their labor. However, the Marxist approach was found to be inadequate for this study, as there is no strong evidence of class consciousness or classbased antagonism in the context examined. Therefore, a more appropriate theoretical framework was needed one that explores community interactions, particularly in a border zone context, and traces the historical evolution of such relationships. This study instead employs a dual framework incorporating constructivism and social interdependence theory.

According to Ukiwo (2005), constructivists challenge the interpretations of ethnicity, instead emphasizing the roles of missionaries, colonial administrations, and emerging nationalist movements in shaping ethnic identities. Constructivist theory asserts that ethnicity is not fixed or inherent but is a historically contingent and socially constructed phenomenon. It argues that ethnic identity must be analyzed within specific geographic and temporal contexts. This perspective was particularly relevant for the present study, as it enabled an examination of the historical processes of migration, settlement, and

interaction between the Kamba and Somali communities along the shared Kitui-Tana River border zone.

The second theoretical lens applied in this study is social interdependence theory. Developed by Harold Kelley and John Thibaut, this theory posits that social transactions are shaped by cost–benefit analyses within interpersonal relationships. It suggests that individuals and communities continuously engage in social exchanges, with the outcomes whether cooperative or conflictual depending on perceived rewards and costs. In this context, rewards are viewed as exchanged resources that foster harmony and cooperation, whereas costs are associated with conflict or loss. This theory provided a useful framework for analyzing the socioeconomic interdependence between the Kamba and Somali communities, highlighting the mutual benefits as well as the potential tensions arising from their interactions.

1.11 Methodology

The procedure and approach for gathering and analyzing data are covered in this section. A map illustrating the location of the study's covered area is also included.

1.11.1 Research Design

Both descriptive and historical research designs were employed in this study. According to Orodho (2009), a descriptive survey is a method of collecting data on people's views, beliefs, behaviors, or social issues. Given that the majority of the data collected was qualitative in nature, this approach was deemed appropriate. Additionally, the data was described and analyzed with historical sensitivity, with the aim of providing a narrative that illustrates evolving trends over time.

1.11.2 Area of Study

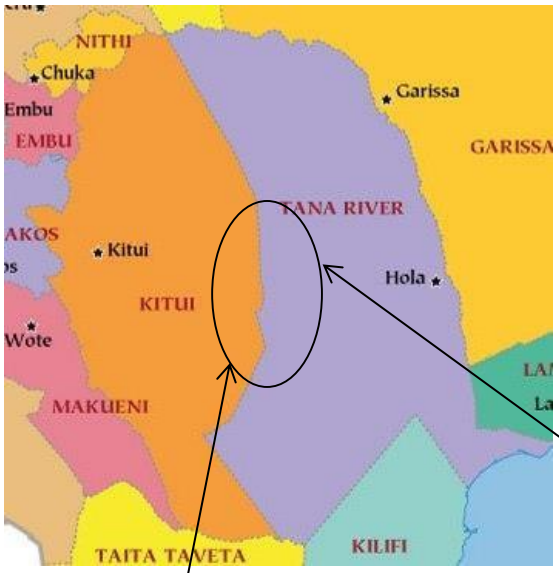

Figure 1. 1: Study Area Source: Kitui County Integrated Development Plan 2013-2017

The study focused on the border zone between Kitui East Sub County and Bura Subcounty. Interactions between the Kamba and Somali communities are particularly intense in these areas compared to other regions. Bura Sub- County, one of the three sub counties in Tana River County, borders Kitui County to the west, while Kitui East, one of the eight sub-counties in Kitui County, borders Tana River County to the east. This area was selected partly due to the porous nature of the border, which facilitates frequent and dynamic interactions between the two communities.

1.11.3 Target Population

The people living in Bura sub-county and Kitui East were selected as the study's target demographic. The study focused on senior age groups (65 years and above) for its

informants. The study also took into account additional people and groups who contributed pertinent data.

1.11.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

According to the interview guide, the most informed informants were found by posing targeted questions to them. After determining the initial respondent's age (65 years), more informed people were found through the use of snowballing. Forty such informants were consulted for the study. Twenty individuals belong to the Somali group and twenty to the Kamba community. This quantity gave the study enough data.

1.11.5 Instruments of Data Collection

Both primary and secondary sources were used in the research. The Kenya National Archives in Nairobi's archival documents served as a significant primary data source for the research. Oral interview data was used to confirm the archival data. Given that qualitative data was the focus of the study, oral interviews were crucial.

We looked for secondary data on inter-ethnic relations in both published and unpublished works. Books, journal articles, periodicals, seminar papers, and these were included in this list.

1.11.6 Data Collection Methods

Secondary data were collected from a variety of sources, including periodicals, books, academic journals, journal articles, theses, seminar papers, and magazines. The researcher supplemented the primary data obtained from interviews and other sources with secondary data to strengthen the theoretical framework.

Primary data were gathered through oral interviews conducted with field informants. The researcher administered a structured interview guide, used as the primary research instrument, verbally.

The Kenya National Archives in Nairobi was also consulted for primary information. These comprised the annual or quarterly reports from Kitui, Machakos, Tana River, and Coast regions.

1.11.7 Methods of Data Analysis

The majority of the data collected was qualitative in nature. Conclusions and interpretations were derived using qualitative content analysis techniques. Following data collection, descriptive analysis was conducted. The data were organized to determine their applicability and relevance to the study. Data authenticity and reliability were ensured through continuous theoretical synthesis and the use of primary sources to support or corroborate secondary data.

1.11.8 Ethical Considerations

Prior to conducting fieldwork, the study received approval from the relevant authorities, including the Commissioners' Offices in Tana River and Kitui, the National Council for Science and Technology, and the Kenyatta University Graduate School. During fieldwork, respondents were fully informed about the purpose of the data collection.

The researcher also clearly explained the nature of the data being collected. Respondents were assured of strict confidentiality regarding the information they provided and were further informed that their participation posed no risk.

CHAPTER TWO

PRECOLONIAL MOVEMENT, SETTLEMENT, AND SUBSEQUENT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KAMBA AND SOMALI COMMUNITIES BEFORE 1895

2.1 Introduction

During the pre-colonial era, travel and settlement were primarily influenced by environmental factors. The Somali people of North Eastern Kenya and the Kamba of Kitui, both being pastoralists, moved in response to economic needs and ecological conditions rather than at random. This chapter explores the origins of both communities, their settlement patterns, socioeconomic and political organizations, and the nature of their interactions prior to colonization. The theory of sociointerdependence is applied to analyze the various forms of interaction between the Kamba and Somali communities before 1895.

2.2 Migration and Settlement of the Kamba

The Kamba are one of Africa's most northeasterly Bantu peoples and among the largest tribes in East Africa. They inhabit the eastern slopes of the East African highlands, between the upper course of the Tana River and the Kenya-Uganda railway (Lindblom, 1920). The Kamba are dispersed across several counties in Kenya, including Machakos, Makueni, and Kitui. Kitui County is located southwest of Maasai territory, east of the Tana River, west of Machakos, north of Tharaka, south of Makueni, and northwest of Kikuyu (Kioko, 2011).

Several narratives explain the origin of the Kamba. First is the Kamba creation story and folklore. According to the Kamba, their god, Mulungu, created a man and a woman and placed them on the rock of Nzaui in Makueni County. These two gave birth and

multiplied, forming the Kamba community. Their footprints and those of their livestock are said to still be visible today (Mutua, O.I., 2023).

According to Lambert (1992), the Galla population drove the Kamba, Kikuyu, and Embu from Shungwaya located near the Kenyan-Somali border in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, Munro (1975:8) disputes Lambert's claim, arguing that no coastal tradition records the presence of the Kamba, Kikuyu, or Embu in Shungwaya. Due to the lack of sufficient evidence, Lambert's account was not used in this study to explain Kamba migration.

Alternatively, Andrews suggests that the Kamba and other Eastern Bantu communities originated in what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo and migrated across the Tanzanian border into East Africa. They initially settled near Mount Kilimanjaro in Makueni County before continuing to Kiima Kya Kyeu (White Mountain). Some remained at Kiima Kya Kyeu and later moved to Chullu Hills in search of fertile land for cultivation. However, since Chullu Hills was a Maasai grazing area, the Maasai frequently attacked the Kamba. As a result, the Kamba migrated to Kibwezi, an area prone to seasonal drought and poor soil conditions. In the nineteenth century, they eventually moved to Mbooni (Andrews, 1994; Mutua, O.I., 2023). Andrews's account of Kamba migration is considered the most reliable for this study.

Permanent settlement in Mbooni led to a rise in the Kamba population. The resulting population pressure forced both pastoral and agricultural Kamba to migrate to other areas, including Machakos. From Machakos, they crossed the Athi River into Kitui in search of grazing and farming land.

The Kamba identify themselves in three subgroups based on linguistic differences.

Traditionally, the Kamba of Kitui were known as *Athaisu*. They were distinguished from the Machakos Kamba by *kyathi*, the sharpening of the upper two teeth into a spatulate form. They also spoke a distinct dialect of Kikamba. For example, in Kitui, the word for "earth" is *nzi*, while in Machakos it is *nthi* (Ndeti, 1972). The Kamba of Kitui exhibit dialectal differences not only from Machakos but also within Kitui itself.

For instance, the Kamba of Kitui West show a tendency toward the Kikuyu language. They strongly pronounce the letter "r," a sound that those from Kitui East find difficult to articulate. Names such as Nzelu become Nzeru in Kitui West.

There are also notable cultural differences. Charles Dundas observed that the Kamba of Machakos tend to look down on those from Kitui, considering them lacking in proper customs. By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Kamba had expanded into many areas, including Ulu, Makueni, Machakos, Kibwezi, and Kitui (Kioko, 2011:1).

Those who settled in Kitui East crossed the Yatta Plateau and Athi River and found ample land for settlement, grazing, and cultivation. The environment was also conducive to hunting and gathering. The Kitui East Kamba hunted *nzia* (impala) and larger game such as elephants and gathered fruits like *ndula* (berries) and *matoo* (muscadine grapes), which supplemented their diet.

2.2.1 Movement and Settlement in Hills and Along Rivers

The economic strategy of the Kamba consisted of shifting cultivation along the slopes of hills, hunting in forests, honey harvesting, wild fruit gathering, and raiding livestock from neighboring pastoral groups, particularly the Maasai and the Somali. This strategy allowed only partial utilization of their habitat and was later complemented by pastoralism. The hills and areas near the foothills were used for cultivation, while the

plains were left uncultivated due to the risk of surprise attacks. These plains served mainly as hunting grounds for the Kitui East Kamba and were never considered residential areas (Kulu, O.I., 2023).

Once the hill areas of Machakos namely Mua, Iveti, and Ngelani were settled, the Kamba moved eastward to occupy regions of Kitui. Their first eastward push came with the crossing of the Athi River when they began occupying the Yatta Plateau as nomadic pastoralists. Lindblom (1920:15) dates this occupation to the early 18th century. Oral tradition holds that from the Yatta Plateau, the Kamba crossed the Tiva River to settle in Mutomo and Ikutha in the south, and in central Kitui to the north. From central Kitui, migrations eventually moved northwards toward Mutonguni, Mwingi, and Mumoni. Further population growth prompted a move toward the Vinda and Thua Rivers, leading to settlements in Miambani, Kaumu, Zombe, Voo, Mutha, and Kanziku. Others reached the Ikoo and Thua Rivers and moved northwards along the Ikoo to settle in Mutito wa Ndooa, while another group followed the Mui River to the Mui area. Migrants from Museve and Mutonguni moved to Kanzou Hill. Those from Mwingi followed the Enziu River, with some settling in Mui and others in the hilly parts of Ngomeni (Lindblom, 1920; Mwende, O.I., 2023).

This study focuses especially on the eastern part of Kitui, including Endau, Nuu, and Malalani. Migrations into these areas came from three main directions. To the east of Nuu lies a mountain range running south to north, with peaks such as Mutaithoi, Kathilwa, Ngiemi, Kyui, and Mutuvya. These hills contain passes connecting Nuu with Mui. Some migrants entered Nuu through these passes and settled along the eastern flank of the Nuu Hill range. In northeastern Nuu, the Enziu River runs eastward. North of the river are the Imba Hills, Tumbole, Ikasasi, Mukuku, and Mulatya Hills, while to

the south lie hillocks including Kanyungu. As the Enziu River enters northern Endau, it flows through a plain, separating the Engamba and Endau Hills. The Kitui East Kamba followed these routes and eventually settled in their presentday areas (Mwikya, O.I., 2023).

2.2.2 Socio-Economic and Political Organization of the Pre-Colonial Kitui East Kamba

The clan, consisting of interrelated families with a common ancestor, was the smallest political unit in the precolonial Kamba society, which was highly decentralized. Many clans were named after wild animals in the region, including *Munyambu* (lion), *Mbaa Nzau* (bull), *Mbiti* (hyena), *Nguli* (monkey), *Nzoka* (snake), and *Nzou* (elephant) (Lindblom, 1920:115). According to Katolo (1987), the Kamba community comprises thirty-five clans.

A person's clan served as a form of identity, much like a birth certificate, especially when meeting other Kamba people (Ndeti, 1972). Clan membership was permanent, one could not change clans. Even after marriage, both husband and wife retained their original clan identities (Munro, 1975).

People lived in villages (motui). Several villages formed a *kivalo* (region), typically defined by natural features like a small hill, river, or stream. The *kivalo* was governed by a council of elders known as *atumia ma kivalo* (complete elders), who were responsible for adjudicating disputes and leading the community. Each *kivalo* produced *anake* (junior elders) who served as warriors protecting the community and raiding other groups during famines or disasters (Munro, 1975:15).

The Kamba believed in a supernatural being, referred to by various names: *Ngai Mumbi* (the Creator) and *Ngai Mwatuangi*, meaning "God who separates fingers, toes, eyes,

and mouths" (Francis, 2000:184). This deity was also known as *Mulungu*. The Kamba prayed to God through *aimu* (ancestor spirits), who were honored with sacrifices and offerings. Ceremonies took place at a place known as *ithembo* ("holy place"), led by ritual specialists called *atumia ma mathembo* (ritual elders) and *andu awe* (sorcerers) (Hobley, 1967:58).

Sacrifices, often in the form of food, were made especially during hard times to appease spirits believed to have been offended. During famines, offerings were made for rain. According to Somba (1972:25), offerings included milk, honey, beer, millet, and pigeon peas. These were carried by two women to the holy site. A male goat was then sacrificed, its blood mixed with beer, and all offerings arranged in a line facing the rising sun. Elders would then offer prayers (Somba, 1979:25).

The Kamba had a structured social grading system: child (kana), little boy (kavisi), uncircumcised youth (kavisi), young girl (kelitu), married woman (kiveti), unmarried young man (mwanake), middle aged married man (nzele), and elder man (mutumia). Elders participated in communal affairs. The transition from mwanake to nzele was a major milestone. The *atumia ma nzama* (elders' council) determined when a man was ready for marriage. A *mwanake* could legally marry and start a family. Marriage was polygamous, as long as the man married outside his clan and could provide for his wives and children (Middleton, 1972). If a first wife was childless, she often encouraged her husband to take another wife. A large family was considered a sign of wealth and strength. The proverb "*andu ni indo*" (people are wealth) reflected the central role of labor. A large family ensured a labor force for herding, farming, raiding, and other economic activities (Lindblom, 1920:50).

