

**A HISTORY OF THE MOZAMBICAN MAKONDE PEOPLE OF KWALE  
COUNTY IN KENYA SINCE PRECOLONIAL TIMES UPTO 2016**

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**APRIL 2025**

## DECLARATION

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

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my family for constant encouragement while undertaking this research especially my late dad Washington Omwoa and my mum Josephine Omwoa. This work is also dedicated to my supervisors whose support and guidance made me to aspire to achieve.

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## **ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS**

<b>DC</b>	District Commissioner.
<b>EACC</b>	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission.
<b>FRELIMO</b>	Frente de Libertacao de Mocambiaque (Front for the Liberation of
<b>ICCPR</b>	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
<b>ID</b>	Identity Card.
<b>KDF</b>	Kenya Defence Force
<b>KHRN</b>	Kwale Human Rights Network.
<b>KISCOL</b>	Kwale International Sugar Company Limited
<b>KNA</b>	Kenya National Archives
<b>KNBS</b>	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
<b>KNHRC</b>	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights.
<b>KPS</b>	Kenya Police Service.
<b>KSEIP</b>	Kenya Social & Economic Inclusion Project.
<b>MUHURI</b>	Muslim Human Rights.
<b>NACOSTI</b>	National Commission for Science and Technology.
<b>NHIF</b>	National Hospital Insurance Fund.
<b>NMK</b>	National Museum of Kenya.
<b>PC</b>	Provincial Commissioner.
<b>TJRC</b>	The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission

**UNESCO** United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

**UNHCR** United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees.

**WW1** World war one.

**WWII** World war two.

## OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Ethnic-** A group of individuals with the same origin, values, language and beliefs. In Kwale, the Makonde people had a common language, origin and beliefs, similarly to the Mijikenda people who are the local natives at the coast.
- Makonde-** A linguistic group belonging to a cluster of Bantu speaking people. They trace their origin in Mozambique. They came to Kenya as migrant labourers to the European plantations at the coastal region.
- Marginalized Community-** Refers to a group of people that have been unable to get an access to some services or fully participate in the integrated socio-economic life of Kenya as a result of being considered as non-Kenyans.
- Minority-** It means that an ethnic group makes up less than half of the population of a country. Like the Makonde people in Kenya.
- Nyumba kumi -** Refers to village administrative leaders.
- Promulgation-** Refers to the act of declaring or the act of making a law known by putting it into effect, for example when president Kibaki promulgated the constitution of Kenya in 2010.
- Stateless -** Refers to an individual who is not considered as a national of a state in which he/she lives under its operational laws,

like the Makonde were before they were granted citizenship.

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

<b>Chibalo</b>	Colonial-era term for forced labour.
<b>Chiheri</b>	Mystical powers.
<b>Chiputu</b>	Girls initiation.
<b>Chirambo</b>	Bureaucratic unit among the Makonde based on geographical area.
<b>Chitala</b>	A meeting house for men
<b>Curanderos</b>	Traditional healer.
<b>Dimongo</b>	Strength, vigour and energy of people working together.
<b>Humu</b>	Clan leader; arbitrator of disputes in a Makonde matrilineage.
<b>Ingoma</b>	Cultural ‘rite of passage’ (females)
<b>Jando</b>	Initiation rite of passage for men.
<b>Kunawa mkono</b>	Paying debts owned by a deceased person.
<b>Likola</b>	Matrilineage or clan
<b>Likonde</b>	Fertile Land
<b>Likumbi</b>	Cultural ‘rite of passage’ (males)
<b>Lindandosa</b>	Invisible enslaved people
<b>Lipiko</b>	Singular of mapiko.
<b>Litawa</b>	Clans
<b>Litungulu</b>	Main fire used during festivals.

<b>Machamba</b>	Cultivated field (derived from the swahili word shamba)
<b>Machatwani</b>	Malevolent spirits.
<b>Machinima</b>	Benevolent ancestor spirits
<b>Mahoka</b>	Ancestral spirits.
<b>Makonde</b>	People in search of fertile land (likonde)
<b>Mapiko</b>	Helmet mask made of light wood (eg njala); also used to refer to the masked dance performed at male initiation rites.
<b>Mashetani</b>	Plural of Shetani
<b>Mchira</b>	Ritual paraphernalia.
<b>Mkukomela</b>	Specialist who performed circumcision.
<b>Mpingo</b>	African Ebony or Blackwood.
<b>Mwenyekaya</b>	Leader of the clan.
<b>Mwipwawe</b>	Chief.
<b>Nang'olo</b>	Village elder or settlement chief
<b>Ndona</b>	Ebony
<b>Njomba</b>	Elder brother from the mother's lineage
<b>Nnandenga</b>	Term for shetani, also known in Kiswahili as jinni.
<b>Nnungu</b>	Powerful god.
<b>Ntela</b>	Powerful impersonal force.
<b>Pepezi</b>	Ritual performed to avoid misfortunes.

<b>Pombe ya mkumi</b>	Beer.
<b>Shetani</b>	A spirit of the Makonde cosmogony that can be either good or bad,many interlocking human figures.
<b>Unyago</b>	Intiation rite of passage for girls.
<b>Uwavi</b>	Sorcery.

## ABSTRACT

The history of labour migrant communities in Africa is conceived in the context of the social, economic and political evolution of African societies. Across the globe, communities always experience various progressions from one another and also as time progresses, different changes occur in both societal aspects of a community. This study examined the history of the Makonde people of Kenya from 1936-2016 who came to Kenya as labour migrants. The Makonde people are an ethnic community who live in Kwale County. The objectives of the study were to analyse the social, economic and political history of the Makonde people from pre-colonial times up to 1936, to examine the extent in which the colonial labour policies and ordinances affected the Makonde labour migrants between 1936 and 1962, and to assess the changing relationship between the Makonde and the State in post-independent Kenya from 1963-2016. The study utilized Karl Marx's Labour Theory of Value and Exploitation. Also, Cultural identity theory was used. The study was carried out in Kwale County. Snowballing and purposive sampling techniques were applied to come up with a population sample. This research utilized both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was gathered from the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi while oral sources were collected through interviews and open-ended questionnaires. Primary data were collected from Kenya National Archives and also through oral interviews and open-ended questionnaires that were administered to identify respondents in the field. Secondary data was procured from Kenyatta University Library among other universities repository documentary centres. The primary oral data was analysed by first translating oral interviews from Swahili to English language, grouping data based on objectives, and verification of any possible contradicting information. This data was later corroborated with archival and secondary data and then presented in a descriptive narrative. From the findings of this study, the Makonde people who are found in Kenya today came from Mozambique in 1936 as labour migrants to work in European plantations in the coastal region. The study also found out that the Makonde people had proper social, economic, and political systems which guided their day-to-day activities; On the other hand, their social, economic, and political systems have experienced some transformation since migrating to Kenya. However, they have retained some of their old social, economic and political aspects which they practiced while in Mozambique. The study also found out that the Makonde people of Kenya have contributed to the economy of post-colonial Kenya in the tourism sectors through their sculpting activities. The study recommended that since the Makonde have been recognized as one of the Kenyan ethnic groups, further studies should be conducted to ascertain how the new citizenship status bestowed upon them has affected their relationship with their neighbours. It further recommended that studies should be conducted to ascertain how the Makonde have benefited from their new citizenship since lack of citizenship status had denied them the opportunities to acquire/buy land, access education, and health care as well as vote and seek elective positions.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.1 Overview**

This chapter presents background information, problem statement, general purpose, objectives and research questions. The chapter includes the significance, scope and limitations, literature review, theoretical framework and research methodology.

### **1.2 Background to the Study**

Several studies have been undertaken concerning the history of labour migrant people across the globe. Most of these studies provide coverage of migration, settlement, and social, cultural, political, and economic aspects of the community's history. In America the history of Haitian settlement in the United States of America dates back to the early twentieth century (Riveros, 2014). United States occupation of the Dominican Republic in the early twentieth century contributed to the Haitians being brought in as migrant workers. The main aim was for them to offer labour on the sugar plantations in which the United States of America had economic interests.

According to Cloud (1987), Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States in three main waves at the start of the nineteenth century, seeking employment in factories, agriculture, and gold mines, especially in the apparel sector. Railroad development in the American West was significantly aided by Chinese immigrants. Many Chinese labourers became independent business owners as they achieved success as labourers in the US. They encountered racial discrimination in all spheres of society.

East Indian people of America arrived in South America as labour migrants between 1845 and 1917 to work primarily in agriculture, lumber, and railway industries (Perry, 1969). According to Perry, the arrival of Indian indentured labourers into South

America appeared to solve the time's economic and labour-related crisis. It also saw the introduction of a new dimension to society's social and cultural fabric.

Islanders were brought to Australia as labour migrants between 1863 and 1904 to work on cotton and sugarcane estates in northern New South Wales and Queensland. The term "Kanakas" refers to these labourers. Forcible eviction from their houses was a common practice in their recruiting (Graves, 1993). More than eighty Pacific Islands were home to them, including Vanuatu (formerly called the "New Hebrides") and, to a lesser degree, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Kiribati, and Tuvalu.

Based on Bennoune (1975), the Moroccan community of France arrived as labour migrants as early as 1909. On their arrival, they were hired by factories in Nantes. Over 35,000 Moroccans worked in the French agricultural and mining sectors during World War One ( WWI), while others served in the French army. These workers were primarily recruited temporarily to compensate for Western workforce shortages.

In Asia, the Indian Tamil migrated to Malaya, which is currently Malaysia, as labour migrants for the British who needed access to cheap labour for large-scale agricultural projects (Spencer, 2013). They were employed to work on rubber plantations, the most profitable of these projects. Economically challenged South Indian peasants from the lowest of castes were the industry's labourers. The colonial government took advantage of their poverty and India's social stratification system.

The Javanese people of Malaysia are one of the largest groups who migrated to Malaysia from the archipelago as labourer migrants (Lockard, 1971, p. 52). Most Javanese were sent as forced labourers to various Southeast Asian regions. Between the

period of 1942 and 1945, the Japanese sent 200,000 to 300,000 Javanese into forced labour in Southeast Asia.

In Africa, several studies have been done about the general history of different labour migrant communities and their social, economic, and political aspects as they interacted with other communities. For instance, according to Harris (1994), between 1860 and 1910, the Mozambican people migrated to South Africa as labour migrants. They were to offer labour on sugar plantations, diamond fields, and gold mines. Many of them were migrants from a labour force recruited under duress. Instead of working for no or low wages in their own country, black Mozambicans preferred to work as cheap, indentured migrant labourers.

Banywaranda people of Congo entered Congo from Rwanda as labour immigrants during the colonial period (Mutambo, 1997, p. 41; Johnstone & Mandryk, 2001, p. 197). They went to offer labour at the Union Miniere Du Haut in Katanga from 1925 to 1929, where more than 7000 workers were employed; they continued with their work search, and a major influx of Tutsi Refugees entered Congo from 1959 to 1960, following a social revolution led by Hutu people under the leadership of Gregoire Kabyanda in Rwanda.

In Malawi, at the beginning of 1899, the Lhomwe people migrated from Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) into Nyasaland (Malawi) due to the Portuguese colonial policies imposed on Africans in Mozambique. They actively recruited them through the Nyasaland colonial government to work on European estates in southern Malawi to grow coffee, cotton, and tea (Boeder, 1984; White, 1984). Because of their precarious position as immigrants, the Lhomwe were seen as a desirable labour force because they were willing to perform difficult work for very low wages.

Amone (2013) claims that the Nubian people of Uganda were labour migrants who came from Sudan as colonial soldiers. The African Rifles Regiment of the colonial British King recruited them in the 1900s to support British military operations throughout British East Africa. The soldiers were stationed in several regions of Uganda, and then in East Africa and Somalia. After World War I, they were sent to different regions of Somalia and East Africa. They were relocated to Kasese, Bombo, Northern Uganda, and West Nile (North-Western Uganda).

The presence of South Asian migrant labourers in Uganda was deliberate by the British administration as early as 1894. The British brought them to the Uganda Protectorate under indentured labour contracts to work on the construction of the Uganda Railway. The Indian diaspora in Uganda dates back to British colonisation (Vali, 1976). From the beginning of the colonial occupation, British administrators used temporary Indian workers as well as mercenaries from the subcontinent's north. Indian shopkeepers sold goods to the Indians who built the first railway to Uganda. These Indian shopkeepers stayed after the railroads were finished, selling to their fellow citizens, the British, and, most importantly, to the much larger indigenous African population.

In Kenya, several scholars have written about the history of different ethnic communities their migration and their social, political, and economic organization. Based on Salim (1983), the Yemen-Arabs of Kenya came to East Africa as labour migrant groups, soldiers, or traders searching for a better life. Yemen did not involve itself in politics until after the Second World War. The Yemeni immigrants were concerned with labour and commercial enterprises. Yemeni left Politics to the Omani aristocracy.

According to Adam (2012), the presence of Indians in Kenya dates to the period 1890s to 1900s. The British brought Asians to East Africa as labourers to construct the Kenya-Uganda railway. As early as the 1900s, the indentured Asian settlement was seen in East Africa. The Indians decided to stay over in Kenya even after the construction of the railway hoping to be acknowledged as citizens of the country due to their input to the economy but this took a longer period than their expectation.

Nubians are another community that got themselves in Kenya as migrant labourers during the colonial period (Isaboke, 2011). They came to Kenya from Sudan as soldiers under the sway of kings African Rifles around the 1880s. After the Second World War, they opted to settle in Kenya and some other parts of East Africa to attain citizenship. The Nubians mostly live in Kibera, Kisumu, Mumias, Kisii, Isiolo, Kapsabet, Eldama Ravine, Migori, and Meru.

According to UNHCR (2020), the first group of Rwandese people came to Kenya's in 1930, the second in 1945, and the final in 1957, crossing Lake Victoria from Tanzania and settling in settler camps. The 1994 genocide massacre in Rwanda brought even more Rwandese into Kenya's borders. There are currently "Kambi Nyarwanda" camps in Kericho and Kisii counties. They had been recruited to travel to Kenya by Belgian colonialists to work in the vast tea plantations owned by the British colonial administration in Kericho and Bomet.

The Makonde came to Kenya to offer labour on the European sugar and sisal plantations. However, they have remained among the minority and marginalised people in the country despite entering the country as early as 1936 (Opiyo, 2015). Their lack of nationality in Kenya made them unable to access national identity cards and obtain services that required the identity card.

The Makonde people of Kenya have been living in the country since the colonial period. They have been at the centre of inequality, injustice, and structural violence (Kombo, 2018). They were the pacesetters and pioneers of Kenya's stateless community to be registered in 2016 following the new constitutional dispensation of Kenya in 2010. According to Mwanyumba & Ong'onda (2018), the Makonde people of Kenya are among the minority and inferior languages found in Kenya's coastal region because few people speak the language. They speak the Kimakonde language. It is worth noting that the Kimakonde language spoken by the Makonde people of Kenya is becoming endangered due to their association with the coastal people and the use of Swahili as a mode of communication.

Studies have been conducted on the Makonde people in Kenya. Opiyo (2015), Bosire (2017), Mwanyumba & Ong'onda (2018) and Kombo (2018) have written about the Makonde of Kwale but from different perspectives. None specifically addresses the Makonde people's comprehensive historiography in Kwale County, Kenya. Scanty or little scholarly attention has been given to the historiography of Makonde people as migrant labourers in Kenya.

The marginalization of the Makonde people contributes to little scholarly attention given to their historiography as a laborers migrant ethnic community in Kenya. In this aspect, this study sought to examine and fill the gap in the history of the Makonde people by tracing their origin, migration, and reasons as to why they moved from their cradle land to the present areas. The study also aimed to assess their social, economic, and political transformation resulting from their interaction with local communities since they settled in Kenya. It also examined how the Makonde people contributed to Kenya's colonial and post-colonial economies.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The Mozambican Makonde people of Kwale County, Kenya, represent a unique transnational ethnic community whose history has largely remained underrepresented in both Kenyan and East African historiography. Their socio-political, cultural and economic experiences particularly those related to migration, identity formation and integration have not been adequately documented, despite their lengthy history in the area, which dates back to precolonial times. Prior to their official recognition as Kenyan citizens in 2016. Most of their history remained undocumented this gap regarding their marginalization, contributions to local development, and the dynamics of their statelessness. This research attempts to critically reconstruct the history of the Mozambican Makonde people from Kwale County, emphasizing how their identity, cultural adaption, and political struggles have changed over time.

## **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- i. To analyse the socio-economic and political history of the Makonde people from pre-colonial times up to 1936.
- ii. To examine the extent to which the colonial labour policies and ordinances impacted the Makonde labour migrants 1936-1962.
- iii. To assess the changing relationship between the Makonde and the state in post-independent Kenya 1963-2016

## **1.4 Research Questions**

The following research questions guided the study:

- i. How did the pre-colonial people of Makonde organise themselves socially, economically and politically?

- ii. How did colonial labour policies and ordinances impact the Makonde labour migrants?
- iii. How has the relationship between the Makonde and the state changed in post-independent Kenya?

### **1.5 Research Premises**

This study was premised on the following propositions:

- i. Pre-colonial Makonde socio-economic and political organisation was based on a belief system, family kinship and age-group system.
- ii. Coercive labour policies, a heavy tax burden and wage reduction impacted heavily on Makonde immigrants.
- iii. Makonde people were always labelled as 'outsiders' despite their vested interests in the communities in Kwale County.

### **1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study**

The history of the Makonde people of Kwale has not been the subject of any historical documentation. Thus, this study was justified because it contributes to knowledge about the Makonde people. This research is significant for several reasons. The study aims to contribute to a more inclusive Kenyan historiography by conserving the oral and undocumented history of the Makonde people of Mozambique. Knowledge of the Makonde's fight for recognition can help guide current debates in Kenya and elsewhere about citizenship, identity, and the rights of stateless and minority groups. Furthermore, limited academic literature exists that thoroughly examines the Makonde people of Kenya. There is a gap in the material that is currently available because it mostly focuses on the Makonde in Tanzania and Mozambique. This research will shed light on the ways in which trans-border ethnic groups adjust, compromise, and change who they

are in reaction to social and political forces in their host nations. In addition, by shedding light on the Makonde's experiences of marginalization and integration, the study adds to the current national conversations about ethnic inclusion and unity hence social integration.

The choice of Kwale County as the study area was relevant because the Makonde community in Kenya primarily resides in Kwale County. This area was a major entry in 1936 and refuge point for the Makonde during and after the Mozambican liberation fight (1960s–1975) and during the Mozambican civil war (1977–1992), according to historical documents and oral testimony. Makonde migration and settlement were made easier by the county's closeness to both the Indian Ocean and the Tanzanian border. Additionally, the Makonde family's pursuit of Kenyan citizenship resulted in a presidential proclamation in 2016 in Kwale. Kwale County offers a more authentic representation of the community's distinct socio-political dynamics, historical continuity, and lived experiences than any other location could. The historical isolation and statelessness of the Makonde people were highlighted by research conducted by the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR, 2015), which identified Kwale as their primary settlement and political activism area. Furthermore, the Commission helped in pushing the government to grant them citizenship. The Makonde people have a long history in Kwale, and the African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC) has observed their participation in the post-independence sugar plantation economy in places like Msambweni and Shimba Hills.

The pre-colonial period was selected as the start of this study so as to capture their social, economic and political history before migrating to Kenya in 1936. The year 2016 was chosen because it is the year when the Makonde were granted citizenship and

identified as one of the ethnic communities of Kenya. Given the role played by the Makonde labour migrant people in the economy of Kenya and the fight for citizenship among stateless people, scholars need to research more about their history. The studies available are not historical. Historical documentation on the history of the Makonde people of Kwale County is extremely scarce. This makes this study crucial and significant.

The choice of Marxist labour theory of value and cultural identity theory was relevant because both the theory have helped in explaining why the Makonde migrated from Mozambique to Kenya as well as the transformation they underwent as a result of colonial government and their interaction with the Kenyan local communities at the coast.

The study is thus significant in that, apart from enriching the historiography of the Makonde labour migrants in Kenya, it expands the historical studies of Makonde in Kwale County. The research findings on the history of the Makonde people who are labour migrants are significant because they provide more information about the marginalization of labour migrants in Kenya.

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

The research was confined to Kwale County, located on Kenya's south coast. Kwale County was formed from the former Coast province in March 2013 due to devolution in Kenya based on the 2010 constitution. The County comprises four sub-counties, namely, Matuga, Msambweni, Kinango, and Lunga Lunga, with twenty wards. Kwale County forms part of Kenya's Coast Region, with its headquarters in Kwale town. The County borders the Republic of Tanzania to the South West, Taita Taveta to the West and North West, Kilifi to the North and North East, Mombasa to the East, and the Indian

Ocean to the East and South East. The study focused on the history of the following areas where the majority of the Makonde reside, namely: Mangwei, Gazi, Kinondo, Ramisi, Makongeni, Funzi, and Kigwende sub-locations of Kwale County. 1936 was chosen as it marks the settlement of Makonde people in Kenya from Mozambique. The year 2016, on the other hand, served as a convenient date to end the study because the Makonde people were recognised as Kenyan citizens.

### **1.8 Limitation and Delimitation of the Study**

The challenge incurred during field research was the reluctance of respondents to divulge important information; this might be due to fear that the government wants to get some information about them with the intention of arresting them. This challenge was dealt with by creating a good rapport with them and assuring them as informants that the study was for academic purposes. Respondents were shown research documents from the government and university as proof that the research was for academic purposes only. Another challenge was the vastness of the study areas. The study employed research assistants and staff from human rights organisations, especially organisations and individuals that had been in the forefront in assisting the Makonde in their quest to champion for their recognition as Kenyan citizens. Tracing respondents for the interview was also another challenge. However, the research collaborated with the area chief and Makonde community leaders to trace the respondents, making data collection a success.

### **1.9 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

#### **1.9.1 Overview**

Literature on the history of the Makonde labour migrant people of Kwale County is scanty. Few scholars, such as Opiyo (2017) and Kombo (2019), among others, have

looked at their marginalisation and struggle for citizenship; Mwanyumba and Ong'onda (2018) have looked at the Makonde people's language. Both scholars have mentioned the Makonde people's history briefly.

Dias & Magot (1964) posits that "Makonde" refers to a type of landscape later adapted by the people who stayed on it. Different names referred to people living in the lowlands and the coast. Further, Dias says that the name Makonde means fertile land in the Shimakonde language and a place without water. This study was significant to the current study because it informed the study on the oral tradition of the Makonde people. However, it did not look at the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

Dias & Magot (1964) asserts that the Makonde people are a Bantu-speaking community based on their traditions; their original homeland was southwest of Negomano, which lies south of Lake Malawi (Nyassa), and this is where they moved from to Mozambique. The study was vital to the current study because it addressed the origin and migration pattern of the Makonde people, which this work intended to examine. However, the study did not explain the migration of the Makonde people of Kenya from Mozambique, which this study aimed to look at.

Liebenow (1971) contends that Ndonde, found in the west Plateau of Masasi in Mozambique, is believed to be the Makonde people's original homeland. He argues that at Ndonde, a section of the Makonde people gathered at the beginning of the first half of the nineteenth century. After settling in Ndonde, they stayed in the region for about 20 years before moving to the Plateau. This acted as a way of escaping frequent attacks from the Ngoni people. The study was important because it informed the current study

on the origin and migration pattern of the Makonde people. However, Liebenow's work did not examine the migration of the Makonde to Kenya.

Green (1981) demonstrates that, based on history, the Makonde ethnic community of Tanzania came from Mozambique. The Makonde people used to live along the high plateaus north and south of the Rovuma River. According to Green, several researchers have identified the Makonde origin along the Rovuma River. Some Makonde immigrated to Tanzania when slavery, missionaries, explorers, and military occupation arose. The study was significant because it informed the current study on the origin and migration pattern of the Makonde people. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

The Makonde ran to escape oppression and take refuge in peaceful Tanzania. The economic pressures in Mozambique also contributed to another movement of Makonde to Tanzania. After World War II, the sisal industry expanded, which made many Makonde people seek employment on the sisal plantations. In contrast, others moved to Zanzibar to work on the clove and coconut plantations. Their neighbouring communities knew them as Mawia, and they were referred to as the angry people (Green,1981). The study was important because it informed the current study on the reasons for the migration of the Makonde people from Mozambique. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya, something that this study explores.

Marie (1981), notes that the northward migration occurred throughout Mozambique's liberation period. This was due to the conditions that they were experiencing as a country. The Makonde lived as per their customary laws and maintained many of their traditional practices, and this was because they had established their permanent homesteads in areas they had moved to colonize. She observes that many

transformations have taken place in their manner of life and beliefs. Her work does not explain the settlement and migration of the Makonde into Kenya. However, the work was relevant as it provided insight into the present study of their social organisation before settling in Kenya.