Marriage was an important institution. Dowry (ngasya) payments included livestock such as goats and cows, and other goods like honey, porridge, bananas, and traditional liquor. The number of animals varied depending on the groom's wealth. Some paid 30 goats per cow, while others gave up to 50 goats for three cows. A bull was always given to the bride's mother as a token of appreciation. According to Muthiani (1973:35), the bull symbolized relief for the mother's hardship in raising the daughter

The precapitalist Kamba economy depended heavily on land and labor. Land was used for honey production, grazing, farming, and hunting. Local crops included pigeon peas, guavas, finger millet, sorghum, sweet potatoes, arrowroots, and pumpkins (Lindblom, 1920: 505). Farming relied on simple tools like the *mwoo*, an iron hoe shaped like a pointed stick. Holes were dug, seeds dropped in, and then covered with the foot (Mutunga, O.I., 2023).

Shifting cultivation was common due to the availability of land. When soil fertility declined, farmers moved to new plots. The same applied to grazing. Men moved livestock to *syengo* (unoccupied lands), where they built temporary shelters. *Kyengo* referred to common grazing lands claimed by family heads and shared with relatives. Mwikali (O.I., 2023) noted that his current homestead lies on land once part of his father's *kyengo*.

The Kamba also practiced craft industries, using locally available materials. They were skilled in woodcarving, basketry, and pottery. During long distance trade, sisal baskets adorned with leather were used to carry goods. Women and some men made pots from red and black clay, molded and sundried before being fired in kilns. These pots were used for cooking, storing water, and holding grains (Hobley, 1971:29).

Men crafted three legged stools called *tutumbi* or *katumbi*, some with strings for easy carrying while hunting or herding. Women also used these stools while cooking (Mwikali, O.I., 2023).

Ironworking was another significant craft. The Kamba produced arrows, spears, and swords, often used in hunting large game like elephants. Arrows were tipped with ivai (poison), strong enough to kill an elephant (Muthiani, 1973:69).

2.2.3 The Somali People

Kenyan Somalis are a subgroup of the much larger Cushitic ethnic group that inhabits most of the Horn of Africa. The majority reside in present day Somalia. Somalis also constitute the dominant population in Djibouti, the Ogaden region of southeastern Ethiopia, and the northern parts of Kenya. Their recorded history dates back to around 1000 AD. According to oral tradition, the Somali trace their ancestry to the family of the Prophet Muhammad and claim their origins lie in the Arabian Peninsula. However, historical, linguistic, and cultural evidence suggests that their origins are more likely rooted in the southern highlands of present-day Ethiopia (Schlee, Günter, 1989).

The Digil clans, who speak a dialect distinct from the rest of the Somali population, represent the only major internal division within the Somali ethnic group in the Horn of Africa. Somalis identify strongly with their common Islamic faith, predominantly pastoral nomadic lifestyle, and shared language, which they view as the unifying pillars of their identity. The Somali people first embraced Islam in the 9th century as it spread inland from the Arabian Peninsula along the Somali coast. The term “Somali” was first recorded in an Ethiopian song from the 15th century celebrating the victories of Negus

Yeshaq, the King of Abyssinia, in battles against Islamic principalities (Haakonsen, J., 1984).In Kenya, Somalis are predominantly found in the northern regions, particularly in Mandera, Wajir, Garissa, and Isiolo counties. However, Somalis are also widely distributed across the country's urban centers, especially in Eastleigh, Nairobi, where they are actively engaged in small-scale businesses, including hotels, butcheries, and retail shops. Their nomadic heritage contributes to their tendency to migrate frequently (Maalim, O.I., 2023).

2.2.4 Somali Expansion into the Northern Frontier District

The relationship between Somali nomads and their environment played a significant role in their movement into northern Kenya. Scarcity of water and pasture led to internal conflicts among Somali clans and frequent confrontations with non-Somali communities over access to these essential resources. This constant pressure for grazing land and water drove Somali expansion into what is now northeastern Kenya.

The migration of Somalis from southern Ethiopia and Somalia into northern Kenya was influenced by the growth of the Ethiopian Empire under Menelik II and the establishment of the Imperial British East Africa Company along the Indian Ocean coast. By the late 19th century, Somalis began moving into the region that would become northeastern Kenya, gradually regarding it as their permanent homeland. This movement was not random; it was driven by a deep understanding of historical and economic forces shaped by the ecological conditions of the Horn of Africa (Evans Jr., 1967: 337). While trade and political influence played a role, pastoralism remained the principal driver of Somali migration.

Several theories explain how the Somali settled in modern day northern Kenya. Lewis (1964) suggests that the Somalis who now inhabit northern Kenya originally lived-in

present-day Somalia. In the 14th century, the Sultan of Ifat, Haq adDin, launched a jihad against the Christian Abyssinians. Initially, the Muslims were victorious, forcing many Christians to renounce their faith as churches were destroyed and territories conquered. However, in 1415, the Muslims suffered a decisive defeat. Haq adDin was killed, and Negus Yeshaq, the King of Abyssinia, led the Christian counteroffensive. This defeat significantly weakened the Somali Muslims who had supported the Sultan of Ifat.

According to Lewis, the Abyssinian victory halted the westward movement of the Somali and instead redirected their migration southward in search of new pasture, water, and security from Christian incursions. Their eventual southward migration led them to settle in what is now northern Kenya.

Turton (1970) offers another explanation. He argues that Somali clans originally settled in northern parts of modern Somalia but were later forced to migrate southwards to escape Ethiopian raids. Their journey southward was not without resistance; they faced strong opposition from the Oromo, who had migrated earlier. Rather than engage in conflict, the Somali opted to forge alliances with the Oromo by becoming their clients. This strategic relationship allowed Somali clans to cross the Tana River under Oromo protection.

The Oromo, in turn, capitalized on this alliance in their interactions with the Kamba and Maasai. Over time, Somali strength grew under Oromo protection, but tensions between the two groups eventually surfaced. During his 1865 expedition to the southern Somali coast, French explorer Charles Guillain described the SomaliOromo relationship as "poisonous." Eventually, Somali clans turned against their Oromo hosts, engaging them in fierce battles and emerging victorious. They went on to take control of northern Kenya.

According to Turton, by 1909, Somali clans had advanced as far south as the Tana River, bringing with them an estimated 50,000 livestock. His account offers a well-supported explanation of Somali expansion into northern Kenya (Turton, 1970; Mohamed, O.I., 2023).

2.2.5 The Social economic and Political Organization of the Northern Kenya Somali

The Somali people have a decentralized society, with political authority vested in lineage groups (Turton, 1970: 24). All Somali pastoralists are organized into units commonly referred to as lineage units, clan units, and family units. These units are bound by a strong sense of corporate solidarity (Lewis, 1964). Segmented patrilineages form the foundation of Somali social and political organization. There are five main levels of segmentation: the major lineage, the clan, the subclan, the clan family, and the diyapaying group or rer. The Somali are divided into six primary clan families: Darod, Digil, Isaaq, Dir, Hawiye, and Rahanwein. Among the Darod, three primary clans exist: the Marehan, the Ogaden, and the Herti (Mohammed, 1993: 45).

As the clan family is often too geographically dispersed to hold political significance, the *rer* serves as the basic political unit. Also known as the *diya* paying group, the *rer* is responsible for collectively paying or receiving diya (blood compensation) in the case of homicide. This practice reduces tensions and prevents extensive conflict. The amount of *diya* is determined by a council of elders based on several factors, including the social status of the victim, the size of the involved groups, the gender of the individual, and whether the act was accidental (Lewis, 1961: 7278).

The diyapaying group typically consists of an extended family spanning three to four generations. The group maintains unity through a contractual alliance in which

members accept collective legal and political responsibilities. Paying diya and other legal obligations forms the core of this agreement. The diyapaying group essentially holds each member's wealth in trust as a guarantee for lawful behavior (Colunotta, 1921: 1517).

Certain animals, such as goats and sheep, are considered to have limited social significance and are not used to pay diya or bride price (Abdul, O.I. 2023). While the rer represents the smallest political unit, it carries the broadest range of social and legal responsibilities (Lewis, 1955: 969). The rer headman and the subclan chief play similar roles, with minimal differences in authority.

Every adult male member of the shir (council) oversees the rer's affairs. A headman is selected from among the elders to manage both internal matters and interactions with other groups. Typically, the headman (Garad or Sultan) is chosen from a prominent bloodline within the clan. Examples include the rer Ali among the Aulihan, rer Farah Ugus among the Marehan, Yusuf Mahmud of rer Osman Mahmud among the Herti, and rer Ugus of rer Hersi among the Muhammad Zubeir and Ogaden. While the Ogaden often used primogeniture to select subclan headmen, other clans also practiced this occasionally (Soli, 1927: 184; Lewis, 1955: 99).

The subclan headman is responsible for maintaining harmony among subordinate groups. He presides over disputes and imposes penalties, but acts only as a primus inter pares (first among equals) and cannot act independently. Political activity can occur at the subclan and clan levels, but corporate political structure is most pronounced at the clan level. However, Lewis (1966) asserts that broad political alliances lack the binding power of the rer.

All Somalis are Sunni Muslims following the Shafi'i rite. They distinguish between warriors (warenleh) and religious figures (wadad). Although these categories theoretically differ, both belong to the same diyapaying group (Lewis, 1966: 263).

Unlike in many Islamic societies, wadads in Somalia do not play major political roles. Instead, they act as intermediaries in disputes and possess religious authority, particularly among brotherhood (tariqa) groups near the Juba River (Lewis, 1958: 249).

While Islam discourages strong clan allegiances, Somali society often prioritizes clan identity over religious affiliation. Lewis (1966: 3435) observes that acephalous societies like the Somali tend to follow the five pillars of Islam while ignoring more specific rules of Islamic law. For instance, despite the Quran's stipulation that individuals are solely responsible for diya payments, Somali society enforces collective responsibility (Anderson, 1945: 45).

Religious brotherhoods (tariqa) occasionally serve as platforms for political mobilization, although they rarely override clan loyalty. Conflicts often arise between a person's tariqa lineage and clan obligations, with the latter usually prevailing (Lewis, 1961: 9899). Charismatic sheikhs are highly regarded for their spiritual power (baraka), but they generally wield less political influence than clan leaders (Trimingham, 1964: 94).

The Somali also practice an age set system. Youth are organized into age groups by clan, with leadership selected from major subclans like the Herti and Ogaden among the Darod. Every eight years, a new age group is formed, regardless of individual merit. These groups function as military units and occasionally challenge subclan authority (KNA/PC/NFD/4/6/1). To function effectively, age set leadership had to come from the senior group known as laf gebis (Mohamed, O.I. 2023).

Somali pastoralists are categorized alongside other pure pastoralist communities in northern Kenya, including the Barabaig, Boran, Samburu, Rendille, Maasai, Pokot (Suk), and Turkana (Gulliver, 1971: 377). These groups largely subsist on livestock. However, some Somali clans along the Juba and Tana Rivers engage in farming, while those in northern Kenya rely exclusively on pastoralism (Lewis, 1962).

Depressed social groups within Somali society performed artisanal tasks and maintained client relationships with dominant clans. Despite their marginalized status, they were vital for producing leather goods, metal tools, and ceremonial services like circumcision (Saadia, O.I. 2023).

Northern Kenyan Somali pastoralists believed pasture to be a divine gift to the community, which often led them to graze their animals on cultivated lands, especially those of the Kamba. While disputes arose, they were typically resolved swiftly. Although no formal ownership of grazing lands existed, clan groups could assert claims based on continued use. Large communal wells, like those in Wajir and ElWaq, were often contested, while smaller wells were individually owned (Farah, 1993: 46).

Different Somali groups specialized in various livestock: the Ogaden in Garissa focused on cattle, while the Darod of Wajir prioritized camels. Despite differences in livestock, all Somali groups maintained similar social and political systems. Livestock served both social and economic functions and were corporately owned by rer members. However, smaller animals like goats were individually owned due to their lower social significance (Zachariah, O.I. 2023).

Mobility among Somali pastoralists was dictated by resource availability, especially water and pasture. Two herding units existed: the first included extended families

managing subsistence livestock (cattle, sheep, goats) and remained close to water sources. The second comprised camel camps led by younger men, which covered greater distances. These units typically reunited during the rainy season to exploit new pastures and water sources (Farah, 1993: 6263).

Though trade was a minor activity, some Somali groups, such as the Gurreh, engaged extensively in both local and long-distance trade. Local trade involved goods like lox (Quranic writing boards) and hema (wooden containers), exchanged for staples such as millet and salt. Long distance trade with coastal regions introduced luxury items like gold, Chinese pottery, and ivory. These trades occasionally required nomads to be away from home for several months (Lewis, 1992).

2.2.6 Kamba-Somali Relations Before 1895

Relations between Kamba of Kitui and the Somali of Northeastern Kenya have evolved over a long period of time, subjecting the two peoples to adopt cultural values and economic institutions of each other. These relations were active even before the advent of colonial rule in Kenya. These relations have been defined, refined, and transformed in response to the dictates of time and need.

The relationship between the Somali of Northeastern Kenya and the Kamba of Kitui was greatly influenced by geography. Throughout their history of migration and eventual settlement, the Kamba went for environmental conditions that were suitable for mixed economy. They carried out crop and animal husbandry. On the other hand, the Somali moved in constant search for water and pasture for their livestock. It is this movement that brought them into close contact with the Kamba for a long time. The relations came to be dictated by the demand for consumption goods outside each community's area. Food items that were not found in a particular area were obtained

from the neighboring community. Oral sources attest to the fact that most Kamba people produced plenty of cassava, millet, sorghum, and animal products like milk and meat. At the same time, the Kamba never kept camels. The Kamba therefore depended on the Somali people for camel products like camel milk and meat which were said to be of higher nutritional value than the cattle and goats. To supplement their diet, the Somali would get grain food from the Kamba farmers since Somali of Northeastern Kenya pastoralists never practiced farming (Nzole, O.I. 2023).

During the precolonial period, there existed no clear territorial distinctions between the two communities. They interacted without fear of encroaching on the other communities' boundaries the way it came to be in the colonial period. Boundaries were hardly ever marked by signs indicating the route of an imaginary line. Boundaries were determined either in terms of zones within which certain language was spoken, in terms of neighboring groups, and the relationships that existed between them. The Africans spoke of where his people met with their neighboring people on land, where they shared the earth, and not where they separated (Marshall, 1968: 6). This kind of life enabled people to spill or overlap legitimately into their neighbor's territory unlike in the colonial period. Neighboring communities would trade together, borrow cultural practices, and form social groups. The Kamba of Kitui would cross to Northern Kenya Somali territories and vice versa without causing disputes. These two communities shared hunting and herding zones like Engamba and Endau forests. Many uninhabited areas in Kitui East and Northern Kenya were shared by the two communities. The uninhabited areas were used for hunting, herding, honey harvesting, and fruit gathering by both communities. Their relationship was cordial and conflicts rarely occurred (Omar, O.I. 2023).