In a separate study, Newitt (1995) writes that the Makonde people were well known to have occupied the present Cabo Delgado coast from the mid-1700s and began to occupy the Mueda plateau from the late eighteenth century. The Makonde people moved out of the Plateau following the increase of the slave trade in the region and lengthy and damaging wars with their neighbours, Ngoni and Yao. Newitt further argues that in an environment where small, disorganised communities were threatened, the internal trade in enslaved people helped protect settlements by building up their strength or status. The study was important because it informed the current study on the reasons for the migration of the Makonde people from Mozambique. Like Marie, Newitt also fails to address the Makonde people of Kenya, creating a similar research gap that this study aims to bridge.

The Makonde's ethnic identity came up as a result of interaction among people with different origins who had no settlement on the Mueda plateau immune to the slave trade, whether as victims or perpetrators. The Makonde settlements sometimes included people who had been taken captive from the lowland settlements and the area surrounding the Plateau or absorbed people who often came from Yao or Makua communities that had taken refuge in their land (West,2005). The study was important because it informed the current study on the social organisation of the Makonde people while in Mozambique. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

Sirs (2005) affirms that the Makonde people, one of the ethnic groups in Tanzania, came from northern Mozambique. He argues that the majority of the Makonde stay in Mozambique. Makonde is well known for its wood carvings and is considered the best in Africa. Gregory *et al.* 1998:14 assert that civil wars and their living standard, which were terrible in Mozambique, led many thousands of Makonde people to traverse to Tanzania. The community moved in search of a better life and refugee. These studies were significant because they informed the current study on the reasons for the migration of the Makonde people from Mozambique despite not mentioning the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to examine.

Stoner (1998), states that the first Makonde settled along Ruvuma. The Makonde first being was not fully human. He was unwashed and unshorn. The creature stayed alone along river Ruvuma for longer and became lonely. This made him carve a female figure from wood to be his companion and place it upright in the sun by his abode. The following day after sunrise, the figure came into life as a beautiful Makonde woman who became his companion. The study was important because it gave this subject a historical approach and explored more of Makonde's cultural aspects in Mozambique. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

A 2015 UNHCR study opines that the Makonde people started streaming into the country as early as 1936 from Mozambique. These immigrants previously served as labourers in European plantations at the coast. KNBS statistics (2009), posits that the total population of Makonde is 4,000 in Kwale County. After Kenya gained independence, the Makonde people lost their formal working jobs on the Kenyan plantations, and this was in the 1990s following an order from the government regarding non-Kenyans' employment. Although this study did not talk deeply about

their social, economic and political aspect, it provided insight into the reason and migration of Makonde people into Kenya.

After Kenya's independence, the Makonde were not issued identification cards. However, they were given a D.C. card, which allowed them to work and pay taxes. The communities later received alien cards meant for identification purposes (UNHCR, 2015). The study was vital to the current study because it addressed the Makonde life after Kenya gained independence. However, it failed to examine the Makonde's social, economic, and political transformation after independence.

KNHCR (2016) asserts that the Makonde are situated on both sides of the river Ruvuma, which acts as the border between Tanzania and Mozambique. The Makonde people of Kenya arrived in the country in two waves; the first group arrived from Mozambique to work as labourers in European plantations on the coast. Their movements led to most settling in Tanzania while others came to Kenya. The second group moved into the country to escape the wars emanating from struggle for independence in Mozambique. During the fights, the Makonde fled to neighbouring Tanzania, and some moved into Kenya and settled on the coast. Although this study did not analyze their social, economic, and political transformation, it provided some relevant insight into the migration and settlement of the Makonde in Kenya.

Dias & Magot (1964) observes that the Makonde people were both well-known and feared because of their acts of raiding the people living at the Plateau's edges during the 19th century. During their raids, they were kidnapping women and marrying them, and as a result, they were increasing the numbers in the group. The study was important because it gave this subject a historical approach and explored Makonde's cultural

practices. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

The Makonde people, Makua, the Yao, and the Mwera are among the ethnic communities considered matrilineal who had close historical relationships with the matrilineal belt of central Africa people (Wembah-Rashid, 1975, p. 16). There is no clear information on when these communities settled in southeast Tanzania, exceptionally because they were not centrally governed and lived per clan. The matrilineal Makonde, Makua, and Yao moved northward from present Mozambique and Malawi (Liebenow, 1971, pp. 20-23; Ilife, 1979, p. 8; Halijoma, 1997, pp. 14-44). These studies were vital to use because they gave this subject a historical approach and explored Makonde's cultural aspects. However, the study did not mention the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to examine.

Schneider examines body decoration in Mozambique. He observes that in the Makonde community men and girls by women did the process of tattooing among boys (Schneider, 1973). The Makonde tattoo artists were "professionals" who acquired skills from their parents or other family members. He further posits that the Makonde tattoo artists doubled as traditional healers known as *curanderos* in treating particular medical diseases. The Makonde referred to tattoos as *demos*. The study was important because it gave this subject a historical approach and explored more of Makonde's cultural practices. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

During the Makonde tattooing procedure, those boys and girls with darker complexions lost their courage in case they had to be tattooed a second or third time for the tattoo to be visible. Those who ran away were mocked and even threatened by the woman who

acted as their "godmother" during the demo rite. The tattoo ritual was a sign of courage and belonging among the Makonde. It was a form of skin-cut tattooing, and immediately, the cuts were made; vegetable carbon from the castor bean plant was rubbed into the incisions, producing a dark colour (Schneider ,1973). The study was important because it highlighted the cultural practices of the Makonde people.

Wembah-Rashid (1975) argues that the Makua, the Yao, the Makonde, and the Mwera shared cultural and social characteristics. Among the Makonde and these other ethnic communities, they lived matrilocally by clans (ukoo) within their societies before Ujamaa, and there was the existence of female clan heads (mwenye) either traditionally or by necessity. He further argues that, based on research about the life histories of women in a village with a majority of Yao and the maternal clan owns a minority of Makua and Makonde, most of the land. The study was important because it shed light on the current study on the historical background and explored more of Makonde's cultural aspects. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

Dondeyne (2003) writes that, among the Makonde people, legal children inherited equally in principle when the parents die. When a Makonde wife becomes a widow, she will get half of the husband's inheritance and return to her parent's village accompanied by the husband's parents. He further argues that, despite Makonde people belonging to their matrilineal clan, inheritance has become bilineal, and most marriages are patrilocal. Therefore, women have the same rights over land, although the locality of marriage makes it difficult to sustain control over land. These studies were significant because they gave the study an insight into the social practices of the Makonde. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

Grund-Khznader (1981) states that the traditional Makonde carving focused on the Mapiko masquerade masks used as part of the initiation and other small figurative or functional items. Men always wore the Midimu masks; the mask was not worn over the dancer's face, but over his forehead; a circular piece of material was attached to the mask to hide the face of the person wearing it but through which the actor could see. The masked dances were meant to pass a subtle message to the women, reminding them to accept a strictly patriarchal society that existed among them. These rituals justified the sternness of the initiation training and forged a bond between elder initiates, new initiates, and non-initiates. The study was important because it gave the study an insight into the cultural practices of the Makonde. However, the study did not address the cultural practices of Makonde people in Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

Professional dancers and musicians participated in the masked dances of the Medium; singers and percussionists accompanied the Makonde masked dancers. *Mapiko* masks used were mysterious and powerful; they represented a category apart from benevolent ancestor spirits known as *machinima* or any of several categories of known malevolent spirits known as *machatwani*. All the masks made by Makonde professional actor-dancers were destroyed and disposed after being used for three consecutive seasons. Previously, women and non-initiated children were not allowed to witness the masked performances. However, nowadays, they can participate in the chorus (Grund-Khznade,1981). The study was important because it gave the study an insight into the cultural practices of the Makonde. However, the study did not address the social transformation of the Makonde people in Kenya, which this study aimed to look at.

Stoner (1998) asserts that these two Makonde couples washed together for the first time in the Ruvuma River, after which, at the banks of the river, the woman delivered a dead fetus. He argues that the couple travelled a few distances from the previous place, but

unfortunately, the woman delivered a dead baby again. Finally, they travelled to the Plateau, which was where the woman successfully delivered a baby and survived. The study was important because it gave this subject a historical approach and explored more of Makonde's beliefs. However, the study did not address the Makonde people of Kenya's belief in their origin, which this study aimed to look at.

Stoner (1998) affirms that it was at the Plateau where the Makonde couple had several offspring within the highland, and these children became the first forefathers of the Makonde. The term Makonde used to refer to the community comes from the word '*content*'. It means wetlands beside the river. These studies brought some insight into the beliefs that Makonde had about their origin, which this study aimed to look at, especially the Makonde of Kenya, who are a minority group that scholars have not adequately addressed their history.

Rashid (1992) asserts that the initiation custom of both sexes among the Makonde community in their original homeland was practised. This was approximately once every five to seven years. The initiation acted as a passage from childhood, allowing them to be integrated into adulthood. He argues that the boys and girls who were taken in for initiation were between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The initiated boys have been segregated away from girls. Girls stayed within the village but outside their parent's houses, while boys were taken to camps in the bush. The study was helpful because it gave this subject a historical approach as well as explored more of Makonde's cultural practices. However; the study did not address the social transformation of the Makonde people of Kenya after moving into the country, which this study aimed to look at.

The Makonde initiation ceremonies appeared to have supported the broader development of carving activity. Wise teachings and cultural heritage of the preceding nature were known, preserved, and passed on from the older generation to the younger generation. This was done by specialised people and in initiation institutions. They also practised facial clarification, which was done on each side of the face or the forehead. The tattooing ritual among the Makonde people was a sign of courage and belonging and an outward sign to show that one was a Makonde (Rashid,1992). The study was insightful because it highlighted the historical background of the Makonde while in Mozambique. Despite analysing all that, it fails to look at their social transformation culturally, especially among the Makonde of Kenya, which this intends to tackle.

Stoner (1998) asserts that the Makonde community had a dance known as "Mapiko," which refers to a mask and a dance. It was linked to traditional graduation ceremonies at the end of boys' and girls' initiation. The Mapiko mask is worn during the dance performed by Makonde men at initiation and other ceremonies. The dance showed men in influential roles and often instilled fear in women and children. The dancers pretended to be spirits. Mapiko was a figure of fear representing negative or bad things. However, the study looks at only one aspect of the cultural practice: ritual dance. Hence, this study looks at other cultural practices of the Makonde in Kenya and their transformation since their migration from their original homeland.

Kraal (2005) argues that most Makonde are either Muslims or Christians. Makonde people were great believers in *ntela*. They worshiped ancestors and celebrated rituals with dances, and wear tribal masks that embody evil spirits. Makonde believed that their father ordered them to bury their dead ones in an upright posture; this was to be in the memory of his wife. This was all because she came into life from a wooden figure set upright, and through that, she became the procreator of all the Makonde. He also

cautioned them on settling in the areas at the valleys and around streams because the areas were prone to diseases and death. The study applied to the present study as it tried to highlight the issue of the social-cultural practice of the Makonde people in general, though it does not mention the transformation on which this research is set to work.

Sirs (2005) affirms that the Makonde community is a matrilineal society, which means they trace their family lineage through their mother. Due to matrilineal status, men moved into the wife's family. Men had several wives, making them move from one village to another. Sirs (2005) asserts that, unlike some communities in Tanzania, the Makonde are matrilineal. Though their cultural practices are dynamic, children and inheritances always belong to the mother. It is acceptable for men to shift to their wives' village after marriage. This study was important because it informed the current study about the cultural practices of Makonde. However, it emphasised the Makonde people of Tanzania, leaving out those in Kenya.

Bortolotti (2007) posits that among the Makonde community, the lipiko are also often known as Mapiko, a term used for masquerade dances and worn during the dance. Based on the Makonde people's traditions, the Mapiko dances were performed by adult Makonde spiritual leaders in celebration of initiation ceremonies that marked the welcoming of young boys and girls into new stages of their lives where they were taught the skills of adulthood, traditional songs, dances, costumes, and cultural secrets observed within the community. The study was helpful to the current study because it shed light on their cultural practices, though it does not mention the transformation on which this research is set to address.

The Mapiko was used to honour those who were recently deceased. Despite the outside world's influences, there are still more Mapiko now than before. However, these

practices have changed. Although they are performed at initiations, today, the paramount significance of these ceremonies is to bring the communities together to celebrate and communicate more truths about gender, power, and the past. The ceremonies have given them a chance for the Makonde to express themselves, understand the realities of surrounding world and resultant impacts on their identity (Bortolotti, 2007). The study was vital because it gave the present study a historical approach and room for more exploration of Makonde's social and cultural life. However, it failed to mention the social transformation, which occurred after moving to Kenya, where this research is set to work.

Tooth and lip mutilation are among the practices that were observed among the Makonde people.(Fabian & Mumghamba, 2007) Observes that the Makonde people of Southeast Tanzania practiced lip mutilation as a part of initiation rituals into adulthood. Women mainly practiced lip mutilation. It involved piercing the frenulum of the upper lip, and after that, a wood plug varying from 0.5 to 2 cm in diameter and 2 to 4 cm long was inserted. The wood was known as *ndonya* in the Makonde local language.The study applied to the present study as it tried to highlight the issue of the social-cultural practice of the Makonde people in general, though it does not mention their transformation while in Kenya which this research was set to work.

Tattooing and tooth mutilation was carried out on the face, this was done to all Makonde males, and women could also perform lip and tooth mutilation. The primary reason the Makonde people performed both tooth and lip mutilation as one of their cultural practices was to indicate that a person had matured, therefore being promoted to adulthood from childhood (Fabian & Mumghamba, 2007).The study was helpful to the current study because it shed light on their social and cultural practices.However , it

does not mention the social practices done by the Makonde of Kenya which this research is set to work.

Krutak (2008) posits that based on the Makonde spiritual life, they adhered to a cosmology that was controlled by a powerful impersonal force known as *ntela* as well as the appeasement of the ancestral spirits known as *mahoka* who sometimes are good or evil, and a concept of omnipresent bush spirits known as *nnandenga* and sorcerers who were believed to be evil. The Makonde people often called upon *Mahoka* to send cures for sickness and ensure harvest or hunting success. The study was important because it informed the study about the cultural practices of the Makonde people while in Mozambique, although it does not mention the social beliefs observed by the Makonde of Kenya.

Krutak(2008) writes that the spirits of ancestors among the Makonde people served as mediator between the living and *Nnungu*; a powerful god turned to during major droughts when the Makonde collectively prayed for rain. He further asserts that, based on the wrong order, *Mapiko* which was well known as spirits of the dead only terrorized women and the non-initiated. On the other hand, sorcerers created invisible enslaved people from humans called *lindandosa* that were sent to the agricultural fields to work their evil magic. The study was vital because it gave the present study a historical approach as well as room for more exploration of Makonde's social and cultural life, however, it did not address the spiritual beliefs of the Makonde of Kenya.

Rohrer (2010) argues that masks among the Makonde people constitute the first sculptures created by the Makonde people for the realization of rituals. These masks worn on the head, especially by the men, represented evil and good spirits during ceremonies such as initiation. The good spirits among the Makonde symbolize the

Makonde ancestors, including their first mother. The study was vital because it tried to highlight the issues of social and cultural practices of the Makonde, it did not highlight the social practices observed by the Makonde of Kenya which the study intended to fill the gap.

Timothy (2022) posits that The Makonde people are found in Kenya, northern Mozambique, and southeast Tanzania. During Makonde initiation rituals, masks are worn. Boys are sequestered for several months during their initiation. During this time, they are circumcised and instructed in adult behavior norms, marital expectations, traditional songs and dances, and other valuable skills. Celebrations are organized in the village upon the young men's arrival, and masked dance performances are among them. A male dancer portraying a young, expectant woman wears this kind of body disguise in addition to a feminine mask on his face. Together with a male figure wearing a mask, the dancers simulate sexual activity and portray the difficulties of pregnancy and the agony of childbirth. The study was significant because it gave the present study a historical approach to Makonde's social and cultural life. However, the work did not address the Makonde in Kenya, which the study intended to fill the gap.

Timothy (2022) affirms that, during Makonde's initiation, young men and women are prepared for their future responsibilities as spouses and brides through the ceremony. This mask's tummy has patterns cut into it. These patterns are applied to people by making incisions in the skin, which are then painted a dark blue colour using castor oil and vegetable charcoal. The end effect falls in the middle of scarification and tattooing. According to the Makonde, tattoos close to the navel offer protection from evil spirits. In the past, many Makonde individuals had facial tattoos, but they are now uncommon. The study was helpful to the current study because it highlighted the social and cultural practices and beliefs of the Makonde people, although the work did not sufficiently

address the social transformation after settling in Kenya ,which the study intended to fill the gap.

Panofsky (1961) asserts that labour migration is shifting wage earners from subsistence agriculture to areas of wage employment. It occurs not only in agriculture but also in the industrial sectors of the economy. When the slave trade thrived in various areas of Africa, northern Mozambique and central Tanzania established great routes for acquiring enslaved people. Some of the Mozambican Makonde were affected by it and moved to Tanzania. The general laws of capitalist development in Africa are believed to result from imperialism. The survival of commercialism and its operation was predicated on stripping Africans of their lands. The capitalist process began after the Berlin Conference of 1885. This was when the Europeans got into an agreement to share Africa and took the initiative of controlling their protectorate in Africa through ruthless force. The study was helpful because it highlighted reasons that made Makonde settle in Kenya, which this study intended to examine.

Most of the Makonde practised farming; they practised "stump cultivation". Kraal (1963) affirms that most Makonde practised farming and lived in small villages. The Makonde mainly cultivated food crops such as rice, maize, and cassava, which could sustain them. He further argues that those who lived adjacent to the coastal area and near river Ruvuma practised fishery. The study was vital because it gave the present study a historical approach to Makonde's economic life before migrating to Kenya, although the work did not address the economic aspect and their transformation after settling in Kenya, which the study intended to fill the gap.

Marie (1981) affirms that the Makonde movement resulted from the high demand for labour on the plantations and the mines during the imperial period. She argues that the

demand for labour made men from the Makonde community travel further north into Tanganyika for work. The study was important because it gave the present study reasons that contributed to Makonde's migration from Mozambique, which the study aimed to look at. However, the work did not sufficiently address the social-economic and political transformation, which the study intended to fill the gap.

The Makonde people have been able to interact with their neighbours; this has been witnessed since the colonial period. As a result of their interaction, some of the Makonde people could intermarry with the locals with the hope of acquiring citizenship. KNHCR (2015) asserts that among the Makonde, the prevalence of identity cards was less than 15 % of their total population, and that was either the Mozambican or the Kenyan identity card. Those with Kenyan identity cards had acquired them through marriage, especially among women who had married Kenyan men. The study was vital because it shed light on the present study on Makonde's social interaction with the local communities on the coast. The work did not sufficiently address their political transformation, which the study intended to fill the gap.

UNHRC (2016) asserts that the Makonde people of Kenya are not eligible for citizenship even though they settled and formed families in Kenya for an extended period. UNHRC (2016) argues that Makonde people cannot access the full range of vital services that most Kenyan citizens take for granted, such as primary healthcare, obtaining loans, and registering for financial services. The study was helpful to the current study because it shed light on their stay in the country after acquiring citizenship. The work did not sufficiently address the social transformation, which the study intended to fill the gap.

The promulgation of 2010 Kenya's new constitution restored hope to the minority groups in Kenya. This did not exclude the Makonde, who were among the marginalised and minority groups that got into Kenya as labour migrants. The new constitution cancelled discrimination of nationality and allowed dual citizenship. The new Citizenship Act in 2011 created a temporary policy for stateless people. It applied to those who had stayed in Kenya during the colonial period and could trace their ancestry in Kenya. The dispensation allowed them to apply for Kenyan citizenship. This was a new dawn for the Makonde people of Kenya. It motivated them to fight for citizenship, granting them citizenship in 2016 and being recognised as the 43rd ethnic community(Opiyo,2017). The study was helpful to the current study because it highlighted Makonde's life in Kenya after independence, although the work did not sufficiently address the socioeconomic and political transformation, which the study intended to fill the gap.

UNHRC (2015) argues that Makonde is among the few communities that have held on to their roots and traditions. The Makonde are a strong community, having tolerated life on the margins for over half a century. Their fight for survival is a fact evident even from their creation myth. The study was vital because it shed light on the present study on Makonde's transformation as a result of interaction with the local communities at the coast, although the work did not highlight the socioeconomic and political transformation, which the study intended to fill the gap.

According to a report by a representative from UNHCR in partnership with Haki Center, KHRC, Haki Africa, and the Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa (2015), the majority of the Makonde, close to 90%, live in Kwale County in the south coast of Kenya, a small number are found in Kilifi and Mombasa counties. Most Makonde people live in rural areas, and 40% of the reported marriages are between them and the

local communities, such as the Digo, Duruma, and Giriama. The study was helpful because it illuminated the present study on the Makonde's interaction with their neighbouring communities at the coast, although the work did not sufficiently address their transformation, which the study intended to fill the gap.

Opiyo (2017) asserts that the Makonde have been stateless during their period in Kenya. Their teenagers who had reached the age of 18 years were not capable of applying for identification cards. In addition, every childbirth in their community is not recognised through the Issuance of Birth Certificates. She argues that legislature and policy gaps limited the recognition of Makonde as citizens during and after independence; hence, they have always been viewed as a minority group. The study was important to the current study because it highlighted the conditions of the Makonde after Kenya acquired independence. However, the work did not sufficiently address the social-economic and political transformation, which the study intended to fill the gap.

Kombo (2019) writes that the Makonde people of Kenya have been living in the country since independence. The Makonde community has been at the centre of inequality, injustice and structural violence. The Makonde communities were the pacesetters and pioneers of Kenya's stateless community is to be registered in the new constitutional dispensation of Kenya. The study was important to the current study because it highlighted the conditions of the Makonde in post-independence Kenya.

Mwanyumba Ong'onda (2018) observes that the Makonde people of Kenya are among the minority and inferior languages in the coastal part of Kenya. They speak the Makonde language and use it in ceremony administrations; the study notes that the Kimakonde language spoken by the Makonde people of Kenya who came from Tanzania is endangered. The work was helpful but not directly related to the current

study because it provided the basis for analysing and understanding language transformation among the Makonde people due to interaction with their neighbouring communities.

West and Sharpes (2002) link the shetani sculptures produced by contemporary woodcarvers in Mueda and elsewhere in Mozambique to the world of witchcraft and to living beings (both good and bad) able to transform themselves into sorcerers. These sculptures consist of distorted human being representations and human-animal forms. The Shetani sculptures are examples of modern Makonde Art that appeared after the 1960s (Kacimi & Sulger, 2004; Stout, 1966). The study was important to the current study because it highlighted the beliefs of the Makonde and carving.

Rohrer (2010) explains that the Makonde had a sculpture called Sculpture in Relief. This type of carving was also called sculpture in high relief since what remained from the bole was its centre. Within this style, one could get busts and human and animal shapes. The first consists of the starting point of a trainee who wants to become a sculptor or, in their own words, a master. Mapiko sculptures among the Makonde people are masks consisting of either the facial side or they may completely cover the head and some part of the bust. Most probably, the Makonde men's first motivation was to carve wood by making masks for ceremonial rites purposes or the personification of ancestors for adoration and contemplation (Kammerer-Grothaus, 1991). The study was important to the current study because it highlighted the Makonde carving activities. However, the study looked at the Makonde in Mozambique and did not mention the Kenyan Makonde.

UNESCO (1994) argues that the Makonde are renowned for their sculpture. Their sculptures are represented by intertwined human figures performing chores in a tall,

round shape. They assert that the sculpture in the UNESCO collection represents the Ujamaa style, also known as Dimongo. It depicts all family duties that are shared and performed in common. This works a puzzle on what the exact endeavour of the Makonde was. Therefore, it is necessary to undertake the study to examine their transformation in the socioeconomic and political lives of the. Doing that will help in resolving the dilemma about their economic life as well as their social life.

Hill (2000) argues that early Makonde art was mainly centred on the mother figure. This probably was because of their belief about their origin in the awakening of the female sculptor. However, the art later expanded to take different themes from everyday life happenings, such as love and passion, good and that which is evil, a man's relationship with animals, social relationships existing within the community, religion, fears and anxieties, struggle, hardship, and conflict. The Makonde people's art has shown itself in social and religious ceremonies, such as initiation rites expressed through masks. Although their mask can represent masculine or feminine faces, they mainly represent Makonde men. The study was important to the current study because it highlighted the Makonde beliefs toward their carving activities, although the study highlighted the Makonde in general, not mentioning those in Kenya and their transformation.