Kamba of Kitui and Somali of Northeastern Kenya shared natural resources like water and grazing lands. Oral history confirms that these two communities shared a grazing ground known as Engamba. Engamba is a plain land that stretches from the Kitui East subcounty to the Bura subcounty in Tana River County. Engamba was occupied by the Galla community before they were displaced by the Somali and Kamba communities. The Northern Kenya Somali attacked the Oromo people from the northern side while the Kamba attacked the Oromo from the South. Mweu (O.I. 2023), who spent most of his boyhood in Engamba as a herder says that the fight against the Oromo people drew Somali and Kamba people closer. They combined efforts to displace the Galla from this area. This place was said to have had enough pasture which would serve both communities from May to October. During this period, most of the other grazing regions had depleted their pasture. Engamba grazing region was portioned according to Somali and Kamba clans. It was also subdivided according to the different types of stock that both communities kept. Since the land was much forested, it was a habitat to many dangerous wild animals. These wild animals were a threat to the lives of these pastoralists as well as their livestock. The Kamba elders had a traditional belief and practice of sending dangerous animals away using what they called *nzevu* (charms). After the elders had been alerted by the young men about any dangerous animal within the grazing region, one of the elders would come out of the hut halfnaked and holding the horn of a cow filled with some traditional dust. He would face the direction in which the wild beasts were said to be coming from and after uttering some words the animals would change their direction after which both herders and their livestock were safe. This kind of practice was not known to the northern pastoral Somali clans. The Somalis mostly depended on spears for protection. Since the area was full of wild beasts, their arms could not help them for long, they, therefore, relied on the Kamba's mysterious

activities to be protected from these beasts together with their livestock (Nzole, O.I.2023).

Another key pillar of interaction between the Kitui East Kamba and the Northern Kenya Somali communities were the watering points along the Enziu River in Kitui County. Enziu River is a seasonal river that originates from Mwingi hills and cuts across Mwingi and Kitui East. It does not empty its water to any other river or into an ocean. Rather it forms several water pools and small dams within the Engamba area. Water from the Enziu River and water pools were important sources of water that brought both the Akamba of Kitui and the Somali pastoralists of northeastern Kenya together. These two ethnic communities peacefully watered their animals at these water pools and their relationship was cordial (Muthoni, O.I. 2023).

Cultural linkages between the Kamba of Kitui and the Somali of Northeastern Kenya communities were key features in forging cooperation between them. Geertz (1973: 89) defined culture as the symbols that represent a historically transmitted pattern of meaning. Men and women employ this system of inherited beliefs articulated in symbolic forms to interact, pass on, and expand their knowledge and outlook on life. As per the author, these encompass the widely held beliefs, customs, values, meanings, constructions, and modes of existence. The whole range of cultural beliefs and activities between the two communities under study was very wide as it is exemplified here. The institution of male circumcision was an important cultural link between these two communities under study. All available oral evidence has it that circumcision was an obligation to all Kamba of Kitui and Somali of Northeastern Kenya males. Before a man was circumcised, he was regarded as a child and was ridiculed and treated with contempt. It was only after one had been circumcised that he became an adult and was

exposed to the secrets of adulthood. Were (1977) puts it that circumcision bestows upon the individuals the power, privilege, and rights of belonging to the society. The rituals surrounding the circumcision enhanced the relations between these two peoples.

Initiation symbolized a passage from a junior to a senior status in society. The passage marked a change from childhood, weakness, and cowardice to a higher plane of manliness, maturity, and courage. This was the clear meaning of circumcision in the two communities. (Saadia, O.I. 2023; Nzole,O.I. 2023) confirms that the biannual timings of initiation involved several members from both communities. During initiation ceremonies, the Kamba of Kitui would invite the Somali of Northeastern Kenya as a sign of friendship and good neighborliness. Clan elders from both communities met during initiation ceremonies to negotiate the best ways of ensuring that the two neighbors lived in harmony. A middleaged man conducted the circumcision, keeping women out of sight and away from the homestead. Women were prohibited from entering the area while the procedure was underway. (Cerulli, 1923: 105108).

The Kamba of Kitui and the Somali of Northeastern Kenya had also developed friendly relations in precolonial times through hunting and trade. The establishment of settlements in the eastern sections of Kitui came at a time when long distance trade and merchants had expanded their activities on the major route that ran through the area to the north. The northern regions had become the most important center for elephant hunting and ivory trade. Nzioki (1982) describes two main routes that were followed by traders from these two communities. One was to push up through Kikuyu land, then down the Rift Valley, and through Nandi land to the regions around Lake Victoria. The second route went first to Kitui then through Meru land to the country round Mount

Kenya. Traders sometimes went towards Lake Turkana. Lindblom (1920) contents that since the eighteenth century, the Kamba from the Kitui district traveled widely before the advent of the British administration to hunt elephants. The Kamba played a major role in the precolonial ivory trade as well as the Somali people. Both communities were part of the network that sold game products to Asians along the coast. Most of these traders were employed by firms based in Scinde, Karachi, Bombay, and Kathiawar and they satisfied the demand in Asia for various trophy items (Beachy, 1967: 277).

These two communities developed an organized hunting and trade in ivory. Since the Kitui East Kamba were familiar with the terrain and had established themselves as sharpshooters, it was their duty to hunt and kill elephants while the Somali merchants would buy the game products and proceed to sell them along the Indian Ocean. The Somalis also relied on the Kamba hunters and traders to guide them along the routes into and out of the hinterlands and for protection against attacks (Mwikya, O.I. 2023; Dundas, 1913: 524).

The trade in cattle, goats, and sheep was supported by the increasing need for livestock along the East African coast, even if the ivory supply and trade had decreased by the late nineteenth century. There was more to the switch from tusks to animals than just swapping one good for another. Compared to livestock, which was common and already a mainstay of trade between the KituiEast, ivory became comparatively scarce and required a significant mobilization of people and resources to get. Kamba and the Northern Kenya Somalis therefore both communities continued with their friendly relations (Jackson, 1978; Nzole, O.I. 2023).

In both ivory and livestock trade, both communities formed trade associations. Participants in these trade associations bound themselves to oaths. Groups of five, ten, twenty, or more individuals combined and planned strategic routes and destinations. They traveled, camped, and returned as a unit. However, the trading associations were not trade partnerships. Each member brought in his or her stock of commodities and traded individually. Traders did not pool resources together or divide profits. The traders simply agreed to travel together for security, convenience, security, and companionship (Krapt, 1851; Nzole O.I. 2023). Each venture ordinarily reunited people who had traveled previously and different groups that had previously met at the coast during trade expeditions. The Kitui East Kamba and the Northern Kenya Somali communities interacted often along the trading routes as well as in the trading centers along the coast since they traded almost similar items. Both communities would export ivory and livestock in return for various imported trade goods notably clothes, beads, and copper wire. Any of the goods that were not needed in the villages were collected together for upcountry trading. Stocks of honey and articles made by the Akamba blacksmiths were much sought after by many African people including the Somali nomads. These articles included spears, knives, arrows, axes, cowbells, and ornaments. There existed a high level of coexistence between these two communities during this period (Nzioki, 1982, Kathina, O.I. 2023).

Drought, famine, and diseases fueled conflicts between the Kitui East Kamba and the Northern Kenya Somali clans. In the time of drought, there was a shortage of water and grazing pasture. Both communities relied on the Tana River and Enziu River as the main sources of water. The Kitui East Kamba had dug wells along the Enziu River which they would use when the river dried up since it was a seasonal river. Time and again,

the Kitui East Kamba would excuse their fellow Somali pastoralists to water their animals in those wells but at a certain fee. Mweu confirms that such practice would never end peacefully. This was because the Somali nomads would water more animals than agreed upon with the well owners. They would at other times water their animals from other wells that they had not been permitted to use. On the other hand, the Kitui East Kamba would at times lend the wells to the Somali people but after realizing that rains had delayed and that drought would continue for a longer period, they would unite and chase the Somali pastoralists away therefore breaking their agreement. Such actions ended up in ethnic conflicts. Once these communities had disagreements, elders from both sides would meet and settle the disputes (Mwikya, O.I. 2023).

Throughout the history of migration and settlement, both communities had a special attachment to land as their major source of livelihood. Among the Kitui East Kamba, the right to access and control over land was communal and flexibly invested within a clan. There was no individual ownership of a physical piece of land (Lindblom, 1992). Just like the Kitui East Kamba, the Northeastern Somali pastoralists did not have a fixed system that regulated the ownership of land as well as the wells. The Somali people believed that pasture and land were gifts from God (Allah) to the community and therefore no one had powers or rights over land. (Farah, 1993:46). This kind of flexibility in land use sometimes had serious negative consequences for both people. The absence of rules governing ownership and use of pasture and water instigated conflicts as a result of competition for these resources. Time and again the Kitu East Kamba and the Northern Kenya Somali people found themselves fighting over grazing land and water. The most contested area according to Mwikya was the Engamba area

which attracted the Kamba, the Somali, and Oromo pastoral communities during dry seasons (Mwikya, O.I. 2023).

The precolonial Kamba of Kitui had developed a political organization similar to that of the Northeastern Kenya Somali nomads. The basis for the political structures separating the two societies was exogamous clans or clan groupings, which frequently consisted of a sizable clan or a subclan that occupied a certain region. The basic political unit of these neighboring communities was the clan. Every clan had a unique name and a designated area. Individual clans led by notable elders ensured a high level of social and political solidarity. Usually, the source of power came not from the authority of office but rather from the extent to which they were accepted by the populace or the organizations they represented. Age and experience were key requisite qualifications (Maalim, O.I. 2023).

The most important institution within the political structure of the two communities was the Council of Elders. The role of these elders was, however, not really to rule but to mediate disputes and identify common concerns among various groups or individuals, different lineages, villages, competing leaders, age groups, and particular economic interests. Expulsion from the group was the final penalty for adhering to the Council of Elders' judgments. In the event that a man committed a transgression and fled rather than face the penalty, the elders would methodically oversee the theft of his belongings. Feasting at the offender's expense was a common way for the elders to extract in kind fines for violations of tradition and protocol. At times when these two neighboring communities had differences, elders from both sides would meet and settle the differences. An agreement between the two groups of elders was accepted by their people without question or complaint (Maalim, O.I. 2023, Mutua, O.I. 2023).

During famines, young boys from both communities would sometimes become indentured servants or apprentices, working in households away from their home societies as herd boys or more rarely traders' assistants. Raiders from both communities would sometimes seize young women or girls as hostages, and if not subsequently ransomed, the victims were forcibly integrated into the captor's communities. But the usual method of transferring women was through pawning agreements. The primary conventional tool for the exchange of dependent labor was pawns. The Somali nomads of northeastern Kenya and the Akamba of Kitui frequently made arrangements for pawns, especially during times of food scarcity. Generally, a young woman whose family was struggling was sent to live with individuals in other towns in exchange for a set amount of grain or animals that was arranged

The original parents, spouse, or guardian remained in ultimate power over pawned women, and the majority of males who pawned their dependents seemed to plan to redeem them when things were better. This practice was common between the two communities under study (Mwikya, O.I. 2023).

2.3 Summary

This chapter has analyzed the pre-colonial history of the Kamba of Kitui and the Somali of Northeastern Kenya. It examined the origins of both communities, along with their socioeconomic and political structures. Using the theory of socio-interdependence, the chapter explored the pre-colonial interactions and linkages between the two communities interactions that were facilitated by environmental conditions and reinforced by economic ties. These interactions significantly shaped the development and transformation of their respective societies.

However, with the advent of colonial rule, a boundary was drawn between the two communities. This also led to the reorganization of their societies to align with colonial administrative and economic objectives. Like other regions within the Kenya Colony, both the Kamba and Somali communities were subjected to new systems of governance and social restructuring.

The following chapter focuses on the early 20th century and examines the establishment of colonial rule in Ukambani and the Northern Frontier District. It further investigates how colonialism influenced the relationship between the Kamba of Kitui and the Somali of Northeastern Kenya, from its onset until the end of British rule in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE COLONIALISM, COLONIAL POLICIES, AND THE KAMBA SOMALI

RELATIONS BERWEEN 1895 AND 1938

3.1 Introduction

Towards the end of the 19th century, the intense scramble for Africa among European imperial powers had reached unprecedented levels. Competing nations employed a range of strategies including military conflict, acts of aggression, and the negotiation of treaties to secure colonial territories on the continent. When European powers moved to conquer Kenya, they were met with resistance from various indigenous communities who valiantly defended their land, people, and sovereignty. Despite their resilience, these communities were eventually subdued, and Kenya was formally declared a British colony in 1920.

The British administration implemented policies designed to fragment indigenous populations and prevent unified resistance to colonial rule. This chapter examines the establishment of colonial governance in Ukambani and the Northern Frontier District, focusing on the colonial policies imposed and their impact on the relationship between the Kamba and Somali communities.

3.2 Establishment of Colonial Rule in Ukambani.

The arrival of Europeans in the Kamba region had long been anticipated due to a prophecy by a renowned Kamba prophetess named Syokimau. She foretold the construction of the Kenya Uganda railway and the arrival of white settlers. In her vision, she described a long snake emitting fire and smoke as it moved across water bodies. Within this vision were people with skin like raw meat, speaking in incomprehensible tongues like birds, and carrying fire in their pockets. This prophecy materialized in the early 20th century with the completion of the Kenya Uganda railway, linking Mombasa

to Kisumu (then known as Port Florence). The individuals Syokimau envisioned were the English-speaking white settlers, and the “fire in their pockets” referred to matchboxes.

The first documented European to visit Ukambani was a missionary, Dr. Ludwig Krapf, in 1849. Later, in 1892, George Leith was dispatched to Machakos as a British administrator but was driven out by the Kamba. He was replaced in the same year by John Ainsworth. After a peaceful reconciliation between the Kamba and the Europeans, the colonial government established a permanent administrative base in Machakos to solidify its political presence. In 1908, Charles Dundas was appointed as a British administrator in Kitui. Initially tasked with addressing elephant poaching in Mumoni, he eventually moved to Kitui town to serve as district administrator. Later, Charles William Hobley arrived in Kitui following an order from the provincial commissioner for government inspection; he chose to remain. John Ainsworth had made his first extended visit to Kitui in early 1895 and, with the assistance of Chief Kivoi, established residence there. Ainsworth was later appointed as the District Commissioner of Kitui. During Dundas's tenure, the number of European officials in Kitui increased from one to three, further entrenching colonial authority in the region.

Colonial rule in Ukambani was established during a period when the Kamba were conducting successful raids against neighboring Oromo and Maasai communities, as well as expanding their trade networks with the coastal regions. According to Dundas (1955), the British administration sought to suppress both ivory poaching and the Kamba’s longdistance trade activities. These disruptions triggered significant resistance from the Kamba of Kitui.

Nzole (2023) argues that the Kamba of Kitui were reluctant to abandon the ivory trade, obey colonial game laws, or submit to foreign authority. As a result, many migrated from central Kitui to the southern and eastern areas of the district. Shortly thereafter, Kitui suffered a series of environmental and humanitarian crises, beginning with locust infestations in 1897–1898 and followed by famine in 1898–1899. These events caused widespread ecological degradation that undermined the Kamba's economic foundation. Famine led to the decimation of forests and wildlife, while livestock diseases further threatened their livelihood.

Facing such dire circumstances, the Kamba of Kitui were compelled to seek food aid and water from colonial government outposts. Ainsworth (1955:15) records that Kitui District was severely affected by famine and relied heavily on relief supplies from Nairobi and Machakos. Ultimately, the Kamba of Kitui submitted to colonial authority as a means of survival.

3.3 Establishment of Colonial Rule in the Northern Frontier District

The arrival of Europeans in the Kamba region had long been anticipated due to a prophecy by a renowned Kamba prophetess named Syokimau. She foretold the construction of the Kenya Uganda railway and the arrival of white settlers. In her vision, she described a long snake emitting fire and smoke as it moved across water bodies. Within this vision were people with skin like raw meat, speaking in incomprehensible tongues like birds, and carrying fire in their pockets. This prophecy materialized in the early 20th century with the completion of the Kenya Uganda railway, linking Mombasa to Kisumu (then known as Port Florence). The individuals Syokimau envisioned were the English-speaking white settlers, and the "fire in their pockets" referred to matchboxes. The first documented European to visit Ukambani was a missionary, Dr.

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There was no pressing need to include the northeastern section of Kenya in the East Africa Protectorate because it was mostly suited for grazing. Philip Zaphiro, a Greek, was the first official agent of the British colonial authority in the region. Sir John Harrington, the British minister in Addis Ababa, posted him to the frontier in late 1905. The choice of a Greek for this role was strategic, as it minimized potential British prestige concerns in the event of encountering resistance along the frontier. Zaphiro established his headquarters at Moyale on the northern border of the East Africa Protectorate.

The significant expansion of British presence in the region occurred with the involvement of G.H. "Jack" Riddell's Boma Trading Company. After convincing the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Winston Churchill, of the merits of allowing a trading company to operate in the restricted north, the company began its operations in the Northern Frontier District. Entrepreneurs such as Jack Riddell and his associates enabled the colonial government to penetrate the relatively unfamiliar northern frontier without burdening the budget conscious British administration. Despite the company's eventual failure within three years, it succeeded in establishing trading stations at

Moyale and Marsabit, as well as along the Upper Juba River, facilitating trade in sheep and cattle owned by the local population (C.O.533/5/3665). The East Africa Protectorate was ruled by Sir James H. Sadler from 1905 to 1909, but the colonial authorities were unable to set up a functioning administration in the frontier, with only sporadic efforts made by the Boma Trading Company. Opportunities for trade and commercial relations in the Northern Frontier were left largely untapped. Furthermore, the situation deteriorated as Somalis from east of the Juba River began moving westward, and Ethiopian subjects conducted cross border raids (Lewis, 1965). From the British perspective, the situation with the northern Kenya Somalis became precarious in 1909 when around ten thousand Somalis, accompanied by herds in need of water, migrated along the Tana River and remained there until the following year's guu (long rains). (Lewis, 1965: 30). In 1909, with the appointment of Sir Percy Girouard as colonial governor, there was disagreement among officials within the colonial administration of the East Africa Protectorate regarding the appropriate policy for the Northern Frontier. A military solution was suggested by Colonel George Thesiger, the inspector general of the King's African Rifles (KAR) at the time, while John Hope, a British administrator in the area, suggested a prudent plan with few troops. Despite being an impractical blend of expansion and passivity, Hope's proposal offered the crucial advantage of limiting military interventions and thus became the preferred policy under the new Governor. Consequently, in 1909, the arid and barren wilderness was formally integrated into the East Africa Protectorate and officially designated as the Northern Frontier District. Over the next five years, British colonial officials sought to maintain peace on the frontier by adhering to this policy (C.O.533/54/6401).

During Sir Percy Girouard's governorship, the British administration of the Northern Frontier District remained basic. Philip Zaphiro, who had been serving in the area, received a new assignment with the British delegation in Addis Ababa. Geoffrey Archer, who was slated to become the governor of British Somaliland, replaced him. At the directive of the colonial government, Archer closed the unsuccessful trading stations of the Boma Trading Company in 1910. Subsequently, the government established official posts at Moyale and Marsabit, and a detachment of the King's African Rifles (KAR) was deployed to Loiengalani near the southeastern shore of Lake Turkana. A fourth station was inaugurated at Wajir in January 1912 (MoyseBartlett, 1956: 212213).

Between October and December 1911, Colonel Thesiger embarked on an official tour of the Northern Frontier District (NFD) during which he assessed the potential for significant military challenges. He cautioned that there was a risk of a complete breakdown if the colonial administration persisted in what he viewed as a misguided policy of passive observation. But that year, with significant troop cuts for the King's African Rifles (KAR), the British found it more difficult to use the military to impose imperial power. Despite Thesiger's warnings, the colonial administration took no action.

A third option for the district emerged, suggesting British withdrawal from the region, although this idea was never seriously considered due to concerns that it would tarnish colonial prestige. Additionally, withdrawal was deemed impractical due to the colonial focus on the white highlands, with fears that tribal conflicts could spill over into areas inhabited by Europeans. (Hickey, 1913: 21). Various Somali clans in northeastern Kenya engaged in active resistance against British colonial rule at different times. For instance, Mohamed Zubeir resisted from 1899 to 1903, the Marehan clan resisted from 1910 to 1913, and the Auliyahan clan resisted from 1915 to 1917 (KNA/PC/NFD/4/6/1:

1915). The British had to suppress the Somali clans by dispatching several expeditions to the frontier. Eventually, the Somali clans came to the realization that the British possessed overwhelming power, leading to their surrender to British rule in northern Kenya. (Touval, 1955). The British gradually extended their influence into African territories, including northeastern Kenya. By the time the East Africa Protectorate was established in 1895, diplomatic agreements had resolved the threat of competing European interests in the region, particularly in the TransJuba area. These included the

AngloGerman Agreement of 1890 and the AngloItalian Protocol signed on 24 March 1891. Initially, there was no pressing need to incorporate northeastern Kenya into the East Africa Protectorate, as the region was primarily suited for grazing and perceived to have limited economic value. Philip Zaphiro, a Greek national, was the first official representative of the British colonial administration in the region. He was posted to the frontier in late 1905 by Sir John Harrington, the British Minister in Addis Ababa. The choice of a Greek was strategic; it minimized potential prestige loss for the British should resistance arise along the frontier. Zaphiro established his base at Moyale on the northern border of the Protectorate.

The significant expansion of British presence in the region occurred with the activities of G.H. "Jack" Riddell and his Boma Trading Company. After persuading Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, of the merits of permitting a trading company to operate in the restricted northern zone, Riddell's company began operations in the Northern Frontier District. Entrepreneurs like Riddell and his associates enabled the British colonial administration to expand into the relatively unfamiliar northern frontier without incurring significant costs. Although the company ultimately failed within three years, it succeeded in establishing trading stations at Moyale, Marsabit,

and along the Upper Juba River, facilitating trade in livestock owned by local populations (C.O. 533/5/3665). Sir James H. Sadler governed the East Africa Protectorate from 1905 to 1909. During his tenure, the colonial administration struggled to establish effective governance in the frontier, relying primarily on sporadic efforts by the Boma Trading Company. Opportunities for trade and commercial development in the Northern Frontier remained largely untapped. Compounding the issue, Somali migrations from east of the Juba River and cross-border raids by Ethiopian subjects created additional instability (Lewis, 1965). From the British perspective, the situation became precarious in 1909 when approximately 10,000 Somalis, along with their livestock in search of water, migrated along the Tana River and remained there until the *guu* (long rains) of the following year (Lewis, 1965: 30). In 1909, with the appointment of Sir Percy Girouard as Governor, the colonial administration became divided over policy in the Northern Frontier. Colonel George Thesiger, Inspector General of the King's African Rifles (KAR), advocated a military approach. In contrast, John Hope, a British administrator in the region, proposed a cautious strategy involving minimal military presence. Although Hope's plan represented a contradictory mix of expansion and passivity, it had the critical advantage of limiting military engagement and was ultimately adopted as official policy. Consequently, in 1909, the arid and sparsely populated region was formally annexed into the Protectorate and designated the Northern Frontier District (NFD). For the next five years, colonial officials endeavored to maintain peace in the region by adhering to this non-confrontational policy (C.O. 533/54/6401).

During Girouard’s governorship, administration in the NFD remained rudimentary. Philip Zaphiro was reassigned to the British delegation in Addis Ababa, and Geoffrey Archer—who would later become Governor of British Somaliland replaced him. Acting

on government orders, Archer closed the Boma Trading Company's failed trading stations in 1910. The administration then established official posts at Moyale and Marsabit, and deployed a detachment of the KAR to Loiengalani near Lake Turkana's southeastern shore. A fourth administrative post was opened at Wajir in January 1912 (MoyseBartlett, 1956: 212–213).

Between October and December 1911, Colonel Thesiger conducted an official tour of the NFD, during which he assessed the potential for military unrest. He warned of an impending collapse if the administration persisted in its passive policy. However, significant budget cuts to the KAR that year limited the British capacity to enforce control through military means. Despite Thesiger's warnings, the administration remained inactive.

A third policy option a complete British withdrawal from the region was briefly considered but quickly dismissed. Officials feared such a move would damage colonial prestige and risk conflict spilling into the white settler dominated highlands (Hickey, 1913: 21).

Various Somali clans in northeastern Kenya resisted British colonial rule at different times. Mohamed Zubeir resisted from 1899 to 1903, the Marehan clan from 1910 to 1913, and the Auliyahan clan from 1915 to 1917 (KNA/PC/NFD/4/6/1: 1915). The British responded with several military expeditions to subdue these uprisings. Ultimately, the Somali clans acknowledged the overwhelming force of the British military and surrendered to colonial authority in northern Kenya (Touval, 1955).

3.4 Colonial Land Policies and their Impact on Kamba-Somali Relations

The middle decades of the twentieth century witnessed significant transformations across Africa, with one of the most complex and serious colonial challenges being land tenure. For Africans, land represented the cornerstone of existence it was central to family, clan, and tribal cohesion and served as a source of political, judicial, and social power and prestige. Attempts by colonial powers to alienate African land and compensate with inferior alternatives failed to mitigate the growing animosity that developed over time. In Kenya, the colonial administration sought to establish a settlertype economy, which necessitated the appropriation of land from indigenous communities. To facilitate this endeavor, administrative and legislative frameworks were instituted to enable Europeans to access and control land without hindrance. This resulted in a series of proclamations embodied in colonial laws dating back to 1891 (Kanyinga, 1998).

In 1894, the Indian Land Acquisition Act was extended to the East Africa Protectorate by the British administration to enable land acquisition for public projects, and it was formally implemented in 1896. This extension permitted the public use of land on the mainland beyond Mombasa, particularly within a mile on either side of the railway line. In 1896, the Colonial Office recommended to the Foreign Office the establishment of a land commission to distinguish between native and Crown property. This recommendation led to the East African Order in Council of 1901, based on a report prepared by legal experts from the Foreign Office.

The East Africa Land Order in Council of 1901 placed Crown lands in the Kenyan Protectorate under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner and General Council, held in trust for the British Crown. Crown land was defined as all public land under His

Majesty's jurisdiction within the Protectorate. The law empowered the Commissioner to sell, grant, or lease Crown land for any reasonable duration, subject to the Secretary of State's directives (Kanyinga, 1998; Sorrenson, 1968).

The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902, which replaced the 1901 Order in Council, marked a significant development in land expropriation. It introduced more precise regulations that facilitated European settlement by allowing the principle of ownership interest to govern the allocation of vast tracts of land. Under this ordinance, Africans lost title to their land unless they were actively inhabiting or cultivating it. Once deemed abandoned, such land was considered vacant, and the Protectorate could claim and allocate it to European settlers for up to 99 years (Sorrenson, 1968; Kanyinga, 2000).

During the same period, the East African Outlying Districts Ordinance was enacted, designating certain regions-including Kitui and the Northern Frontier District—as closed districts. These were initially labeled as 'outlying districts' but were eventually formalized as native reserves (Boahan, 1985).

The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 further consolidated colonial control. It granted the Governor authority to alienate any land within the Protectorate, classifying all such areas as Crown land. The ordinance explicitly prohibited non-Europeans from purchasing or leasing land initially contracted or leased by Europeans. Lease terms were extended from 99 to 999 years, thereby cementing long-term European control (Boahan, 1985).

A further amendment came with the 1925 Crown Lands Ordinance, which gave the Governor sweeping powers to set aside any land deemed necessary for the colony's use. Kanyinga (2000) explains that this law designated all unclaimed or undeveloped land

as Crown property, effectively transferring land rights from Africans to the colonial state. Zwanenberg (1975) observed that this legislation extended lease periods to 999 years. Ochieng (1977) argues that this law was designed to support a land registration system tailored to European settlers, reducing indigenous Africans to tenants. He further notes that the ordinance empowered the colonial administration to dispossess indigenous communities and allocate their lands to settlers, often with no regard for native interests. Although certain lands were designated as native reserves, even within these zones, Africans remained subject to the discretionary authority of the colonial government (Kilson, 1955).

Drawing on these ordinances, the colonial government ultimately dispossessed lands of immense importance to the Kamba and Somali communities. Areas appropriated included the Yatta Plateau, Endau Hill, Engamba Hill (located in Kitui East), and adjoining regions along the Tana River. The Yatta Plateau, in particular, is an extensive elevated landform stretching approximately 322 kilometers along the eastern bank of the Athi River, from the confluence of the Athi and Thika Rivers southeastward (KNA/DC/MKS/267471). This region was resource rich, offering abundant pasture and water sources such as the Tiva and Mitasyano Rivers, making it vital for the pastoral livelihoods of both the Kamba and Somali peoples. Despite occasional conflicts with the Maasai over these resources, Somali pastoralists frequently migrated to the Yatta Plateau between July and October (Abdul, O.I., 2023). During extreme droughts in northeastern Kenya, Somali clans would divide their herds into two groups. One group crossed the Tana River at Bangali and followed the Enziu River southward into the Engamba area, while the other group entered Kitui County from Garissa via Ukasi, eventually reaching the Yatta grazing lands.

The declaration of Yatta, Endau, and Engamba as Crown lands in 1902 had devastating consequences for the pastoral systems of both the Kamba and Somali communities. With access to traditional grazing areas restricted, conflict and livestock raids escalated (Abdul, O.I., 2023). To curtail these interactions, the colonial government implemented tribal reserves to restrict movement and separate communities. The Kamba of Kitui and the Somali nomads of northeastern Kenya were allocated distant, non-overlapping areas. However, this strategy failed. As reported in 1913 by the Kitui District Commissioner, significant interaction persisted. He raised concerns over the presence of more than 3,000 Somali cattle traders in the Kitui reserve and noted a growing number of Kamba converts to Islam—clear indicators of ongoing socioeconomic and religious integration between the communities (DC/KTI/1/1/1: 1913; Katuku, O.I., 2023).

3.5 Quarantine as a Key Constraint to Kamba Somali Relations

Colonial policies in pastoral regions were rooted in the belief that pastoralists were unproductive and impeded the development of the colonial economy (Mutiso, 1977). Colonial administrators perceived pastoralists as engaging in inefficient land use, leading to the conclusion that the solution lay in inviting foreign settlers who could utilize the land more effectively. In July 1899, Ainsworth recommended to his superiors that Indian farmers be brought to Ukambani a predominantly pastoral region—to boost agricultural productivity. At the same time, Sir Charles Elliot, then Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate and a prominent advocate of European colonization in Kenya, expressed skepticism regarding the potential of a rural African population reliant on traditional agricultural practices. He openly criticized African modes of production, particularly pastoralism (Wolf, 1974, p. 66). Pastoralism was viewed by the

colonial state as a barrier to national development an uncivilized practice that needed to be eliminated for the benefit of the country (Spencer, 1982, p. 113).