Hill(2000) writes that the Makonde artists in their carvings were traditionally encouraged in their interpretations and creativity rather than specific stylistic conventions. Like all African art, the Makonde art is as durable as the Makonde. As with all sculpture, the Makonde sculpture expresses how the artist views life as prompted by the shetani forces. Their Sculptures were carved from wood with animal and human features representing deities of fertility, wind, lightning, and the spirit of dead ancestors who would protect and defend the living. The study was important to

the current study because it highlighted the Makonde carving activities and beliefs in their sculptures. However, the study looked at the Makonde back in Mozambique and did not highlight the Kenyan Makonde carvings.

Bevan (2003) asserts that Makonde people are acknowledged for their skills in the intricate carving of drummers. Apart from that, they were known as hunters and dancers. They are well known for wood carving throughout the world. Sirs (2005) observes that throughout the African continent, the Makonde are renowned for their excellent carving skills and are considered the best traditional wood carvers. The men were the ones that were doing the carvings. Women were not allowed. These studies were relevant to this work because they tried to highlight some brief history of the Makonde people's economic activities in Mozambique, although they did not look at the Makonde of Kenya, which the current study aimed to look at.

The creation myth about the Makonde community tries to explain the birth of the tradition of wood carving. Makawa (2009) observes that in Tanzania, wood carving is primarily done by the Makonde people, who mainly use the "Mpingo" tree to make the carvings. Most Makonde now make carvings for business purposes. Makawa argues that despite the carving practices, the Makonde moved into Dar-as-salaam to offer their labour as watchmen and security guards. The teenagers started working as street vendors. They did this in search of a better life, which they believed could be within towns rather than the village. The study was important to the current study because it highlighted Makonde's beliefs and economic aspects. Despite this, the work did not talk about the Makonde of Kenya's economic practices after moving from Mozambique; thus, there is a need to fill the gap.

Rohrer (2010) contends that the Makonde sculptors represent natural people in their carvings; this means that people are placed in real and concrete situations in life. The sculptures sculpted are either of a woman going to the *machamba* (shamba) to cultivate accompanied by her children or a solidly united community. The Makonde sculptors always have the inclination to represent themselves in their sculptures. As a result of such thoughts, Rohrer further argues that it can be assumed that the beauty in the Makonde sculptures relies on how far they can imitate a real-life event or circumstances. The study was helpful because it informed this study about the Makonde belief in their sculptors., although the study lacked information about the Makonde of Kenya's belief in their sculpted sculptors.

According to the Kenya Social and Economic Inclusion Project (2018), the Makonde people have intermarried with coastal people. KSEIP argues that the Makonde people's involvement in wood carving enabled them to interact with the Kamba community, who are also wood carvers. The study was important because it informed this study about the carving activity of the Makonde and their interaction with other activities as a result of wood carvings, although it failed to address the social and economic transformation the Makonde underwent after interacting with their neighbours, which this study intended.

National Museum of Kenya (2020) observes that the Makonde people are renowned for their wood carving prowess. Based on research by the National Museum of Kenya(NMK), the Makondes' elaborate masks and figurines tell more about their generational stories. They further argue that their female figurines are standard and usually depicted in concepts that represent the myth of the birth story and survival of the Makonde community. Their breasts and stomachs are engraved with lizards because they believe this reptile can increase fertility in women. In addition, the faces of these

carved figurines have been beautified with Makondes's scarification on cheeks, forehead, and mouth. The study was important because it informed this study about Makonde's economic activities. Despite all that, the study did not highlight the economic contribution of the Makonde to colonial and post-colonial Kenya, which the study aimed to look at.

NMK (2020) asserts that the Makonde wood carvers carve expressive sculptures during their carving process. The sculptures representing their people are created with delicate, harmonious attributes, while those of their enemies are carved with ridiculous and distorted features that make them look deformed. Their Ujamaa carving style represents the Makonde family tree, featuring streams of people participating in their daily activities. The figure is carved out of wood, and a female figure always stands at the top. According to the National Museum of Kenya, the Makonde sculptors have developed new styles of carving spirit figures. The study was important because it informed this study about the sculptures of the Makonde, although the study did not highlight the economic contribution of the Makonde to post-colonial post-colonial Kenya, which the study aimed to look at.

Kraal (1963) states that among the Makonde people, the largest family unit was the clan, which comprised several extended households divided into several clans. He argues that Njomba was the most important man in the lineage, the elder brother to the household's mother. Clans were administered by the chiefs appointed by their predecessors, who regularly chose the sister's son, slipwa. The study was vital because it informed this study about the political aspect of the Makonde. The study failed to address the political aspects of the Makonde in Kenya, which this study aimed to fill the gap.

The Makonde traditional village was situated on the Plateau and safeguarded from visitors. The village was usually the home of a small kinship group. The small kinship group was recognised to belong to one Nikola under the leadership of an elder. The elder was known as nang'olo, where Kaja or the nang'olo were shilambo (Dias & Magot, 1964; West, 2004, p. 23). Their settlements were distributed across the Plateau, each composed of a separate political unit. The study was helpful because it informed the present study about the political organisation of the Makonde back in Mozambique, although it did not address the political transformation that the Makonde experienced after moving to Kenya.

Stoner (1998) contends that the Makonde people operated on the jurisdiction of their kinship group or law, which the Mwenyekaya headed. The chirambo was a bureaucratic unit based on geographical area, and the mkulungwa headed it. The duties of mkulungwa entailed allotting land to migrants, offering advice, and appeasing the spirits and ancestors on behalf of the community. The study was vital because it informed this study about the political organisation of the Makonde back in Mozambique. However, it failed to highlight the Makonde of Kenya after moving from Mozambique.

The Makonde matrilineal society was organised into clans called litawa. Each law had a leader called Mwenyekaya; they also had groups called Chirambo based on the geographical proximity of different clans. The clan leader was called the Mkulungwa and was usually an elder who was the first migrant to the area (Stoner, 1998). The study was vital because it informed this study about the social and political practices of the Makonde back in Mozambique, although the study did not highlight the political transformation of the Makonde due to interaction with Kenyan communities, which the study aimed to look at.

From the literature reviewed above, it is evident that as much as there is abundant documentation pertaining to the Makonde people, continentally, regionally and within parts of Kenya, the history and social, economic, and political transformation of the Makonde has been largely ignored by scholars. The study, therefore, attempted to fill this gap.

### **1.9.2 Summary of Literature Review**

In conclusion, the various studies cited herein have revealed that the social, economic, and political transformation of labour migrants is not only a case of Kenya but a regional and wider global concern. The advent of colonialism brought about changes and impacts on labour. This was witnessed by people moving from one region to another to offer labour. Makonde people are labour migrants who came to Kenya from Mozambique to work on European plantations. The literature reviewed indicated that some studies have been done about the Makonde people. Nonetheless, several gaps must be filled since the research did not sufficiently address the social, economic, and transformation of the Makonde people of Kenya. Most of the works looked at the Makonde people of Tanzania and Mozambique living out the Kenyan ones; those that looked at the Makonde in Kenya were not historical; they mostly highlighted the statelessness and marginalisation of the Makonde. Apart from that, most works failed to look at their social, economic and political transformation history. This study, therefore, tried to fill the gap by looking at the historical background of the Makonde people of Kenya and investigating their social, economic, and political transformation from the pre-colonial period, the colonial period, to the post-colonial period.

### **1.10 Theoretical Framework**

The study employed the Marxist theory of Labour value, evolution theory and cultural identity theory to investigate the history of the Makonde people, specifically their

socioeconomic and political transformation since the colonial period. The central pillar of traditional Marxian economics is the labour theory of value. Marxian economics focuses on how labour contributes towards the development of the economy. Marx was a 19th-century philosopher, author and social theorist. This work is best evident in his book "Capital," published in 1867. The best-known advocates for this theory were Adam Smith in his book *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and David Ricardo in his book *Principles of Political Economy* (1817). The hypothesis's primary claim is to measure a good's value without any biases. One has to observe the average number of labour hours required in the production process of that particular commodity. The tenets of labour value theory are ;labour determines value,equal labour means equal price and labour is the foundation of value.According to the tenent of labour determines values, it implies that the amount of labour needed to make something determines its price in the market. On the other hand, the tenent of equal labour means equal price implies that if two products require the same amount of labour to produce,then their prices would be equal. Lastly on labour is the foundation of value, is that labour is the foundation of exchangeable value within a civil society.

According to Marx's perception, production was the progression of capital by a capitalist to make a profit. The capitalist was to invest an extra sum of money over and above to acquire non-labour means of production to make profits (Marx, 1845).Adam Smith (1776) asserts that for a nation to prosper wealth-wise, the spirit of vitality, intelligence, and pragmatism from the people within that nation is required. He argues that within an unevolved society, for the production of a good to take place, there must be the presence of sufficient labour (Smith, 1776). Nonetheless, the author argues that in a more progressed society, there is compensation to the labourers, which entails looking at the value of the good, hence making the market price no longer equivalent

to the labour cost. He further argues that the labourer does not own the whole product of labour. Ricardo (1817) argues that the monetary worth of a good is proportional to the energy invested in the labour necessary for its production; this involves the labour needed to produce the raw materials and machinery used in the process. Ricardo believes that the monetary worth of a good or the magnitude of the good is determined by the relativity of the quantity of labour essential for its production. The bourgeoisie does not compensate workers for the fair price of commodities produced; instead, they give the workers allowances based on only mandatory labour alone (Marx, 1845). Ricardo argues that an imperative image of the guaranteed totality of economic value production is always achieved through labour value theory, which will always allow for the accurate deductive analysis of its apportionment into functionally relevant parts. He further argued that worker wage only covers the primary means of sustenance to maintain him working in the present. Marx (1845) asserts that the basic labour produced by the proletariats is necessarily only a portion of a full working day; the capitalists would take over excess labour as profit.

Karl Marx contends that under capitalism, the class of capitalists always forces the proletariats to work longer than the required time to provide for their subsistence. The capitalists exploit the proletariat by ensuring that they have exhausted the surplus value produced by labour, which is the value or output above the value of their wages. He argues that all means of production are possessed by capitalists who are the bourgeoisie; the capitalists always exploit the workers who are the proletariat hence they need to offer labour in order to survive. Labour is the primary source of value production. According to Marx, an employee's labour is in the form of an asset. He felt that an unfair imbalance between capitalists and the labourers who were being exploited for their good was generated by commercialism. In return, the exploitation made the

workers view employment as the only way to survival. Marx argued that for commodities to be exchangeable in the market for sums of money, it resulted from labour (Marx, 1845).

In addition, Karl Marx argues that within the capitalist economy, a value that acts as the source of wealth has led to workers being paid based on their value. Value is determined by a good's particular utility for an actor, and when that excellent results from human activity, he further contends that it is essential to know the value as a product of concrete labour and qualitatively defined labour. The bourgeoisie can bargain labour capability from the labourers, who can only offer their labour skills in the marketplace. Capitalists always compensate the workers less than the value produced by the labour offered surplus labour results in capitalists' profit.

The theory of labour value was used in the explanation of how the Makonde were recruited to offer labour to the British and the relations between the capitalists (British) and the workers (Makonde). In this study, the capitalists are the British, who were the colonial government. At the same time, the Makonde workers got into Kenya as labourers to work on European plantations. The two depended upon each other; the capitalists depended on the workers who were to provide labour, and at the same time, the workers expected to pay for the labour they had offered. The capitalists always exploit the proletariats to benefit more. The theory will be used to give an explanation of the British employing the Makonde on their plantations and how they were exploited. It will also help in explaining the economic activity of the Makonde people. Despite all that, the theory has a weakness. It accords more attention to the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists and social change within the society. It does not address the cultural practices and transformation issue, which this study aims to study.

Given the above weakness of the theory, the study shall be augmented by cultural identity theory. Mary Jane Collier and Milt Thomas first theorised cultural identity theory in 1988. Cultural identity theory explains why an individual will always act and behave the way he or she wants. According to Collier and Milt, the features of cultural identity and how group member expresses their identity are determined by the ethnography of expression and social development. The theory suggests a relationship between intercultural competence and cultural identity.

Culture results from people sharing similar assumptions, morals, thinking patterns, and behaviour acquired and shared. Culture gives a community a sense of identity within them; it also ensures survival and enhances the sense of awareness. Identity is the definition of oneself. It is how one perceives oneself. According to Lustig (2013), intercultural competencies and cultural identity are said to be related, according to theories of cultural interaction and identity development. It focuses on how people construct and defend their shared cultural identities and relationships in specific contexts through communication processes.

Cultural identity is the sensation and feeling that an individual has of being a member of a specific group or culture. It offers education regarding and acceptance of cultural origins, customs, language, heritage, religion, aesthetics, thought processes, and social systems. Individuals absorb and identify with the ideas, values, customs, and social activities of their culture (Phinney, 2000). This theory holds that cultural identities are dynamic because they are a product of dynamic social environments. It can also be defined as the framework of values that serve as tenets for significant symbols and ways of life that people share with one another, even if they are not part of clearly identifiable organisations. (Boski et al., 2004). In addition, he characterizes it as a social identity that alludes to a person's strong sense of "We-ness" or belonging to a group and

evaluating themselves against others. The permanent and evolving components of identity are a central tenet of the theory of culture and identity formation. This elucidates the ways in which various social, political, economic, and contextual elements influence the evolution of cultural identity. This theory is more appropriate for analysing the history of the Makonde people because it clarifies historical events that have persisted and those that have altered throughout time in response to external conditions.

Cultural identity theory helps in offering identity to a group of people. Collier and Milt (1988) assert that the elements of this theory are ascriptions and an avowal, which tends to explain what causes cultural identity and how they are passed across to one another; avowal involves one being able to convey his/her views about a group identity while ascription is the way others try to discern an individual. This can apply to the study on how other ethnic groups in Kenya view the Makonde and how they view themselves. The second one is modes of expression, which describes how members of a cultural community highlight their identity by using names, symbols, and conventions that are fundamental to that group. Through this, the study will be able to come up with information on what the Makonde people observed when naming their children and the norms they followed. The third type of identity is relational, communal, and individual. It describes how people understand who they are, how they maintain relationships, and how they utilise communication to reinforce their common identity. The next one discusses the enduring and changing characteristics of identity and how many social-political, economic, and contextual circumstances can cause cultural identity to change. Through this, it shall be easier to get information on the transformation of the Makonde in both contexts. Salience prominence is the final one; it refers to the extent to which

an identity is expressed in a task and the degree to which an individual's cultural identity is noticeable and draws interest. This makes culture become part of the self-concept.

The theory of cultural identity is relevant to this theory because the Makonde people came from Mozambique and settled in the coastal part of Kenya in Kwale County. They have interacted with the local communities, making them adapt to some of the customs; some of the Makonde speak the local language, have a sense of homeland, and, to some extent, a dense social network. This study employed the theory to investigate and analyse the social, economic, and political transformation of the Makonde of Kenya. When people interact with one another, socioeconomic and political changes occur due to various societal factors. The theory and labour value theory was used to analyse the history of the Makonde people and their transformation and to interpret the factors responsible for their migration from Mozambique. These two theories will put into spotlight the history of the Makonde community; this will be majorly on the reasons for their migration from their original land, how they contributed to the economy of colonial and post-colonial government as well as the transformation that they have experienced as they interact with their neighbours.

### **1.11 Research Methodology**

#### **1.12 Overviews**

This section discusses the key components of the research methodology, including research design, research location, sample size, target population, sampling technique, sampling tool, data collection, procedures and data analysis procedures.

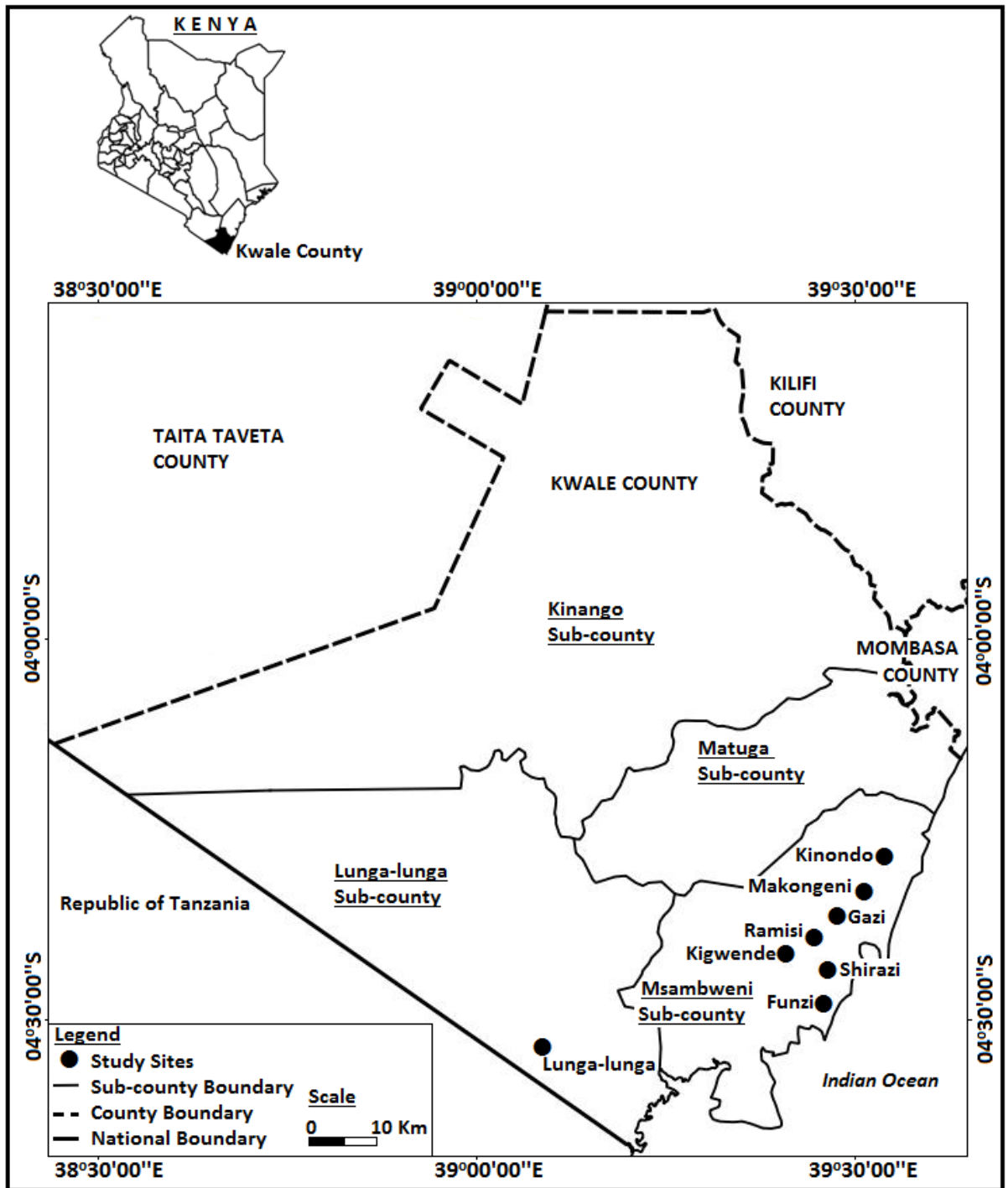
#### **1.13 Research Design**

The research design that was employed in this study was descriptive. A descriptive design was suitable because it enabled the acquisition of sufficient information from

many respondents, which the research targeted. Additionally, the researcher used a qualitative method, collecting primary data from respondents via semi-structured questionnaires and interviews. Qualitative research is chosen in this study because it is well-suited for small-scale analysis, in-depth investigation, and exploring extremely confidential and sensitive topics. The main focus of the study was to find out the reasons for their migration and settlement in Kenya as well as the establishment of their social, economic and political transformation upon their settlement in Kenya on the one hand and their social, economic and political contribution to the Kenyan society.

#### **1.14 Area of the Study**

The study was undertaken within Kwale County of Kenya in the Msambweni region, which is the area inhabited by the Makonde people. The study sampled the key areas in Kwale County: Kigwende, Kinondo, Gazi, Shirazi, Funzi, Ramisi and Ukunda. Kwale County forms part of Kenya's Coast Region (formerly Coast Province) (KNA, PC/COAST/3/1/8/43). The County borders Mombasa to the east, Taita Taveta to the West and North-west, Kilifi to the North and North- east, and the Indian Ocean to the East and South-east. The County borders the Republic of Tanzania to the South-west. (Shauri, 2017, KNA-PC/COAST/3/1/8/21)). See Figure 1.1 on the following page.



**Figure 1.1: A Map Showing the Area of Study  
Location of the Study Sites in Kwale County**

**Source: Kwale County Integrated Development (Plan 2018-2022)**

### **1.15 Target Population**

The research was done in Kenya, specifically in the Kwale region of the coast. The study's target population was the Makonde people and the local communities in Kwale County occupying Kigwende, Kinondo, Shirazi, Gazi, Ramisi and Funzi in which Msambweni and Lunga Lunga sub-countries which according to the 2019 population census was 376,113.

### **1.16 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size**

The study utilized purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Purposive sampling was the most suitable for the study because the study targeted informants who were thought to have relevant knowledge of the Makonde people. These included men and women who were thought to have knowledge of the Makonde people. In addition to these, the study also interviewed local leaders such as non-governmental officials, chiefs and clan elders because it was thought that they had vital knowledge about the community under study.

The second criteria was oral history reliability, elderly members and significant informants with extensive historical knowledge and decades of lived experience were given preference. Another criteria was availability and accessibility, the selection process also took into account the informants' availability and willingness to participate, particularly as a large portion of the historical data was oral. Finally Interviews went on until data saturation was reached, which means that no new information was coming from any more research.

The research targeted the entire population of the Makonde people, but hundred respondents were selected to represent the rest of the community. Using a purposive sampling approach, the study engaged approximately 60 informants, including, elderly

Makonde elders aged 60 and above, representatives of the Makonde Cultural Association, 10 local chiefs, 10 *nyumba kumi* representatives, 15 non-governmental organisation, 10 non Makonde local communities, 5 government officials involved in the citizenship process, 5 religious leaders and 5 women's group leaders and 4 researchers based in the county. Given the breadth and depth of data anticipated from each participant, the sample size of 124 is deemed adequate for a qualitative historical study concentrating on oral history.

This sample was intentionally selected as explained above and the interview results were considered adequate when the respondents repeated the same answers- after attaining saturation.

### **1.17 Research Instruments**

The key research tools employed to collect primary data were consent forms, interpersonal interaction with participants, use of interview schedules for key informant interviews, oral interviews, open-ended questionnaires, participant observation guide, and focus group discussion guide. The study also entailed translation of the questions into Kiswahili to allow those not versed in English to comprehend the questions properly. This was done bearing in mind that most of the elderly people in Kwale were either illiterate or semi-illiterate. Most of the elderly men and women drawn from the Makonde community were illiterate since a majority of them never attended formal schooling.

Questions were formulated around key themes of the study, namely, the history of the Makonde, how colonial government policies and ordinances impacted them, their transformation upon settlement in Kenya and their contribution to Kenyan society. In addition to these key topics was their struggle for citizenship.

### **1.18 Data Collection**

The study targeted to benefit from archival, secondary, and oral data. Oral data was collected through interviews with elderly people in the study area (Kwale County) and Makonde youth who were conversant about their history. A tape recorder was used during the interviews to enable the researcher not to miss any useful information. The taped information was transcribed afterwards. Interviews taped in local vernacular languages were transcribed and translated into English. Archival data was collected at the Kenya National Archives (KNA), Nairobi. Data collected at the KNA included information on the importation of labour from outside Kenya during the colonial period, treatment of labourers on sisal and sugarcane plantations, general administration of Africans in Kwale County, farming activities in Kwale County, Tourism in Kwale County, among other sets of information. Secondary data was accessed through a critical review of secondary sources of information, which included books, journals, both published and unpublished theses, magazine articles, dissertations, United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) reports and periodicals that were relevant to the study. Online journals also contributed useful secondary information.

### **1.19 Data Analysis and Presentation**

The data obtained during the study was subjected to content analysis. Through content analysis, data obtained from interviews was grouped according to emerging themes. This allowed the researcher to match the study's themes and objectives. This was followed by corroboration of primary, secondary and archival data.

### **1.20 Validity and Reliability**

My supervisors approved the validity and reliability of the research instruments. The researcher also liaised with the supervisors for guidance to ensure that most of the key

instruments met the validity threshold before the research was conducted. By doing so, the researcher's confidence level was enhanced, and the researcher was able to make variations and adjustments to the research instruments to suit the research objectives. According to Frankel & Wallen (2002), the reliability of a research instrument is important in ensuring that the instrument can generate consistent results. These consistent results give the researcher confidence that the results present what was being measured. The reliability of research instruments in this study was established by using more than one type of question for the group of individuals at the same time, that is, the use of both open-ended and open-ended questions.

### **1.21 Ethical Consideration**

The study observed ethical considerations relating to research on humans that are in line with the government guidelines that guide research in Kenya. After successfully defending the proposal at Kenyatta University, the research was permitted to proceed with the study. Then, the permission to conduct research in Kenya was sought from the National Commission of Science and Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). This was done through a formal application procedure online. On obtaining permission from the Kenyan government to conduct the study, the researcher proceeded to Kwale to conduct interviews. Before interviewing the local people in Kwale, the researcher enlisted a research assistant who better understood the local languages and the geography of the study area. Each informant was asked to consent to the study before the actual interview. Upon return, the researcher visited Kenya National Archives, where, upon successful application for permission to conduct archival research, conducted archival research.

## **1.22 Summary**

This chapter discussed the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, research premises, justification and significance, scope and limitations, literature review, theoretical framework, research design, area of study, target population, sampling techniques, sample size, research instruments, data collection, primary data, secondary data, data collection procedure, validity and reliability, data analysis and presentation. The next chapter will discuss the Makonde people's historical background on the eve of colonial rule and in early colonial times to 1936.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **MAKONDE IN THE EARLY COLONIAL TIMES AND DURING THE INTER WAR PERIOD TO 1936**

#### **2.1 Overview**

This chapter provides an overview of the Makonde community in Kwale. The chapter briefly discusses the origins and settlement of the Makonde people, including their socio-political institutions, their economy, the establishment of colonial rule in Mozambique and how this impacted the Makonde, migration and settlement in Kwale and the coercive colonial labour relations in Kenya during colonial rule. The chapter will provide insights into the historical background of the Makonde and their traditions and social, economic, and political institutions before settling in Kenya. Marxist labour theory and cultural identity theories have been used in this chapter. The theory of Marxist labour value helped in explaining the reasons of migration of the Makonde people which was mainly to offer labour to the colonial government. Cultural identity theory has been used to explain the social, economic and political organisation of the Makonde people and how they carried out their cultural practices.

#### **2.2 Origin and Settlement**

The Makonde people trace their origins to the Bantu-speaking people of the southern region of central Africa. This community occupied the Mueda plateau on the Cabo Delgado coast of Mozambique from the mid-1700s. The group began to occupy the Mueda plateau in the late eighteenth century (KNA/gp, 735 Duc/12/2/1,1946; Newitt,1995, p.235; Litope, O.I.,2022; Kingdon,2002, p.12; West, 2005, p.28). According to Kula, Makonde people belong to the central Bantu people and are closely related to Yao (Kula, 2008, p.23). The term Makonde describes a geographic region inhabited by the people and someone who carries this specific culture (Kacimi &

Sulger, 2004; Dias,1964, p.7; Kingdon2002, p.14). The Makonde people of Tanzania and Makonde of Mozambique have much in common. They are the same group with similar traits. According to the oral traditions of each group, the two groups shared a common origin in Northern Mozambique (Liebenow, 1971, pp.30-32; Satersdal,1999, p.24; Kraal,2009, p.281). According to Liebenow (1971), the origin of the Makonde people of Tanzania has been traced to an area just across the banks of the Ruvuma River from Tanzania in northern Mozambique (Liebenow, 1971, p.22; Grund-Khznader,1981). The migration of the Makonde from Mozambique to Tanzania took place in multiple waves over many decades.

The earliest wave of migration occurred in the middle of the 18th century. During this time, Makonde moved from inland Mozambique down the Ruvuma River to the coast and settled along the edge of the Indian Ocean in what is present-day Rural Mtwara District. A large community is believed to have settled near the "Maraba" area on the border of Lindi and Mtwara regions, and the coastal Makonde of Mtwara still refer to themselves as "Maraba" Makonde and speak a distinct dialect of the Kimakonde, the Makonde language (Liebenow, 1971, pp.22-23). Based on Liebenow (1971), the second and largest migration of the Makonde across the Ruvuma is thought to have occurred during the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Other communities practicing slave trade operating out of the Arab-occupied coastal town of Kilwa and Mikindani pushed the Makonde across the Ruvuma during the Arab war. The community moved up the Newala escarpment onto what is now referred to as the "Makonde plateau," a high landmass rising gradually from the coast to the east and sharply from the banks of the Ruvuma River to the south. By 1884, the plateau, which had previously barely had occupants had a large population of Makonde. As the slave trade on the coast of Mtwara dwindled, this second wave of Makonde slowly moved

down the eastern slopes of the plateau to settle amongst the Arabs and coastal Makonde who had arrived in the first wave of migration (Liebenow, 1971, pp.24-25).

The third wave of migration of the Makonde people from Cabo Delgado to Tanganyika in larger numbers started around the 1920s following the exploitative policies of the Nyassa Company. The Company imposed heavy taxes on the northern population, forcing them to migrate (Neil-Tomlinson, 1977, p.125; Saetersdal, 1999, p.35 ). By 1931, around 75,000 Mozambican Makonde people had relocated to British-held Tanganyika on the northern side of the Ruvuma River in response to the Portuguese conquest of northern Mozambique in 1915–17 and the Nyassa Company's imposition of taxation upon its inhabitants (Neil-Tomlinson,1977, p.125). Although exact migration statistics are unavailable, estimates place the number of migrants to Tanganyika in 1931 at approximately 144,170 (Neil-Tomlinson, 1977, p.125; Kingdon 2002, p.22). The migration rate in Tanganyika's Lindi area had risen from 3,000 to 5,000 per year and was predicted to rise further (Neil-Tomlinson, 1977, p.125). Alpers (1984, p. 375) alludes to a census that lists 27,489 Mozambican Makonde as residents of Tanganyika. Marxist labour theory has helped in analysing this work through its tenet of labour is the foundation of value, the theory argues that labour is the foundation of exchangeable value within a civil society. This is demonstrated by the Makonde migrating from Mozambique to neighbouring countries as a result of exploitive policies by the colonial government to offer labour on the plantations and also be able to pay some of the taxes (Marx,1845).

The Makonde people's mythology states that the Makonde's first being was not fully human and was unwashed and unshaved. After being lonely from his prolonged alone by the Ruvuma River, the creature curved a wooden figure of a woman to be his friend and set it upright in the sun near his home. The apparition materialized as a stunning

woman the next day at dawn and joined him as a companion (KNA/mac, 730.9678 STO/10/1/3,1998; Stoner, 1998, p.56). At the river's edge, the mother gave birth to a dead fetus after these two Makonde couples had their first joint bath in the Ruvuma River. Not only did the couple move on from their prior residence, but sadly, the woman gave birth to another dead kid. The woman gave birth to her baby and lived when they arrived at the plateau. It was at the table where the Makonde couple had several offspring within the highland, and it is these children who became the first forefathers of the Makonde (Stoner, 1998, pp.6-60; Weule,1902, p.259; Adam,1902, p.41). Cultural identity theory which asserts that an individual will behave the way he or she wants. Through its principle of expression, it describes how members of a cultural community tend to highlight their identity by use of symbols, names and conventions that are fundamental to that group. This theory has been demonstrated through the Makonde people believe on how they came to existence (Collier & Milt, 1988).

On reasons for migration of the Makonde people, both social, economic and political factors contributed towards the migration of the Makonde people from their home of origin. On social factors, the major movement of the Makonde community that took place in the mid-nineteenth century was induced by the slave trade and the Ngoni invasion. They were escaping the Arabs and attacks from Ngoni slave traders, looking for fertile land and famine. Makonde had stayed for a while in Negomano when they started to migrate northwards (KNA/mac, 732.209678823 kor/11/1/2,1953; Liebenow, 1971, p.29; O'Neill, 1885; West, 1997;2004; Alpers, 1984, p.371). These Makonde people believed the plateau was safe to spot any intruder, so they settled there (West, 1998, p.26). Because of the increased growth of sisal, the increased need for labour on the coastal sisal plantations, and the focus on cotton production, more Mozambican

Makonde moved to Tanganyika in search of work in sisal plantations and other places. As a result, some Makonde made their way across to coastal Kenya (Alpers, 1984, p.367). Despite the fact that these migrants were unable to advance to higher-level positions and had limited access to formal education, their Tanganyika employers valued their hard work, and plantation owners on the Tanganyika side sought them out. (Liebenow, 1971, p.58; Kingdon, 2002,p.86).

According to Dias (1957, p. 57), there was a migration to Tanganyika due to a number of factors, including free labour contracts, greater earnings, and the ease with which taxes could be paid in installments despite their higher rates. By traveling to Tanganyika, a seasonal migrant worker could increase his income and, in many cases, get married sooner than his peers who remained in Mozambique. He could use the extra money to pay for bride price, purchase home goods, a bicycle, or clothing. A migrant worker would obtain a greater status and enable the young men to become less reliant on their heads of settlement and family networks by being able to provide these items and pay bride prices (West, 2005, p. 83).

Based on political factors, it is reported that the Makonde suffered much once European settlers invaded their land. Makonde made up the majority of the 50,000 Mozambicans who lost their lives fighting as porters in World War 1 (Vail & White, 1980, p.211). The situation was made worse by a flu pandemic in 1919, which led to what the colonialists believed to be a labour shortage in northern Mozambique (*ibid*, p.211). According to Stephen, ten years after the Berlin Conference, the Portuguese successfully occupied northern Mozambique; however, total authority was not imposed until 1917, following a German invasion attempt, at which point the border between German East Africa and Mozambique was formally created (Stephen,1990, pp.106-110). He further argues that the Makonde never passively endured increased extortion

by the Portuguese administration. The Makonde fought against taxes, forced labor, and forced cotton cultivation by launching periodic uprisings, sabotaging projects, setting fire to things, and fleeing into the bush to establish new villages or fleeing Tanganyika (West,2005, pp.82-83; Stephen1990, pp.110-115).

The high taxes and forced labour impounded on the Makonde people by the colonial government in Mozambique made them migrate to Tanganyika and Kenya, where many opted to secure employment in the sisal plantations (Neil-Tomlinson,1977, p.125; Liebenow, 1971). A majority of them remained in Tanzania. As they were migrating, they were both moving with their families. If a man had married, he could not leave his wife and children behind. This made them establish a pure Makonde lineage in whichever areas they settled within (Menga, O.1., 2022). Marie (1981) states that the Makonde built their villages in every village they migrated and settled.

### **2.3 The Makonde Social, Economic and Political Institutions on the Eve of Colonial Rule**

During the pre-colonial time, the Makonde people exhibited social, economic and political organizations.

#### **2.3.1 The Social Organisation of the Makonde**

During the pre-colonial period, the Makonde people were organized socially. The Makonde people did not have a concept of blood or race; rather, they had a cultural idea of nationality. Because of this, a woman from a different ethnic group could also become Makonde if she got married to a Makonde man. Because of their matrilineal society, the descendant was uterine (Dias,1964, p.85; Hill,2000; Liebenow,1971, p.63). Because of this, the head of the family was typically one of the mother's brothers, uncles, or oldest nephews (KNA/MAC, 730.9678 STO/10/1/3,1998). The Makonde people were matrilineal, exogamous, and polygamous within their society. Hill further

argues that, the Makonde people's system of wealth inheritance was predicated on ties to the mother's side of the family (Dias,1970, p.64; Hill,2000). Greed or hoarding behaviour was considered socially unacceptable (Wembah-Rashid, 1975, p.124; Weule, 1909, p.86). Liebenow says that, even though women were treated somewhat more liberally in Makonde society, equality of the sexes was not a dominant characteristic of Makonde's traditional society. Women were largely excluded from the public discussions of community affairs; they worked long hours in the fields, and during the long dry season, they hauled water up the escarpment from the valley. Moreover, one could not mistake a matrilineal society for a matriarchal one (Liebenow,1971, p.63).

During the pre-colonial period, the Makonde people lived in villages surrounded by thickets to protect them against raiders. Their houses were grouped around a large public square, with a meeting house for men called *Chitala*. *Chitala* was located at the center of the homestead. The homestead had a public square mostly shaded by mango trees. These public spaces provided space for children to play, women to grind flour, and old men to rest (Mtikula, O.I,2022; Stoner, 1998, p.34). Their traditional houses were circular with cone-shaped roofs, constructed with a column in the middle of the house supported by a ceiling. Makonde people lived in villages, and within the villages were thickets to offer protection against raiders (Tiago, O.I., 2022; KNA, MAC, & 732.209678823 KOR/11/1/2,1953).

It was possible to identify the primary traits of the Makonde physiognomy by looking at tattoos. The majority of men and women have facial and other body tattoos. Their teeth sharpened and their upper lips pierced. These symbolic features served as identifiers of their ethnic heritage and symbols of virtues; tattoos were supposed to have

symbolic meaning, while lip piercings served as both jewelry and symbols of magical virtues (Fouquer, 1972, p.33). Their most significant cultural function, the initiation ceremonies, served as the primary symbol of their cultural identity in the Makonde system of values. The young Makonde people were converted into adult members of society by initiation procedures, and one could marry (Saetersdal, 1999, p. 130). Both male and female initiates were subjected to elaborate scarification patterns on their bodies throughout the procedure, this exposed them to symbols of cultural significance. The symbols were governed by rigid customs that represented Makonde culture. Other physical mutilations included filing teeth into points and applying a wooden lip plug (called a *ndonya* in Makonde language) to ladies (Mwaka, O.I., 2022; Saetersdal, 1999, p.136). The masks worn in these rituals represented the matrilineal order of society, continuance, and cultural knowledge. They also reflected the tattooed faces of the Makonde female ancestors (Duarte, 1987, pp.99-100). The theory of cultural identity is well elaborated through its tenet of mode of expression whereby members of cultural community highlight their identity by use of names, symbols and conventions that are fundamental to that group. This is elaborated through symbolic features in their bodies such as body tattooing and lip plugs as well as carrying out initiation as a symbol of their cultural identity.

Among the Makonde people, men were expected to marry outside the clan. Bridewealth consisted of small gifts rather than items of significant value (Wembah-Rashid, 1975, p.127; Weule, 1909, p.42). Bride prices were to be shared among the Makonde older people. Hill (2000) posits that the payment of women's dowries, also known as bride-price, indicated their value in certain communities. The eldest brother of the mother was the most significant man in the Makonde family, referred to as the '*Njomba*.' As the Makonde people moved to new places, those who were not married ensured that

they got married to their fellow Makonde person; it was rare to find a Makonde who was married to a different community. This was done for the continuity of their cultural practices and maintenance of a pure Makonde community ( Menga,O.I., 2022).

Within Makonde society, clans practiced cross-cousin marriages. However, other forms of cousin marriage were prohibited. This was a relationship between a person and child of the following: uncle, i.e. mother's brother; auntie, i.e. father's sister; or any person whose relationship would produce one of the previously mentioned ties (Dias, 1970, pp.64-65). These marriages were often arranged between cross cousins because it was considered necessary to maintain tribal cohesion. Once there was a custom for these marriages, the foundation of the marriage was to begin as early as five to 34 years of age. The child's parents arranged these types of marriages between cousins. In traditional Makonde society, marriages between cross-cousins were ideal (*ibid*). Makonde followed traditional Bantu customs and practices such as endogamy, making it compulsory for a man to mate with members of his tribe. Partners chosen outside the tribe were not welcomed in the community group because marriage was between the two individuals involved and between the nuclear family and extended families on both sides (Litope, O.I., 2002; Green, 1981).Among the Makonde, a dance known as *mapiko* for men and *masquerade* for women was essential; they did it during their ceremonies. The *Mapiko* mask was worn during the dance by men to scare away women and children so that it could portray their authority (Menga, O.I., 2022; Israel, 2005, pp.99-100; Kacimi & Sulger, 2004, p.20; Stoner, 1998, p.83). The Mapiko dance was always performed on happy occasions that entailed the entire Makonde village; it was always accompanied by the use of two kinds of drums, a large one played by the use of an individual palm and a small one played by the use of sticks. The drum rhythm signifies the beginning of the ceremony and the arrival of the masked dancers; apart

from drums, the Makonde treasure xylophones which are made from logs and they are known as *dimbila* (Luali, O.I.,2022; Finke, 2000).

Dances and poetry among the Makonde were important aspects; they used to come up with songs that were relevant to the ceremonies that were taking place, such as initiation, death, birth, harvesting season and during marriage ceremonies (Nangomwa, O.I., 2022). The Makonde people of Kenya have a harvesting dance known as '*Mwandeisha*', which is always sung in the Kikonde language. The song was danced when there was a good harvest; the dance always entails drumming, girls singing while others beat pairs of sticks. The dancers smeared with ochre on their faces and disguised always twisted and turned on high stilts (Mbula, O.I.,2022;KNA/GP, 735 DUC/12/2/1/1946; Mwiraria, 2016). The Makonde of Kenya still performs *the Sindimba* and Mapiko dance. After the Makonde was declared the 43rd community of Kenya, they were invited to the bomas of Kenya to perform the *Sindimba* and Mapiko dances. Songs among the Makonde played a vital role; each song was sung based on the occasion that was taking place, such as birth, initiation, death, harvesting season ceremonies and marriage (Nangomwa, O.I.,2022; Green,1981).

Salience prominence as a tenet of cultural identity theory is elaborated here through the Makonde people's prowess in poetry, dances, and other cultural activities they performed. The Makonde people observe such cultural fabric during festivals. According to the theory, a person's identity is manifested in an assignment, and how much of a person's cultural identity stands out and attracts attention. Through the *mapiko* dance, the Makonde people can be easily identified; this is through the mode of dressing during the dance and how they dance. According to the theory, cultural identity is the sensation and feeling that an individual has of being a member of a specific group or culture. It offers education regarding and acceptance of cultural origins, customs,

language, heritage, religion, aesthetics, thought processes, and social systems. Individuals absorb and identify with the ideas, values, customs, and social activities of their culture (Phinney, 2000).

Before the arrival of European settlers, Makonde people believed that spirits possessed authority over land, wildlife, forests, and water supplies. Cultural and spiritual design comprehended, sanctified, consumed, and preserved a variety of meteorological and forest occurrences, trees, rocks, mountains, and ponds (Akisa, O.I.,2022; Kwashirai, 2020). The Makonde, being a matrilineal culture, were unable to distinguish between the natural and supernatural realms, the living and the dead, the divine and the human, and man and nature. Nevertheless, they are by no means extinct. They frequently appear or people turn to them covertly during difficult times (Hill, 2000). Everything was believed alive, including spirits and the Supreme Being (Green, 1981).

The Makonde people had laws (taboos) that directed the people on what to do and avoid. Some of these taboos had a relationship with initiation rites. For example, It was considered improper for a boy to enter his father's home after participating in an initiation rite (*jando*). Another taboo among the Makonde people was bringing children to funeral ceremonies. According to Gregory, the Makonde culture recognises the important roles that the dead perform in the lives of the living. Before making any decisions, the Makonde people consulted their ancestral spirits first and, where possible, offer sacrifices to the dead to seek their consent before undertaking major societal duties. A virgin woman who had not yet engaged in sexual activity or an elderly woman who had entered the menopause stage led those ceremonial offerings. The Makonde people believed that misfortunes could be avoided by performing a *pepezi* ritual (Nanguo, O.I.,2022; Gregory, 1998, p.14). The Makonde people in Mozambique performed rituals by consulting their ancestral spirits. To appease their spirits, they

would offer sacrifices to seek their consent before performing any societal duties and when faced with a calamity (KNA/MAC, 730.924.MAK/12/4/2,1952).

### **2.3.2 The Economic Organisation of the Makonde**

The main economic occupation of pre-colonial Makonde was farming (Dias,1970, p.158). Grund-Khznader (1981) posits that sub-tropical woodlands and tropical flora surrounded the Makonde people. Their modest family plots were planted with grains, sorghum, cashew nuts, and a few vegetables. Slash-and-burn farming was the main method of producing food in the Makonde people's ancestral country in Mozambique. Kraal (1963) observes that most Makonde practised farming; they carried out stump cultivation, and they were farmers who lived in small villages and grew sorghum, rice, maize, and cassava. The Makonde were traditionally farmers; their main crops were cashew nuts, millet, maize and sorghum (KNA, MAC, 732.209678823 KOR/11/1/2,1953; Nangomwa, O.I.,2022). The Makonde who lived along river Ruvuma also carried out fishing. They supplemented it with hunting; the Makonde men went out to do the hunting. Makonde communities could not rear livestock due to infestation by tsetse flies within the plateau (Iliffe, 1984, p.44). The Makonde farming systems went hand in hand with seasons. Soil fertility and rainfall were major determining factors in the Makonde economic system. The Makonde spent all of their time labouring in the fields during the rainy season, which always lasted from November to May. The Makonde people resorted to festivals, feasts, dances, and craft activity during the dry season. This was the time when mask dances were performed.

During the pre-colonial period, the Makonde people were good at wood carving. Men carried out this practice. Hill (2000) affirms that, among the Makonde people, the carving is a highly recognized economic undertaking. The art of carving is transmitted from father to son. Masks were sculpted in a hidden location that is off-limits to women

because of their sacred status based on their use. As a result, it was illegal for a lady to see a mask other than during the intended event. Woodcarving among the Makonde was an activity passed from one generation to another through inheritance from the ancestors. Being an activity mainly done, boys were taught how to carve from an early age, making them experts in woodcarving skills. Some of the Makonde did the wood carving as a leisure activity (Litope, O.I.,2022; Kingdon,2005, p.53). The pre-colonial Makonde carver was, first and foremost, a farmer, dedicating time to carving only in the off-season or during rest periods. The carving was undertaken primarily to satisfy an individual's need for a specific utilitarian object or the community's need for a piece for a particular social occasion (Kingdon,1994, p.97). Makonde lived in dispersed settlements in the plateau area some 60 kilometres inland from the northern Mozambican coastal town of Mocimboa de Praia.

During the pre-colonial times, the majority of adult Makonde men were able to learn the fundamentals of woodcarving, which allowed individuals who enjoyed the craft and desired notoriety to become well-known and in demand for their skills (Kingdon,2005a, p.54). However, it is believed that no specialist carvers in the Makonde society were carving full-time then. Apart from the clan leader (*humu*) and probably some hunters, at that time, the Makonde engaged in only one full-time economic activity: agriculture. There was no official apprenticeship system in place. Rather, people were always free to share and learn from one another (Nachimala, O.I.,2022; Kingdon, 2002, p.46). Specialist pursuits like carving or pottery were not highly valued as an economic or moral endeavor, despite the fact that the abilities and inventiveness of the best carvers could be extraordinary (Kingdon, 2005a, p.54).

The Makonde wood carvers consider their exceptional aptitude and expertise in woodcarving, which they learned from their forefathers, to be one of their "community

cultural assets." This is because other groups lacked knowledge of the secret of carving (Sapelo,O.I.,2022;Rich,2012). Woodcarving, according to the Makonde carvers, is an integral component of their "heritage" or "communal culture," which they have always desired to protect and transmit to the next generation within their families. They discussed how woodcarving was a "legacy of the ancestors" and something they "were born to do." During the pre-colonial period, among the utilitarian objects produced by the Makonde people were ornamental staffs, stools, and figurative containers for snuff, medicine, and gunpowder. The carver made them for himself, for fellow Makonde, or traded with Indian merchants on the coast, but in any case, he could not make a living producing those objects (Kingdon,1994, pp.52-53). The Makonde were a matriarchal, agricultural society before the colonialists interfered and disrupted the rich culture through the infamous slave labour (Chinana, O.I.,2022; Megchelina, 1969, p.80).

According to Kacimi and Sulger (2004, p.14), There are many different ethnic groups in Mozambique, a country rich in cultural diversity, but the Makonde sculptors stand out from the others because of their shared language, history, and traditions. A major factor in social cohesion, at least among the majority of Makonde carvers, has traditionally been recognized as this shared "identity," which is strengthened by a high degree of ethnic exclusivity and in which culture serves as both a way of life and a source of meaning (Rich,2012). Within the Makonde society, the intergenerational transfer of carving skills within family groups has been facilitated by the apprenticeship system, which has historically served to maintain the cultural homogeneity of the woodcarving groups. In his research, Kingdon highlighted the apparent spiritual or emotional bond that the Makonde carvers had with their creations, especially while working with African Blackwood or Mpingo (Mbuba, O.I.,2022; Kingdon, 2002, p.53; 2005b, p.68). Woodcarving was an identity of the Makonde people during the pre-

colonial period; as an identity, each Makonde treasured their sculptures because they were their heritage (Litope, O.I., 2022).