The administration argued that pastoralism failed to produce exportable goods and accused pastoralists of resisting integration into the colonial labor economy. They were seen as a threat to the success of the emerging European livestock industry in Kenya (Mutiso, 1977). In light of these views, colonial policies were formulated to discourage pastoralism. The government promoted European ranching enterprises by allocating prime grazing lands to white settlers and effectively fencing out native communities. Fears that indigenous livestock might transmit diseases to European herds led to the imposition of livestock quarantines in pastoral regions. These restrictions significantly curtailed the mobility of pastoralists, affecting regions such as Ukambani and northern Kenya (Mutiso, 1977). The limitations on movement severely impacted pastoralist livelihoods and disrupted intercommunity interactions, especially trade between the Kamba of Kitui and the Somali of northeastern Kenya. Livestock, a key medium of economic exchange, was subjected to strict colonial regulation favoring settler and administrative interests over those of nomadic populations (Mutiso, 1977). Between 1922 and 1938, two major developments transformed the livestock trade landscape.

First, in 1922, cattle quarantine stations such as the one established in Isiolo in the Northern Frontier District (NFD) were introduced, effectively prohibiting the export of cattle from quarantined areas. Second, monopolistic government agencies such as the Livestock Control Board and the Meat Marketing Board were created. These agencies exercised full control over the sale of livestock, dictating the terms time, location, buyer, and price under which pastoralists could sell their animals. This coercive system forced livestock owners in northern Kenya to sell exclusively to these government entities

(KNA/PC/NFD/2/1/3). Additional constraints were imposed to placate European settlers, who opposed competition from African traders. For most of the colonial period, the Cattle Disease Ordinance of 1912 was used to regulate livestock movement. This ordinance barred cattle from non-settler areas from entering European farming zones, and settler lands were fenced off to prevent incursions (Spencer, 1982:115).

The colonial government's focus was more on protecting settler interests than on eradicating livestock diseases in African reserves. Investment in developing the native livestock sector was minimal. For instance, in 1938, only three veterinary scouts and one stock inspector served the entire northern Kenya region (KNA/PC/NFD/1/7/3: 1938). Such inadequate staffing made effective livestock disease control virtually impossible. Moreover, movement restrictions led to overstocking within reserves, which in turn triggered disease outbreaks, overgrazing, and increased livestock mortality.

The introduction of the Stock Traders License (STL) under the 1918 ordinance posed another obstacle to indigenous trade. The STL required all livestock traders to purchase a license at a cost of 500 Rupees a prohibitive sum for already financially constrained pastoralists (KNA/PC/NFD/2/1/2: 1921). The STL ordinance, and its subsequent amendments, sought to restrict access to the Northern Frontier District (NFD), effectively barring livestock traders from Kitui District. By 1921, both traders and their agents were required to hold valid licenses, reducing the number of individuals willing or able to participate in livestock trading.

Altogether, the combination of quarantine measures, mobility restrictions, and financial burdens associated with licensing led to the stagnation of the livestock trade in both

Kitui and the Northern Frontier Districts, as reflected in archival records and administrative data.

Table 3. 1: Cattle Export from NFD 19261934

Year	No. of Cattle
1927	Nil
1928	Nil
1929	Nil
1930	Nil
1931	Nil
1932	Nil
1933	Nil
1934	Nil
1935	Nil
1936	679
1937	768

To circumvent the challenges posed by quarantine measures, restricted mobility, and fixed livestock prices which significantly hindered trade between the Kamba and Somali communities these groups sought to establish clandestine markets. These informal markets were strategically located in remote areas that were inaccessible to administrative vehicles due to poor road infrastructure. Notable examples include the Malalani and Nuu markets in Kitui East, as referenced in a letter to the officer incharge in Isiolo (DC/Garissa/2/2/1/3; Kilinge, O.I., 2023).

Despite these efforts, colonial authorities actively suppressed the development of such markets by outlawing them and imposing punitive measures on individuals found engaging in trade. This suppression was motivated by the colonial administration's self-agenda, primarily aimed at safeguarding the economic interests of European settlers. Ironically, these informal trade networks could have mitigated the pressures of livestock quarantines by providing alternative sales channels.

Notably, during this period, there were no recorded incidents of conflict or livestock raiding between the Kamba of Kitui and the Somali communities of Northeastern Kenya.

3.6 Imposition of Taxation and its Impact on Kamba Somali Relations

Prior to colonial influence, African societies operated under a communal system in which land was collectively owned. Within most ethnic communities, a portion of the produce derived from agriculture, trade, or received as gifts was customarily contributed to community leaders. This contribution, often referred to as a tithe, was expected from both local and foreign traders, particularly those engaged in the ivory and slave trades (Kwatemba, 2005: 3). These tithes were generally considered fair, and during periods of famine, community leaders and prosperous farmers would redistribute food to affected members of the community (Warris, 2017: 15).

Following the declaration of Kenya as a protectorate and subsequently a colony in 1920, the British government introduced tax policies with multiple objectives. First, to fund its economic activities through the creation of foreign markets and the extraction of raw materials for British industries. Second, to facilitate the colonization of Africa by shifting from a model of coexistence to one of territorial control. Third, to secure a supply of cheap African labor by gradually undermining subsistence livelihoods (Warris, 2007: 6).

To achieve these goals, the British administration introduced tax laws in Kenya, beginning with the hut tax in 1901. This tax required African males to pay a fee based on the number of houses (huts) they owned. However, recognizing that many males were exempt from the hut tax, the government introduced the poll tax in 1910, which mandated that all males above the age of sixteen pay a fixed tax to the colonial

authorities. The objective was to create a monetary need among populations who previously lived outside the cash economy (Nyakwaka, 2013: 49).

These economic shifts forced the Kamba people of Kitui to engage with the colonial economy in order to meet growing financial obligations, including tax payments. Rising material aspirations, increased bride wealth demands, the burden of new taxes, and shrinking land resources fostered a growing interest in wage labor. As a result, the Kamba selectively joined the labor market. However, colonial records reveal persistent complaints from the District Commissioner of Kitui about their reluctance to participate in government projects and work on settler farms throughout the 1930s (KNA/DC/KTI/1/1/4: 1933).

In contrast, the Somali people of Northeastern Kenya were slower to adapt to colonial taxation policies. They resisted paying taxes in cash until 1930, when more stringent legislation was implemented in Somali inhabited areas. On September 1, 1930, Mr. Glenday announced that beginning in January 1931, every adult Somali would be required to pay a fixed annual tax of ten shillings in cash. A grace period of four months was granted to allow for compliance (KNA/PC/NFD/2/1/1: 1928). Noncompliance with the tax law could result in imprisonment or fines (KNA/PC/NFD/2/1/1: 1934).

Initially, clans that refused to pay taxes were still permitted to access government services such as veterinary campaigns and water pans. However, by 1945, those who declined to pay taxes were barred from using these amenities. Chiefs and native police were dispatched to watering points to collect taxes directly from pastoralists, and individuals who resisted were warned to leave British territory if they did not wish to comply (KNA/PC/NFD/2/1/2: 1930).

To facilitate tax collection, the Native Authority Ordinance of 1912 granted colonial chiefs the power to recruit labor for public works, including road and railway construction and tax enforcement. African laborers were paid wages ranging from two to five rupees, and traditional elders and clan leaders were increasingly supplanted by colonial appointed chiefs. Some Somali leaders, such as Ahmed Magan, were coopted into the colonial system, becoming salaried agents of the British administration. Their primary responsibilities included maintaining public order within their communities and ensuring effective tax collection (KNA/PC/NFD/1/1/4: 1938).

Table 3.2: Tax Revenues in NFD (19311935)

Year	Amount of Tax Collected
1931	5782
1932	6264
1933	6573
1934	7530
1935	6784

A Report on Native Taxation 1936: 12

The table below shows the amount of taxes collected in Kitui District between 1901 and 1910

Table 3.3: Taxes Collected in Kitui District between 1901 and 1910

Year	Amount of Tax Collected
19011902	1501
19021903	16073
19031904	23,618
19041905	50,352
19051906	46,436
19061907	71,437
19071908	71,811
19081909	71,826
19091910	88,002

Source KNA/DC/KTI/1/1/1: 1918

Taxation in Kitui District steadily increased over time, compelling residents to abandon their traditional modes of production and provide what was essentially cheap labor in order to meet their tax obligations. These measures primarily served the interests of European colonialists, often at the expense of the indigenous population.

In the Northern Frontier District (NFD), tax collection efforts led by colonial chiefs encountered considerable resistance, particularly from nomadic pastoralist communities. Many Somali pastoralists were reluctant to comply with taxation demands. As defaulters predominantly Somalis frequently moved in search of grazing lands and water for their livestock, tax payments became inconsistent, especially in comparison to the more settled Kamba of Kitui (KNA/PC/NFD/8/1/2: 1946).

3.7 Summary

This chapter has examined the colonial experience in Ukambani and the Northern Frontier District from 1895 to 1938. During this period, British colonial rule was firmly established, bringing with it new administrative values and practices that significantly reshaped interethnic relations between the Kamba of Kitui and the Somali of Northeastern Kenya.

It is evident that certain colonial policies fostered cooperation and coexistence between the two communities, while others exacerbated tensions and contributed to conflict. The British administration's divide and rule strategy sought to create and exploit divisions among ethnic and cultural groups as a means of maintaining control over the colony. In the case of the Kamba and the Somali, although the colonial administration attempted to restrict mobility and limit interaction between the two groups, such efforts were not entirely effective. Trade and intergroup relations often continued despite administrative constraints.

CHAPTER FOUR THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND

DECOLONIZATION ON KAMBA – SOMALI RELATIONS, 1939 – 1963

4.1 Introduction

In the framework of the Second World War and Kenya's decolonization process, this chapter explores the relationships between the Kitui East Kamba and the Somali of North Eastern Kenya. A large number of Somalis from North Eastern Kenya and the Kamba community from Kitui took part in various aspects of World War II. While some served as potters in the carrier corps, others were enlisted in the Kings African Rifle and fought with the British. Shiroya (1994) points out that more than 98,000 Kenya African soldiers fought in the Second World War, and about 64,000 served outside Kenya. This chapter discusses the recruitment and service of Somali and Kamba people in Kenya to the Kings African Rifle.

When the Second World War came to an end in 1945, decolonization process began to gather greater momentum. New forces emerged in Kenya propagating for freedom from colonial dominion. African troops' experiences in the Second World War had a significant impact on their political outlook. They became more politically aware as a result. The reason for this is that Africans who fought in the Second World War saw that

Europeans were just like them. Like every other race, African troops had witnessed Europeans losing their lives in combat. Consequently, the Africans who had returned from World War II established native organizations, via which the nationalists advocated for independence. The impact of these nationalist movements such as Mau Mau and political parties in Keya to Kamba Somali relations are examined up to 1963. The theory of constructivism was used to chronologically analyze the data by

demonstrating how recruitment of Kamba and Somali to Kings African Rifle and decolonization process impacted the relations between these two communities.

4.2 Recruitment and Service of Kamba of Kitui East and North eastern Kenya Somalis to the Kings African Rifle

Interethnic ties between the Somalis of North Eastern Kenya and the Kitui East Kamba were significantly impacted by the Second World War. Pioneer corps were being recruited in the Northern Frontier District and Ukambani by 1939. The ruthless colonial chiefs were in charge of recruiting. The Kamba and Somali people first refused to enlist in the military. Many held vivid recollections of the First World War, despite a gap of around two decades. They refused to endure the same situation (Mutua, O.I. 2023). The outbreak of war in 1939 required a significant increase in military officers. This demand generated tension among Kenyan communities and white settlers in Kenya. On the one hand, the white settlers were not willing to leave their farms to go and fight a war in Europe and they feared that they would be forced to join the army. They also worried that a labor scarcity would result from all of their finest employees joining the military. On the other hand, African communities were not willing to join the army. They were aware of the tricks that the Europeans had used during the First World War to recruit them to the army and so there was a lot of suspicion, tension and fear among Kenya communities like the Kamba and the Somali during this period (Parsons, 1999).

The Europeans used several tactics to lure the Kamba and Somali people join the military. One of the most prominent tactics of recruitment was the focus on travel and adventure. The argument that joining the army was a means of "seeing the world" was made via posters that featured happy, clearly content troops in exotic, far-off places.

The images showed a career in the army as a kind of government sponsored vacation where one could travel and receive paid to do so. (Anahita and Tamar 2006: 333334; Nzole, O.I. 2023).

Propaganda was another strategy used to try to influence Somali and Kamba to join the military. Propaganda, according to Abdul (O.I. 2023), was widely used in the northern region of Kenya to persuade youth that if they did not enroll in the war, the Germans would invade their nation, murder and maim women and children. Propaganda used by the colonial authority to entice Somali and Kamba youngsters to join the war did not always succeed. Consequently, in order to recruit the necessary number of individuals for military duty, more forceful and assertive tactics had to be used. The Colonial Office handed over command of British forces in East Africa to the War Office in September 1939. Any amendments to the field service manual and African force had to be enclosed by both the army council and the secretary of state for colonies. The governors of East African territories were granted the powers to recruit Africans and form new units. The governors too had powers to delegate their recruiting power as they saw fit (KNA/AH/22/75).

British colonial officials in Kenya considered the Kamba to be the premier martial race in Africa. They were known to be accomplished fighters and hunters who were praised for their skill of using bows and poisoned arrows. Despite this, the first British recruiters for Kings African Rifle were not particularly impressed with them instead preferring to rely on Sudanese soldiers (Mazrui, 1977). On the other hand, the Kamba had scant interest in military service and little need for money or wage labor. Variables such as economic transformations and growing demand for soldiers to fight in the war made the Kamba people to change their attitude towards military service.

In early 1940, the Somali and the Kamba peoples began to join the military in large numbers. Many factors combined to make military job attractive to Kamba and Somali communities. Excessive pay and the assurance of pensions communicated hopes for both immediate and long-term financial stability. The societal implications of KAR service were also effective in drawing in new members. Becoming a member of the KAR was considered a way to progress and it gave soldiers a certain social status. In 1940, troops received exemptions from paying the head tax and from other civil legal procedures, such as being arrested for smalltime offenses and debts. (Christopher, 1945: 12). In a similar vein, colonial authorities respected police officers more than they did the citizens. The Kamba and Somali people were interested in money and wage labor due to the imposition of hut and poll taxes and the increasing scarcity of land. The KAR swiftly gained the favor of the Kamba and Somali people by offering these necessities together with a stable salary.

In June 1940 monthly rates of pay in the KAR were,

Table 4.1: Monthly Pay Rates in June 1940 in KAR

Rank	Shillings
Regimental Sergeant Major (RSM)	120
Command Sergeant Major (CSM)	90
Sergeant	64
Corporal	40
Private Askari	28
Recruit Askari	20

Source: Warner, (1985)

Domestic helpers and agricultural laborers were not entitled to the same rations and benefits as police officers. Agricultural pay, on the other hand, were from 10 to 15 Shillings per month.

It was largely young, physically fit males who were in demand for military duty. The chiefs located the houses of these young people, apprehended them, and transported them to labor recruiting offices. Certain individuals were transported from their educational institution onto military vehicles under the pretext of being transported to their workplace, only to arrive at military boot camps (Zeleka, 1989: 146). Upon entering the training base, the prospective soldiers underwent medical examinations and basic physical fitness tests. These tests included the capacity to run or jump over a fence, have sharp vision, close one eye independently of the other, and have a disability check. Those with visual impairments found it difficult to utilize rifles effectively. The right fore fingers were also examined, but in this instance, at least one enthusiastic recruit managed to get through and discovered that he could shoot his gun using his middle finger instead of his missing finger.