### **2.3.3 The Political Organisation of the Makonde**

Regarding political institutions, the Makonde had a political organization that was decentralized in nature. Each settlement recognized the presence of a headman who acquired the position matrilineally (Muluta, O.I.,2022; Dias,1970, p.64; Wembah-Rashid, 1998, p.39). There was no overall ruler of the Makonde community, such as a king, because each village maintained its degree of independence. The Makonde clans comprised a small number of households. The *Mwenyekaya*, was the head of such households and their duty was to ensure peace and harmony within their households (Nawessi, O.I.,2022; Dias, 1964, p.11). Every Makonde small village, which mostly contained the extended family, was separated from each other by distance; each village was an independent unit ruled by its chief. Villages would participate in the common culture through social institutions concerning the clan. However, there was no central authority or government at the level of the clan or tribe (KNA/MAC, 730.9678 STO/10/1/3,1998).

The plateau where the traditional Makonde settlement stood provided excellent protection from outsiders. It typically served as the home of a small kinship group, with members typically recognizing their membership in a single *likola* (matrilineage) led by an elder. In this case, the *nang'olo* was either *Kaja* or *Mwene Shilambo* (Litawilawi, O.I.,2022; Dias,1964, p.11; West,2004p.23). The *nang'olo* is said to have surrounded himself with his nieces and nephews because his offspring would be residing in their *likola*. (Hassan, O.I.,2022; Kacimi & Sulger, 2004, p.26). Men thus dominated the reproductive and productive resources within the kinship group. Since the towns were spread out throughout the plateau, each one functioned as a distinct governmental

entity. Since there was constant fighting in this region of Mozambique in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, certain communities were severely fortified for defense. Every Makonde group was made up of multiple clans, some of which were extended relatives. The oldest brother of the mother used to be the most significant man in the household. Clans were led by chiefs. Chiefdom was a family affair because the departing chief, *Mwipwawe*, may have been his sister's son (Mtununa, O.I.,2022; Kraal 1963).

The Makonde lacked a centralized political authority having jurisdiction over all persons who called themselves Makonde. Only the overriding bonds of kinship, language, belief system, and myths of common origin permitted a Makonde fisherman of Lindi to identify with a Makonde cultivator of the Newala plateau for economic exchange or social interaction. The fisherman and the cultivator regarded themselves as having political allegiances to different membership groups (Mateaus, O.I.,2022; Liebenow, 1971, p.41). The Makonde were subdivided into several clans comprising several extended families. The clans were called *litawa*, and each had a leader called *Mwenyekaya*. Their predecessors appointed these chiefs, who chose their sisters' son, *Mwipwawe*. They were also divided into groups based on geographical area (Kilosa, O.I.,2022; KNA/MAC, 730.9678 STO/10/1/3,1998; Dias, 1961, p.63).

Traditional Makonde society was an extreme example of Polycentrism among the Bantu people. Polycentrism was a more extreme practice among the Makonde community than their neighbors (Manjeda, O.I.,2022; Liebenow,1971, p.41). Unlike the Ngoni and Yao, among whom the institution of chieftainship was at least crudely developed, and unlike the Makua, who regarded kinship as the fundamental basis for political, economic, and social action, the Makonde recognized the pull of two competing basic units of membership. A Makonde was, first of all, a member of one of the several hundred matrilineal kin groupings, or *litawa*, into which the tribal grouping

was divided. The polycentric character of the Makonde political system was reinforced by the constant fragmentation of existing *chirambo* (ibid). A further sub-crambo grouping was the neighborhood in the Makonde society. Neighbours had special mutual obligations to help clear new fields, build new houses, and meet threats to life or property. At the beating of drums or blowing of whistles signaling distress, everyone within hearing distance was obliged to drop his work and come to the assistance of his neighbour. The only payment the assisting neighbours expected was the ritual beer, or *pombe ya mkumi*, which came almost as a matter of right (ibid, p.59).

Among the Makonde people, Polycentrism in the traditional political system was reinforced by the structures of political socialisation. These formal and informal structures oriented the Makonde youth concerning local personalities, local myths of origin, local norms of behaviour, and local precedents. The most significant of the formal socialisation structures was the initiation rites performed for the young. These were usually called *jando*, but occasionally the term *unyago* to the collective rites for both boys and girls (KNA/GP, 735 DUC, 12/1/2,1946; Dias, 1961, p.105; Harries, 1940, pp.2-3; Wembah-Rashid, 1975, p.28; Weule, 1909, p.304; Liebenow, 1971, p.60; Mtikula, O.I., 2022). The Makonde people practised male and female initiation ceremonies and traditional dances. Initiation rituals of *jando* (for boys) and *unyago* (for girls) among the Makonde people took a central role within the community (Gabriel,2019; Madebe, O.I.,2022). As early as the 19th century, the rituals were organised within the community's clans. However, the clans with common ties could coordinate initiation ceremonies together (Samwels, O.I.,2022; Dias, 1961, p.106). According to Liebenow, the Makonde boys who had experienced the *jando* process together were considered attached; hence, they were expected to hold each other hands

throughout their lives. The practice occurred after seven good years and was a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood (Liebenow,1971, p.50).

There were no tribe-wide initiation rites. The leader of each chirambo would decide that the time was ready for a new group of youngsters in his village to undergo training for adulthood. Following a three-day drum beating in the area of chirambo, the young would be presented to the elders for initiation (Tiago, O.I.,2022; Liebenow,1971, p.49; Dias, 1961). The girls' initiation *malango* or *chiputu* was a less formalised affair than the boys' rites. The *unyago* practice among the Makonde girls was carried out at puberty; this was when they were around 10-12 years of age. At this stage, the girls were considered to be ready to undergo training for motherhood and marriage. After the initiation process, the girls were considered adults and marriageable immediately after the *unyago*. The practice of initiation of both boys and girls among the Makonde people is something that the community has been observing since the precolonial period, it was an act of rite of passage from childhood to adulthood (Nangomwa, O.I.,2022; Harries, 1940; Wembah-Rashid, 1975, p.123; Weule, 1909, p.306).

The boys' initiation ceremonies brought together all uncircumcised youths between the ages of nine and sixteen, they were circumcised and then secluded from women for three to four months. During this period, while waiting for their surgery to heal, they were taught about hunting, cultivating, proper sexual behaviour, respect for the property of others, and similar matters. The leaders mostly emphasized honesty, good conduct, and respect for the elders (KNA/GP/709.03 KOR). The induction of the young boy into manhood was symbolised at the end of the ceremonies by the presence of new clothing and the acquisition of a new name. His ties with his mother, moreover, were broken and he might even go to live with his senior maternal uncle. Bonds of social solidarity were created by the initiation ceremonies; the bonds were parochial and local rather

than tribal. All the youths who went through initiation together were considered to be members of a common village group, having special friendship obligations to one another (Liebenow,1971, p.50).

Initiation was one of the most important ceremonies for Makonde boys. Fire was among the important elements in initiation among the Makonde people. Stoner states that although many villages of the Makonde could participate in the same circumcision festival, they all had their separate fires (Mtikula, 2022; Stoner,1998, p.35). The fire was started from the central ceremonial fire. The main fire or *litungulu* used to burn in the village where the festival had been planned. Runners carried lighted branches to outlying locations (Stoner, 1998, p.36; Tiago, O.I.,2022). Stoner emphasizes that the Makonde constructed an initiation shelter within the village and drummers were chosen to provide music for the dancing which took place before the ceremony started. He further affirms that on the day of circumcision, the Makonde boys were rubbed with sacred flour on their foreheads, and after that, they were taken out into the countryside for the circumcision operation (Stoner,1998, p.37; Sithole, O.I.,2022).

Political roles in traditional Makonde society were few, the performance activities associated with these roles were frequently done on an intermittent basis. Except in a very large *chirambo* with several hundred families, the *mkulungwa* was generally a cultivator whose style of living and day-to-day activities did not distinguish him from his neighbours. In the small *chirambo*, his social role as head of *litawa* predominated over his political role as head of *chirambo* (Liebenow,1971, p.52; Gregory,1998; Nkunja, O.I.,2022). The most fundamental sanction for the political authority of the *mkulungwa* was religious. He alone controlled the performance of rites in the belief of the entire community. His spiritual power was *pedi* in the Makonde language but sometimes the phrase *mbepesi* was used to describe the power which *mkulungwa*

received through sprinkling ritual flour on the graves of the founder of *chirambo*. Invocations to the ancestors during the ritual were prevalent to protect the community against drought, famine and other impending diseases. He also played the role of protecting the community land from intruders, allocating land to the migrants, offering advice to the community, and securing the village's health by taking the initiative of appeasing the spirits and the ancestors. He was held high due to his wisdom but had little formal authority (Gregory, 1998; Liebenow 1971, p. 65; Django, O.I., 2022).

There were institutions beyond the jurisdiction of the *mkulungwa* which permitted the Makonde to receive social, economic, and political satisfaction without involving the head of the *chirambo*. *Jando* mates, for example, had special obligations towards one another that made the individual less reliant upon the generosity of the *mkulungwa*. A very special relationship, moreover, was created in the *jando* between the young initiate and the older boy or *mnobo*, who was assigned to help him at every stage of the rites. The *mnobo* had a great influence on the later behaviour of the younger boy and even the privilege of sexual access to his wife. However, he had a substantial duty concerning meeting the material needs of the younger man (Liebenow, 1971, p. 54; Anengula, O.I., 2022). The Makonde people had a loose political structure which made it difficult for its members to be disciplined. Discipline was enforced through rejection from family members. In addition to rejection, sanctions were few because there were no cattle or other recognized currency and this made it hard to make anyone pay fines for breaking rules. However, if a crime was particularly bad, the guilty party could either be beaten up or executed. Offences were not taken harshly and the village elders used to meet in case of any conflict to reach a compromise (Mtikula, O.I., 2022; Stoner, 1998, p. 68).

In the Makonde traditional society, there were specialists called *wakukomela*, who performed the circumcision operations throughout Makonde society (Liebenow,1971, p.50; Ndao, O.I.,2022). The *wakukomela* were members of special *litawa* which claimed to monopolize the required mystical powers (*chiheri*) and ritual paraphernalia (*mchira*). One achieved the role by bearing the expenses of the village for three initiation rites. Thereafter, one not only enjoyed high status as *Mkukomela* but also shared in the profits of future initiation rites. This was partially offset, however, by the fact that the instruction, which followed the surgery, was not in the hands of specialists. Any adult male member of the *chirambo* could participate in the educational process. Hence, local experience and history tended to be emphasized (*ibid*).

#### **2.4 Establishment of Colonial Rule in Mozambique**

In the late 15th century, Vasco da Gama landed for the first time Mozambique's Coast as a voyager en-route to India. Since then, the Portuguese on the coast and along the Zambezi River established a few trading posts and harbours. Prazo holders ruled over the Zambezi region in the heart of Mozambique in the 18th and 19th centuries. Prazos were initially land grants from the Portuguese Crown to Portuguese merchants; but, as a result of intermarriage, the prazo population mixed Portuguese and African ancestry. Large tracts of land were ruled by prazo proprietors, who had the backing of powerful armies made largely of native Africans. The majority of Portuguese activity in eastern Africa throughout the middle of the 19th century was concentrated around these communities near the banks of the Zambezi River (Newitt,1969, p. 67). The prazos levied a direct tax known as "musocco" on the indigenous people, which was typically paid in kind up until the 1900s (Newitt,1995, pp. 217-296; de Castelo Branco, 1909, p. 229; Ishemo 1989). Although they were significantly involved in the slave trade, the economy was mostly focused on agriculture and tax collection. This area in the middle

of Mozambique had a long history of exchanging forced labour for goods. Even after an attempt to stop it was made in 1842 by the Anglo-Portuguese accord, the secret slave trade persisted in Mozambique (Pitcher, 1991, p.50). In pre-colonial Mozambique, enslavement may have been a major contributing factor to both depopulation and a labour shortage.

Indigenous people frequently left their native lands to avoid being recruited as forced laborers by plantation owners, colonial farmers, and prazos. Local peasants from the colony's southern regions began migrating to Natal, South Africa, in the 1850s to work on farms owned by white settlers. Later, in the 1870s, they began to migrate to the Kimberley diamond mines, and in 1886, they moved to the Transvaal gold mines. Africans, on the other hand, continued to have access to markets, land, and means of subsistence production in northern Mozambique. Eventually, trade links were established with British Nyasaland and German Tanganyika as a result of trading with the Arabs in the mid-19th century. One reason why the Niassa concession company later struggled to maintain control over northern Mozambique in the 1890s is that this commerce and the peasants' need to continue their livelihood play a factor (Pitcher, 1991, p.50).

Portugal was forced to establish and enlarge its "effective occupation" over its African colonies in response to external pressure brought on by the Scramble for Africa in the 1880s. Mozambique was divided into five distinct political and cultural zones by the 1890s. The second area was a Portuguese-controlled coastal zone, while Islamic chiefs engaged in long-distance trading influenced a northern peasant agricultural area. The third area, which was primarily inhabited by prazos, was the central Zambezi valley. Other areas were the Gaza Kingdom and the long-disputed Delagoa Bay (now Maputo Bay) in the south, which was contested by Britain and Portugal (Newitt *et al.*, 2008,

p.710). The pre-colonial political and cultural divisions that existed between these areas eventually gave rise to the creation of three zones; the north, center, and south, each with a unique economic structure that endured into the 20th century.

The South served as a labour pool for the nearby settler farms and mines more and more. Portugal assigned chartered businesses the administration of central Mozambique (and parts of northern Mozambique) in order to create and solidify its colonial power. These companies were permitted to levy taxes, assign land and mining rights, and maintain their own police force (*ibid*, p.711). Not only the Belgian Congo but also the British Northern and Southern Rhodesia employed this cost-cutting measure while they were colonizing African nations. A little over half of the colony's total area was divided among three companies: the Mozambique Company, the Zambezia Company, and the Niassa Company, which operated in the center zone and was primarily populated by native peasants, were situated farther north.

The Berlin Conference of 1889 had left Portugal looking foolish. Its lack of authority over the regions it claimed threatened its aspirations to take the same place in Africa as other European colonial powers. There was still a slave trade, strong African organizations retaliated, and the concession enterprises were unprofitable and poorly run (Vail and White, 1980, pp. 200-230). Portugal resisted plans for Britain or Germany to seize control of the colonies. The fascist dictatorship that arose in 1926 quickly gave rise to the New State (Novo Estado) initiative, which aimed to unite the First Republic's disorganized administration in Portugal and to strengthen imperial power outside. These were stated in the Organic Charter (1933) and the Colonial Act (1930). These two ordinances consolidated what is now surrounded by Mozambique as a unified political unit incorporated into Portugal, laying the groundwork for the first modern "state-building" project throughout the entire region.

Mozambique's colonial public administration was redesigned by the Organic Charter, which adopted tactics from Native Administration programs worldwide (Mamdani, 1996). Following their entry into the territories and assumption of power, colonial firms established state administrative posts across the nation. Approximately one hundred administrative divisions were drawn across the country, with some of them mirroring the borders of the former concession business holdings. Instead, the state directly hired the sepoys as native police to serve as the enforcers of the colonial enterprises. The state recognized régulos, or "traditional leaders," as middlemen for rural populations and as people who carried the Portuguese flag, thereby establishing a second tier of Native Administration. This played a crucial role in putting all of Mozambique under direct Portuguese administration by increasing the state's visibility, monitoring methods, and economic sway over the populace.

The "indigenato" was a governmental structure akin to those seen in other parts of Africa, subjugating Portuguese citizens to colonial administrators and Mozambican subjects to tribe leaders (Mamdani, 1996, in O' Laughline, 2000, p. 16). The indigenous law, which was formally enacted in 1928, was based on more established, long-lasting forms of administration and citizenship. The term "indigenato" meant for the native people that they had to work because it was their "moral" duty to do so, or else they would have to produce an excess of food for the market and pay taxes. The colonial state compensated "regulos" and "cabos," local officials in charge of collecting hut taxes and enlisting forced labor, through commissions (Isaacman *et al.*, 1983, p.29). It is commonly known that colonial states used forced labor as well to construct their infrastructure while reducing labor costs to the government.

Frankema and van Waijenburg (2014) claim that in French West Africa, forced labour served as an implicit form of government taxation. Similar circumstances existed in the Portuguese colony, where the use of forced labour was supplemented by an increase in direct taxation. Particularly in unmonetized areas that could not generate tax revenue, the state or concession firms utilized forced labour to supply labour for plantations. According to O'Laughlin (2002), men and women were forced to perform punishing labour for varying lengths of time. Antonio Enes, a well-known regional commissioner of Mozambique, first articulated these views in the 1890s. He believed that indigenous people played a critical role in the process of monetisation and labour intensification as both taxpayers and wage workers, whether they were free or not. In the end, the latter would support the growth of agriculture and "civilization" (Ferreirinha, 1947, p. 5).

Makonde used a variety of strategies to rebel against colonial rule and forced labour exploitation. According to Munslow (1983, p. 54), each Makonde community provided its "own guerrilla resistance." Alpers (1984, pp. 367–388) views the sharp rise in "spontaneous" migration to Tanganyika from the provinces of Nyassa and Cabo Delgado, which occurred after a sharp hike in the hut tax in the 1920s, as a "creative response" to the then-evolving political and economic landscape in Northern. Many Makonde migrated to Dar es Salaam, while a large number were drawn to the sisal farms in the southeast of Tanganyika. Migration made economic sense given the stark differences in prospective earnings, with wages on sisal plantations in Tanganyika up to sixty times higher than in Cabo Delgado (West, 2005, p. 83). In addition to using acts of sabotage, arson, revolt, and flight into uninhabited bushlands where they established new villages, the Makonde opposed forced agricultural output in many other ways.

Marxist labour theory of value, which holds that the only way to produce new value is via living human labour, explains how the colonial administration forced the Makonde people to work as slaves. This is demonstrated by the arrival of the indigenato, which required African people to work on their plantations and pay taxes. According to Marx, these capitalists made money by taking advantage of workers' excess labour hours and their wages were at the level of subsistence. According to Marx, labourers are always exploited by the capitalists forcing them to view employment as the only way for survival (Marx, 1845). As a result, Makonde people were forced to migrate to neighbouring countries.

Colonial establishments in Africa were accustomed to encouraging the migration of African labour toward colonial spaces of capital accumulation. It was common, for example, to encourage Africans to migrate from places of plenty of labour supply to places of labour shortages. Demand for labour peaked after the First World War. The War had occasioned a global economic depression and its aftermath necessitated increased production as a remedy. Labour, and cheap labour for that matter, was an important ingredient in colonial capital accumulation (Orde-Browne 1946).

In both Tanzania and Kenya, migrant labourers from Mozambique mostly ended up on sisal and sugar plantations. With almost 386,000 workers, of whom 52,000 were from outside the country, the sisal sector constituted the largest employer in Tanganyika (Guillebaud 1958). The working conditions on plantations were subpar, in addition to the work being hard and tiresome. Desertion was the most common form of resistance under such terms of employment (Raikes 1978). It is noted that there was an acute shortage of labour at Ramisi Sugar Scheme as well as on sisal plantations. The colonial governments engaged in direct regulation of labour movements or a labourer migrated as a response to the punitive hut and poll tax cash exactions. Locals also fled forced

recruitment to roads construction and administrative buildings. These scenarios birthed the voluntary movements and direct enrolment of men to work in mines and on settler plantations (Nyamnjoh,2017, p.258).

The establishment of colonial rule contributed to the Makonde people's settlement in Kenya as labourers on plantations, mostly in Kwale County. However, colonialism provided the greatest avenue for cross-border labour migration from Mozambique to other African countries, Kenya included. The Makonde migrated and established themselves in coastal Kenya to work as labour migrants in plantations. There was a need for African labourers to work on the European farms on the coast of Kenya. The Makonde of Kenya started entering this country in 1936 through Tanzania to work on British sisal plantations (KNA, PC/COAST/3/1/8/28,1951; Marie, 1981; Kombo,2019; Mtikula, O.I.,2022; UNHCR,2017). They came at a time when labour shortage on sisal and sugar plantations was being experienced the most.

On arrival, the locals did not have land upon which to settle because each ethnic community had its land unit set aside for it. Squatting on employers' land offered some degree of labour stabilization. Whereas local tribes would work for short periods and revert to their rural lands, Makonde labourers had no such option. Labour from local communities presented a real problem when it came to labour supply stability. But a solution lay in making labour residents at their place of work. By working for many years in the same place, the labour became more efficient as they gained work experience (KNA, ABK/12/152). The Makonde were a preferred labour community because they migrated as families (men, women, and children). Plantation owners preferred not only to employ men but also women and children. Men, women, and children were paid different wages, with women and children getting the least pay. It is not easy to see how wage negotiation could be carried out in a type of employment

which at best could only be classified as “pin” money for African women. The picking season on any farm lasts for a comparatively short time and is done practically exclusively by women and children (KNA, ABK/12/1) Plantation owners wanted to maximize profits by paying cheap wages or even no wages at all. Thus, they were not interested in labour that charged higher wages. Apart from poor working conditions, local Kenyan tribes did not prefer to work on sisal plantations because such work was tedious compared to work in such sectors as the tea industry plantations.

## **2.5 Summary**

This chapter has analysed the origin and settlement of the Makonde people, and their social, economic, and political historical background from the pre-colonial period up to 1936. It has been observed that the Makonde originated from Mozambique before their settlement in Kenya. The Europeans brought the Makonde people into the country as early as 1936 to offer labour in their plantations in the coastal region of Kenya. It is demonstrated that the Makonde settlement in Kenya's coastal region was a colonial venture to help entrench colonial capitalism. Their presence in the offering of labour to the colonial government enabled the colonial government to increase its capital. The presence of the Makonde in Tanzania made it easier for them to transverse in Kenya; they were migrating from Mozambique due to frequent wars and attacks from the Ngoni people. The Makonde people were a matrilineal society which was well organized socially, economically and politically during the pre-colonial period. Marxist labour value theory helps in analysing the migration of Makonde people in both Kenya and Tanganyika to offer labour in sisal plantations. According to Marx, capitalists exploit the proletariats by ensuring that they have exhausted the surplus value produced by labour. This is seen in how the Makonde people are subjected to heavy taxes and cheap forced labour forcing them to migrate to neighbouring countries. In the next chapter,

we examine the transformations of the Makonde socially, economically, and politically in Kenya's colonial and post-colonial government.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE OF THE MAKONDE PEOPLE, 1936-1962**

#### **3.1 Overview**

This chapter examines the coercive labour policies and ordinances that were subjected to the Makonde labour migrants by the colonial government and how they impacted them. The chapter shows how colonial policies impacted the Makonde people's way of life. It further examines the transformation the Makonde underwent upon their settlement in Kenya. The presence of British colonial power in Kenya impacted the Makonde people socially, economically and politically after settling in Kenya as migrant workers. The Makonde carried along their culture as examined in the preceding chapter. However, upon settlement in Kenya, some of their cultural traits were transformed. This was a result of the colonial policies that were passed by the colonial administration. The Makonde found themselves surrounded by an environment that was more or less different from the one to which they had got used back in Mozambique. The chapter employed cultural identity theory that explains why an individual will always behave and act the way he or she wants. According to Collier, cultural identity is dynamic and it will always transform as time evolves especially as interactions takes place between different communities. There will always be changes in social structure, economic foundation, political organization and cultural practices. The theory helped in explaining on how the Makonde people transformed socially, economically and politically as a result of interaction with other communities and also how colonial policies impacted their cultural way of life. Marxist labour theory has also been used on how the colonial government enforced colonial laws and policies to the Makonde people forcing them to offer labour to the British plantations.

### **3.2 Colonial Laws and Policies and their Impacts on Makonde People**

From the early 20th century until the 1950s, there was a "perpetual search for labour" due to the creation of plantations by white settlers and the need for labourers from the colonial state (Pallaver, 2018, pp.22-29). This led to friction, which continued to be the cornerstone of Kenya's economy in the years that followed. African peasant productivity coexisted in tension with the Europeans' need for inexpensive African labour. Colonial settlers believed they were required to supply labourers for their projects because the government had "invited" them to East Africa. Finding laborers for the white colonists was therefore one of the government's top priorities (*ibid*). To this end, the colonial period witnessed a series of labour laws such as master and servant laws in the 1950s. Nearly all colonial governments responded to these challenges by introducing coercive labour market institutions, such as land alienation programs, labour recruitment, and vagrancy laws, to both enhance the supply of African labour and reduce its free market price. (Mosley,1983, pp.913-921). A generally recognized, but little systematically researched channel through which labour coercion was to enhance the process of colonial state-building, is that of its fiscal significance (Frankema,2010, pp. 447-477). Faced with near-insurmountable barriers to building revenue-raising capacity, practically all African colonial states used labour taxes and other forms of labour coercion to indirectly augment their small budgets.

The colonial rulers implemented the Poll and Hut Tax, which forced indigenous people to work as wage labourers in order to pay taxes, in order to guarantee a steady supply of labour (Elkins, 2005, pp.235-240). One of the methods the colonial government employed to force Africans into wage labour was taxation. As a result, it served the dual purposes of encouraging young men to work and generating income for the Protectorate, which was the colonial administration's goal (Ndege, 1989). In order to

underscore this point, Henry Belfield, Kenya's colonial governor at the time, stated that the only way to force a local to leave his reserve and look for employment was through taxation (Clayton and Savage, 1974, pp.132-133). Hut tax, a levy on all huts used as a place of residence, was levied against Africans by the colonial authorities under the terms of the Hut Tax Regulations. All adults who were male and above sixteen were required to pay this tax (Taurus, 2004, p.12). Colonial taxation affected the social lives of the Makonde people regarding marriage. Men were taxed according to the number of huts they owned. If a man married many wives, then this meant that he was bound to have a hut for each wife and this entailed paying more taxes. Hut tax forced African men to either abandon polygamy or marry fewer wives. It was not even possible for men to afford to support their families (wives and children) owing to the meagre wages which they were paid. Indeed, wage-related labour strikes were common on Sugar and sisal estates in Kwale County (KNA, PC/COAST/3/1/8/21,1947).

Cultural identity theory through its tenet of enduring and changing characteristics of identity and how many social, economic, political and contextual circumstances can cause cultural identity to change, this is well demonstrated as the colonial government establish themselves in Africa and during the process new taxes are introduced forcing the Makonde people to cease from practicing polygamy marriage hence change in cultural identity (Collier, 1988).According to Collier, cultural identity is dynamic and can evolve as time progress, especially through interactions with other cultures or shifts in societal norms(*ibid*).This theory has been demonstrated by the Makonde has they are forced to stop practicing polygamy type of marriage due to their interaction with other people from different communities.

Both a significant source of governmental funding and an indirect form of coercion, the tax remained central to the labor system. The use of force was one tactic the government

used to get around the labour supply issue (Dealing, 1974, p.336; Bode, 1978, p.64). During this period, the Resident Natives Ordinance was also introduced with the goal of encouraging wage labour. This was implemented with the intention of controlling the presence of Native American families on settler farms and in non-reservation areas. Encouragement to leave the reserves and work as labour tenants on farms in Europe was the goal of the regulation. In other words, the squatter phenomenon was brought about by the law. The 1918 Resident Native Ordinance introduced the food-for-your policy in favour of cash incentives to prevent native people from fleeing settler farms. Native reserves were established under the 1956 Land Ordinance, a colonial plan designed to take use of the inexpensive labour that Indians provided on a constant basis for the colonial economy (Campbell, 2007, p. 33). In 1918, the duration of squatting and laboring at settler farms was three months; however, by 1944, the need for labor was expanded due to the return of soldiers (Southall, 2005, p.142; Zeleza, 1989, p.149). This forced the Makonde squatters to labour exclusively on plantations, which not only made their living conditions worse but also discouraged those who intended to carve during their free time (Kadzo, O.I., 2022). In addition, every squatter was required to labour on a European farm for at least 180 days every year (Southall, 2005, p.142).

Due to the labour rules, African socio-economic development suffered because workers were unable to fulfill their obligations on time and with freedom. After World War II, a new registration system was introduced that required every adult African male to carry a certificate stamped by the employer, containing information on the person's "name, father, district, tribe, location, group, clan, circumcision age, date, signature of official issuing with place for empowers' signature and fingerprints of all ten fingers" (Orde-Browne 1946,p.150). To ensure that people from the same ethnic group were not assigned to the same workplace, the system increased ethnic awareness and labeling. In

addition to fostering ethnic animosity, ethnic labeling hindered the Makonde's ability to connect, communicate, or even organise opposition, which had an impact on them as labor migrants (Lingoni, O.I., 2022).

Across the colony, the notorious Kipande system went into effect. Because an African labourer could not be deregistered once registered, this was an attempt to systematize and control the labour force. Additionally, it made it possible for penal sections to be returned to their previous employers, which aided in fulfilling labour contracts. Since local chiefs assisted in tracking down these deserters, it was possible to locate escaped personnel. Any African who left his reserve without bringing his Kipande risked being taken into custody by the authorities (Karigi, 2015, p.23). Africans were forced to labour on settler farms as late as 1950 through illegal recruitment, forced labour, taxes, and land tenure rules (Wasserman, 1974, pp. 425-434; van Zwanenberg, 1975). Forceful labour coercion was replaced by a labour control regime that made it simpler to reprimand and discipline workers, without clearly linking this development to the growth of settler agriculture (Berman & Lonsdale, 1980, pp.55-81; Anderson, 2000, pp.459-485). The Makonde were deprived of their subsistence economy and identity by the colonial taxation system and the capitalist economy, which also made them more impoverished and dependent on the latter (Mtikula, O.I., 2022).

The majority of the labour employed on Kenya's plantations, however, came from Africans who had already been driven from their land and into overcrowded reserves, providing a "pool of cheap labour" for the white settler economy (Overton 1990, p. 163). The alienation of land from the local African communities, and their reconstruction as mere "squatters" on Kenya's European-owned farms, made the colony's labour regime more punitive than in Tanzania, where many workers were imported into the area without having prior claims to the land they tilled. Kenya's

Master and Servants Ordinance of 1906 introduced restrictive labour laws that benefited European employers by limiting their responsibility toward African workers while leaving the employees with few protections of their own. "Labour at a 'primitive' stage of development was thought to require 'primitive' forms of labour law," according to the colonial authority (Anderson 2000, p.461).

The Resident Native (Squatters) Ordinance of 1918 had further entrenched tenant duties of African populations working on European-occupied land and penalized failures to provide labour per existing legislation. Due to this, white overseers violated colonial labour laws by mistreating, flogging, denying basic necessities, or even killing Makonde and other African squatters in the reserves who had no tenancy rights (Nguli, O.I., 2022;Madebe,O.I.,2022). Native Africans' salaries were insufficient to meet their fundamental necessities. Ninety percent of colonial labour was supplied by African laborers by 1960 (Anderson, 2005, p. 462). The colonial isolation of labourers into ethnic enclaves heightened ethnic consciousness. Ethnicity effects gain traction into post-colonial Kenya and have continued to inform Kenyan ethnic relations. As a result, the Makonde people who were non-Kenyans remained to be greatly affected (Menga, O.I.,2022; Katana, O.I.,2022).

Marxist theory of labour is elaborated here through the colonialists who can be seen as capitalists subjecting the Makonde people to forced labour through the imposing of labour policies and ordinances. As a result, the Makonde people who were proletariats had no otherwise other than to be exploited by the capitalists. According to Marxists, capitalists exploit the proletariat by ensuring that they have exhausted the surplus value produced by labour, which is the value or output above the value of their wages. He argues that capitalists who are the bourgeoisie possess all means of production; the capitalists always exploit the workers who are the proletariat. Labour is the primary

source of value production. According to Marx, an employee's labour is an asset. He felt that an unfair imbalance between capitalists and the labourers who were being exploited for their good was generated by commercialism. In return, the exploitation made the workers view employment as the only way to survival. Marx argued that for commodities to be exchangeable in the market for sums of money, it resulted from labour (Marx, 1845).

### **3.3 Social Transformation of the Makonde People Upon Settling in Kenya**

The theory of cultural identity is all about how different cultures get changed when they come into contact with each other (Beattie, 1961, p.14). Different cultures borrow different cultural traits from each other. When the Makonde settled in Kenya, they encountered Kenyan ethnic groups who had varying cultural traits relating to language, burial practices, dancing styles, marriage practices as well as initiation rites. Even before migrating to Kenya, some of the Makonde cultures had been influenced by the cultures, which they met through processes such as intermarriages and trade. Thus, their neighbouring ethnic communities such as Makua, Yao, Nguni had influenced some of their social organisation,

Having settled in Kenya during the period of colonial rule, the Makonde people and their culture was subject to the foreign influence and colonial laws and policies with the settlement of Arabs and Portuguese in the African Coast. These policies transformed their social life as examined in this section. Cultural identities, according to the theory of cultural identity, are dynamic because they are a part of a dynamic social environment. It can also be defined as the framework of values that serve as guiding principles for meaningful symbols and shared lifestyles among people, even though they are not always part of identifiable groups (Boski et al., 2004, p. 32). The permanent

and evolving components of identity are a central tenet of the theory of culture and identity formation.

In pre-colonial times and colonial times, the Makonde people believed in veneration of their ancestors, they believed in traditional healers, medicine men, and wise women and men. The Makonde honoured their ancestors (Mwiraria,2017, p.12; Afonso, O.I.,2022). Among them are traditional doctors, who believe in healing different diseases (*ibid*). The Makonde still carry out practices that show how they celebrate their ancestors. It is illustrated through the carvings they make on their family tree that show the older generation on the bottom supporting later generations. As they interacted with the Arabs in slavery, they adopted Islam (Liebenow,1971, p.40; Kaju, O.I.,2022). The Makonde were traditionalists. The Makonde people follow a combination of ancient ancestral beliefs, Islam, and Christianity. During their time in Tanzania and Mozambique, many Makonde in Kwale became Christians, especially Catholics, as a result of missionary work. However, many have also converted to Islam, particularly after relocating to Kenya's mostly Muslim coastline region. Despite these religious ties, many Makonde people still engage in traditional spiritual activities like initiation ceremonies, ancestor worship, and ritual dances like the mapiko, a masked dance ceremony with profound religious meaning. Understanding their identity formation, absorption into the larger coastal religious scene, and cultural resilience all depend on these religious components. (Suruale, O.I., 2022; Mwitanda, O.I.,2022). Many of the Makonde cultural practices entailed offering animal sacrifices. Without much land on which to domesticate animals, also the practice of Christianity, the Makonde found themselves with neither the time nor the domestic animals with which to perform sacrifices. The colonial government feared that African-owned livestock would spread diseases and, as a result, measures were put in place to ensure that Africans contained their animals

in their respective native reserves. The Makonde, being migrant labourers, did not even have a Native Reserve of their own, and as a result, they had no animals to offer sacrifice to their ancestors (Mtikula, O.I.,2022; Kazungu, O.I.,2022).

Before colonial disruption, the Makonde people lived in villages that were surrounded by thickets to protect them against raiders. Their houses were grouped in a circle around a large public square, within which there was a meeting house for men called *chitala*. *Chitala* was located at the centre of the homestead. The homestead had a public square which was mostly shaded by mango trees. These public spaces provided space for children to play, women to grind flour, and for old men to rest (Mtikula, O. I, 2022; Stoner, 1998, p.34). However, after migrating into coastal Kenya as labourers, they were forced to live in scattered areas of the coast and reserves. This meant that they could no longer have a large public square to construct their houses. This was because they were given small pieces of land by the colonial government to act as their residential areas (Menga, O.I.,2022; Luali, O.I.,2022).

During colonial times, the Makonde community got into Kenya to work on European plantations in the coastal region. The colonial government in Kenya did its best to conserve and preserve ethnic cultures. People from the same ethnic background were housed separately from those of other ethnic groups. This was in line with the policy of indirect rule. Africans were expected to be governed by their respective customary laws. This helped to reduce the costs and burden of administering ethnic communities (KNA, ABK/18/56,1965-66). However, it was not possible to isolate ethnic communities from each other completely since they could meet on the farms during working time. The Makonde people's language of communication while in Mozambique was Kimakonde. After migrating to Kenya as labourers and as a result of interaction with other communities, the Kimakonde language spoken by the Makonde

people of Kenya started becoming endangered as a result of their association with the coastal people and use of Swahili as a mode of communication (Mwanyumba & Ong'onda, 2018, p.2; Mohammed, O.I.,2022). Because of a language barrier between the Makonde people, Kenyan coastal communities and the British administrators, the Makonde people had to learn the Kiswahili language to facilitate communication. This led to a change in the Makonde language, some of the Swahili and coastal words were absorbed into their Kimakonde language hence the transformation (Santana, O.I., 2022). The cultural identity theory, formation of different languages and distinct species explains these language changes. The foundational idea of the theory demonstrates how language has evolved gradually. Cultural identity theory is demonstrated here as the Makonde people's language changes gradually to the point where it nearly goes extinct as they interact with other communities (Collier,1988).

The initiation rites, which were their most significant cultural role, served as the primary symbol of their cultural identity in the Makonde system of values. The youthful Makonde people were turned into adult members of society by initiation rites, and one could be married (Saetersdal, 1999, p. 130; Ndeva, O.I.,2022). The Makonde initiation ceremony was impacted by the imposition of colonial practices; these rites of passage, known as the *likumbi* for men and the *ingoma* for women, were performed in the bush and required a time of isolation that used to endure for at least three months (ibid, p.89). However, following the interruption of the colonial government, they started performing it in three weeks, which was always due to the school calendar (Suruale, O.I,2022; Kacimi & Sulger, 2004, pp.31-32). This acted as an indicator of its diminishing significance as a cultural 'rite of passage in the community.

The coming in of Europeans and modernization that occurred in the colonial time impacted a lot on the transformation of the Makonde people's way of initiation.

Previously the Makonde took girls too for initiation (*unyago*). After settling in Kenya, the Makonde girls stopped undergoing any initiation process (Nguli, O.I., 2022). This was a result of modernization as well as due to interacting with other communities. During initiation time, the initiates underwent seclusion in preparation for circumcision, which was a crucial rite of passage. Embracing modernity and the onset of different diseases attributed to the rite would see different communities across Kenya discouraging traditional circumcision process (Hamadi,O.I., 2022). By promoting the idea of ethnic-bound villages on plantations, the colonial government altered the social fabric of the Makonde largely. Back in Mozambique, the colonial government promoted the same policy of villagization, which transformed the social lives of the Makonde.

In Mozambique, the Makonde were a matrilineal society, following their interaction with the Kenyan communities, the Makonde people society changed to a patrilineal society, this also occurred as a result of intermarrying with coastal communities (Beidelman,1967, p.31; Mtikula, O.I.,2022). Even when they interacted with different cultures, the uncle was always thought of as the "social father" by the kids of his sisters and nieces. (Wembah-Rashid, 1998, p.39; Kacimi and Sulger, 2004, p.26). Children were no longer identified on the mother's lineage, it was a man who married not like in the past whereby the woman was the one marrying, the household was headed by a male member and, therefore, there was a clash of matrilineality and patrilineality (Nyawa, O.I.,2022).

A dance known as *Mapiko* for men and masquerade for women was an essential element; performed during their ceremonies. The Mapiko mask was worn during the dance by men to scare away women and children so that it could portray their authority (Baya, O.I., 2022; Israel, 2005, pp.99-100; Kacimi & Sulger, 2004, p.20; Stoner, 1998,

p.83). The Mapiko dance was always performed on happy occasions that entail the entire Makonde village, it was always accompanied by the use of two kinds of drums, a large one played by the use of an individual palm and a small one played by the use of sticks. Despite their interaction with the Kenyan communities during the colonial period, the Makonde still observed some of their cultural practices of Mapiko dances that originated from their ancestors (Lilanga, O.I.,2022). The hard life to which the Makonde faced denied them the joy of celebrating the birth of their children. Originally, newborn babies were ushered into the world, and other members in ululations, songs, dances, and gifts (Menga, O.I.,2022) welcomed the child and mother into the community. Like ceremonies relating to birth, initiation ceremonies called for a lot of feasting and gifting of the initiates. But the hard life to which the Makonde became accustomed could not afford them such luxuries. Originally, the Makonde were accustomed to certain rituals relating to the close of initiation of boys and girls (*midimu*) (Grund-Khznader 1981; Umazi, O.I.,2022).

At night, as the moon was transitioning from the quarter to the stop phase, the Midimu ceremony got underway. Every villager participated in the celebrations outside throughout the event, and the feast went on nonstop for three days and three nights. The Makonde wore masks during the *midimu* ceremony. According to Marie (1981, p.10), wooden masks in the Makonde community were used in ceremonies like initiation, weddings, and magical rituals, and they were always accompanied by dances (Marie,1981, p.11; Mwajora, O.I.,2022). The dancers in masks symbolise spirits and show the ancestors' support for the nascent initiates. At their happy transition into adulthood and society, the spirits unite with them. After participating in a variety of dances, the masked men were allowed to visit each new initiate's home at the conclusion of the third night (ibid, p. 11), the initiates were given honey, meat, jewellery, and

sometimes money by the initiates' families. At the end of the feast, it was believed that the *Midimu* spirits could now leave the villages and the masks returned to the forest (*ibid*, p.12). During the festive seasons such as initiation ceremonies, the Makonde used songs and dances during the celebrations. However, currently, the number of masked dancers has reduced in numbers as compared to the past. This was a result of colonial administration and interaction with their neighbours, only the boys underwent the initiation as early as twelve years and not at the age of eighteen years as it was in the past (Lilanga, O.I., 2022).

While in Mozambique, the Makonde had plenty of land and this encouraged them to marry many wives (Wembah-Rashid, 1998, p.22; Mwakyusa, O.I.,2022). However, after settling in Kenya, they did not have the luxury of owning much land in Kenya and this discouraged them from marrying many wives. The colonial government identified them as resident labourers because they resided on their employers' land (KNA, DC/KMG/2/12/45,1944-45). As time kept on evolving, the Makonde people started to intermarry with other Kenyan communities; previously it was rare to find a Makonde married to another community, today (Alisa,O.I., 2022;Matheka,O.I.,2022). The Makonde stopped tattooing their body as well as doing the facial tattooing (Mwiraria, 2017, p.9; Chirima, O.I.,2022). The modern Kenyan Makonde women have not done lip plugging as used to be the case in the olden days. These show that they have undergone some transformation. According to UNHRC (2015), the older Makonde situated in Kenya have markings on their faces however it is a rare thing to see among the faces of the present young generation of the Makonde. After settling in Kenya, tattooing among the Makonde people became a rare practice. It was easier to identify a Makonde through tattoos, however, as time has progressed and interaction with neighbours, a lot has transformed (Lilanga, O.I., 2022; Dalu, O.I.,2022). Only the old

Makonde generation have marks of cicatrification and tattoos. They are the generation that came as labour migrants (Menga, O.I., 2022; Mangale, O.I.,2022).

Previously, when a Makonde died, he or she was buried on the following day. During the burial ceremony, the Makonde still observed some of the practices despite interacting with Kenyan communities. The dead person was buried in a family land that was set aside. A casket was not used in burying the dead body instead; a traditional casket was made of tree poles and *mkeka* covered with either *lesos* or bed sheets. After the burial, the mourners left the bereaved's home and came the following day very early in the morning to perform an activity known as *kunawa mikono*, which entailed finding out whether the dead person owed someone a debt after that, they share a cup of tea marking the end of the bereavement (Mtikula,O.I., 2022).

Being poor migrant labourers, owing to their meagre wages and scarcity of land upon which they were forced to work out for a living, the Makonde people found it hard to afford the payment of expensive dowries. More interesting is the fact that children belonged to the mother in the pre-colonial period. In Kenya, the Makonde found themselves being governed by colonial rules which did not recognize this kind of social arrangement. The colonial government promoted patrilineal social policies. This forced the Makonde household to start embracing male figures as the head of the family and therefore, there was a clash of matrilineality and patrilineality (Dzombo, O.I.,2022; Tweve, O.I.,2022).

According to cultural identity theory by Collier and Milt, it stipulates that due to enduring and changing aspects of identity, cultural identity changes due to several factors which are social, political, economic and contextual, and as a result human beings evolves due to external forces (Collier & Milt,1988). This leads to the

transformation of people's way of life socially, especially as they interact with other communities. This theory is seen as Makonde people are affected by their mode of dowry payment and observation of children belonging to the mother's lineage. They are forced to abandon what they were practicing while in Mozambique and adopt new practices in the new environment, which is Kenya thus the transformation. Due to changes in the environment and as time evolved, the Makonde people's social institutions transformed.

### **3.4 Economic Transformation of the Makonde Upon their Settlement in Kenya**

As we have observed in the previous sections, the Makonde were wood carvers. They carved wooden masks, most of which were worn during important ceremonies. With the death and abandonment of certain rituals by the Makonde people, the significance of wooden masks also began to die a natural death. This diminished the important place that wood carvers occupied in the Makonde society. In East Africa, where masked dancing was not previously practiced, Israel (2005, p. 99) claims that the Mapiko masquerades of the Makonde are peculiar. As they settled in Kenya, the Makonde people who were offering labour in European sisal plantations, wood carving was one of the economic activities that Makonde still observed apart from working in the sugar factory, during their free time, some carried out sculpting to get an extra income to improve their living standard. However, the type of sculptures that they carved was mainly meant for sale hence no longer similar to the ones that they were carving previously such as the Makonde family tree (Dzila, O.I., 2022).

Woodcarving became one of the Makonde economic activities. During the pre-colonial period, the Makonde carvings were only used for their beautification and also for the preservation of their own culture and myth. When the Europeans got into East Africa, they started buying the Makonde sculptures. This made the Makonde earn an income

by selling the carvings. This contributed to an introduction of the classical European style into the traditional Makonde style of wood carving, unlike the previous carves which were mainly feminine figures (Kacimi & Sulger, 2004, p.62; Kenga, O.I.,2022). It was mostly males who carved wood. Carving was a male-dominated art form among the Makonde people. Women didn't have time for other activities since they had too many responsibilities, including caring for the home, raising children, and pottery (Menga, O.I., 2022; Breutz, 1971, p.12). Following an increase in tourism in Africa from as early as 1960, the Makonde styles and types of sculptures diversified expansively (Kacimi & Sulger, 2004, p.63; Mwinyi, O.I.,2022).

Previously the Makonde carvings were used during their ceremonies such as magical rituals, weddings, and initiations but, owing to the harsh economic hardships they faced in the colonial period, they started making their carvings for sale. Thus, some aspects of Makonde's social life were commoditized (have been turned into economic opportunities). UNHRC (2015) states that the Makonde people ventured into wood sculpting as a result of high demand as well as their perfection, they are well known for their refined and beautiful carvings which are both modern and traditional Makonde sculptures. As a result of wood carving, the Makonde interacted with the Akamba people, as a result, the Akamba learnt wood carving from the Makonde people. Wood carving for the Akamba tribesmen of central Kenya is one of their economic activities. Akamba people have been carving wooden household utensils and ornaments from time immemorial. Through buyers in Mombasa and Nairobi, Akamba people wood carvings have reached overseas markets (KNA/MSS/115/37/19). The Makonde people are well known as masters' carvers in the whole of Africa and their carvings are available in tourist markets and museums.

During the colonial period, the Makonde of Kenya who lived in the coastal region, practiced farming within their reserves. This was mainly subsistence farming which could only sustain their families. Makonde people also grew coconuts like their neighbouring communities, the Digo and Duruma within their reserves (Nguli, O.I.,2022; Mumbo, O.I.,2022). Fishing was among the economic activities carried out by the Makonde of Kenya during their free time, their interaction with the local communities as well as staying near the ocean made them adapt to the activity as a source of income. Some of the Makonde people were employed at the sugar factory in Ramisi (UNHRC &Haki Centre, 2015; Abdallah, O.I.,2022). Makonde women practice basketry and weaving mats (Mwiraria, 2017, p.22; Mshenga, O.I.,2022). Some of the crops that were grown by the Makonde are rice, cashew nuts, maize, beans, cassava, and sorghum (Akisa, O.I, 2022, Nyanje, O.I.,2022).

### **3.5 Political Transformation of the Makonde People who Settled in Kenya**

According to Wembah-Rashid (1998, p.39), political and social power belonged to *the nangolo* (or village's chief). Since his kids would be residing in their *likola*, the village head could always surround himself with his nephews and nieces. (Kacimi and Sulger, 2004, p.26; Mshenga.O.I.,2022). In this way, men controlled the kinship group's productive and reproductive resources. Things changed for the Makonde when they settled in Kenya. Since most of them were resident labourers, they were subjected to the authority of the plantations on which they settled. While at work, they were subjects of the supervisors. Beyond the farm, Makonde resident labourers were subjects of the colonial chiefs, District officers and the District Commissioner. Most of the colonial administrators were men. Therefore, the Makonde became subjected to a colonial authority that was largely patriarchal. As such, the authority of maternal uncles, among the Makonde people, began to diminish (Menga, O.I, 2022; Mazarimu, O.I.,2022).

The Makonde of Kenya has undergone a political transformation from the time of colonial period to the current time. Previously the Makonde people were a matrilineal society and mostly leadership came from the mother's lineage (Andrea, O.I.,2022; Mwiraria,2017, p.14). Following the coercive labour policies, the Makonde people after settling in Kenya had no chiefs whom they had elected to head them. Instead, they were under chiefs from the colonial government. This made Makonde people leadership called *litawa* which was headed by the *Mwenyekaya* to be affected (Mtikula, O.I, 2022; Mponda, O.I.,2022). Cultural identity theory has been elaborated here through the transformation of the Makonde people's political institutions as a result of interacting with other communities. After settling in Kenya, the change in environment affected their political institution because of the colonial laws that were enforced on them. They had to be under colonial masters and not the Makonde chiefs whom they were fond of.