Men who were over 5'8" and between the ages of 18 and 45 were eligible, while shorter men from some tribes, especially the Somali, were allowed (Warner, 1985).

Recruitment was done in the early years of enlistment on a selective basis. The British administrators all believed that some ethnic groups in Kenya were naturally military. Both Somali and Kamba communities were preferred by the British for military service though at different stages of recruitment. In the early 1930s, Somali recruitment quotes were higher as compared to that of the Kamba. This is because senior military officers had a strong bias against Bantu speaking communities like the Kamba who were termed as agriculturists. The military officers preferred to recruit pastoralists like the Somali who were considered to be more martial (KNA/AH/22/75: 1939, Nzole, O.I. 2023).

In 1939, Kenyan Governor Sir Joseph Byrne advocated for modifications to the KAR's hiring practices. Several factors forced the governor to change recruitment tactics to

make large KAR units. Among these were the escalating hostilities between Mussolini's Italy and Ethiopia, which raised concerns about an invasion from Somalia and Ethiopia, and the colonial authorities' position, which could only be improved by massively enlisting African troops due to the depletion of the white labor force in the colony (KNA/AH/22/75: 1939).

Colonial authorities were compelled to broaden their recruiting efforts beyond customary sources and gave fresh importance to a number of enrollment stimulants. The main goal was to get Africans to leave their sense of British Empire and Kenyan patriotism and join the KAR. The number of Kamba and Somali soldiers in KAR steadily increased as a result of these initiatives. The number of Kamba soldiers rose to 230, 30 % of all Kenyan soldiers. The Kamba marital status improved as they constituted a growing percentage of the KAR. The majority of the North eastern Kenya Somalis were recruited to serve in the Somaliland Camel Corps. The British considered the Somali people to be of volatile nature. The British realized they had a responsibility to treat the Somali people well since they had demonstrated significant hostility in resisting an extension of British authority in the NFD province. The Somali also served in both 3 KAR and 5 KAR. In 1939, there were 57 Somalis in 5 KAR and 29 in 3 KAR (KNA/DC/ISO/2/4/141).

The years from 1939 to 1945 witnessed the emergence of many problems in the Northern Kenya and Ukambani regions. These problems were as a result of the deprivations of the region's energetic men who had hitherto provided most manual labor. Agricultural production declined. Since cultivation of foodstuffs was left to old men and women who could barely produce enough to sustain their families. Livestock production also declined because the Somali community was left with few energetic

men to take care of livestock (Zacharia, O.I. 2023). Food shortage generated by the war combined with the effects of the discriminatory colonial policies reduced the interaction between the Kitui east Kamba and North eastern Somali. The Kamba people migrated to farms in the Kikuyu region to work for wages as another group volunteered to join the army to sustain their lives. Some Somali people shifted from pastoralism to operating businesses, others decided to migrate to Italian protectorate (Mutua, O.I.; Abdul, O.I. 2023).

4.3 KambaSomali Relations in the PostSecond World War Period

The Second World War strengthened African resistance to colonial control and provided a strong boost to political nationalism throughout the continent generally. Strong African nationalism was cultivated as a result of the struggle, and all Africans shared the desire to fight for their liberation. During World War II, African Americans gained valuable experience in collaboration and communication skills. Africans realized that their continent's lack of unity was one of the main reasons European nations colonized them. African nations were frequently engaged in internal conflict while also thwarting European imperialism during the early years of European colonization.

African states had divergent priorities, whereas Europe could concentrate its military efforts almost entirely on its overseas imperial ventures without any hindrance at home (Uzoigwe, 1985: 39). This lack of unity was not a problem after World War II. A united aim to strive for freedom and independence was developed by colonialism, which was a type of bondage. African nationalism contributed to the unity. Africans wanted to overturn the colonial system in addition to addressing the social, economic, and political injustices they were facing (Sifuna, 1990: 193).

Following World War II, the political landscape around the world created an environment that was conducive to the growth of nationalism, which in turn quickened the process of decolonization (Malaba, 1989: 173).

Nazi Germany was forced to surrender in May 1945, having been surrounded on both fronts, and the Second World War came to an end. After the United States launched atomic bombs on both Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan submitted months later. Africa was not immune to this horrific conflict during this entire period. There was fighting in both North Africa and the Horn of Africa. The impacts of the conflict affected even nations like Kenya that were not physically damaged by the fighting (Mazrui and Tidy

1984: 11). Numerous African nations dispatched soldiers to participate in this conflict. Those who went to battle witnessed the allied nations' tenacious struggle against Germany and its Nazi system. They witnessed the British fighting for the liberation of thousands of Jews from concentration camps, but millions of Africans remained under colonial domination in Africa (Davidson, 1994). The idea that Africans should be freed in the same way that Jews were affected African nationalism and political thought.

After World War II, African nationalism grew uncontrollably. Following the war, new superpowers emerged, including External pressure to grant independence to colonies was introduced by the United Nations Organization (UNO) and the United States of America and Russia, whose strategic presence inside the UNO. Regretfully, the colonized European nations of France, Britain, and other Africa could not afford to oppose nationalist movements within the continent. The Atlantic Charter, which was promised by US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, was another factor contributing to African nationalism following World War

II. This charter promised that the allies would uphold each people's right to select their own system of government following the war (Davidson, 1994).

The conflict also dispelled the idea of colonial power's invincibility and transformed African political consciousness. Africans, particularly the former military personnel, had interacted with almost every person on the planet. Through their intimate interactions with various diverse groups of individuals, they had picked up new concepts (Sherry, 1985). After the war, the veterans began evaluating their political standing when they got back home. They never considered going back to work on farms; instead, their goals were to live better lives. They anticipated receiving benefits from the British government for fighting alongside them (Mutua.O.I.2023). They went to the cities to look for middleclass jobs. A continuation of the technical instruction they had acquired in the army was desired by other veterans. Others filed for licenses after deciding to use their funds to invest in businesses (Shiroya, 1972). The government's approval was needed for each of these lines of action, but it was not given. District policemen, for example, thwarted attempts by former cops to move up the economic ladder by tightly controlling the requisite permits. The District Officer in Kitui district granted permits at a ratio of one trading license for every 500–600 residents. This basically made it impossible for former police officers to get permission (KNA/DC/KTI/2/7/5/8: 1946).

The recognition and awards given to European soldiers and personnel for their valor during the war greatly increased African activism in protest. Africans were incensed at the lack of respect and appreciation shown to Africans who fought alongside these European men. Africans' passion for independence from European rule, which had been burning for generations, was stoked by this rage and increased their commitment to it (Khapoya, 2013: 149).

The colonial government's failure to compensate the veterans made them to be more determined and committed to political freedom. The change in political consciousness in the minds of veterans and Africans led them to realize that to hasten the pace of independence, nationalistic agitation and even rebellions were important. The fact that all officially recognized platforms for African political participation in all of Kenya had been restricted since the start of World War II initially made this pace more difficult. This came after political organizations that had formed in various sections of the nation in the 1930s were completely outlawed and their leader was imprisoned in Kapenguria (Ogot, 1974: 283). This action effectively succeeded in dismantling the foundation of organized territory nationalism in Kenya, despite the fact that its original goal was to control the African political parties throughout the conflict. The colonial government made an effort to suppress any potential for a wide network in order to limit newly formed political organizations inside the ethnic communities.

The Ukamba Members Association was established by the Kamba to express their complaints by the time political parties were outlawed. A number of resolutions has been approved by UMA members. They claimed that overstocking was to blame for soil degradation in the Kitui and Machakos regions, and they were against the colonial policy of destocking. They also battled for Kamba's liberties and rights while opposing high taxes. Prior to 1939, the Somalis in North Eastern Kenya did not organize into any political organizations.

KAU was established shortly before the Second World War came to a conclusion. On October 1, 1944, KAU was established, with seasoned political figure Harry Thuku serving as its president. Simeon Mulandi, who represented the Ukambani region, was one of the seven members of the representative committee at KAU. KAU's objectives

included promoting the social and economic advancement of Kenyan Africans and fostering their togetherness (Sifuna 1990). KAU stood for the unified nationalistic front of Kenyan tribes that want their territories back and political representation in the government.

KAU conducted numerous events in Ukambani and other regions of Kenya, however the party did not receive many points. Any political movement in Kenya would have been nearly impossible to flourish under the oppressive policies imposed by the colonial government. Its primary goal was to exclude any united constituency inside the community that may pose a threat to its hegemony. In the end, KAU was outlawed on June 8, 1953. The governor declared that KAU would never be allowed to operate in Kenya again and that going forward, the government would only let local associations that genuinely and reasonably served the interests of their people (Shiroya 1972: 4). As each group reoriented its districts in accordance with colonial needs, the development of broadbased ties between Kamba and Somali people was hindered by the relegation of African politics to the district levels.

The Kitui and Ukambani people had collaborated closely with KAU prior to KAU's prohibition in order to express their complaints locally. The most significant Kamba member of KAU was Paul Ngei. He was one among KAU's organizers and supporters in Ukambani. Although they supported the Somali Youth League, which had its roots in Somalia, the Somalis of North Eastern Kenya were not very interested in Kenyan politics.

The Horn of Africa's Somali Youth League sought to bring all Somalis together. Branch offices of SYL were established in Wajir, Mandera, and Isiolo at the start of 1947. Later on, other branches were established at Marsabit, Moyale, and Garissa (KNA.

NPC/NFD/1/1/9). The NFD Somali fought to become a part of Somalia. The SYL members wore horns with the moon and five stars carved inside as a distinctive method to identify themselves. This was dubbed "Hilaal," and the five stars stood for the five Somali regions that were partitioned, including NFD (Tauval, 1963).

The relations between Kamba and Somali people in Kenya from 1944 to 1952 were characterized by the division between the two communities. The colonial administration rigidified ethnicity by first drawing administrative units and secondly, ensuring that political parties were ethnically based. The Kamba therefore perceived the Somali as foreigners whenever they were found in their locations. The division between the two communities was again experienced when the Kamba joined the KAU and the northern Kenya Somalis joined the SYL. SYL was banned in 1948 and KAU was banned in 1953.

Following the start of the Mau Mau activities among the Kikuyu and their expansion to other regions of the colony, including Ukambani, the KAU was banned. Kenyans' nationalistic views made it easier for various communities to come together and work together. As a result, there existed a determined, combative group of liberation fighters whose only goal was to remove the white minority from power. This group of nationalists knew that the colonial state could not understand any other language except the military one. The British policymakers believed that Kenyans were inferior and incapable of becoming a serious military threat. According to Kulu (O.I.2023), the Kenyans' capacity to uphold tribal allegiance was the reason the British misjudged the Mau Mau. He goes on to say that nationalists were inspired to unite and defend their nation by British arrogance and the notion that the Mau Mau was a motley crew of jungle fighters. An increasing number of Kenyans joined the Mau Mau struggle as their

confidence increased. Africans, particularly those from the Kikuyu territory, who had lost hope in using constitutional means to fight for independence, were the main forces behind the creation and expansion of the Mau Mau (Ogot, 1972: 89).

On October 20, 1952, Sir Everlyn Baring proclaimed a state of emergency in an effort to stop Mau Mau operations. As a result, several African leaders were detained and accused of leading and controlling the Mau Mau, including Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei, Ramogi, Achieng Oneko, Bildad Kagia, and Fred Kubai. To stop the movement from spreading, more harsh measures were implemented. The colony's governor was forced to request the presence of further British army units. The government's fear of a connection between KAU and Mau Mau led to the warning and rounding of former KAU politicians nationwide. (Hal Brands, 2005).

Nationalistic sentiment had grown among the forty Kenyan communities that joined the Mau Mau movement as a result of the state of emergency being declared and the British forces being used to put an end to the Mau Mau movement (Ogot, 1974). The emergency declaration did not put an end to Mau Mau operations. The Mau Mau fighters began a wave of violent acts in Nairobi and the central province in the middle of 1952. Leaders of the Mau Mau moved to enlist Kamba members as hostilities intensified. Kamba and Kikuyu shared political history and were popularly termed as close cousins and were also close neighbors. This recruitment was achieved through the administration of the oath. To create a sense of unity, the oathing process was practiced in the form of a ceremony. A goat would be killed for the event, and a ceremonial bite from its flesh would be performed (Elkins, 2005: 26).

Morally and spiritually bound, the oath was a sacred, secret right. Nzole (O.I. 2023) attests that some of the wording of the oath includes “if I know of any enemy of our

organization and fail to kill him, may this oath kill me, and if I reveal this oath to any European, may this oath kill me". KAU Nairobi branch had formed a committee that controlled the oathing process (Osborne, 2015: 66). Paul Ngei who was the assistant secretary of KAU led the recruitment of the Kamba to Mau Mau by inviting them to Nairobi to take Oath. He also assigned politically minded Kamba's a duty to take the oath and spread the oath to the reserves (Brands, 2005; Nzole, O.I. 2023).

Since many of Kamba men had fled the arid conditions of the overcrowded reserves, the oath spread quickly in Nairobi. The Mau Mau oath developed swiftly in Nairobi as a result of the Kamba and Kikuyu mingling freely. While some Kamba people chose to take an oath, others were coerced into it by groups of Kikuyu and Kamba Mau Mau militants (Parsons, 1999: 690). Several Kamba groups circulated throughout the reserves signing up new members. The Kamba had formed a screening team known as "*Kwasya na Kwika*" meaning "to say and act". This team aimed at administering Mau Mau oaths to the Kamba, raising money for furthering Mau Mau ends in Ukambani and fighting to the end (Pro/wo/276/407/23: 1955). There was also a nonmilitant group of the Kamba who also supported the Mau Mau Movement. A Kamba corporal was executed in 1955 for providing ammunition to the Mau Mau rebels. This also indicates that Kamba police officers were passive supporters of the Mau Mau (Parsons, 1999).

Nzole (O.I. 2023) describes how he was captured by a group of seven men on the streets of Nairobi in Botela. He was forcefully directed to a dark room where he was forced to take the oath. Mau Mau was not as successful in the rural areas of Kitui East as it was in the city. It is more certain, though, that Kamba people were far more interested in events occurring in their reserves throughout the 1950s. The increasing economic value of cattle and African produced sisal, a favorite cash crop among Ukambani, made the

Kamba people more resilient to the return of famine, locusts, and drought in the late 1940s (Persons, 1999: 691). Considering all these events, it was not easy for Kamba people in the reserves to join Mau Mau. In 1951, Paul Ngei and other KAU representatives visited Kitui to advocate for African participation in politics; however, Kitui's Kamba did not heed the call as was anticipated. Additionally, the Kamba were not particularly enthusiastic about fighting because they had been devastated by the drought (Spencer, 1985: Katuku, O.I. 2023).

The colonial government did not sit idle and watch the Mau Mau spread. The colonial administration was aware of the danger that the Kamba posed by joining the Mau Mau rebellion considering their percentage in the army. For instance, 2,351 Kamba served in the army in 1957, accounting for 25% of all KAR citizens and 41% of all Kenyans in service. After two years, the army lowered the Kamba quota to 34% of the Kenyan KAR, but it was unable to alter the reality that 40% of army education instructors and 40% of East Africa Electrical and Mechanical Engineers made up the Kamba police. (KNA/LF/1/211/28: 1959). These figures illustrate how Kamba's in the military were able to influence the Kamba society.

The authorities restricted simple transit between the Kamba reserves, Kikuyu land, and Nairobi on the eve of the emergency, so preventing the spread of Mau Mau ideals to Ukambani. A traffic amendment was passed that limited vehicles' ability to travel from Kitui to Nairobi at night via Thika or Machakos roads. (KNA/DC/MKS/26/2: 1952).

Despite government's restrictions, Mau Mau had some success in recruiting Kamba of Kitui East into the movement. In 1953, there was a reported influx of the Kamba joining the Mau Mau in the reserves. The colonial government was compelled by this to establish the East Ukamba police force. The authorities effectively cut off the Kitui

district from Mau Mau in this way. Later, in 1954, the government established an east Ukamba Home Guard force, which included farm guards in addition to those armed with bows and arrows (KNA/MAA/7/250: 1954).

The government employed the tried-and-true strategy of "divide and rule" in an effort to drive the Kamba and Kikuyu apart. The British administration made sure that the Kamba reserves did not physically border Kikuyu territory. The state shifted Kitui to the newly established Southern Province in September 1953, removing it from the central province that it shared with the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru (KNA/PC/SP/1:1953). In addition, the state, through the employment of the army, forbade Kamba police from getting married to Kikuyu women and prevented those who had married them from taking their spouses home, as these women needed to be quarantined similarly to animals that had hoof and mouth disease. (KNA/DC/MKS/2/16/5/364: 1956).

The colonial administration in Kenya undertook numerous programs aimed at reinforcing Kamba's loyalty to the government (Osborne, 2014: 204). In 1954, it was the catalyst for the founding of the Kamba Association (AA). The objective was to bring the Kamba tribe together and to offer social services to those who worked outside of Kitui and Machakos (KNA/DC/KT1/1/11; 1954). Men from Ukambani whose loyalty to the government was beyond question were brought in to assist in the running of AA. Despite all the efforts employed by the AA, its impact was very minimal as their first meeting did not take place until 15 Jan 1955, when Mau Mau was in recession (KNA/DC/KTI/1/11:1954).

The Somali people of northeastern Kenya had little desire for independence in the years preceding the start of World War II, unlike Kamba and other Kenyan communities. The Somali nomads wanted nothing to do with the government and only to be left alone.

Finding water and new pastures for their cattle was their top priority (Zacharia, O.I. 2023). Similar to the Kamba, the Second World War caused the Somali people to become politically conscious. a large number of Somalis from northern Kenya served as soldiers in Somaliland, Burma, and North Africa as earlier discussed. It should be mentioned that not all NFD Somalis sided with the British in World War II. Many Somalis were drawn to Italian propaganda during the early phases of the war for the unity of all Somali Clan areas. Prominent individuals with anti-British views included Ahmed Hassan, the leader of the Mohamed Zubeir Clan. Ahmed made a trip to Italy in 1940 to seek monetary favors as a way of expressing dissatisfaction with British colonial policies (KNA/PC/NFD/1/1/9: 1940).

To counter the Italian's propaganda of Somali unification, the British introduced a policy of Greater Somalia in 1946. This was after the defeat of Italian forces in the Horn of Africa in 1941. To unite all Somalis, the British administration used a similar strategy it used to unify the Kamba during the Mau Mau revolt. It initiated the formation of a political party which would unite all Somalis. As a result, the Somali Youth League (SYL) was formed in 1946 and its branches were opened in many parts of the NFD including Wajir, Garissa, and Mandera (Drysdale, 1974).

The concept of uniting Somalia was endorsed by a number of British authorities. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, was one of them. He suggested establishing a "Greater Somalia" that would include the NFD and all other areas inhabited by Somali nomads (KNA/NFD/4/1/3). In 1945, Mr. Gerald Reece, the NFD's provincial commissioner expressed his opinion on the situation in the NFD when he sent a memorandum to the chief Secretary in response to the latter request for briefing on the possibilities of unifying Somali territories. He advised that to avoid international

frontier friction and to enable some social advancement to be made in the Horn of Africa, all Somalis should be united under one government. Mr. Reece supported the Bevin plan and stated that the NFD region was always likely to be a source of expense and embarrassment to the colony. The sentiments made by Mr. Reece were supported by chief military administrator Mogadishu who said “I am in complete agreement with Mr. Reece’s statement (KNA/PC/NFD/4/3: 1943).

Following the ban of Mau Mau and the SYL, there was a Kind of political vacuum in the period from 1953 and 1960. Leaders of Mau Mau and SYL had been detained and others exiled. Following the Emergency in Kenya on January 12, 1960, Kenya's struggle for independence continued. NFD question took center stage too. During the first and second Lancaster House conferences in the 1960s, these kinds of conversations took place. The construction of an African elected administration was one of the many demands made by the African elected members, along with the liberation of Kenyatta and other political prisoners. The inaugural Lancaster House meeting took place in 1960, and it was then that 37 out of 65 Legco seats were awarded to Africans. This was followed by the lifting of the sevenyear state of emergency and the allowing of Africans to form nationwide political parties. Like other political processes before this period, the formation of political developments took place against the will of the authoritarian colonial state. The Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and the Kenya African National Union (KANU) were born out of these realities (Ogot, 1972).

The two national parties had almost a similar agenda regarding independence. The issues of safeguarding ethnic and regional interests within the umbrella of the future Kenyan state raised a major point of conflict. The contentious issue between the parties on the applicability of either a unitary or federal constitution for independent Kenya

reached its high point at the second Lancaster conference held in February 1962 (Maloba, 1989: 52). The Kamba and Somali communities in Kenya identified themselves with KADU whose main concern was for the interest of the socalled 'small communities. Leading the charge were Ronald Ngala, Masinde Muliro, and Daniel Arap Moi, who advocated for the creation of regional governments (*Majimbo*) in place of the Westminster model unitary state that KANU supported, claiming that the latter would consolidate power in the hands of the majority party.

If KADU gained power, it would guarantee internal autonomy to the Somalis residing in northern Kenya. The Somali and Kamba groups in Kenya were polarized,

distrusting, and hostile toward one another under KADU rule. After reaching a settlement during the second Lancaster House conference, KANU and KADU decided to establish a coalition in order to prepare for the general election that KANU won in May 1963. The Kamba through their representative Paul Ngei welcomed KANUs win and were set to form government under the leadership of Kenyatta. On the other hand, Somalis of Northern Kenya refused to participate in the May elections in their push to be allowed to join Somalia. On June 1, 1963, Kenyatta took office as prime minister, and on December 12, 1963, the country gained independence. The Somalis of northern Kenya were gearing up for a conflict that would force them to join Somalia, while the Kamba and other groups celebrated their independence. The Second World War had profound and far-reaching impacts on KambaSomali relations. The war influenced sociopolitical dynamics, economic structures, and interethnic relations between these two communities. Interactions between them were notably affected by the events and outcomes of the war. During the war, the British colonial administration in Kenya recruited soldiers heavily from Kamba and Somali communities to support the war

effort as it has been discussed. The Kamba community, known for its martial traditions, contributed significantly to the Kings African Rifles (KAR). Many Kamba men enlisted, trained, and were deployed to various fronts. Their participation in the war effort bolstered their reputation and brought them into closer contact with the British military administrative personnel. In contrast, the Somali community in Kenya, largely pastoralists, who had a history of resistance against British colonial rule, had a different experience. The recruitment was less enthusiastic and many Somalis in Northern Kenya were wary of British intentions, given the history of colonial exploitation. Therefore, very few Northern Kenya Somalis were recruited in the army. This disparity in military involvement contributed to differing postwar experiences and interethnic perceptions between these two communities.

The war caused significant economic disruptions and shifts. For the Kamba, their involvement in the war effort brought some economic benefits to them. Many Kamba soldiers returned with new skills, monetary savings, and broad worldwide view, which they invested in their community. The British rewarded loyal service with development and educational opportunities in the Kamba region furthering economic development.

On the other hand, the Somali community faced economic hardship due to the war. The colonial administration did not support any form of economic development in the Somali region. The colonial administration-imposed restrictions on livestock movement and trade, which were critical to the Somali pastoral economy. Additionally, the British military presence and operations in Northern Kenya disrupted traditional grazing routes and markets, leading to economic strain for the Somali community. These economic disparities fostered resentment and tension between the Kamba and Somali communities.

The political landscape in Kenya underwent significant changes during and after the war. The British colonial administration sought to consolidate its control and reorganize its territories to better manage postwar recovery and development. For the Kamba, their loyalty and contributions to the war effort were rewarded with increased political representation and influence within the colonial administrative structures. This bolstered the Kamba's political clout and allowed them to advocate more effectively for their communities' interests. Conversely, the Somali community who had less involvement in the war effort, found itself politically marginalized. The British viewed Somalis with suspicion and often implemented policies that aimed to control and suppress potential dissent. This political marginalization was compounded by the drawing of arbitrary boundaries which grouped diverse Somali clans into administrative units that did not reflect their traditional social organization, leading to internal division and weakened political representation. The overarching outcomes of the Second World War and decolonization process was that the Kamba got into the confidence of the British and no longer viewed the Somali as key partners in any area of life. The Somali too never viewed the Kamba as close partners in any way.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have examined Interethnic relations between the Kitui east Kamba and the Northern Kenya Somalis during the World War two and after the war. During the war, both communities were recruited to fight on the side of the British. The Kamba people formed the largest number of Kenyans in the army while the Somali community was divided. A section of Somalis supported the Italians since it had promised to help them form a united Somali country.

We have demonstrated how decolonization process in Kenya gathered momentum after the Second World War through formation of political parties and movements. Both Kamba and Somali peoples formed political parties which at some point had different interests. The Kamba and other communities in Kenya formed political parties that aimed at liberating Kenya from colonial rule while the northern Kenya Somalis formed political parties that aimed at delinking northern Kenya to join Somalia. The study applied the theory of constructivism to examine how identities of the two communities were formed and how these identities shaped each community's perception to each other during and after the second World War.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary and conclusion of the study on KambaSomali relation and British colonial rule in Kenya from 1895 to 1963. The study was based on three premises. It proposed that the difference in the physical environment and in socioeconomic needs led to mutual interethnic relations between the KambaSomali communities. These were nevertheless punctuated by conflict, cooperation and coexistence. Second, the British pursued different policies in an effort to divide and cause animosity between the two communities thereby undermining their relations. Lastly, the relations between the Kamba and the Somali communities were characterized by tension and suspicion during and after the Second World War. The findings proved the assumptions therefore the research premises have been achieved. The findings were summarized according to the objectives of the study in correspondence to the research questions.

Chapter two interrogated the pre-colonial economic organization of Kitui East Kamba and Northeastern Kenya Somali which was significant in explaining the relations between the two communities before colonialism. Prior to the onset of colonialism, the study demonstrated how the Kamba and Somali traditional political institutions with their relation to the peoples social, economic and cultural spheres fostered the functioning, prosperity and perpetuation of these two communities. It was pointed out that in the reaction to their environment the Kamba and Somali throughout their history of origin, migration and settlement had effectively risen to develop reciprocity as a form of relation towards the end of the 19th century. The traditional institutions effectively

regulated the forms of interaction in the society and therefore ensured cooperation between the two communities.

The study established that issues of interethnic trust, interdependence and cooperation were evident in the past between the Kamba and Somali communities. The two communities helped each other in displacing the Galla from the Engamba ranch which strides both Kitui East and Bura Sub-Counties. This was a high level of cooperation exhibited by these two communities.

Given that conflict is part and parcel of any society, conflicts were experienced between these two communities in pre-colonial period. This study has analyzed aspects of conflicts which resulted from differential distribution of resource like water and pasture. Both Kamba and Somali communities had established political systems in the pre-colonial period which were used to solve conflicts. Clan elders in both communities were very much valued and decisions made by them were considered final.

Chapter three examined the method and nature of the establishment of the colonial rule in Ukambani and the Northern Frontier District. The study observed that these communities, like other communities in Kenya, expressed their desire to defend their rights and freedoms, their social and political values by steadily and systematically resisting the British colonial rule. By 1896 the Kamba people had been defeated by the British. The Somali resistance to British intrusion took much longer compared to the Kamba. However, the Somali were finally defeated and had to live as colonial subjects.

Following the establishment of colonial rule in Ukambani and NFD various social, economic and political pressures were imposed on the Somali and Kamba that greatly undermined the people's traditional values and institutions. The colonial government

through a system of indirect rule sought to regulate the affairs of the Kamba and Somali by introducing new institutions and imposing new policies on them.

The colonial power created “artificial” boundaries between the Somali and the Kamba people with the aim of limiting all forms of interaction between these two communities. As shown in the study, these two communities did not fully acknowledge the legitimization of the artificial colonial boundaries that separated them. These boundaries restricted the movements of those two communities under study such that they could no longer carry out their traditional roles and practices. Seasonal migrations in search of pasture and water were restricted leading to a lot of frustrations.

The colonial government-imposed taxation which at first was payable through livestock and later in monetary form. A large number of Kamba and Somali people were forced to seek wage employment in order to settle their taxes in form of money following the introduction of a monetary economy. The colonial chiefs were given the task of tax collection and were exempted from paying tax. In case an individual evaded tax payment, their property was confiscated.

Colonial economic policies were fully implemented in the period between 1920 and 1938. Laws and regulations were put in place in order to enhance exploitation of Africans and their resources. Land ordinances were enacted which permitted alienation of land for European settlers. Consequently, grazing and cultivation land like the Yatta plateau, Endau hill and Engamba were alienated for government use and Africans lost rights to those areas. This issue heightened conflicts between Kamba and Somali communities as they were forced to compete for limited grazing land and few sources of water. Prior to colonialism, they had had an understanding where they shared the resources in a specified arrangement with limited conflicts.

Grounded in the belief that pastoralists were unproductive, quarantines were introduced in Ukambani and in the NFD. These quarantines severely curtailed freedom and movement and hindered the ability to interact between those two communities. The colonial state introduced ordinances and regulations that hindered livestock trade between these two communities.

Chapter four delt with Second World War and decolonization process and its impact on KambaSomali relations. At the start of the war, there was recruitment of the Kamba and Somali communities to join the army. At first, both communities evaded conscription. Some of the members of these two communities become chiefs and were part of the group that harassed and took part in the process of conscription. As it has been discussed, Kamba members of the army fought on the side of the British but not all Somalis fought on the side of the British some clans joined the Italian army to fight against the British.

Conscription of able-bodied men into the army left the Kamba and Somali communities with shortage of labor force. Conflicts between the two communities went down since majority of the warrior who would participate in the activities that triggered conflicts had joined the army.

As the Second World War was coming to an end, the Africans had the desire for emancipation and self-rule. This was manifested in the formation of nationalistic movements like Kenya African Union (KAU). The Kamba community was part of KAU but the Somali community was not. This divided the two communities further. The collective and individual experiences during the Second World War, together with the economic hardships arising from it, were crucial in explaining the increase in Kamba and Somali political consciousness after the war.

The African associations with national perspectives were however detested by the colonial government since they threatened the existence of the whole colonial order.

The undemocratic nature of the colonial regime was exhibited in its banning of KAU and SYL together with other political organizations. However, even with such a colonial move, the period between 1945 and 1963 becomes a crucial one in Kenya's nationalist history.