### **3.6 Summary**

The objective of this chapter was to examine the social, economic and political transformation of the Makonde people of Kenya as a result of colonial laws and policies. It has been observed that the Makonde community of Kenya has undergone a significant transformation since the colonial period until now, their migration from their homeland contributed to the changes within their social, economic and political life, this is a result of interaction with other communities as well as the modernization brought by Europeans in Africa. The colonial government contributed to the transformation of the life of the Makonde of Kenya. The Europeans who were the employers of the Makonde influenced a lot in their lives. The Makonde people had to adopt a new way of life such as a religious life in which they were converted to Christianity and their initiation process for boys and girls took another turn. The Makonde also transformed economically and politically. According to Collier &

Milt,cultural identity is dynamic and keeps on transforming as time evolves,this occurs as a result of interactions with other people cultures or either change in societal norms. There will always be change in culture due to continuous contact between two or more different groups of people, this will lead to change in social, economic and political structure of the community. This is seen on how the Makonde transformed socially, economically and politically due to interactions that they came across daily. The next chapter examines the changing relationship between the Makonde and the State in post-independent Kenya from 1963 to 2016.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE MAKONDE LABOUR MIGRANTS IN POST –INDEPENDENT KENYA, 1963-2016

#### 4.1 Overview

The achievement of political independence in 1963 resulted in many changes. The independent Kenya constituted people from different countries who had been brought by the colonial government as migrant labourers. This chapter examined the changes experienced by the Makonde people on social, economic and political aspect from the period of 1963-2016, their contribution to the post-independent Kenya economy as labour migrants. It also examines the Makonde stateless condition while in Kenya. Makonde people's struggle for nationality and their status after the acquisition of citizenship is also examined. Despite the Makonde staying in Kenya for several decades, they have always been viewed as “outsiders”. Cultural identity theory has been used in this chapter to explain the cultural practices of the Makonde people and how they have transformed socially, politically and economically due to evolvement of time and interaction with people of different cultural practices. Marxist labour theory has also been used to demonstrate the main aim of post-independent Kenya retaining the Makonde people to work within the plantations, they mainly aimed to create profits from the plantations. Based on the theory, for a nation to prosper wealth-wise, it entails the spirit of vitality, intelligence and pragmatism from the people within that nation, for the production of a good to take place, there must be the presence of sufficient labour. The Makonde had to stay back and offer labour so as to contribute to the growth of post-colonial Kenya.

## **4.2 The Makonde People Social, Economic and Political Transformation in Post-Colonial Kenya**

Even after the departure of the colonialists, the Makonde people continued to interact with other communities. This led to a great transformation in their way of life.

### **4.2.1 Post-Colonial Social-Cultural Transformation of Makonde Setting of Kenya**

After Kenya receiving independence in 1963, the British government who were the colonial masters handed the power back to the Kenyan government. After Kenya gaining self-independence, the Makonde labour immigrants who had been brought into the country by the Europeans to work on their plantations opted to stay back in the country even after the colonial masters leaving the country. These Makonde immigrants were not compensated by the colonial government nor taken back to their homelands. UNHRC (2015) observes that majority of the Makonde people living in Kwale County have experienced some transformation, smaller populations are found in Kilifi and Mombasa counties. They mostly live in rural areas and some have intermarried with the local coastal communities (Nguli, O.I., 2022; UNHRC, 2015).

The Makonde have stayed in Kenya for many decades, there some social changes that they have been able to adapt as a result of interacting with other communities. As time evolved, the Makonde people started speaking Chimakonde, Kiswahili and the local dialects of their neighboring communities such as Kidigo and Kiduruma due to their interaction with Kenyan communities. As a result, the Chimakonde language is becoming endangered (Mwanyumba & Ong'onda, 2018; Menga, O.I., 2022), during pre-colonial and colonial period the Makonde people could only speak in Chimakonde and some few Swahili words.

Previously the Makonde people observed matriarchal in marriage, the post-colonial Makonde people living in Kenya are no longer a matrilineal society, they do not trace their family line through the mother. They shifted to trace on father's line due to their interaction with Kenyan communities. In Makonde matrilineal society, female lineages owned land, thus why men were moving to the women places, currently as a result of Makonde men becoming wage earners, they stopped moving into their wives homes instead it is women that move to their husbands' place (Alisa,O.I., 2022; Afonso,O.I.,2022;Mwiraria,2017). In traditional Makonde society, cross-cousin marriages were encouraged (Dias, 1970, pp.64-65). The Makonde people could not intermarry with other communities apart from their own (*ibid*).

However, as time evolved, the post-colonial Makonde transformed due to interacting with other local Kenyan communities some have been able to intermarry with the local communities, also cross-cousin marriages are no-longer allowed (Tiago, O.I.,2022). Bride price among the Makonde people is still observed however not a roll of tobacco as it was previously given out. Kinship among the Makonde is respected. Makonde men were polygamous in nature; they were grouped into clans headed by the Mwenyekaya (Mwiraria, 2017; Menga, O.I.,2022).

The Makonde during pre-colonial and colonial time used to shape their faces with strange artistic body features, women used to pierce their upper lips and then a round or either square wood placed. Facial cicatrification was done on both sides of the face and on the forehead and also body tattooing and teeth filling, all these were done as a sign of belonging to the community(Rashid,1992;Nguli,O.I.,2022).Mwiraria (2017) observes that within the post-colonial Makonde there are some of Makonde community of Kenya who have the facial cicatrification, he asserts that those who have teeth that have been filled and the cicatrification are the elderly Makonde .These are among the

second and third generations of the Makonde people starting from the time they entered into Kenya to work on the plantations of the Europeans together with their children. He argues that due to the modern transformation that has taken place, the current Makonde have not tattooed their body as well as doing the facial cicatrification. He further asserts that the modern Kenyan Makonde women have not done the lip plugging. These show that they have undergone some transformation (Mwiraria, 2017; Litope, O.I., 2022). UNHRC (2015) argues that the older Makonde situated in Kenya have markings on their faces however it is a rare thing to see among the faces of the present young generation of the Makonde. Based on Collier & Milt, it is that there will always be change in cultural practices due to change in time, the theory of cultural identity is evident here as the Makonde have transformed in tattooing of their bodies due to change in time interaction with other communities.

A dance known as Mapiko was an important element, it was done during their ceremonies. The Mapiko mask was worn on during the dance by men to scare away women and children so that it could portray their authority (Stoner, 1998). The Mapiko dance were performed on happy occasions that entails the entire Makonde village, Mapiko dance was always accompanied by the use of two kinds of drums, a large one played by use of an individual palm and the small one played by use of sticks. The rhythm of the drum signified the beginning of the ceremony and the arrival of the masked dancers, apart from drums the Makonde treasure xylophones which are made from logs and are known as dimbila (Finke, 2000). They used to come up with songs that are relevant to the ceremony that is taking place such as initiation, death, birth, harvesting season ceremonies as well as marriage (Menga, O.I., 2022). The Makonde people of Kenya have a harvesting dance known as 'Mwandeisha', it is always sung in kikonde language. The song is danced traditionally when there is a good harvest; the

dance always entails drumming, girls singing while others beat pairs of sticks. The dancers who are smeared with ochre on faces and disguised always twist and turn on high stilts. The Makonde of Kenya to date still perform Sindimba and Mapiko dance, after the Makonde being declared the 43<sup>rd</sup> community of Kenya, they were invited at the bomas of Kenya to perform the sindimba and Mapiko dance(Sithole,O.I.,2022).

#### **4.2.2 Post-Colonial Transformation on the Economic Life of the Makonde of Kenya**

The main reason as to why the Makonde people of Kenya moved into Kenya was to offer labor into the Europeans plantations. Their main economic activity during the colonial time was working on the farms of Europeans. After the departure of Europeans, the Makonde continued to stay in Kenya and working on the plantations. However, when the Kenyan government took over from the Europeans, they were barred to work on the plantation in 1990s on the basis of being non-Kenyans (UNHRC, 2015). This meant that they had to come up with other survival tactics that would enable them earn an income to facilitate their life. Currently, a number of Makonde people are working in Kenyan government as police officers, others are offering labour at Kwale International Sugar Company Limited as skilled and casual labourers and some are business men and women (Litope, O.I.,2022).

Makonde community of Kenya are wood carvers, Makonde people are well known as masters carvers in the whole of Africa and their carvings are available in tourist markets and museums (Mwiraria, 2017). Previously the Makonde carvings were used during their ceremonies such as magical rituals, weddings and initiations but after encountering with both the Portuguese and the British they started selling them which enabled them to earn an income. Wood carvings among the Makonde was done by men. UNHRC (2015) puts that, the Makonde people ventured into wood sculpting as a result

of high demand as well as their perfection, they are well known for their refined and beautiful carvings which are both modern and traditional Makonde sculptures. As a result of wood carving, the Makonde have been able to interact with their Akamba people who are their counterpart in wood carving and has made them to carve new sculptures apart from what they were carving (Menga, O.I.,2022).

Makonde of Kenya who live in the coastal region, practice farming, they grow subsistence food like maize which can only sustain their families. Makonde people also grow coconut like their neighboring communities the Digo and Duruma. Fishing is among the economic activity carried out by the Makonde of Kenya, their interaction with the local communities as well as staying near the ocean made them to adapt to the activity as a source of income. Some of Makonde people are employed at the sugar factory in Ramisi. Some are casual laborers while others are small scale traders (Akisa, O.I.,2022; UNHRC &Haki centre, 2015). Makonde women practice basketry and weaving of mats.

#### **4.2.3 Post-Colonial Political Transformation on the Makonde of Kenya**

The Makonde of Kenya has undergone a political transformation as from the time of colonial period to the current time. Previously the Makonde people were a matrilineal society and mostly leadership came from the mother's lineage. Mwiraria (2017) asserts that among the Makonde people of Kenya there is no chief who has been elected to head them. Previously the Makonde were grouped in litawa which were headed by the Mwenyekaya whose duty was to ensure that peace and harmony existed among the households, their political structure was decentralized in nature. Clans were made up of a small number of households (Dias, 1964, p.11). The Post-colonial Makonde of Kenya selected a chair whose responsibility is to act as their spokesperson, the chair apart from leading them, he represent them to various governmental and non-governmental

meetings (Menga, O.I.,2022). Cultural identity theory through its tenent of enduring and changing characteristics of identity, it looks at how social, economic, and political circumstances can cause cultural practices to change. This is seen through change in Makonde political organization due to the interaction they undergo with their neighbours.

The Makonde community used to carry out initiation on both boys and girls. It acted as a rite of passage on both of them from childhood to adulthood. He argues that during the occasion the initiates were secluded in different places and they were given informal education in preparation to parenthood (Rashid, 1992; Kaju, O.I.,2022). They used to wear masks during initiation in memory of their ancestors. The boys' jando entailed circumcision; It was performed by a leader known as Mkukomela. He used to hold a basket that had sacred medicines and wore charm on his arm (Mwiraria, 2017). The coming in of Europeans, modernization, change in time and their interaction with Kenyan local communities that has occurred since the colonial time has impacted a lot on the transformation on Makonde way towards initiation. Previously girls were taken too for initiation (unyago) but currently the Makonde girls do not undergo any initiation process, the Makonde women nowadays prefer education over marriage at that young age. During initiation time, the initiates were secluded from the community taken to a similar place where they were to undergo all the circumcision process, as a result of modernization and the coming up of various diseases, this type of circumcision was discouraged among the Kenyans communities which made also the Makonde to opt to take their boys to the hospitals for circumcision (Nguli, O.I.,2022; Suruale, O.I.,2022).

### **4.3 The Makonde People's Contribution to the Post-Colonial Economy**

Forced migration, illegal recruitment, taxation, and land tenure policies were imposed so that Africans could work on European farms (Zwanenberg,1975, p.32). Without these punitive measures, Kenya's labour shortage would have been worse. But even when they were applied, Kenyan tribes were very choosy. They picked less arduous employment opportunities(*ibid*). The Makonde were employed to perform arduous work. The Makonde people were scattered across the coastal region offering labour in sugar and sisal plantations, even after the colonial government departed, they remained in the country to offer labour in the respective plantations. To date, some of the Makonde people are working as casual and skilled labourers at the Kwale International Sugar Company Limited (KISCOL) at Ramisi (Buraja, O.I., 2022; Mwazuma, O.I.,2022).

In the agricultural sector, the Makonde were employed mainly on sugar and sisal plantations. It was not possible to get people to work on these plantations owing to the arduous work involved and the low wages that labourers were paid. Whenever the colonial government was faced with a shortage of labour in such key sectors of the economy, efforts were made to secure labour from outside Kenya. This practice began during the colonial period. Agriculture was the main economic activity upon which the economy of Kenya depended since the colonial period. By offering labour in sectors that Kenyan tribes shied away from, the Makonde contributed heavily to Kenya's economy both in the colonial and post-colonial periods. By 1963, Kenya Sugar Ltd at Ramisi had 7,197 acres of sugarcane plantations and Sisal plantations had a total of 5,754 acres (KNA, PC/COAST/3/1/8/34,1956; Nguli, O.I., 2022). The contribution of the Sugar industry to the Kenyan economy could not be underestimated. Kenya Sugar Ltd, in particular, was so productive even during the colonial period. It was noted that

“if the present shortage of labour continues it is probable that this important industry will become bankrupt (KNA, ABK/12/98,1943-47).

Karl Marx's theory of labour is elaborated here through the retainment of the Makonde people by the post-independent Kenya government on sisal and sugar plantations. Despite the colonists leaving Kenya, the Makonde people continued to work on the plantations. The main aim of post-independent Kenya was to create profits from the plantations. According to Adam Smith, for a nation to prosper wealth-wise, it entails the spirit of vitality, intelligence and pragmatism from the people within that nation (Smith, 1776:p.14). He argues that within an unevolved society, for the production of a good to take place, there must be the presence of sufficient labour (*ibid*). Nonetheless, he argues that in a more progressed society, there is compensation to the labourers, which entails looking at the value of the good hence making the market price no longer equivalent to the labour cost. He further argues that the labourer does not own the whole product of labour. According to Ricardo (1817,p.9), the monetary worth of a good is proportional to the energy invested in the labour necessary for its production; this involves the labour needed to produce the raw materials and machinery used in the process.

Kenya's tourism industry thrives largely on wildlife sanctuaries (National parks). However, the diversity of Kenyan culture has also contributed to the promotion of tourism. By practising their culture over the years, before settling in Kenya, the Makonde had perfected wood carving and dancing because most of their rituals were accompanied by masked dancing. By settling on the Kenyan coast, where cultural tourism thrives a lot, the Makonde were able to contribute towards Kenyan cultural diversity and, by extension, Kenya's tourism. Many communities on the Kenyan coast earn a living by showcasing their dances, artworks, and culture to tourists. One such

group of traditional dancers called the *Senganya* was popular with tourists at the coast in 1990s (KNA, PC/COAST/3/1/8/53,1974).

Indeed, after independence, the government of Kenya realized that it would no longer rely on wildlife as its main tourist attraction. To diversify tourism attraction options, the government decided to promote Kenyan beaches since 1969 as tourist attraction sites (KNA, ACW/6/28,1969). This was well spelled out in Kenya's Sessional Paper Number 8 of 1969 which sought, among other things, to promote tourism beach tourism in Kenya (KNA, ACW/6/28, 1969). Noting the importance of wood carvings and dances in the tourism industry, the District Commissioner (DC) for Malindi once noted that: Traditional dancers of all types were prominent features everywhere in the sub-district. Local traditional dances often entertained tourists and guests in big hotels in Malindi Township on payment of a small amount of money by the local hotel management concerned (KNA, Malindi Sub-District Annual Report, 1979:2).

Some of the traditional dance groups which have been in the business of entertaining visitors include the *Senganya*, *Mabumbumbu*, *Masha Iha*, *Giriama*, *Mchechemko*, *Gonda*, *Kayamba*, *Mabumbumbu Bukii* and *Porini* dancers (KNA,Kilifi District Annual report 1981:48). The Makonde wood sculptures have been a source of tourist attraction. Tourists visiting the coastal region have been able to buy some of the sculptures and take them back with them to their different countries, some of the carved sculptures have been stored in different tourism sites where both local and international tourist visit them to view different sculptures and other tourist attractions (Akisa, O.I, 2022;Ngumbe,O.I.,2022).

The Makonde, apart from contributing to Kenya's agricultural growth and tourism promotion, have also made political contributions. In particular, the Makonde have

contributed to Kenyans' struggle for recognition, and respect for human rights by way of fighting for their human rights of recognition as Kenyans (UNHCR 2017;Kambi,O.I.,2022). The Makonde first participated in Kenya's general election in the year 1983, they were allowed to vote for the president, Member of Parliament and councillor even though they had not yet been awarded citizenship, the alien card was used for the voting process. After that, they were not allowed to participate in any voting process until 2017 when they had acquired citizenship (Menga, O.I., 2022; Opiyo, 2017, p.21).

The Makonde community lost their official working employment in the 1990s in sisal companies and sugar plantations, according to UNHRC 2015 (UNHRC, 2015; Opiyo, 2017, p. 12). The Kenyan government issued an edict to employers during this time addressing the hiring of non-Kenyans (Simba, O.I.,2022; Opiyo, 2017). Employers were required to make certain that foreign workers had valid work permits and were registered with the Kenyan government. The majority of companies chose to end their contracts with foreign workers, including the Makonde community, due to the expensive fees associated with obtaining work permits (*ibid*). The Makonde were not awarded Kenyan identity or sent back to their homeland upon Kenya's independence. However, five years after gaining independence, they received District Commissioner (DC) cards. They could work and pay taxes because of this. A shift in the political rule brought about a change in this circumstance. Later on, they received alien cards, which officially identified them as foreigners. These cards served as identification, particularly in situations with Kenyan police (*ibid*, 2015; Nguli, O.I., 2022).

#### **4.4 Makonde People's Stateless Condition and Struggle for Citizenship**

The Makonde people of Kenya have been living in the country since independence. They were at the centre of inequality, injustice and structural violence (Kombo, 2018,

p.43; Athuman, O.I.,2022). Even after Kenya achieved independence, the Makonde opted to stay back in the country with the hope of being granted citizenship. The Makonde were rendered stateless during their entire stay in Kenya. When their children became eighteen, they were not allowed to apply for identity cards, and birth certificates were not issued to acknowledge the birth of every Makonde child in the community. Having access to a Kenyan national identity card is thought to be essential for establishing citizenship and granting access to associated rights and benefits (KHRC, 2015; Suruale, O.I.,2022).

From a human rights perspective, the Makonde were marginalized owing to their citizenship and minority status (Bosire 2017; Dadu, O.I, 2022). Despite most of them having been born in Kenya, they have long been treated as foreigners and non-citizens. The minority people's rights have not been implemented by Kenya's government despite a number of them having stayed in the country for a long period. They have not been recognized as citizens. It took the Makonde people together with a non-governmental organization to struggle for them to be recognized as Kenyan citizens (Amina, O.I., 2022; Sanyino, O.I.,2022).

Lack of citizenship contributed to Makonde being denied their citizenship rights such as access to sources of livelihood such as employment, education, and health. This denial stems from the fact that they were denied important citizenship documents such as national identification cards. Without this important document, one cannot seek formal employment, apply for a trading license or any travel documents such as passports. In pursuit of citizenship, during Kibaki's era in 2012, some of the Makonde leaders were summoned by the DC at his office in Kwale to meet with the president to tell him their pleas. During that meeting, they were asked to write down the *mbari* (clans) that are found within the Makonde people with a promise of

citizenship (Nganyi, O.I., 2022). By seeking their citizenship recognition by the government of Kenya, the Makonde were laying the ground for an even bigger achievement which is access to education, employment, and voting rights, among others, and after the struggle, they were able to acquire Kenya's identity card (UNHCR 2017; Ulrich, O.I.,2022).

The stateless people of Kenya were given hope with the adoption of the 2010 Kenyan Constitution, which rekindled the Makonde peoples' desire to apply for Kenyan nationality under the new constitution. The Kwale County legislature petitioned the President in July 2014 to acknowledge the Makonde as citizens and provide them with identity cards for adults and birth certificates for children (KHRC,2016, p.7; Heba, O.I.,2022). The President of Kenya formed an impartial task group on statelessness in response to the petition in order to obtain information and investigate the situation of the Makonde people and other stateless individuals living along Kenya's coast (*ibid*). The Makonde people were supported by civil society organizations led by the KHRC, who also posed questions to senators and members of the National Assembly of parliament. Unfortunately, the questions were not addressed (*ibid*). The National Registration Bureau (NRB) oversaw an investigation by a government task force after the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and national civil society organizations released a report on their circumstances in early 2015. The task force's recommendation to the cabinet was that they should be registered as Kenyans (UNHRC, 2015; Kombo, 2019, p.37; Athuman, O.I.,2022).

People in the Makonde community have tried both formally and informally for the past forty years to get identification documents. Formal procedures entail screening community members who request documentation. The Makonde previously had to go through a screening procedure when they applied for identity cards prior to becoming

citizens. The vetting process in the community took place between 1970 and 2013(Opiyo, 2017, p.33). When applying for identity cards, those people who live in areas where vetting applies, are required to produce additional documentation compared to other Kenyan citizens (Manby, 2018, p.33). Civil society organizations, human rights organizations in Kenya, and human rights organizations in Africa and abroad have all expressed strong disapproval of the identity screening procedure used in Kenya's administration of identity (ibid). The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Administration of Justice (Ombudsperson), and the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), among other official government bodies recognized by Kenya's constitution, have denounced inefficiencies, corruption, and discrimination in the issuance of national identity cards. The 2013 TJRC study serves as one example, demonstrating how Muslim populations nationwide and those in the country's northeast and upper regions have been subjected to discrimination for many years over their entitlement to citizenship and related identity documents (Manby, 2018, p. 32).

Makonde people's agony over citizenship saw different humanitarian organizations join hands with the community. On October 10, 2016, a walk against Makonde's statelessness was organized by the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC), the Haki Center, Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNHRC), and the Kwale County administration. The walk began in Kwale and ended at State House in Nairobi. After multiple attempts to register as a stateless person without success, the group desired to meet with the president (KHRC, 2016, p.8; Raphael, O.I.,2022). A presidential decree issued in December 2016 conferred nationality to the Makonde, granting them the same privileges as other

Kenyans (*ibid*). The rallying call for the Makonde in the struggle for their right to nationality in Kenya had a motto known as “*Ugeni huu, mwisho lini?*” Swahili for “Until when will we be excluded as visitors?” This played into the need to belong, their need to be Kenyans, and their need to fully enjoy their rights; which they were not enjoying as stateless persons (Kombo, 2019, p.23; Akisa, O.I.,2022; Katama, O.I.,2022).

A general change to the citizenship requirements authorized the issuance of a notice specifically exempting the Makonde people from paying registration costs (Gazette Notice No. 8768,2016). November 2016 saw the start of individual Makonde registration. The UNHRC (2016) reported that 1,492 individuals, including adults and children, received certificates of nationality, with 1,176 adults receiving Kenyan national identity cards. Among those who were denied registration were those with Mozambican ancestry. In order to facilitate the issuance of new ID cards after the official registration procedure, a number of previously issued ID cards had to be deactivated during this process (*ibid*). Makonde who were married to Kenyans were instructed to register as the spouse of a national, which meant going through a more difficult application process and not being excused from paying registration fees (*ibid*). It was this persistent struggle and rallies that led to the Makonde being granted nationality and being identified as one of the Kenyan communities in 2016 (Nguli, O.I.,2022; Ponda, O.I.,2022).

#### **4.5 Makonde Status after Acquisition of Citizenship**

According to international law, the right to become a citizen is an essential one. States may misuse their authority by discriminating against stateless people indefinitely if they do not possess nationality. Citizenship is an ongoing problem and frequently a

significant barrier, even if many states fail to recognize the significance of the right to a nationality and the obligations that go along with it. This is due to the fact that obtaining acknowledgment of one's nationality is necessary in order to enjoy many other rights, including equality before the law, work, health care, and education. In this regard, it is evident that stateless people, particularly children, are among the most vulnerable populations worldwide, particularly when it comes to access to healthcare and education (Herson & Couldrey,2009, p.4). After the Makonde people acquired citizenship, they were issued with Kenya national identity cards. This meant that the Makonde people were now eligible to access government services like any other Kenyan citizen. The Makonde community members have been able to benefit from some of the citizenship rights such as employment, education, the right to vote and healthcare. However, they have not been able to get full access to some services such as ownership of land and participation in politics because they are still viewed as outsiders (Amina, O.I.,2022; Mania, O.I.,2022).

After being awarded citizenship in 2016, the Makonde have been able to enjoy the right to work. Some are now employed by the government (Kombo,2019, p.42; Menga, O.I.,2022). The Makonde can now work just like any other Kenyan. Some Makonde people were picked to be in the uniformed services of Kenya: These are employed by the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF), the Kenya Police Service (KPS) arm of the National Police Service (NPS), and the Kenya Prisons as wardens. Owing to having a national ID card, the Makonde can freely travel and look for economic opportunities elsewhere (Nguli, O.I.,2022; Gona,O.I., 2022). In the health sector, the right to healthcare is progressive and Makonde has been able to enjoy the right to healthcare just like any other Kenyans. They have not yet experienced any form of discrimination in the right to healthcare. They have been able to receive health services in any clinic or hospital

that they went to. After the acquisition of the national identity card, some have been registered under the National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF) and used the card in both inpatient and outpatient services. Apart from receiving better healthcare, the Makonde people who are 70 years and above, have been able to access the right to social security in the public support offered by the government to dependent adults (Menga, O.I.,2022; Muhammed, O.I.,2022). The scheme is available in Kenya popularly known as the Inua Jamii programme. This programme is given to older persons past the age of 70 years. The older Makonde have been enrolled on the government-sponsored fund for old age.

The Makonde community members never felt excluded from the pursuit of primary and secondary education prior to obtaining citizenship (Kombo,2019, p.38; Dena, O.I.,2022). However, the community members were limited in pursuing college and university levels of education due to a lack of identity cards. In addition, the community members faced difficulties in accessing the local bursaries for their children (*ibid*). However, the issuance of identity cards made it possible for a large number of community members to seek higher education and obtain identity cards. Furthermore, identity cards have made it possible for community members to apply for bursaries in the same way as other members of the community. This has improved the Makonde people's access to equitable educational opportunities. (Suruale, O.I., 2022; Mgone, O.I., 2022). With the acquisition of identity cards, the Makonde people could now participate in voting process during general elections, something they could not freely participate in even after staying in Kenya for several decades. The Makonde community members who for years were excluded in the voting process now feel like other Kenyans. (Alisa, O.I, 2022; Famau, O.I, 2022).

However, despite acquiring citizenship, Makonde people have not been able to access some rights an example being the right to political participation. This is because they have always been viewed as “outsiders”. One of the ways that the Makonde community's ability to exercise its rights has been restricted is through a lack of political representation. It was discovered that people from the Makonde community are treated unfairly when they run for local office since they are perceived as outsiders in the political representation process. This is a result of the local communities' inability to elect a Makonde community member (Akisa, O.I,2022; Pashua, O.I.2022). The discrimination between so-called "outsiders" (those who are not local to that place) and "insiders," who continue to be at the center of confrontations in various parts of Kenya, is evidence of prejudice in Kenya (Kanyinga,2014, p. 34). Gaining legal title to land and protecting it from confiscation seems to be a problem among stateless persons (Sokoloff,2005, p.20). Several countries have passed laws that restrict stateless people from ownership of land (Hathaway,2005, p.516). The Makonde have benefited from gaining citizenship under the current constitutional arrangement, which has granted them a number of rights. As "outsiders" in the eyes of the locals, the Makonde people still struggle with land ownership. The Makonde community is perceived by the locals as foreigners who shouldn't be allowed to possess land in such areas. They have stayed in the country for decades, specifically since 1936 but they do not own the land. They do not have title deeds or any other documentation for the security of tenure in that piece of land (Menga, O.I.,2022; Hassan, O.I,2022).

Collier and Milt cultural identity through its tenent of avowal and ascription is well elaborated here. Avowal is how one articulates his/her views about group identity, this is how an individual presents oneself to another. On the other hand, ascription is how others perceive an individual this can be through stereotyping. As a result, this can lead

to conflict but resolution to all the conflicts will depend on status position of the group members. This is demonstrated on how Makonde people are experiencing stereotype from the local communities by being viewed as “outsiders” hence making it hard for them to run for political seats as well as not allowed to own land because they are foreigners.

#### **4.6 Summary**

This chapter examined the contribution of the Makonde people to the post-colonial Kenya economy. The Makonde contributed to both the agricultural sector and the cultural diversity of Kenyan society. The stateless condition of the Makonde and their struggle for recognition was assessed. They waged a struggle against the government of Kenya to have their citizenship status recognized. The status of the Makonde people after being granted citizenship was also examined. This chapter has demonstrated that the existing long relationship between the Makonde people led to them being granted citizenship in 2016 and identified as the 43rd ethnic community of Kenya. However, some people still refer to the Makonde community as “outsiders” yet they are Kenyans. Both the theory of Marxist labour theory and cultural identity theory have been applied in this chapter, the theories have explained on how Makonde were used to offer labour after colonial masters leaving the country and the transformation they experienced between the period of 1963-2016. The next chapter looks at the summary of this study, the conclusion and findings of the research as well as recommendations for further investigation.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Overview**

This chapter summarizes the work that has been handled in the preceding chapters. This study was a discussion of the history of the Makonde people of Kwale County in Kenya from pre-colonial times upto 2016. It also provides a conclusion based on the objectives and offers recommendations for future research to encourage other stateless labour migrants in Kenya to work towards their recognition by the Kenyan government.

#### **5.2 Summary**

Chapter one illustrated the background of the study, and it dealt with key areas of the research question, justification, literature review, research instruments methods and analysis. The chapter also provided an introduction by showing the procedure that was followed during collecting and analysing data. The research was carried out in the framework of Marxist labour theory and cultural identity theory. In problematising the analysis, the study employed Marxist labour value theory to explain on how the Makonde came to Kenya as labourers and how they were exploited by the colonial government so as to maximise on making of profit. Through this theory, the Makonde were subjected by the colonial government to work in sisal plantations in Kilifi, Taita and Kwale. It has been used to explain how colonial labour policies and laws impacted the Makonde people. The theory was supported by cultural identity theory which was used explain on social, economic, and political transformation of the Makonde people as a result of interaction with other cultures and change in time. Through the theory, the Makonde people social, economic and political aspects were impacted leading to transformation due to interaction with other communities and change in time. Based in

cultural identity theory, people cultural practices tend to change due as a result of time involvement. These theories served the study well.

The study employed an appropriate methodology that helped to achieve its objectives. The methodology used by the study gave out the necessary guidelines of gathering data in accordance with the set objectives. The research questions were answered in accordance with the guidelines of the research tools. The study involved interviews in collecting of data. In addition, the study used archival sources, thesis, books and journals.

The objectives of this study was achieved. The first objective was to analyse the socio-economic and political history of the Makonde people from pre-colonial times up to 1936. The research premise was pre-colonial Makonde socio-economic and political organisation was based on a belief system, family kinship and age-group system. The objective is covered in chapter two of the study. The chapter also discussed the social, economic and political history of the Makonde people from the pre-colonial period up to 1936, the origin and settlement of the Makonde in Kenya, Makonde socio-economic and political organization on the eve of colonial rule and the establishment of colonial rule in Mozambique.

Objective two of the study was to examine the extent to the colonial labour policies and ordinances impacted the Makonde labour migrants 1936-1962, its premise was that coercive labour policies, a heavy tax burden and wage reduction impacted heavily on Makonde immigrants. The objective is covered in chapter three of the study. The chapter looked at the extent to which the colonial labour policies and ordinances impacted the Makonde labour migrants, colonial laws and policies and their impacts on

the Makonde people, and the social, economic and political transformation of the Makonde people upon settling in Kenya.

Objective three of the study, was to assess the changing relationship between the Makonde and state in post-independent Kenya 1963-2016. The research premise was that the Makonde people were always labelled as “outsiders” despite their vested interests in the communities in Kwale County. The objective was well addressed in chapter four of the study. The chapter examined the relationship between the Makonde and the state in post-independent Kenya, the Makonde people's contribution to the Kenyan economy after independence, the Makonde people's statelessness condition and the struggle for recognition, their transformation socially, economically and politically in post-independent Kenya and Makonde's status after the acquisition of citizenship. Therefore, set objectives and premises of the study were sufficiently achieved and research questions answered.

The study arrived at several key findings. The history of the Mozambican Makonde people of Kenya followed definite stages that coincide with the objectives set for this study. First was the concern about social, economic and political organisation of the Makonde people while at Mozambique. The Makonde people's social, economic and political organisation was based on a belief system, family kinship and age-group system. Secondly was about origin and reason for migration of the Makonde people from Mozambique to Kenya, The establishment of colonial rule in Mozambique led to the settlement of the Makonde people in Kenya in 1936.

The Makonde people had a well organised social, economic and political unit prior to, once colonialism set in, coercive labour policies, heavy taxation and wage reduction heavily impacted on Makonde immigrants. These made the Makonde people transform

on both social, economic and political aspect due to change of environment and interaction with Kenyan communities.

After Kenya achieving independence, the Makonde people opted to stay back in the country. They continued to experience transformation as they interacted more with coastal communities. Despite Makonde staying in the country for several decades and contributing to the economy of post-independent Kenya, they were granted Kenyan citizenship in 2016 after several struggles. This was through the help of civil societies and the Kwale County government. Makonde communities were always labelled as ‘outsiders’ despite their vested interests in the communities in Kwale County.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

In conclusion, the background and methodology of this study laid the foundation on which this research was achieved. It is from the background information that the study achieved its objectives. During pre-colonial period, the Makonde people were well organized socially, economically, and politically. However, as time progressed and their interaction with other local communities led to transformation. The study established that establishment of colonial rule and need of cheap labour led to migration of the Makonde people to Kenya to work in British plantations at the coast. During the pre-colonial period, the Makonde socio-economic and political organization was based on a belief system, family kinship and age-group system. The study established that coercive labour policies and ordinances impacted heavily on Makonde immigrants. As a result of labour policies, the Makonde people were impacted socially, economically and politically. The research identified that after Kenya attained independence, the Makonde people who were brought in by the British government as labourers opted to stay back in Kenya. During this period, they experienced a magical transformation in different aspects due to interaction with Kenyan communities. Despite opting to stay

back and contribute to the economy of post-independent Kenya, they were never recognized as Kenyan citizens. Makonde people were always labelled as ‘outsiders’ despite their vested interests in the communities in Kwale County. After a struggle of over 50 decades, the Makonde people were awarded Kenyan citizenship in 2016. This research is significant because several it contribute to a more inclusive Kenyan historiography by conserving the oral and undocumented history of the Makonde people of Mozambique. Knowledge about the Makonde's fight for recognition can help guide current debates in Kenya and elsewhere about citizenship, identity, and the rights of stateless and minority groups. Furthermore, limited academic literature exists that thoroughly examines the Makonde people of Kenya. There is a gap in the material that is currently available because it mostly focuses on the Makonde in Tanzania and Mozambique hence this research will shed light on the ways in which trans-border ethnic groups adjust, compromise, and change who they are in reaction to social and political forces in their host nations.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

This study adds to the existing literature on the history of labour migrants’. There were considerable published literature on history of labour migrants across the globe but limited studies are available about the Mozambican Makonde of Kwale County in Kenya. My study adds to the existing literature by highlighting the social, economic, and political history of the Makonde people of Kenya and their transformation from precolonial period to post independent Kenya, their contribution to Kenyan economy and their struggle for recognition. Suggestions for future research include exploring further historical studies on the Makonde people to provide a different perspective than the one provided in this study. A classic example in Kenya’s historiography has been

several studies about the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya. All these studies provide different perspectives on the revolt.

This study also recommends that further research should be conducted on the Mozambican Makonde people of Kwale interaction with their neighbours who include the Mijikenda people at the Coast.

Since the Makonde have been recognized as one of the Kenyan ethnic groups, further studies should be conducted to ascertain how the new citizenship status bestowed upon them is going to affect their relationship with their neighbouring ethnic communities. Studies should be conducted to investigate how the Makonde are going to benefit from their new citizenship since lack of citizenship status had denied the Makonde the opportunities to acquire/buy land, access education, and health care as well as vote and seek elective positions. Studies should also be carried out to ascertain how the successful struggle of the Makonde people, leading them to acquire Kenyan citizenship, had influenced other minority communities in Kenya to struggle for recognition of their human rights.

The Kenyan government and its representatives have to implement the necessary steps to guarantee the protection of the rights of the Makonde people and other marginalised groups. As for the society, members of the society need to change their perception of labour migrants who are viewed as “outsiders” despite being recognised as Kenyan citizens. To help solve the issue of statelessness in the nation, the Kenyan government must create a national action plan. This will offer a structure to aid in resolving statelessness in the country.

The study therefore, recommends future scholars to conduct more research about the Mozambican Makonde people of Kwale County.

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### Informants

NAME	DATE	Venue
Abraham Litope	3/3/2022	Makongeni
Antony Alisa	3/3/	Makongeni
Amos Akisa	3/3/2022	Makongeni
Daniel Mtikula	3/3/2022	Makongeni
Danford Suruale	4/3/2022	Makongeni
Isaac Menga	4/3/2022	Makongeni
Mwanahawa Amina	4/3/2022	Makongeni
Peter Lilanga	5/3/2022	Makongeni
Simon Nangomwa	5/3/2022	Makongeni
Thomas Nguli	5/3/2022	Makongeni
Yussuf Hamadi	6/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Patrick Dena	6/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Isaac Pashua	6/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Yohana Mgona	6/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Ramah Famau	7/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Hassan Muhamed	7/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Rueben Gona	7/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Timothy Mania	8/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Rhodah Ponda	8/3/2022	Lunga Lunga
Lydia Bahati	9/3/2022	Kinondo
Zakayo Katama	9/3/2022	Kinondo
Lyn Heba	9/3/2022	Kinondo
Mercy Ulrich	9/3/2022	Kinondo
Lorna Raphael	10/3/2022	Kinondo

Mourice Sanyano	10/3/2022	Kinondo
Saima Dadu	10/3/2022	Kinondo
Juma Athuman	10/3/2022	Kinondo
Fred Nganyi	11/3/2022	Kinondo
John Simba	11/3/2022	Kinondo
Edwin Ngumbe	11/3/2022	Shirazi
Peter Buraja	11/3/2022	Shirazi
Peter Kambi	12/3/2022	Shirazi
Rita Mwazuma	12/3/2022	Shirazi
Peter Tweve	12/3/2022	Shirazi
Jonathan Mwakyusa	12/3/2022	Shirazi
Gabriel Ndeva	13/3/2022	Shirazi
Carol Santana	13/3/2022	Shirazi
Hamza Mohammed	13/3/2022	Shirazi
Barnabas Katana	13/3/2022	Shirazi
Festus Kazungu	14/3/2022	Gazi
Mark Luali	14/3/2022	Gazi
Reuben Mwitanda	14/3/2022	Gazi
Rose Kaju	14/3/2022	Gazi
Simon Afonso	15/3/2022	Gazi
Beatruce Madebe	15/3/2022	Gazi
Lucy Lingoni	15/3/2022	Gazi
Emily Kadzo	15/3/2022	Gazi
Ann Ndao	16/3/2022	Gazi
Peter Anengula	16/3/2022	Gazi
James Django	17/3/2022	Ramisi
Hudson Nkunja	17/3/2022	Ramisi
Violet Sithole	17/3/2022	Ramisi
Violet Tiago	17/3/2022	Ramisi
Rosia Kaju	18/3/2022	Ramisi
Grace Samwels	18/3/2022	Ramisi
Pius Madebe	18/3/2022	Ramisi

Davis Mbula	18/3/2022	Ramisi
Dennis Manjeda	19/3/2022	Ramisi
Jackson Matano	19/3/2022	Ramisi
Edwinah Kilosa	20/3/2022	Kigwende
Frank Mateus	20/3/2022	Kigwende
Zippy Hassan	20/3/2022	Kigwende
Mwanahawa Halima	20/3/2022	Kigwende
Winnie Kazungu	21/3/2022	Kigwende
Pius Kyalo	21/3/2022	Kigwende
Betty Mtununa	21/3/2022	Kigwende
Jane jira	21/3/2022	Kigwende
Philis Nawessi	22/3/2022	Kigwende
Rose Kilosa	22/3/2022	Kigwende
Nancy Litawilawi	22/3/2022	Kigwende
June Mwaka	23/3/2022	Funzi
Ben Muluta	23/3/2022	Funzi
Victor Mbuba	23/3/2022	Funzi
Peter Luali	23/3/2022	Funzi
Amos Chinana	24/3/2022	Funzi
Mercy Karisa	24/3/2022	Funzi
Titus Sapelo	24/3/2022	Funzi
Victoria Nachimala	24/3/2022	Funzi
Silas Nanguo	25/3/2022	Funzi
Caro Mbula	25/3/2022	Funzi
Andrea Nawessi	25/3/2022	Mangwei
Andrew Mponda	25/3/2022	Mangwei
Andrew Mazarimu	26/3/2022	Mangwei
David Mshenga	26/3/2022	Mangwei
Ann Nyanje	26/3/2022	Mangwei
Musa Abdallah	26/3/2022	Mangwei
Hillary Mumbo	27/3/2022	Mangwei
Ramadhan Mwinyi	27/3/2022	Mangwei

Mary Kenga	27/3/2022	Mangwei
Dan Dzila	27/3/2022	Mangwei
Anne Dzombo	28/3/2022	Ukunda
Geoffrey Mangale	28/3/2022	Ukunda
Ben Dalu	28/3/2022	Ukunda
Julius Chirima	28/3/2022	Ukunda
Daniel Matheka	29/3/2022	Ukunda
Sheila Umazi	29/3/2022	Ukunda
Victor Mwajora	29/3/2022	Ukunda
Stephen Baya	29/3/2022	Ukunda
Kennedy Nyawa	30/3/2022	Ukunda
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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Interview Guide

The aim of the questionnaire is to guide on the collection of oral information on the Makonde people of Kenya, their transformation since colonial period to present. Information shall be required on the following topics .Informants shall be assured of confidentiality of the information they give out.

#### QUESTIONNAIRES ON MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT.

1. Who are the Makonde people, what is the meaning of the name Makonde?
2. What were the reasons that made you to migrate from your original land?
3. When did the first Makonde person set foot in Kenya?
4. Please give a brief history of your community.
5. What was the reaction of the indigenous community after your settlement in the region?

#### SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN COLONIAL AND POST –COLONIAL PERIOD.

##### SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

1. How has the Makonde people beliefs change due to their interaction with other ethnic communities? Explain
2. Do Makonde still practice the traditional rituals that they were observing as from the pre-colonial period?
3. How are boys and girls initiated into adulthood? Do you still practice the same rituals that you were observing previously during the initiation time? Explain?
4. How is marriage observed at the moment? Do you still practice as the way it was done during the pre-colonial times? Explain.

5. In which way has the post-colonial government influence the way of living of the Makonde people? Explain.
6. What are some of your cultural practices that you still observe from colonial time?

#### ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION.

1. In what ways did the Makonde people contributed towards the economy of the British government in Kenya?
2. Did the Makonde people pay tax to the colonial government like the indigenous Communities?
3. Do you think colonial and post-colonial government affected the wood carvings activity among the Makonde people? Explain
4. Has the colonial and post-colonial government affected the source of living of the Makonde people in any way since the attainment of independence? Are there any changes that have occurred? Explain.
5. What are the occupations or professions that the Makonde people involved themselves?
6. In your opinion what do you think are factors that have contributed to change in the economic lifestyle of the Makonde people? Explain.

#### POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION.

1. Do you think that the Makonde still observe their traditional ways of leadership? Explain.
2. Has the post-colonial government involved the Makonde in government? Explain.

3. What are the political challenges that the Makonde have in the post -colonial period?
4. How has the post-colonial government of Kenya addressed the Makonde minority status concerns?

QUESTIONNAIRES TO THE REPRESENTATIVES FROM UNHRC, KHRC, HAKI CENTER, KHRN, LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND THE CHIEFS.

1. Which information do you have about the Makonde people?
2. Based on your knowledge, how far has the post-colonial government gone regarding the implementation of minorities 'right in Kenya such as the Makonde?
3. What special challenges have the Makonde faced regarding the acquiring of citizenship in Kenya?
4. What can you say about the rights that the Makonde have enjoyed before the issuance of the identity card.
5. What were the reactions of the post-colonial government of Kenya towards the Makonde community after the departure of the European government? (Being that they had gotten to the country as labour migrants
6. Do you think that the Makonde have benefited in any way from the present government of Kenya since the time they were granted citizenship? Explain.

Appendix II: List of Makonde *mbari*

TAREHE 13.07.2007

MBARI ZA KIMAKONDE

1. WAILOBBE
2. WAMWANGA
3. WAILIO
4. WANASHUVI
5. WANUMA
6. WALUKANGA
7. WAMATAMBWE
8. WASHKWATA
9. WANAMAKONGO
10. WASHITUNGULI
11. WANAMAKABA
12. WANTEULE
13. WANANKOKO
14. WASHIPONDA
15. WASILEDI
16. WANIGUGU
17. WANANTIBA
18. WAMIONE
19. WANAMBA
20. WASIMBUJE
21. WANCHABANI
22. WANDINDU

KAMATI YA WAMAKONDE

1. THOMAS AKISA
2. SEVERINO DENIS
3. MARCUS KASIMLU
4. ENDRICK MADUOI
5. RAPHAEL KARIWELA
6. JULIETA NTUBYA
7. ANNA DENIS

Appendix III: Alien Cards

any change of your normal place of residence from that one last recorded in this certificate should be reported to the Registration Officer not later than 48 hours of your arrival at your new residence.

2. A TEMPORARY absence of twenty-one days or less from your registered address (of residence) need not be reported but if you are away for more than twenty-one days you must report to the Registration Officer of the area in which you are registered your temporary address at that time, any subsequent changes of address and your return to normal place of residence.


3. You must report not later than 48 hours to the Registration Officer in the area in which you are registered ANY CHANGE in the particulars recorded in this certificate relating to name, marital status, nationality, respect or other document establishing identity and nationality, profession, occupation, employment or business.

4. All changes must be reported in person to the Registration Officer and this certificate produced for endorsement of such changes.

5. This certificate is the property of the person to whom it has been lawfully issued, and it is an offence to deprive him of it.

6. If found by any person other than its owner, this certificate must be delivered without undue delay to its owner or to the nearest Registration Officer or the police.

CPK11



M. 072070  
SERIAL No.

ALIENS RESTRICTION ACT, 1973

CERTIFICATE OF  
REGISTRATION

By \_\_\_\_\_ his certificate if required  
by any Police Officer  
or Migration Officer

See the Notice on the Back of this Certificate

2

FURTHER REGISTRATION PARTICULARS

Fee Paid KSh 200/-

Official Receipt No. 304402

This Certificate expires on 10-5-1994

The Validity of this Certificate is hereby extended to \_\_\_\_\_


Po Box 188, /  
TINWI.

3


ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS

S.NO. 17983

**PHOTOGRAPH**



*Signature of Holder*



*Stamp of Issuing Office*

*Signature of Registration Officer*

**Signature of Registration Officer**

Date of Issue 11-05-1992

Place of Issue MOMBAASA

Name (in full) Mrs VERONICA  
*(Block Letters)*

Alias (if any) MWANOMPAWANYI

Nationality NO 2 AMERICAN

Date of Birth 1972

Country and place of birth NIPINGO - KENYA

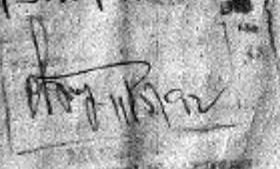
Passport or other documents as to identity and nationality \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status MARRIED

4

**ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS**

NP/3m/7k

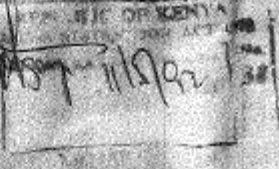


5

**ENDORSEMENTS AND REMARKS**

RESIDENT TO BE

MATUGWEI - MSAMBUENI  
KWALE DISTRICT



## **Appendix IV: Research Authorization Letter**

**Appendix IV: NACOSTI Research Permit**

 <p>REPUBLIC OF KENYA National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation</p>	 <p><b>NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &amp; INNOVATION</b></p>
<p>Ref No: <b>ST1038</b></p>	<p>Date of Issue: <b>11/April/2021</b></p>
<p><b>RESEARCH LICENSE</b></p>	
	
<p><b>This is to Certify that Ms. PERIE KHAKOMI OMWOA of Kenyatta University, has been licensed to conduct research in Kwaile on the topic: A HISTORY OF THE MAKONDE PEOPLE OF KWALE COUNTY IN KENYA, 1948-2016 for the period ending: 11/April/2021.</b></p>	
<p>License No: <b>MACOSTI/21/16788</b></p>	
<p>Applicant Identification Number: <b>581038</b></p>	 <p>Director General <b>NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &amp; INNOVATION</b></p>
	<p>Verification QR Code</p> 
<p><b>NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.</b></p>	