The rise of nationalist consciousness was a product of a complex set of factors found at the international level, in Kenya colony as whole and in the region under study. As it has been demonstrated in the study, the rise of Mau Mau was one manifestation of the Kamba anti-colonial uprising. We pointed out how through Mau Mau the Kamba and other Africans who participated in it articulated their grievances and challenged the colonial *status quo*. The Africans opposition as we have noted mounted both in strength and purpose and were aimed not at rectifying the socialeconomic and political injustices but at overthrowing the whole colonial system in the country for good.

A state of emergency was declared in Kenya in 1953. There was therefore a kind of political vacuum from 1953 and 1960. The state of emergency was lifted on January 12, 1960. Two issues took center stage from 1960 to 1963. First was the call for independence and second was the NFD question. Two nationalist parties KANU and KADU were formed after the state of emergency was lifted. Kamba and Somali communities identified themselves with KADU. Towards Kenyans general election in May 1963, Kamba and Somali communities developed contradicting interests. The Kamba together with other communities in Kenya worked towards attaining independent while the NFD Somalis worked on delinking themselves and their region from Kenya and joining Somalia.

The study has established that issues of interethnic trust, interdependence and cooperation were crucial in the past. They helped neighboring communities to resolve their differences and even forged new alliances against outsiders like the case of Kamba and Somali uniting to fight the Galla. This study also found out that in precolonial times, elders from both sides of the communities played the role of resolving conflicts and enhancing harmony.

5.2 Recommendations

The recommendations emanating from this study are teased from the findings of the study which cover both cooperation and conflict. Whereas, the study ends at six decades ago, the issues examined have a lot of relevance to what has continued to take place since. In the light of the above, the following recommendations are made.

First, the study recommends that conflict can be resolved by critically analyzing the relationship between conflict and its historical development, which reveals deeper, longstanding issues that have affected the community over the years, rather than just addressing the surface level manifestations of the conflict. Secondly, the study recommends that it time to consider a paradigm from below in an attempt to create more harmonious interethnic relations. By, paradigm from below means recognizing the traditional importance of community elders and integrate them into the modern structure of administration and legal systems.

Thirdly, the study having found out that sociocultural factors play a greater role in influencing conflicts between these two communities, interethnic sporting, cultural and ethnic education activities should be emphasized in order to promote ethnic cohesion.

Lastly, the study recommends that the government provides core services such as: education and health facilities, proper infrastructure, and enough water points.

Furthermore, installation of additional police posts and providing them with better equipments would help in building trust for peaceful coexistence.

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KNA/C. O/820/34/34056/5	Inspector General's Report Northern Brigade, 1938
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KNA/DC/KTI/1/1/1/1918 Kitui District Annual Report,

KNA/DC/KTI/1/1/11 Kitui District Annual Report,1954

B. Informants

Serial No.	Name	Gender	Age	Location	Date
1.	Abdihassan, Oman	Male	69	Hola	15.11.2023
2.	Abdul, Hassan	Male	65	Kipini	27.12.2023
3.	Ayaan, Zuena	Female	69	Hola	14.11.2023
4.	Fadumo, Yusuf	Female	70	Garissa Town	30.11.2023
5.	Fatma, Omar	Female	63	Bangale	06.11.2023
6.	Hussein, Khadir	Male	88	Madogo	22.12.2023
7.	Ifra, Hassan	Male	86	Nanighi	10.12.2023
8.	Kalee, Rose	Female	46	Enziu	15.10.2023
9.	Kalewa, Doreen	Female	68	Mwitika	06.11.2023
10.	Kalunda, Kisilu	Female	68	Malalani	13.10.2019
11.	Kathina, Mutua	Female	75	Damsam	26.10.2023
12.	Katuku, Maithya	Female	86	Twambui	19.10.2023
13.	Khalif, Abdulrahi	Male	79	Wenje	21.12.2023
14.	Kieti, John	Male	85	Nuu	02.10.2023
15.	Kilinge, Musau	Male	58	Nuu	03.10.2023
16.	Kioko, Muteti	Male	72	Twambui	19.10.2023
17.	Kulu, Mutinda	Male	61	Endau	08.11.2023
18.	Layla, Zuhura	Female	85	Madogo	23.12.2023
19.	Maalim, Zuhura	Male	59	Bangale	05.12.2023
20.	Mohamed, Zuher	Male	70	Garsen	18.12.2023
21.	Musumali, Cecilia	Male	70	Zombe	01.11.2023
22.	Musyimi, Joseph	Male	66	Hola	15.11.2023
23.	Muthini, Kyule	Female	75	Ililuni	15.10.2023

24.	Mutinda, Kasyongono	Male	72	Zombe	01.11.2023
25.	Mutua, Kineene	Male	56	Malalani	13.10.2023
26.	Mwende, Muthengi	Female	66	Nuu	02.10.2023
27.	Mwikali, Mwema	Female	75	Nzambani	22.10.2023
28.	Mwikya, Mweu	Male	92	Endau	09.11.2023
29.	Nasteexo, Omari	Male	65	Bangale	06.12.2023
30.	Nzioka, Michael	Male	63	Twambui	19.10.2023
31.	Nzole, Mutune	Male	94	Endau	08.11.2023
32.	Omar, Fatur	Male	83	Bangale	01.12.2023
33.	Omar, Hussein	Male	61	Nanighi	10.12.2023
34.	Saadia, Oman	Female	67	Garsen	18.12.2023
35.	Somba, Mutongoi	Male	61	Mwitika	05.11.2023
36.	Yusuf, Khalid	Male	65	Bura Town	27.12.2023
37.	Zacharia, Hussein	Male	81	Madogo	22.12.2023
38.	Zawadi, Hassan	Female	77	Bura Town	27.12.2023
39.	Zubeida, Maalim	Female	74	Wenje	21.12.2023
40.	Zuena, Omar	Female	49	Garissa Town	30.11.2023

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Sample Questions Guideline

Part 1: Personal Information

Name:……..

Age:……..

Sex:……

Ethnic group:

Nationality……..

Educational and Background:……..

Address and Location residence…….

Part 2: Background Information on Community Relation.

1. What is your place of birth?
2. How long have you stayed in this place?
3. Do you have members of your family, clan or ethnic group staying in the area?
4. Please give a brief history of your ethnic community: Trace the migratory routes of our ancestors where they settled for specific periods, possible communities they interacted with nature of interaction and specific events associated with the migratory history of your ancestors?
5. Which other ethnic group live here? Have they lived here for a long time?
6. What are the activities and occupations of your neighboring communities/ Have such occupations and activities enhance inter community relations between your people and their neighbors? Explain.

Part 3. Factors specific to community relations in Kenya colonial period.

1. When did your community first come into contact with the Europeans?

2. What was the nature of their contact?

3. How did this contact affect your initial relations with the neighboring community?

4. What were some of the requirements expected of your community following the formal imposition of colonial rules by the Europeans in your area?

5.What were the effects of these requirements on the nature of relations between your community and neighboring ones:

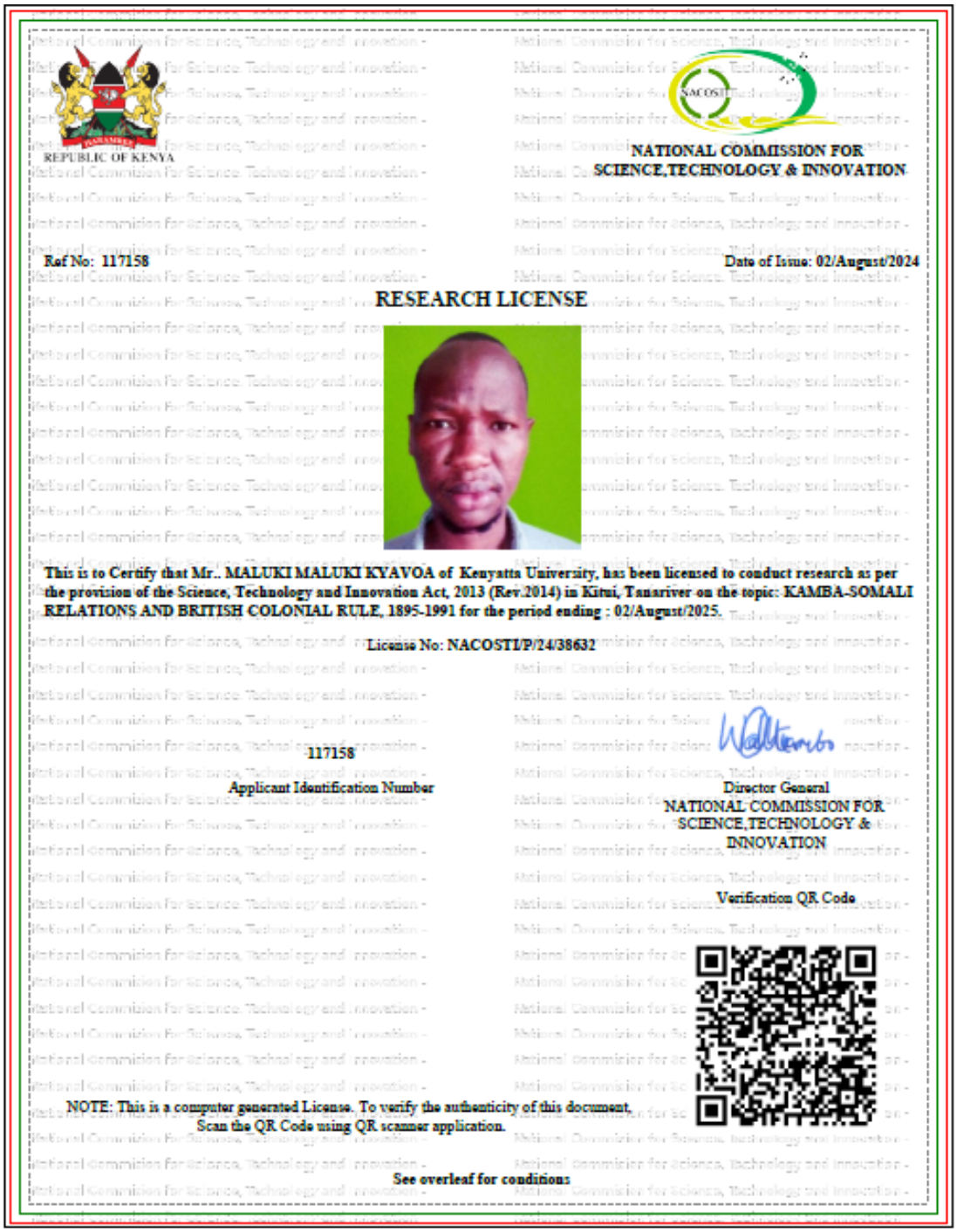
6. Could you list some of the common grievances upheld by you and your community towards these new changes? Explain.

7. What solution did you have to social political and economic changes that the establishment of colonial rule introduced this area and colony in general?

8. Did your community and the neighboring one engage in any common social, political and economic organizations during this time ? Explain.

9. How did the colonial government respond to the activities of such organization?

Appendix B: NACOSTI



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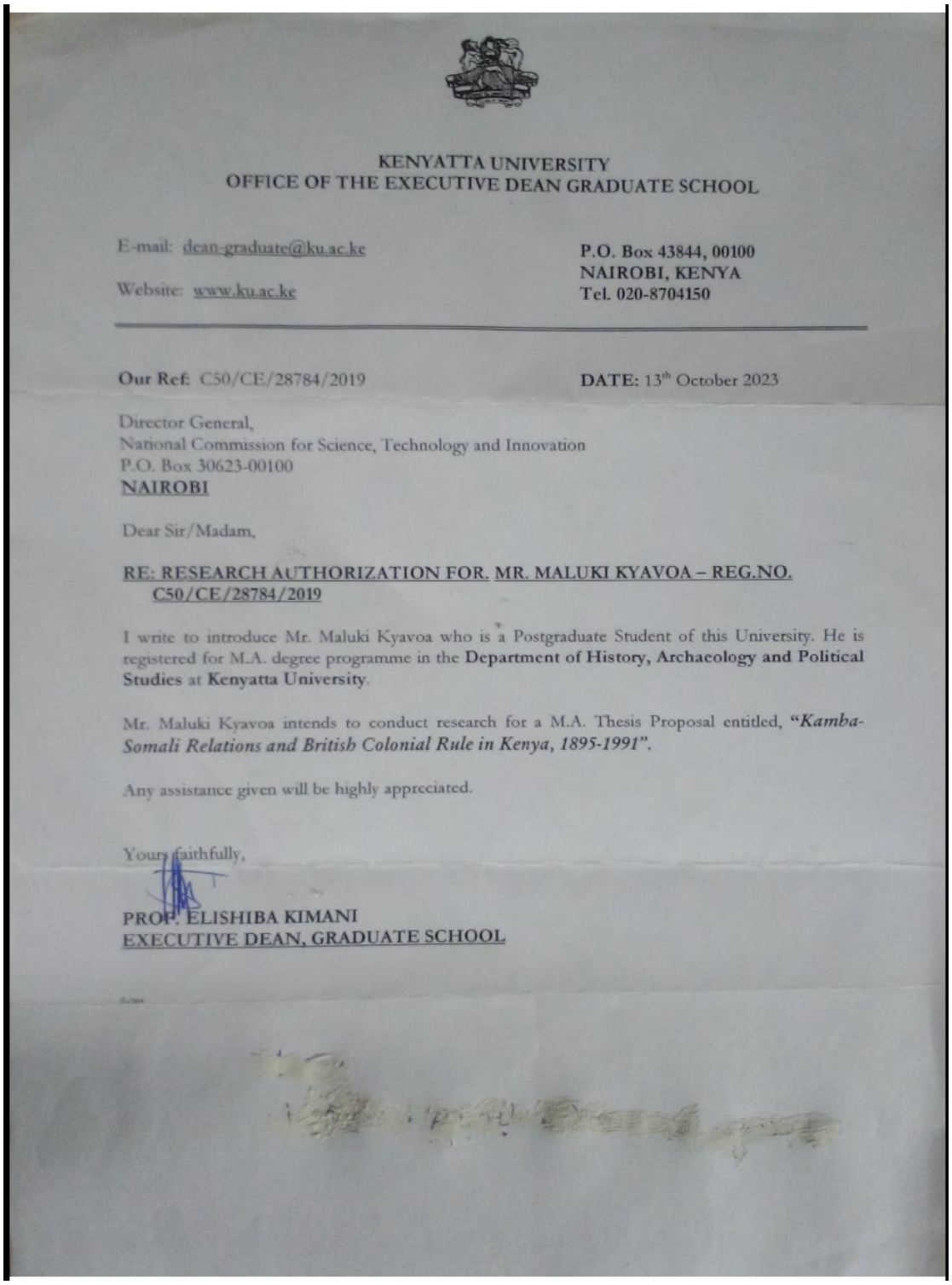
Appendix C: Research Authorization



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DEAN GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 020-8704150

Our Ref: C50/CE/28784/2019 **DATE:** 13th October 2023

Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR MR. MALUKI KYAVOA – REG.NO. C50/CE/28784/2019

I write to introduce Mr. Maluki Kyavoa who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for M.A. degree programme in the **Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies** at **Kenyatta University**.

Mr. Maluki Kyavoa intends to conduct research for a M.A. Thesis Proposal entitled, **"*Kamba-Somali Relations and British Colonial Rule in Kenya, 1895-1991*".**

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

PROF. ELISHIBA KIMANI
EXECUTIVE DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL