

**CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF KURIA SYSTEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL,  
LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE, 1885-1995**

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## DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

### Declaration by the Student

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

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God for his strength throughout the commencing of this thesis and my loving mother, Mary Kerubo.

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The work with this dissertation has been extensive and trying, but in the first place exciting, instructive, and fun. Without help, support, and encouragement from several persons, I would never have been able to finish this work.

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## ABSTRACT

The Kuria have not been adequately studied and are still imperfectly understood. Besides the physical remoteness, the official reputation of the Kuria as "backward" "unsophisticated" and "litigious" had contributed to a widespread misconception of the area as a place of banishment. Often, they were viewed by the colonial state as timid and endangered by their more powerful neighbours hence amenable to pax Britannica. As such Kuria community became a headache to both the colonial and post colonial authorities by settlement of political issues through informal systems and non-police security organs in the process of attempting to enhance their system of social control, leadership and governance. This study therefore, was an attempt to examine continuity and change of Kuria system of social control, leadership and governance over time. The study is informed by Methodology based on both primary- oral interviews and archive and secondary data collection techniques were used through purposive sampling and snowballing technique. Three analytical frames were used to analyze data i.e. theoretical reflections, documentary review and content analysis. Two theories were used for analysis and interpretation. Conflict theory was used since it is concerned with causes and impacts of conflicts in the society. It was supplemented with political settlement theory which explains resolutions reached after conflicts to form acceptable political institutions. Literature review based on the objectives and research premises aligned to each chapter. The study found out that, the Kuria pre-capitalist and economic system has been substantially transformed, traditional elders who used to benefit social relations of subordination and obligation, have retained their ideological systems which they tactfully deploy to gain economic and other advantages from people who, under the traditional system, would normally be bound to them. And that conservationist policy of the colonial and postcolonial state facilitated elders' claims on their subordinates, and both operated together with a mutually reinforcing effect.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>BAT</b>	:	British American Tobacco
<b>BDP</b>	:	Botswana Democratic Party
<b>CJPC</b>	:	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
<b>DC</b>	:	District Commissioner
<b>DPC</b>	:	District Peace Committee
<b>EXCO</b>	:	Executive Council
<b>FRELIMO</b>	:	Front Liberation of Mozambique
<b>GEMA</b>	:	Gikuyu Embu Meru Ambeere
<b>HURINET</b>	:	Human Rights Networks
<b>IMF</b>	:	International Monetary Fund
<b>KANU</b>	:	Kenya African National Union
<b>KADU</b>	:	Kenya African Democratic Union
<b>KAR</b>	:	Kings African Rifle
<b>KAU</b>	:	Kenya African Union
<b>KCA</b>	:	Kikuyu Central Association
<b>KHRC</b>	:	Kenya Human Rights Commission
<b>KPU</b>	:	Kenya Peoples Unon
<b>LEGCO</b>	:	Legislative Council
<b>MTK</b>	:	MasterMind Tobacco Kenya
<b>NACOSTI</b>	:	National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
<b>NDC</b>	:	Native Districts Councils
<b>PC</b>	:	Provincial Commissioners
<b>PRCT</b>	:	People for Rural Change Trust
<b>SRDP</b>	:	Special Rural Development Program
<b>ZANU</b>	:	Zimbabwe African National Union

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

*...the Kuria are heavily dependent on nature, they are conservatives, and .... 'hedge their bets' they are not apt to make dramatic changes over a short period of time unless they are quite sure of the outcome. (Hamilton, 1969): 56*

#### **1.0 Introduction**

After the Kenyan independence in 1963, Kuria district (then Kehancha Division) emerged as one the most economically productive region in Kenya both in livestock and crop production (Friedsberg, 1987): 4. With wealth of huge ripe land, the region was named a high potential territory by the Ministry of Agriculture. By 1964, the division had framed a solid advertising board that sold a yearly normal of 300,000 packs of maize from a bunch of little scale agriculturists which by 1995 had dropped to 20,000. This would later be credited to various calculates, for example, decrease showcasing associations for maize in the region as well as the opposition from the tobacco edit. (Friedsberg, 1987): 4 Then again, cows from Kuria sold to the Kenya Meat Commission amid the 1960s comprised a bigger level of aggregate deals from Nyanza Province. These were be that as it may, to decrease step by step with the presentation of tobacco.

Actually, the Special Rural Development Program (SRDP) achieved an end that the Kuria region had great soils and sufficient precipitation yet the region had been politically dismissed contrasted with other potential regions in Kenya. Woodland assets in the locale were primarily normal, with around six gazetted substantial government characteristic backwoods territory to be specific Biangogo, Nyaitara, Kebaroti, Gitambwega, Taragwiti and Nyandwi and a couple of ridge afforestation. With continuous presentation of tobacco cultivating indigenous trees were to an expansive degree supplanted by exotics.

It is argued here that, constant marginalization and political peripherisation of the region and the introduction of tobacco production from the late 1960's succeeded transforming the kuria into a petty commodity producer for the tobacco companies such as the British-American Tobacco (BAT), Mastermind Kenya and Stancom Limited. The complexities of this relationship between companies and the local producers are part of the complex historical relationship that has existed between the multinational companies, the Kenyan state and the peasantry.

In many African communities, there has been conflict of institutional roles where the traditional political systems have been taken wholly or partly incompatible with modern systems thereby bringing strain in carrying out a single role satisfactorily because people in various role relationships make conflicting demands. The political change without institutionalisation of traditional political systems has broken away the traditional authority because the independent governments in African societies do not want challenges to their authority. There have been conflicts between traditional and state law compelling examination of various institutions of the society to compare societies and look at interrelationships between institutions within one society (Guttsman 1965). This study therefore sets to re-examine traditional political systems of the Kuria community of Kenya.

On a basic level of East African prevalent legislative issues is an ideological and also material commitment with patron– customer connections. This dynamic quickens, somehow, the whole scope of political establishments, from century's old open factions of mending to postcolonial and postliberalization foundations. Second, a noteworthy element of these establishments is the responsibility to tending to the imperceptible and also the unmistakable universes—"undetectable" alludes to the job of divinities, inconspicuous spirits, and restorative impacts whose properties are not clearly

noticeable in a similar sense that those of doubtlessly "obvious" boss or political gatherings are.

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

The foundation is the review of conventional social-political frameworks of Kuria. Ogot (1967) contends that upkeep and coherence of a general public or establishment ordinarily requires the propagation of an authentic custom which might be composed or oral, and to comprehend the general public or organization, one needs to comprehend its verifiable conventions. The above account is supplemented with the examination done by Abuso (1980), who attests that the historical backdrop of Abakuria is tied up with that of the different networks who neighbor them both toward the north and toward the south of Lake Victoria in Kenya, the territory by and large known as the Lake Region. The peopling of Abakuria spread over numerous ages from about the start of sixteenth century originating from northern side of Lake Victoria and Mt. Elgon and continuously 50% of the nineteenth century, Kuria society was at that point going up against its present shape. This was quickened by the happening to pilgrim rule in the locale who would in general put the colonized networks in bound squares called 'clans' which did not exist previously. This made individuals to begin recognizing themselves as clans.

From the study of concentrates done on the western Bantus by Were (1967), it has been very certain that a large portion of the present Abakuria don't have any normal recorded starting point. They seem to have sprung from numerous bearings. It is in this manner imperative to take note of that even the way of life of present Abakuria people group is a blend of a wide range of societies. Maseke (2012), additionally contends that the name Kuria was connected to the entire gathering by the early pilgrim boss chiefly to recognize them from the other Luoised bunches along the southern shores of Lake

Victoria who were known as Abasuba – a name which now and again likewise incorporated the Kuria legitimate.

The worldwide populace of these individuals is around 659,000. Their essential dialect is Kuria-(kuj), and the country of the Abakuria is between River Migori toward the east and the estuary of River Mara toward the west; on the eastern side, the region extends from Migori area in south Nyanza of Kenya to Musoma region of Tanzania on the western side. Toward the south the land outskirts the Transmara locale on the Kenyan side and the Nguruimi territory in Tanzania and toward the north is Lake Victoria with a little passageway involved by the Luo and some other Bantu people groups. The prompt neighbors of the Abakuria are the Maasai, Nguruema, Zanaki, Ikoma, Luo and Suba of South Nyanza-Suba locale (Maseke 2012).

In analyzing the conventional political association of Kuria people group, one must decide if the whole society can be taken a gander at as establishing a solitary political solidarity, or whether their general public comprises an assortment of political units. The political unit is in this way discernable from different gatherings over which it practices no specialist and as opposed to which it perceives and advances its solidarity. Unopinionated solidarity could conceivably keep up association with different gatherings, and there connections may either be benevolent or antagonistic or even apathetic relying on the prevalence of normal, or shared, or clashing interests between them. What's more, that to keep up such political unit, there would need to be establishments for keeping up the unit as an element, shielding it against breaking down from inside and additionally against perils compromising it from without (Ochieng, 1974).

As per Abuso (1980), amid the pioneer time frame, the boss among the kuria had one fundamental inadequacy, none of them, (aside from makanga nasonde of bugembe

area) seems to have been picked from the customary line of the Abakuria a considerable lot of them were negligible entrepreneurs who exploited the numbness of the newcomers on nearby legislative issues thus profit themselves for arrangement. They were by and large men who maybe had been in strife with the conventional rulers and had helped the Europeans against their individual Abakuria. They were rewarded by the colonial powers and they therefore had very little impact on their people hence their rule was in fact resented, because of this very little development was carried on in kuria even after the Germans had gone away in the year 1914. As result, the Abakuria for many years were left on their own to maintain their way of life as before, different from other neighbouring communities like Luo and Gusii, who were quick to change to western ways of life in forming political structures which accommodated traditional systems. This created inadequacy of tribal authority amongst the Kuria.

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Ethnic identity has been a critical variable in the preparation and trim of Kenyan legislative issues since Britain's frontier gap and rule approaches forced ethnic and racial dualism that underlined contrast. At freedom, the post-pioneer tip top didn't destroy the underlying engineering of ethnic-based governmental issues. Ethnic identity consequently stays the reason for assembly and organizing of legislative issues in contemporary Kenya. This strength of ethnic-based governmental issues, however clarified differently, is a result of the conflation of political economy-prompted interests where elites instrumentalize ethnicity in political activation to guarantee their own endurance and multiplication.

The Kuria has been a problematic ethnic group in both colonial and post-colonial Kenya for several factors. For one, the haughty independent minded tribesmen have been emblazoned between the Luo community to whom they have had cultural and

relational difficulties. This has historically made the Kuria very difficult to administer considering problems of borderland and language. On the other hand, warring clans and clan divisions within the Kuria community has made it complicated for the Kuria to acquire a place in the socio-economic activities of the country. As such, despite there has been inadequate systems transition from traditional systems to modern political order, there still exists a gap in Kenyan political historiography as far as it concerns the Kuria. This work therefore, was intended to fill this gap and address pertinent issues raised herewith.

### **1.3 Purpose of the study**

This study intended to examine continuity and change of Kuria system of social control, leadership, and governance.

### **1.4 Research objectives**

The study focused on the following specific objectives:

- i. To examine the establishment of Kuria system of social control, leadership and governance during pre-colonial period to 1895
- ii. To analyse the pattern of systems of social control, leadership and governance during the colonial period
- iii. To examine Kuria system of social control, leadership and governance during post-colonial period to 1995

### **1.5 Research questions.**

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. How was Kuria system of social control, leadership and governance during pre-colonial period?
- ii. What was the pattern of the establishment of Kuria system of social control, leadership and governance during the colonial period?

- iii. How was the Kuria system of social control, leadership and governance during the post-colonial period?

### **1.6 Significance of the study**

This study was so relevant to the current Kuria leadership. It was an eye opener to their historical struggle for power and the strengths that help them overcome. It was also going to serve as a motivation to the Kuria community political aspirants to continue from a point of knowledge on their course of power banking. The study was helpful in explaining the relevance of political participation and representation of Kuria people who views themselves being in a position that they can't negotiate the terms of political allegiance to influence the political order in Migori County that is dominated by Luo community.

This study was also going to help the government and stakeholders to understand the struggle of the minority community of Kenya. It created the forum for those communities to focus on their power struggle and relevance. The stakeholders also find a foothold on this study to help the Kuria people of Kenya. Finally this study adds to the limited literature on change in leadership in Kuria Community of Kenya. The information strongly assists the coming scholars and researchers seeking information on the area of continuity and change.

### **1.7 Justification of the Study**

The failure of democracy in most African states is a clear indication of the need for re-examination of traditional political systems in our societies, the studies done on African communities all summarizes the elements that made pre-colonial African states sturdy; initially those pre-colonial social orders that suffered for quite a long time and were effective in dominating their verifiable interaction were halfway worried in getting and supporting their authenticity according to their people groups and also their guidelines of activity were discovered to be adequately sensible in giving clarification, and

adequately enticing in extricating dutifulness from the community (Davidson,1992). This created the need to carry out the intended research on the Kuria in order to understand their current challenges in social control, leadership and governance.

### **1.8 Scope of the Study**

This research is intended to examine the Kuria between 1885 and 1995 in order to establish the political challenges that could have imparted the current political situations amongst the Abakuria. The Abakuria history is quite scanty, and from the survey done by many historians it has been very evident that the majority of present Abakuria don't have any regular source, this set the best base for the intended study. The research was restricted within the four Kuria rural districts i.e Kehancha, Mabera, Masaba, and Ntimaru because the age of the intended informants (age eighty years and above) according to the African family set up, there is a strong believe that they reside in rural areas, and have people who understand the histories of communities.

### **1.9 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study**

This research investigated only the Kuria elders above eighty years of age, hence there was element of their own perspective and biases to the interpretation of past events thus generalisation of the findings was done, also due to the old age of informants there was issue of memory lose thus they could not remember occurrence of events. But relative chronology was used and keen review and analysis of the facts collected was done to avoid misrepresentation of information and the closer information that purported to describe the political organisation of the Abakuria was taken.

### **1.10 Literature Review**

Scholaly investigation of East African mainstream governmental issues has had two noteworthy changes in the course of recent years. Regarding examining outside structures, there has been a move from an attention on formal political foundations, for example, kingdoms, chiefdoms, frontier states, and patriot associations, to an emphasis

on casual collectivities, for example, open recuperating cliques and well known affiliations. Regarding considering political idea and thoughts in the area's history, there has been a move from an emphasis on hypothetically cognizant decision philosophies before imperialism, and additionally on the forward-looking patriotisms of the twentieth century, to a far not so much durable but rather more confounding cluster of particular political thoughts that require reconceiving pertinent units and domains, which show up at last good as opposed to juridical in nature.

Later examinations have essentially enlarged insightful comprehension and meaning of what considers a political foundation. The spearheading work in this vein is Terence Ranger's *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa* (1975), which reframed what, appeared at first look a paltry and notwithstanding spoiling type of provincial mimicry into an innovative case of assignment of the images and structures of pioneer rule. Laura Fair's *Pastimes and Politics* (2001), an investigation of types of urban relaxation in frontier Zanzibar, has correspondingly indicated how music, football, and move shaped systems of well known political activism. Maybe most clearly in this vein have been later translations of "religious" or "supernatural" rehearses as unavoidably political in nature. There exist exceptionally meager takes a shot at the Kuria. All that is accessible are more extensive examinations that would give a system a general comprehension of Kuria history. All the more explicitly, there exist much scantier takes a shot at the political and initiative improvements of the network particularly in postcolonial period. All things considered social political and monetary association of the Kuria are once in a while talked about.

Be that as it may, Ochieng W.R. (1974), contends that while talking about the political association of a network, one must decide if the whole society can be taken a gander at as establishing a solitary political unit, or whether the general public comprises a

variety of political units. What's more, to keep up such political unit, there would need to be establishments for keeping up the unit as an element, shielding it against breaking down from inside and additionally against perils compromising it from without (Ogot 1967). The above case helped in understanding the insufficiency of ancestral expert among numerous networks in Kenya. Henceforth this investigation expected to look at and decide if the Abakuria had a solitary or assortment of political units.

Ndege (1995), examination of the source and settlement of western Bantu and River-Lake Nilotes, contends that the image of social association of the western people groups is progressively perplexing politically as no brought together political expert created among the western Bantu people groups by sixteenth century. He further attests that, political basic leadership more often than not occurred at the dimension of the sub-clan or, all the more regularly, the dimension of the families which made up the sub-clans. Such choices were typically made by chambers of older folks speaking to the significant sub-clans or ancestries. In spite of the fact that there were no entrenched political establishments, there was regularly a shrewd and powerful senior who took a main part in network issues. This examination goes for reconsidering the above case so as to clear the unpredictability made over the western Bantus' political framework, and if any political connections restricting all the sub-clans into single substance was absent among the Abakuria.

Ochieng' (1974), contends that semantically the Kuria are a Bantu talking individuals, who possess the rich and undulating Savannalands along the Kenya and Tanzania fringe near Lake Victoria. Their dialect and verifiable conventions put them near the Gusii, the logoli and the Kikuyu of focal Kenya. In any case, as indicated by the Gusii, the general population who later settled in Butende as Kurialand is here and there called The sweta, Ncaari, Kiera, Baasi, Sigisa and the Osiango were initially Gusii. The above

case is fortified by the nearness of related groups among the Gusii, and the way that both the Kuria and the Gusii tribes had comparable family names additionally share comparable totems. For instance the Sweta, Sigiza and the Osiango of Kisii Highlands are gorilla individuals similarly as the Sweta, Sigisa and Osiango of Kuria. Correspondingly the Wanjare of Kisii is hippopotamus-individuals similarly the Ncaari of Kuria are. These Gusii families who settled in Butende probably done as such around A.D 1820, after the clash of Migori River. The above history recommend that kuria have a place with that gathering of social orders in East Africa generally delegated stateless, despite the fact that their history has not been concentrated comprehensively, it doesn't mean they needed government this makes numerous students of history to relate kuria political framework with Abagusii framework leaving the Kuria without its unique political history (Ogot 1967).

The record of Hopley (1903), contends that the Kuria conventions slid from Monto, who conceived Muiri, who sired Mukuria-the eponymous originator of the Kuria people group. What's more, that a large portion of the Kuria recollect that their predecessors originated from Misri, where they had lived with Gusii, The Kikuyu, and The Logoli: From Misri their customs differ on where they went to straightaway. Numerous anyway say that they went and remained in Ankole, and that from Ankole the first gathering partitioned into two; one gathering moved toward the east while the other moved south, adjusting the western shores of Lake Victoria through Bukoba District of terrain Tanzania of the part that adjusted the lake. From that point they in the end raised their settlement at Mugango in South Mara. From here the gathering late relocated to the fields of Mt Kilimanjaro and to Gutura in Maasai nation. Looked with ceaseless Maasai assaults they moved and settled around Maheta Hill in present-day

Nyabasi area. The account inspected starting point and settlement empowering the examination to look at the social controls after settlement (Ogot 1963).

Barker (1950), composed that nothing is thought about the historical backdrop of Kuria society who lived between the Gori and Mara Rivers in the Musoma region of Tanzania. Bread cook has composed that nothing is known about their initial history past the way that they earlier lived in the Southern segment of Kenya and were compelled to move southwards by infringing Maasai and Jalu. Yet, closer examination uncovers that they didn't move into their present homes in a single gathering; they landed in little gatherings at various occasions; and it is these diverse gatherings which later advanced into the thirteen sub-clans we know today. A similar impression is picked up from Gusii customs that the Kuria are plummeted from a homogeneous gathering which split far from the Gusii and Maragoli making it much progressively sketchy when conventions of the Kenyan Kuria are inspected. Barker (1950), infer that the Abakuria have no broad custom of source as one individuals. Each gathering has its very own record of movement to its present nation. From those records the image which rises is that the present Kuria individuals are an amalgam of different people groups from various sources meaning they have blended frameworks of socio-political controls. A case the examination expected to research.

Ogot B.A (1970), discusses geological structure of western Kenya by referencing the Luhya clans in the northern part and Gusii who are progressively conservative in themselves however connecting with the Kuria on the Tanzania outskirts. Very little is thought about Kuria's political structures and ensuing changes after some time in this work, while Mwaniki (1973), investigation of the historical backdrop of Aembu and wambeere draws out the effect of the past on the present. He portrays the Embu and Mbeere social orders in the entirety of its viewpoints demonstrating that the general

public is dependably in motion, changing and obliging to new circumstances and thoughts. Yet, it doesn't turn out obviously on how that society had the ability to change without causing institutional clashes, the examination went for researching that territory among the Abakuria utilizing the story of the Aembu and Mbeere structures as they frame some portion of the Bantus.

As per the Misiri convention and as analyzed by Ochieng' (1974), almost certainly, the early Abakuria individuals who carried age set framework with them into Abakuria society were a sprinter aggregate from an a lot bigger network living something to the tune of Mt. Elgon. This bigger network could be the genealogical gathering from which a segment of the Abakuria sprang as well as be the one from which the Kalenjin individuals a segment of the Babukusu, and an extensive segment of the Kikuyu, sprang. Misiri can not actually be found but rather most antiquarians concur that it lies some place north of Mount Elgon. It is a similar account The Gusii connect with by guaranteeing that they voyaged Southwards together with The Kuria, Lagoli, Bukusu, Suba, Kikuyu, Embu, Meru and Kamba and that every one of these individuals isolated around Mount Elgon due to congestion, scourges and dry season (Ochieng' 1974).

Ogot (1974), portrayal of the Abaluyia and Abagusii relocation from Mt. Elgon, contends that as indicated by Abagusii customs, their progenitors were initially identified with the Kuria, Abalogoli, Abasuba, Kikuyu, Meru and so on. He gives further obvious that the predecessors of the Abagusii originated from a nation called misiri, and that they moved southwards to Mount Elgon where dispersal occurred. From Mount Elgon the progenitors of the Abagusii, Kuria, Abasuba, and Abalogoli moved down the Nzoia River valley. What's more, by about the start of the sixteenth century they had touched base on the eastern shores of L. Victoria. They in this manner moved Eastwards and settled at Goye in Yimbo even later, after the happening to the

Luo, the Abagusii and Abalogoli moved to the shores of Lake Gangu in Alego and thus to Sakwa, Asembo, Seme and Kisumu. Because of serious starvation and torment there was a further movement, this time from Kisumu. The predecessors of the Abagusii in this manner left Kisumu for the Kano fields looking for sustenance and better nation. They later spread out and possessed their present nation in the mean time the predecessors of the Abalogori had remained behind in Kisumu when their associates went to the Kano fields. They hence moved to Seme from where they moved to their present settlements in Buluyia. The above account guided the examination the follow the course the Abakuria pursued.

Chacha (1963), portrays that Sometime between around 1790 and 1820, the Abagusii segments of Kitutu, South Mugirango, Wanjari, Bassi, and Majoge fled toward the North of the Kavirondo Gulf under discrete pioneers. The flight is taken to have been caused by much weight from their Maasai neighbors. After around thirty years, they all re crossed the bay again independently. Because of these developments, intermarriage, and the landing of new foreigners of assorted starting points, for example, the Maasai, Kipsigis and the Luo, the general population turned out to be especially blended, implying that a portion of the Abakuria families may have come as aftereffect of that collaboration.

Mwanzi (1977), in his examination on the Kipsigis society, saw that improvement of social establishments was a basic piece of the procedure which solidified the social ties of the rising society. He endeavors to research the relationship of the kipsigis with western Bantu people group like Gusii and Luhya at the underlying phases of movement yet we miss the segment Abakuria who are regarded to be firmly related with Gusii making it increasingly unverifiable about their social foundation. The investigation expected to connect that hole. Ogot (1967), looked into on the instruments

of conventional organization in area and saw that, there was the central chamber who gone about as customary official courtroom and claim, yet at the same time contends that the historical backdrop of western Kenya is as yet indeterminate in light of the fact that it is deficient as there is close affinities of networks in the locale. The examination went for analyzing that region, to make that piece of history finish.

Like the Kuria, Mwanzi (1977) takes a gander at the kipsigis, further examination of progression of political frameworks among the Kalenjin says that, frameworks of political control were kept up not just by the more-or – less ordinary Saket ap eito yet additionally by the cycling of the seven or eight age-set names. These were Maina, Chuma, Sawe, Korongoro, Kipkoiimet, Kaplelach, Kimnyike, and Nyongi after which one returned to Maina once more, all the past individuals from that set having kicked the bucket an impressive time previously. An entire cycle took around a hundred years to rotate. This story sets a decent base of comprehension of frameworks association and coherence which is the principle motivation behind the examination.

Dim (1977), investigation of pre-pioneer African culture's expresses that Kenya pre-pilgrim governments were portrayed by statelessness with just the Wanga chiefdom having a similarity to brought together political expert. By illustration on precedents from the Mijikenda and Kalenjin, Were (1967), points out that, administrative power; both at the vertical and flat dimensions of conveyance of power was more intricate than we have expected. What's more, in this, social, natural, and monetary components assumed noteworthy jobs in deciding how this expert was worked out. He further portrays that, Kalenjins administered themselves in genuinely little domains units called pororiet which were on the double military regimental units and regional political substances in which social, political and financial undertakings were directed, laws upheld and choices on the flourishing and resistance of the network made in

committees. Inside these units were different areas among which were residences with their very own committees to control horticulture and touching exercises and in addition to settle question among people and gatherings of people.

At the end of the day, these were an unmistakably characterized vertical appropriation of intensity to such an extent that the greater and increasingly imperative the committee, regardless of whether neighborhood or regional, was elective and, it might be said, the administration framework was basically vote based (Niane 1985). This essential investigation guided the reconsideration of the Abakuria frameworks of socio-political control.

Ogot (1967), in looking at the military association of conventional social orders contends that the achievement of most Bantu people group as far as military and political associations was the profoundly progressed productive military contrasted with different networks that needed. The focal family and group delivered a main who in case of death was prevailing by the oldest child from his first spouse or that of the following wife arranged by position if the primary wife had no child. Every ethnic gathering was made out of new individuals because of osmosis by the first faction individuals, who made part out of the focal tribe (Were 1974).

Were (1974), gives further subtleties that the families which aligned with the focal families took pride in partner themselves with the customs and practices of the decision group, consequently making ethnic specialist all the more amazing and that the boss were so compelling in the clan however an imperious and disliked boss couldn't remain in office for long and his tribesmen could abandon him and join an all the more well disposed and just ruler. The boss were required to administer according to the clan custom and acknowledged standards and in discussion with the family senior citizens. The clan had a get together made out of the inward committee and a bigger board, the

internal chamber comprised of the boss' secret consultants who exhorted him on the every day issues and difficulties, for instance the bigger gathering among the Basotho was known as the Ptso. The gathering involved extremely critical junior boss and they met to execute essential approach, choices as these were crucial inborn issue (Boateng 1985). The boss was exceedingly regarded as the image of ethnic solidarity and all tribesmen paid faithfulness to him. He was additionally the leader of the clan in all issues identifying with religion, the organization of equity, government and fighting. Requests could be made

As per Mwaniki (1973), among the Embu the dad was the expert in the family helped by his significant other and children arranged by position. Over the dad's position was the specialist of the town boards. These were chambers of elderly people men from a specific territory acknowledged by the general population for their title in welfare, customary equity, fairness and riches. These resembled the Aciiri of the Mbeere yet were called Athamaki, their position must be addressed by group specialists. Every tribe had its gathering that cared for the welfare of every one of its individuals in the nation.

In both Embu and Mbeere, there were acknowledged types of equity, a few people notwithstanding, went rogue and retaliated for themselves either separately or in gatherings at once, that was not the correct way and such individuals were now and again rebuffed moreover. The standard route for equity was to sue the supposed guilty party before the seniors first. Those heard the two individuals or gatherings concerned and afterward settled on their choices. In the event that they considered the more genuine than they had expert to settle, they would allude it to the board higher than they were whereby it would be heard, both of the adversaries would likewise "request" to this higher gathering if not happy with the main chamber's choices wherever one was

sued, he had the privilege of calling his very own companions Athamaki were known and acknowledged everywhere throughout the nation for their Wisdom, reasonableness and fame. These were similar frameworks anticipated that would be found among the Abakuria being a piece of the Bantus (Mwaniki 1973).

Abuso (1980), contends that the historical backdrop of kuria is tied up with that of the different networks who neighbor them both toward the north and toward the south of Lake Victoria, the territory for the most part known as the Lake Region. He attempts to look at the general public political foundation by expressing that the general public was isolated into little tribes as littlest unit of organization yet amidst nineteenth century it was partitioned into territories known as Ikiaro which pursued their totems every territory had its very own administration Iritongo which was not uniform in the areas. Each Iritongo had a 'senate' or gathering of Elders known as the Inchama inside each Inchama were two of the most vital Abakuria identities: The Omoraguri (visionary) who was boss religious pioneer and prophet and Omugambi (boss) who was organization pioneer and protector of the network however needed expert when contrasted with Omoraguri. This examination makes a stressing circumstance on the political quality of the network in light of the fact that in numerous other conventional social orders the boss were more amazing than religious pioneers in administration; besides as indicated by Abuso (1980), it appears the Abakuria did not have their own unique political frameworks. This examination expected to explore that zone.

Jens (2003), declares that Kuria's own oral history starts at some point in the mid seventeenth century. They figure this by their parentage hypothesis of a few gatherings of Kuria to be specific the Bakira (elephant) aggregate who check the quantity of age-sets that have gone since they initially touched base as being thirty-four. With a suspicion of eight or ten years, scientists have thought of the 1630s. It is subsequently

expected that they couldn't have left the Mount Elgon area a lot later than around 1500. The examination does not reveal to us anything about the foundation of political frameworks in Kuria, and abandons us with untested suppositions about the starting point of the Abakuria. The examination set to look at that region.

Fleisher (2002), contends that Kuria individuals are Bantu talking agro-pastoralists whose populace straddles the outskirt among Tanzania and Kenya; they practice cows' attacking that has happened through the span of the previous century, from striking of different clans and other Kuria groups for notoriety and lady riches to the exceedingly composed money showcase situated dairy cattle assaulting. In a similar way Kjerland (1995), perception is on the attacking exercises concurring with Fleisher (2002), that Kuria steers striking are installed inside its structure. In the agro-pastoralist situation, bandits have a double job, as the two protectors and assailants, mirroring a framework which depends on complementary attacking between gatherings. The two examinations both concentrated on the striking exercises and not political foundation inside the network. The investigation meant to connect that hole.

As indicated by Abuso (1980), toward the beginning of the First World War in 1914, African people group were compelled to meet up for insurance their property, even individuals, for example, the Abakuria who had recently lived in segregation, maybe uninformed of world occasions, discovered them all of a sudden brought onto the world scene. The Abakuria capable men were compelled to go and battle for their restricting pilgrim experts. Their detachment was in this way finished all of a sudden, and with it additionally finished their pre-pilgrim history. All things considered he discovered that, the equalization of intensity between the prophet and Omugambi was tilted when the provincial government in the territory picked their very own boss, not in accordance

with the previous ones, these new boss were dependable not to the general population through the Inchama but rather to the pioneer experts in Bokuria.

Were,G.S (1967), appropriately puts it that before the finish of the nineteenth century, the African people group were at that point all polluted by one another in a mind boggling, related human world. There were no watertight ethnic classes. Various families, genealogies and areas of factions extended and contracted, picking up and losing individuals. The movement of fragments or ingestion by other ethnic gatherings delivered extensive unpredictability new networks and new dialects were regularly the outcome. A circumstance this examination expected to research among the Kuria people group to comprehend that intricacy that is made by the above portrayal.

Maxon (1989), states that the Europeans noticed an effectively existing authoritative structure among the African social orders and used it for their closures and that by 1914 an example was rising all over East Africa of the pioneer powers utilizing African boss. Same contention is advanced by Mwanzi (1977), who expresses that, when the British colonialists came to Kipsigis nation toward the starting, they assumed control over the entire set up built up by orkoiyot and named central boss. It was noticed that provincial boss in Western Kenya were picked by the frontier state to satisfy the job of communicator, however in the principal long periods of control, an assortment of criteria administered the selection of boss. Hypothesis and routine with regards to British circuitous guideline ordered that people noticeable in conventional society be selected boss. Along these lines the individuals who had aggregated riches and impact were searched out by the British (Lonsdale 1885-1904). The writing above clarifies the result of this procedure of making position of boss and the tyrant framework which prompted territorial separation yet. The examination depended on the above case to get

the unmistakable image of the circumstance in Kuria people group amid a similar period.

Mamdan (1996), placed that the provincial period produced an explicitly African type of state dependent on an arrangement of backhanded standard that depended on the tyrant potential outcomes in local culture. Albeit customary establishments were controlled under frontier rule, they were utilized to legitimize pre-entrepreneur organizations. Akintoye (1976), additionally discovered that it was the conventional nearby organization that the provincial governments made utilization of in regulating their states as they found that, regardless of what they considered African political establishments, they couldn't actually get rid of them. They were excessively entrenched among the general population and inherent piece of their lives. So they needed to make utilization of them. The contention that Abakuria's pre-pilgrim history arrived at an end in the wake of provincial period makes much stressing circumstance on the progression of conventional frameworks among the network. This examination proposed to reevaluate that region.

Then again, Fleisher (2002), in his examination of the Abakuria amid pioneer period contends that the Kuria individuals overwhelmed in the provincial Army which filled in as a vehicle for the satisfaction of Kuria aspirations of dairy cattle striking, since early pilgrim times Abakuria were alluded as *Jeshi la Wakuri Tangu Zamani* (Swahili for the Army of the Kuria since long prior).

This could be the reason for much between ethnic and intra-ethnic clashes which were supported by the arrangements and conditions made by British pilgrim rule as observed previously. The division of the locales into areas was done in a way that did not consider the interests of the networks concerned, and the burden of remote boss made doubt and contempt among the general population. Even further, entomb and intra-

ethnic clash was sustained by the financial approaches of the British colonialists (Nyasani 1984). This work endeavors to draw out the example of political improvement amid the frontier time frame that was uneven with coming about differences in assets and luxuries between ethnic gatherings and region. The investigation means to reevaluate that contention among the Abakuria people group.

Numerous examinations done on African responses towards foundation of provincial standard in the period beginning 1914 have demonstrated that, the period was set apart by nearby individuals ascending against expansionism as Africans couldn't endure the idea of foundation that was presented. Be that as it may, the investigations above don't give us the reaction of the Abakuria to pioneer frameworks of organization. Just Abuso (1980), who contends that as the Abakuria disdained the authority of the provincial boss they proceeded with their own specific manner of life. In any case, he doesn't likewise reveal to us what sort of framework developed after that. This investigation goes for analyzing the method for initiative that the Abakuria depended in that period.

As per Makoloo (2005), pioneer government's approach had would in general accentuate the area as a different unit, and to seclude ancestral gatherings from one another. Neighborhood government elective bodies were set up inside these units. Makoloo (2005), clarifies on how frontier government treated Kuria individuals as an unmistakable political unit, yet this was strategy utilized by pioneer government in vanquishing African people group through separation and standard approach. He has not addressed the part of congruity and change of Kuria customary organizations amid pilgrim period, and which establishment introduced the Abakuria requests amid that period.

Then again Maxon (1995), attempts to draw out the battle of the Kuria for gathering personality amid the pioneer time frame, he affirms that in the year 1926, Kuria and

other South Nyanza clans appealed to the provincial representative for the nullification of the focal courts consequently to the arrangement of area that most African individuals were latent receptors of authoritative developments amid the frontier time frame. Further perception by Marwa (2002), on the Reports from Kenya National Assembly official Record (1970), inspects how Kuria was part of Homa-straight from Gusii in 1962, yet the Kuria protested join Homa-inlet and requested their very own territory gathering. However, there is extremely sparse data with respect to the case above, hole that this investigation planned to connect.

As indicated by Brogden (2004), from iritongo of the area of Bukiria East, the area in which the District organization is based at Kehancha, was the first to build up the association and in this manner gave the layout to those that pursued all through Kuria. The association framed before to free individuals of Kuria got a mishap in amid post-frontier period prompting political clashes between the customary political frameworks and present day frameworks. It isn't sure about what trailed the framework clashes consequently this examination planned to explore that zone.

As indicated by Anderson (1987), the interest for autonomy by Africans was to be found in the light of looking for law based standard. Outsider standard was abhorred, however over that there was the longing to take part in the administration procedure to impact choices and arrangements to have a neighborhood government in the hands of children and little girls of the dirt who could be responsible to the subjects for their activities. Bates (1973), contends that the less created pastoralist less intensely squeezed for self-government in Kenya than did the agriculturalists; and when they saw that their endeavors were to fizzle, they looked to section control through a bureaucratic constitution. The pastoralists dreaded the propagation of the uniqueness among themselves and the more instructed, urbanized and well off agriculturalists

which would result to make Kenya to end up free under the political control of the plant growth specialist clans. This contention was maybe the real reason for the split of networks in the early long stretches of autonomy. The examination sets to explore the circumstance among the Abakuria.

As per Alavi (1972), the post-frontier state did not change the bifurcated express that was acquired from the previous period. Or maybe, the pioneer structures were to a great extent held. Now and again, the structures were just re-characterized to suit the reason for the new tip top's union of political power. The tyrant propensity of the state under Kenyatta proceeded into the second post-pioneer political routine of President Daniel arap Moi who merged political power through the common organization consequently sustaining the concealment of the common society and restriction governmental issues when all is said in done. Lonsdale (1989), states that Kenya's way to uhuru was slower still.

With the restricting of the Kenya African Union in 1953 and the imprisoning of its pioneers Jomo Kenyatta, African political movement was compelled to embrace a region center until 1960. In the primary African race to the administrative gathering in 1957, for instance, just locale based political associations were permitted. In spite of the nonattendance of national political associations, African pioneers had the capacity to activate dissent through the exchange association development and the authoritative chamber in help of the objectives of patriotism. Anon collaboration battle by the chose individuals and also rising dimensions of discontent in the provincial territories and the proceeded with agitation produced by the land question realized further strategy changes by the British government (Siegler 1990).

The institutional universe of Nyanza legislative issues previously 1945 remained generally kept to area and common dimensions, with the explicitly political targets of

the African provincial world class being more noteworthy power and independence for the nearby jobs and organizations in which they previously took part, ethnic parochialism and religious denominational contrasts additionally divided Nyanza governmental issues. At the area level pioneers developed among them in Nyanza is Oginga Odinga. The exercises of these men assumed a main job in the triumphant of the primary direct decisions for Africans to Legislative Council in March, 1957.

In Nyanza, Odinga overpowered Ohanga. North and South Nyanza had additionally new agents who were youthful accomplished men who had just risen as neighborhood political pioneers ((Lonsdale 1989).

In 1954 the Ministry of Defense accepted accountability for inside and outside security under a solid common administration serve. This turned into a substantial and efficient power which was a noteworthy resource of official in practicing its control and attesting its position over the nation. The re-association and reinforcing of the arm of compulsion ran inseparably with the revitalisation of the common organization as the administrators other office of control. It is recollected that motel 1948, alteration of the authoritative committees was done to incorporate an informal lion's share, in which an expanded number of European, Asian and African individuals by and large dwarfed the administration seats out of the blue (Brown 1972).

The procedure of progress, be that as it may, was imagined as being to a great degree long and steady. Despite the fact that they laid the reason for essential changes amid the late 1950s, neither the basic change of the focal government nor the ideological spotlight on multiracialism were capable in the quick post-war a very long time to connect the cleavages in the political economy of the settlement and in the state itself. The auxiliary and political obliges that had repressed the development of general approach in the interwar period were not defeat by the changes and kept on making the

representative and secretariat authorities reluctant and unfit to fill the break between the unclear axioms about between racial collaboration and the substances of financial and political practice. In 1957 eight voting public were built up and however they included more than one region and henceforth were not explicitly inborn units, in the period 1957-60 the African individuals were compelled to build up region Associations; without national gathering association accentuation was put on nearby administration and association which thus underlined the innate unit (Crowley 1967).

Brattom (1992), states that general inclination had ascended in Africa of restricting political pluralism and mass cooperation in legislative issues. Indeed, even in those one-party states where aggressive legislative issues have been permitted, it had been under huge examination from the administration and had by and large delivered no rivals to official arrangements or pundits of the prevailing political world class. A few reasons were progressed to clarify this training. Variety of political gatherings and different focuses of restriction were seen as adding to national precariousness. One-party states were additionally seen as being exceptionally suited to quickening advancement since they can without much of a stretch take conclusive strategy positions, which were seen as fundamental for accomplishing improvement objectives, especially those that were to meet with resistance either from the majority or from certain settled in interests.

It has been vivaciously contended by Molloy (1994), that the multi-ethnic arrangement of African nations prompts tribalism since various gatherings will in general speak to various ethnic grounds. There can be little uncertainty that absence of political pluralism and mass political activism and investment will in general put off the erection and development of the political culture of resilience. It likewise keeps away from the foundation of institutional certifications for serene dispute and it tragically dependably

compares disagree with subversion. Tribalism and ethnic-based political gatherings are to an expansive degree demonstrative of the disappointment of national governmental issues. It has turned out to be normal in Africa for the political gatherings that catch the rush of nationalistic fomentation to lose their union and feeling of direction. This loss of direction, joined by concealment of political adversaries and protesters, prompted retribalization of legislative issues when the national focus is seen as out of line and particularly when ethnic analytics is utilized in the transfer of national resources and openings, those excluded may decide on sectional IDs as beyond any doubt wellspring of solidarity and security (Ruth 1977).

A significant part of the nationalistic exercises in Kenya were gathered in focal Kenya separated of Western Kenya however the South Nyanza is less referenced separated from the Gusii people group. It is frequently contended that the Abakuria people group got away to Tanzania amid the battle for autonomy praise the investigation tried to inquire about on. Amid the post pilgrim Kenya much exercises occurred in focal Kenya and the legislature didn't put more accentuation to the general population found along the Tanzania outskirts.

### **1.11 Theoretical Framework**

This study was defined by two theories, conflict theory and political settlement theory. Conflict theory began in crafted by German social scholar Karl Marx, an age before Durkheim, Marx noticed the dejection and discontent created by the modern upheaval and a broad contention about the manner in which social orders create (Marx, 1904). Karl Marx largely talks about class struggle, significant members in the conflict being the proprietors of the methods for creation and the specialists who are occupied with the lone conflict that is important. This is useful to this study in understanding social-economic and political changes that have occurred over time in Kuria leading to

continues struggle for their community identity. Max Weber (1864-1920), concurs with the major thoughts of Karl Marx about the economy causing class conflict, however guarantees that class conflict can likewise originate from distinction and force dependent on the societal position of one's ethnic identity.

According to Abraham (1992), the universal of conflict is that resources are always in competition and there is always competitive struggle of economies. He also sees society as having units which are always in conflict due to change. Historically, Kuria community have had social control, leadership and governance units that have more than once conflicted with government body. Dahrendorf (1959), also argues that conflicts are in the society because society is always in the process of change and affected by forces that bring about change. Thus, if social-economic and political institutions do not change to accommodate those changes, conflict crops up. This underscores the application of conflict theory in this study. Thus, Political settlement theory was used to supplement conflict theory to highlight the dynamic interplay of contradiction and reinforcement existing continuity of traditional systems of social-political control and the modern systems. A key argument by Whaite (2008), is that; though modernity advocates transition from traditional to modern forms of organisation, there is need for continuity of the former to avoid division of population into citizens and subjects. Customary foundations while profoundly attached and impervious to transform, they have adjusted to colonial systems of administration previously and have been locked in by an assortment of nations over numerous years and in a scope of ways.

During the twentieth century, Max Weber arranged a response to Marx's hypothesis. Weber saw that contention didn't overwhelmingly incorporate the economy, anyway that the state and economy together set up conditions for strife. Of central importance

to Weber's arrangement is the prospect of legitimation. All frameworks of abuse ought to be legitimated to work. Thusly, legitimation is one of the essential issues in clash. Weber moreover saw that class is more awesome than Marx from the start expected, and that there are various segments that add to social dissimilarity, most exceptionally status and assembling (or power). Since that time, different undertakings have joined different segments from either of these scholars to get conflict. In this section, we will think about three of those endeavors. Our first scholar is Lewis Coser.

Coser's work is fascinating for two reasons. In the first place, he deliberately draws most of his hypothetical thoughts from Georg Simmel as opposed to Marx or Weber. Coser utilizes Marx and Weber occasionally to outline or expound upon what Simmel needs to say, yet all things considered Coser (1956) presents "various essential suggestions which have been refined from hypotheses of social conflict, specifically from the speculations of Georg Simmel" (p. 8). Remember this as we talk about Coser's theory: we could undoubtedly substitute Simmel's name for Coser's. The second explanation Coser is momentous is that he is the first to think about the practical results of conflict—other than Simmel, that is. Prior to Simmel, conflict had been perceived as a wellspring of social change and crumbling. Simmel was the first to recognize that conflict is a characteristic and essential piece of society; Coser carried Simmel's plan to standard human science, in any event in America.

Starting there on, sociologists have needed to recognize that gatherings require disharmony just as congruity, separation just as affiliation; and conflicts inside them are in no way, shape or form through and through troublesome components. . . . A long way from being fundamentally broken, a specific level of conflict is a fundamental component in bunch arrangement and the determination of gathering life. (Coser, 1956, p. 31) regarding the historical backdrop of social idea and the format of this book, it is

fascinating to take note of that Coser (1956) was propelled to consider the useful outcomes of conflict to address a lack in Talcott Parsons' theory: "Parsons considers conflict principally a 'infection'" (p. 21). Along these lines, it is deserving of note that Coser was an understudy of Merton's. Our subsequent scholar is Ralf Dahrendorf.

He plainly mixes components from Marx and Weber and he sprinkles in components from Coser to introduce another comprehension of conflict in the public eye. From Marx he takes the possibility of persuasive change: "social designs . . . are fit for creating inside themselves the components of their supersession and change" (Dahrendorf, 1957/1959, p. viii). Dahrendorf likewise utilizes Marx's idea of political interests coming from bipolarized social positions. Recall that Marx contended that free enterprise contains just two classes that truly matter: the proprietors and the laborers. These two positions are innately opposing and by their temperament direct unique political interests; that is, all specialists have similar political interests as do all proprietors. From Weber, Dahrendorf takes force and authority. As opposed to considering class to be the focal trait of current culture, Dahrendorf claims that force is the one unavoidable component of every single social connection. Considering the scholars canvassed in the past part, it's important that Dahrendorf (1957/1959) respects Merton's speculations of the center reach as "the prompt errand of sociological examination" (p. x), and he considers his to be theory as a vital restorative of Parsons' "harmony approach."

Then again, our third conflict scholar, Randall Collins, is significantly less worried about situating his work around Parsons' venture. Or maybe, Collins (1975) draws on crafted by Weber, Durkheim, and Goffman to contend that emblematic products and passionate fortitude are among the "primary weapons utilized in conflict" (p. 59). This miniature level direction is a one of a kind and incredible expansion to the conflict

point of view. Most other conflict speculations are arranged toward the full scale level. Definition is by and large comprehended as working through abusive designs that cutoff access and decisions (the possibility of the "unfair limitation" is a genuine model), and force is thought about as working coercively through the control of material assets and strategies for social control. Collins likewise adjusts us to an alternate degree of investigation than either Coser or Dahrendorf—the worldwide degree of international affairs where political conflicts are dissected inside the setting of history and geology

All things considered, clash hypothesis attempts to coherently explain the general types of contention in the public eye: how struggle starts and varies, and the effects it brings. The central concerns of contention hypothesis are the conflicting movement of insufficient resources and power. What these resources are might be different for each researcher, aside from strife researchers generally work with Weber's three frameworks of depiction: class, status, and power. Strife researchers overall believe capacity to be the central segment of society, rather than considering society held together by total agreement concerning a solid game plan of accepted practices, as functionalists do. Where power is found and who uses it (and who doesn't) are subsequently essential to conflict theory. In this perspective about things, power isn't really downright terrible: is an essential factor that guides society and social relations.

Then again, the political settlements approach arose out of an investigate of new institutional financial aspects created by Mushtaq Khan during the 1990s. From that point forward, the political settlements approach has multiplied in scholastic grant on African nations. This has prompted some disarray about its center applied and methodological highlights. This structure sets out our comprehension of political settlements and gives an outline of existing political settlements writing on African

nations. The segment at that point investigates how the critical idea of 'holding power' has been utilized in changed courses in the political settlements writing, which thusly has prompted different techniques to consider power. The examination talks about some of these strategies, including contemplating political breaks as a window into investigating the appropriation of force in African nations, and underscores the significance of considering financial construction, belief system, brutality rights, and leases as wellsprings of holding power. The general commitment of the note is to represent the differed procedures utilized in contemplating political settlements and to put them in discussion with each other particularly at the Kuria macrolevel.

According to Whaites (2008), political settlement refers to resolutions reached after warfare, through negotiations, additionally used to allude to any understanding between placating gatherings. A political settlement is fixing the circulation of individual abundance and opportunity locally and exemplified parents in law and approaches. Political settlement sets both the boundaries and outcomes of decision and in that capacity is fundamental to political processes (Putzel, 2009). This approach if established on democratic ground can best suit the situation in Kuria community and help settler the power struggle that has been experienced over time.

Historically, political settlement has been applied in the formation of formal political institutions and state building. According to Acemoglu (2003), since the 1960s, Botswana has accomplished one of the quickest development rates among less created nations and has additionally kept up political security all the while. First class deals supporting the ruling political settlement have been integral to this result. Key to Botswana's prosperity has been the development of establishments which have secured private property rights and have given the impetuses to monetary and political elites to build a genuine focal state. The Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has overwhelmed

governmental issues in the post-colonial time frame (Putzel, 2009). This theory was more appropriate in this study as it accommodates change and continuity in social control, leadership and governance which seems to be inadequately applied among the Kuria systems of social-political control.

Political settlement is something of a fungible term, being utilized by various creators reciprocally with truce, nonaggression treaty, harmony settlement and arranged settlement. Kreutz, for instance, portrays truces and nonaggression treaties as types of a political settlement and, further into the content, of an arranged settlement (Kreutz 2010:245). The compatibility of political settlement and arranged settlement or the conflation of the two terms is normal (for example Barakat and Zyck 2010; Bell 2006; Fuller 1990; Karl 1992; Rosen 1977; Singer 1958). Different creators move about flawlessly between the terms nonaggression treaty, harmony settlement, arranged settlement and political settlement (for example Crocker and Hampson 1996; Hartzell and Hoddie 2007; Hoddie and Hartzell 2005; Walter 2002).

The term 'political settlement' is likewise used to depict two corresponding yet unmistakable exchanges: the way toward arriving at a settlement by political methods (for example Gaddis 1986:129; Lloyd 1995:160), and the political result of an arranged settlement (for example Hannon 1967). In the previous twenty years, the last use has ruled. Commonly, a political settlement as result illuminates the arrangements for the association and exercise of political force in a state arising out of conflict. For instance, the 1991 Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict sets out in detail the hardware and cycles for the activity of force in the temporary time frame, game plans for the lead of races for a constituent get together and for the advancement of a constitution, and explicit standards to be reflected in the constitution.

The 2001 Bougainville Peace Agreement, which nitty gritty the conditions of the political settlement between the heads of individuals of Bougainville and the Government of Papua New Guinea, included extremely definite arrangements for the alteration of the constitution of Papua New Guinea, the advancement of a constitution for an Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG), the division of forces and capacities between the two, the exchange of forces to the ABG, financial exchanges and the association of the legal executive. The interest in arranged settlements takes off in the writing during the 1990s couple with the expansion of harmony measures finishing common conflicts.<sup>6</sup> Achieving a settlement of the fundamental political issues behind highway conflicts in the post-World War II period was moderately uncommon (Fortna 2003:346). Conversely, some reworking of the political request is a fundamental component of the arranged settlement of intrastate questions. Across the writing, an arranged settlement to common war is portrayed by its emphasis on the future association of political force.

For Hartzell and Hoddie, 'One of the focal qualities of an arranged settlement is that enemies associated with this type of warending deal straightforwardly address the subject of how force is to be circulated and overseen in the post-war state' (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007:5). The institutional arrangements incorporated into the details of the settlement, they contend, are 'the focal systems for building up suffering, quiet relations among previous foes' (ibid:3). Ringer, comparably, portrays the connection between a finish to battling and consent to 'new political and lawful plans for holding and practicing power' (Bell 2006:374). Monitoring sees that 'a conventional democratization measure has been at the focal point of essentially every arranged consent to end common conflict since the finish of the Cold War' (Manning 2004:54).

In outline, two of these hypotheses apparently met and mixed in the profoundly charged approach space zeroed in on state working in delicate and conflict influenced states during the 2000s: the harmony and conflict writing worried about the political settlement of outfitted conflicts, and the political science and political economy writing worried about the legislative issues of advancement. Out of this was brought into the world a half breed idea of political settlement with highlights of the two guardians, however without the solid experimental underlying foundations of all things considered. Accordingly, the idea is at the same time appealing and natural yet additionally nebulous and under-expounded, and those utilizing the term 'political settlement' regularly wind up talking experiencing some miscommunication.

The regular highlights of the idea that can be refined from the different writings — the association and exercise of political force, the organization of elites and alliances, and the effect on foundations — give an important insightful edge to understanding the governmental issues of improvement, however it can't be said with any certainty that these amount to a typical comprehension of what establishes a political settlement in the strategy talk and how that comprehension should then be applied to help experimental work to thusly illuminate advancement practice. The arrangement conflict that comprehensive political settlements uphold steadiness while exclusionary settlements contain the seeds for precariousness discovers strong help in the writing, however the relationship is more qualified than early articulations of the strategy idea proposed. The language is currently moving to accomplishing an 'sufficiently comprehensive' settlement or alliance, however absent a lot of investigation of what this involves and what the ramifications might be. This recommends another and significant territory for observational work.

## **1.12 Research Methodology**

### **1.12.1 Research Design**

This study utilized narrative and phenomenological research approaches. The approaches were picked for the study since they permitted the researcher to study phenomenas that don't take into consideration control of elements at the ground. As per Lockesh (1984), qualitative research strategies are designed to acquire appropriate and exact data concerning the situation with marvels and at whatever point conceivable to make substantial general determinations from the realities found. As indicated by Gay (1981), qualitative strategies are utilized on primer and exploratory examinations to permit the researcher to accumulate the data, sum up, introduce and decipher information through narrations. The study only sought to explore political phenomena among the Kuria.

### **1.12.2 Location of the Study**

The study was conducted among the kuria people of Migori county, restricting itself to 4 (four) Kuria rural districts i.e Kehancha, Maberu, Masaba, and Ntimaru.

### **1.12.3 Target Population**

According to Frankel and Wallen (1993), the target population is the larger group, upon whom researcher hopes to generalize the findings. The target population for this study comprised men and women, especially those within the age of eighty years and above. Because of limitations of the nature of the study, 10 (ten) informants were selected from each of the four divisions of Kuria rural districts i.e Kehancha, Maberu, Masaba, and Ntimaru totalling to 40 (fouty) informants.

### **1.12.4 Sample and Sampling Procedures**

Orodho (2001), characterizes a sample as a component of enormous population, which is an agent of the bigger population. Sampling is a cycle of picking different individuals or things from a populace with the ultimate objective that the picked pack contains

parts specialists of characteristics found in the entire social occasion. Because of limitations of the nature of the study, ten informants were selected from each of the four divisions of Kuria rural districts i.e Kehancha, Maberu, Masaba, and Ntitaru totalling to forty informants. The informants were chosen through purposive sampling technique, where informants helped the researcher identify other potential informants through snowballing technique. The criteria for selection were age, gender and knowledge of traditional history of the Abakuria.

#### **1.12.5 Description of Research Instruments**

Oral information was collected through in-depth interviews using interview schedule- using open-ended questions developed by a researcher from the research objectives and its interpretation was done during the collection of data from the respondents by the research assistant who understood and communicated Kuria language. Primary data was corroborated with relevant data from archive sources and secondary sources including books, journal articles, magazines, theses/dissertations, and seminar/seminar papers.

#### **1.12.6 Data Collection Procedures**

Archival documents began to be researched at the Kenya National Archives in the preliminary survey. The relevant ones used included materials directly relating to detention camps in the colonial and post-colonial times. Another important body of documentary sources were private collections which included records of the Kuria. The last phase of the study was an explanation into oral sources in Kuria. Personalities involved in the politics and leadership during colonial times and those who had served under colonial rule and administrative officers were consulted. To authenticate archival and oral information Focus Group Discussions were used. This kind of data collection method was utilized in the examination as an elective interaction of gathering data by

interviewing a group(s) instead of a person, which was in line with the works of Creswell.

#### **1.11.7 Data Analysis Procedures**

Kerlinger (1986), defines data analysis as categorizing, manipulating and summarizing of data in order to obtain answers to research questions. This research yielded data that required qualitative analysis which entailed narrative and phenomenological approaches. These included, theoretical reflections, documentary review majorly from secondary sources and content analysis. Theoretical analysis involved using the selected theoretical frame work to analyze the data. Textual comparison was also used which involved analysis of secondary sources such as; books, journal articles, magazines, theses/dissertations, and seminar/seminar papers. Documentary review and content analysis involved corroborating documentary data with oral data as a way of internal criticism. The data collected was used to test the research findings in the light of the theory used to form the basis of analysis and interpretation thematically.

#### **1.11.8 Ethical Considerations**

The study was planned to meet ethical acceptability, by first obtaining permit from National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) to carry out research then only consenting members of Kuria people were engaged with the investigation. The researcher didn't utilize any pay off or instigation to have individuals take an interest in the study. Since this study proves sensitive to social-political systems of Abakuria, many people feared to participate thinking it was interrogation, those were uncomfortable with participation in this study were treated with due respect to their human rights of freedom of choice. Researcher also obtained informed consent from the respondents by signing consent form translated into their local language (Kuria). Confidentiality was maintained by using visit numbers rather than names and data gathered was not revealed to anybody without consent from the respondent. The

interviewee's right to withdraw was protected and was not to be treated as protest as participation in this study was voluntary.

The researcher was completely answerable for keeping up the respect and government assistance, all things considered . The researcher and research assistant held high the responsibility for behaving ethically and for treating the members in an ethical way consistently. At long last, the data gathered overall was treated with however much classification as could reasonably be expected and was not to be utilized for some other reason other than research work. Oral history was collected through in-depth interviews using interview schedule developed by a researcher from the research objectives and its interpretation was done during the collection of data from the respondents by the research assistant who understood and communicates Kuria language

## CHAPTER TWO

### KURIA SYSTEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE DURING PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD TO 1895

" Our dairy cattle are our dad, our mom, and our kids. Would you make me butcher my mother since she was old? Would you make me butcher a portion of my kids since they are many? The appropriate response is no. Furthermore, neither would I anticipate that you should sell your mom for cash when you need another cover or to butcher a child when you have a wedding. Do you maim your kids?" (Family Dynamics, 28).

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the nature of Kuria system of social control leadership and governance during pre-colonial period. We investigate the role of deeply-rooted pre-colonial Kuria institutions in shaping comparative political development within east African region and Kenya in particular. We join data on the spatial conveyance of groups and social association before colonization with provincial variety in political execution, we record a solid relationship between pre-pilgrim ethnic political association and local turn of events. The solid positive relationship between pre-pilgrim political intricacy and contemporary improvement gets additionally inside sets of nearby ethnic countries with various traditions of pre-pioneer political establishments. It is contended that the variety of Kenya precolonial political constructions opposes speculation. Ceremonial chieftaincies and provincial nobilities existed together with town level matrilineal groups and other "stateless" social orders. The solitary perceptible factor, however positively no "rule," of verifiable state intricacy was the interconnected presence of higher populace densities and nearly rich degrees of precipitation.

#### THE KURIA

The Kuria had a turbulent history. At some times they were called 'a pool of colonial migrant labour systems' (*as amachomba*), (Mwanzi: 73) or being 'reluctant' and 'backward' agro-pastoralists, or participants to the international capital at other times

they have been almost isolated from that very market. Perhaps in making a harsh analysis, Ochieng describes the Kuria transformation:

*In pretty much consistently in the only remaining century, these individuals have suffered emergencies of the most noticeably awful sort—changed from a rich, haughty and autonomous disapproved of pastoralist local area into negligible product makers, cows rustlers, and starvation help customers. (Ochieng: 9).*

But within the context of such flux and turmoil, there has been one striking continuity: their long-standing history and complex relations with each other and interesting response they have adapted to such forces of change. To begin with, this work will show how the mapping of this little corner of Bukuria could help us understand the broader picture of the nature of contemporary capitalism.

The history and anthropology of the Kuria is a quickly developing field to which Africa or africanist researchers have massively contributed regarding disclosing the complicated phonetic, custom, agribusiness, social association and also tended to work towards theoretical and practical understanding of the process of politico-economic transformation. Anthropologists have long regarded Bukuria as a ‘problem area’ with respect to agricultural development citing the low degrees of yield creation and creature cultivation with a firmer resistance to land combination and registration(Grim, 1994). One essayist for instance proposed that financial advancement had been moderate in light of the fact that Kuria clung to the custom worth framework and in light of the fact that their needs were by and large restricted to cows and spouses. Accordingly the generalization of the Kuria laborers as curve moderates has become grounded however this segment demonstrate something else and represent that the pace of financial change in the late nineteenth century was more prominent than any resulting period.

The Kuria claim a diverse ancestry, one which probably did not begin to distinguish itself as “Kuria” until the nineteenth century (Abuso, 1980:14). According to oral tradition, migrations of Bantu-speaking peoples from North of Mount Elgon brought the early ancestors of the Kuria, Gusii, Kikuyu and several other groups into present-day Nyanza sometime during the sixteenth century (Ochieng, 1974: 13). Some continued

east into the Central Kenya Highlands while others, including the Kuria forbears, settled along Lake Victoria. Waves of Nilotic Luo from the Sudan arrived in the area shortly thereafter; those Bantu unwilling to assimilate moved southeast into the cool highlands, where they encountered on one side advancing Kipsigis and the Maasai. Around 1820, after a series of sporadic raids, the latter group stormed the villages of the Bantu highlanders, killing, burning, and, of course, confiscating cattle (Ibid: 39). According to Abuso, those who fled northwest became the Gusii; those who headed south eventually settled in a region they called Bukuria. Although the Kuria initially decided to settle in their present homeland because its hills acted as natural fortresses against Maasai invasions the region proved well suited for agriculture (Ruel, 1959).

From that initial settlement, relations between the Kuria and their neighbours (Abuso,46) have varied considerably. For example, when civil war, famine, and rinderpest and smallpox epidemics shattered Maasai power in the late nineteenth century many of the former conquerors came to live as refugees among their neighbors. Through intermarriage and trade (Kuria exchanged grain for Maasai spears and iron ore) the Kuria adopted certain traits of Maasai culture, such as the custom of piercing and stretching the earlobes, and various styles of warrior dress and ornamentation. They may also have modeled their systems of age and generation sets after the systems of the Maasai (Ruel:1964) . Although the two groups no longer resemble each other so closely, owing to the Kuria's adoption of Western-style dress, early white explorers used to be unable to distinguish them (Ruel, 1959). The cultural borrowing reflects the respect the Kuria held for their nomadic neighbors; even as they called them foe, warriors aspired to fight Like Maasai" (Ibid:51).

The Kuria were divided into clans or ibiario, which were the main political units. These clans were in the first place a unit of defences and of military strategy. Open to attack

from other clans, the members of a clan *ichika* i.e., "homes" built their houses in fortified settlements on the craggy of hillsides known as *obogwe*, which were easy to defend. All male numbers of a clan were entitled to attend the clan assembly *iritongo*. The discussions taking place in such meetings were directed by a small number of individuals of exceptional esteem, whose advice was vital to the clan. These were known as *abarooti* (prophets) and they were publicly recognized owing to their personal qualities in supervising the state of affairs in their clans ( Gaati, 1967). In addition to the clan assembly, the Kuria political organisation comprised secret council *abagaka bi inchaama*, composed of elders from various extended families. There were also a few young men in order to secure continuity. The members of a council supervised discipline and morality and were authorized to impose sanctions on anyone who threatened to endanger the well being of the clan.

## **2.2 Origins, Migrations and Settlement Patterns of Abakuria in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century**

This is a period which has gotten much concentration through the recorded investigations of numerous social orders. The method for association between various gatherings of individuals was joined by the gathering up of ethnicity. The period likewise endeavors to clarify the start of birthplaces, relocations and settlement of various Kenyan people group. Amid this period, kuria was at that point a morally mind boggling district and very little research has been finished concerning its financial and political frameworks of control. The examinations that were done significantly inspected Nilotes; Luo and Maasai and other Bantu people group like Gusii with their methods for connection like battling, exchanging and intermarrying and consequently impacting each other's socially and financial practices. A large portion of these examinations for instance that of Abuso, delivered general layout of the historical backdrop of Abakuria. In any case, from the examination completed amid this period it

is apparent that the coherence of individuals as a social and political solidarity depended less on its virtue or single starting point, in any case, a remarkable inverse, on its capacity to oblige and acclimatize assorted components (Ayot 1977)

The record of Hobley (1903), which most composed records and oral conventions discovered amid the examination concurs that, the Kuria customs plunged from Monto, who conceived Muiri, who generated Mukuria-the eponymous originator of the Kuria people group. What's more, the vast majority of the Kuria recall that their predecessors originated from Misri, where they had lived with Gusii, The Kikuyu, and The Logoli: From Misri their customs differ on where they went to straightaway (Samson Nyamohanga, Personal correspondence April thirteenth 2018). Numerous anyway say that they went and remained in Ankole, and that from Ankole the first gathering isolated into two; one gathering moved toward the east while the other moved south, adjusting the western shores of Lake Victoria through Bukoba District of terrain Tanzania of the part that adjusted the lake. From that point they in the long run raised their settlement at Mugango in South Mara. From here the gathering late relocated to the fields of Mt Kilimanjaro and to Gutura in Maasai nation. Looked with ceaseless Maasai assaults they moved and settled around Maheta Hill in present-day Nyabasi area (Nyanderema Mwise Museti Mugani, Personal correspondence April fourteenth 2018)

The examination further settled that, Kuria society is today made out of numerous little groups with thirteen noteworthy sub-divisions. Some of these factions guarantee that they originated from the north, The Abakenye and Abamera, for instance say that they originated from Gwasi. Different gatherings say that they entered Butende from the east. The Abairege, for example, guarantee that they originated from Range, while the Abarenchoka bunch claims cause from Chepalungu, one major gathering The

Abagumbe-who maybe speak to the first Kuria, originated from Chepalungu Forest, close to the present Maasai and Kipsigis outskirts. Most of the transients from both the east and the South appear to have first settled around Gatura, and from here they floated to Nyanungu, now in Buirege.

It was in this general zone that the Kuria appear to have advanced their normal character. Before the finish of the eighteenth century the majority of Bokuria was at that point viably possessed by the different tribes of Kuria (Nyahiri Machungu, Personal correspondence thirteenth April 2018). From numerous verifiable accounts no doubt the Kuria isolated from the fundamental Gusii amass around the Nandi slopes most likely in the meantime as the Maragoli. Rather than following the Southeastern course which was later taken by their family, they set off in a southwest heading towards the present Gusii nation. Maybe because of Luo interruption in the territory, they moved further south towards Musoma (Ochieng' 1974).

The oral custom found on the ground was bolstered by Barker (1958), contention that by about the sixteenth and seventeenth hundreds of years the populace was small to the point that individuals lived near one another for assurance. The Abakuria who occupy Bokuria lived both in Kenya and Tanzania-with one leg on each side of the outskirts of these two nations. In Kenya they lived on the Western side of south Nyanza region (i.e in Migori sub-region). In Tanzania they lived both in north Mara and Musoma regions. Berke (1958), further gives two main blocks of Kuria as follows:

### **The Kenya Kuria**

The Abairegi

The Abagumbe(Abarenchoka)

The Abanyabasi

The Abakira

## **The Tanzania Kuria**

The Abairegi

The Abanyamongo

The Abanyabasi

The Abatimbaru

The Ababwasi

The Abakira

The Abamera

The Abakenye

The Abakiini

The Abasweta

The Abakiroba

The Abatobari

Linguistically the difference between these two blocks is negligible. A claim also supported by Barker (1958), who argues that The kuria are a Bantu-speaking community whose closest linguistic neighbours include the Gusii, Zanaki, Nguruimi, Ikoma, Maragoli and Kikuyu. The history of the Abakuria is therefore tied up with that of the various communities who neighbour them both to the north and to the south of Lake Victoria, the area generally known as the lake region (Ogot 1974).

Chacha (1963), analysis of kuria society concurred with the study that Kuria being an illiterate society, used relative chronology since no written records were available before the period of colonial rule to narrate and explain migration and settlement patterns. In relative chronology it is not deemed necessary to know the exact year or date when particular event took place. It may be just sufficient to know that a certain event took place in a certain period relative to associated events. To take examples

from Abakuria history, it was just sufficient, for instance, to know that an event ‘A’ happened’ before the Nyabasi people settled at Gatura for the first time during the *Ntome* age-set’ or another event ‘B’ took place during the battle of *Gutura* during the age-set of *Machare*; or another event ‘C’ happened when the Europeans were arriving in South Nyanza district at the time when the Maasai age-set were being initiated (Chacha 1963).

Chacha (1963) further gives the following Chronological chart

<b>Number or Generations Ago</b>	<b>Period</b>
1. The last phase: The Abakuria resettle	1914-1886
2. Ebagu	1886-1858
3.	1858-1830
4. The arrival of the Luo and Maasai	1830-1802
5. Abakuria settle in Musoma District	1802-1774
6. Settlement of Gwasi,Gatura,Hameta	1774-1746
7. RENCHOKA HILLS	1746-1718
8.	1718-1690
9.	1690-1662
10. First groups arrive in Bokuria	1662-1632
11. From Chepalungu	1632-1606
12.	1606-1578
13.	1578-1550
14. The Beinning of Abakuria Society	1510-1522
15.	1522-1494
16.	1494-1466
17.	1466-1438
18. Journeys from Misiri	1438-1410
19.	1410-1382
20.	1382-1354

As already indicated, Kuria traditions and migration designs in the inaccessible past connected them with the Abagusii with whom they are phonetically firmly related. All things considered, in quite a bit of their way of life and social association, they may likewise be contrasted with the Agikuyu, Embu, and Meru. Moreover, the Abagusii need five of the eight names of the age cycles, which are of central significance to the Abakuria. Five of the eight names of the age cycles are found in related structure among the Nandi and the Kipsigis; And in any event two of these regular names are likewise found in the ages of the Agikuyu, Meru and Embu.

The abovementioned and other chronicled proof identifying with the beginning of the Abakuria recommend that they were a combination of Bantu and Highland Nilotic people groups. Indeed, no doubt the Abakuria were not the first occupants of their current region. Writing in 1950, Cory proposed that the Abakuria were a splinter gathering of the Maasai who "relocated to their current territory numerous ages back" He focused on that they actually had the Maasai "soul" which showed itself in the adoration for dairy cattle and extraordinary enthusiasm in obtaining them.

The way of dress and weaponry were maybe the most substantial digestions from the Maasai culture. Portrayals of the Kuria hero of the late nineteenth century uncover the hitting likenesses with the Maasai. All the more especially, their Physical area may have presented them to political impacts from the Maasai. They consequently built up a politico-military framework which was somewhat wanted and part of the way created from their own native foundations.

The Kuria kept huge crowds of steers, not on the grounds that they experienced the "Dairy cattle Complex" of anthropological old stories, but since cows assumed such countless various parts. In addition to the fact that livestock served as a mode of trade and store of significant worth; it was additionally significant as distinction merchandise

and objects of perplexity enunciated inside a social and philosophical framework. The essential estimation of cows was reflected in the numerous jobs they played in Kuria social association. In marriage, for instance, they turned into an issue in formal bridewealth installment; during the isubo (elderhood service), various somewhere in the range of six and twelve head of steers were given to the siblings of the senior's spouses and some steers needed as contributions to the predecessors. In inception services (esaro for instance), when the young lady recuperated from the actual activity the mother's sibling was relied upon to butcher a bull for her. In the event that he did as such, he would get four to eight dairy cattle on the day the young lady got hitched.

To delineate how significant cows were to the Abakuria, one may take note of how frequently dairy cattle are referenced in tunes and sonnets. A model is given underneath:

*This Rioba of the Abahirimatara who came from the ancestries of the bulls who kept Kimwamu\* and Kiburuha\* bulls ...the bulls that who pursued Nyansamu\* while milk trickled from its udders... My dad is Rioba of the stocky bulls. Indeed, even the previous evening our bull didn't rest, it sniffed the cows till down, attempting to discover those without calf in the belly""*

Subsequently, steers were tenderly cared for, promptly related to, and extravagantly talked about. The abundance of an individual was estimated in cows units, and steers satisfied critical ceremonial capacities and commitments.

The Kuria expanded their stocks predominantly by attacking their neighbors. Further more attacking was a necessity for the Kuria youth to show mental fortitude after commencement. Regardless of whether in assaulting or fighting, a hero showed his boldness by catching cows or slaughtering a foe. Striking was likewise offered as a methods for acquiring bridewealth steers. This is exhibited in a well known brew party melody, "Nyagorio we 'ngoombu, sobokera omokari, name nakurusiria egoorio". This

might be interpreted as "You who long for a lady make more cows, it is ladies who will eliminate your desire"(sic)

Dairy cattle were painstakingly munched and simultaneously protected from rustlers. Steers having a place with close genealogy individuals drawn basically from one eka (estate) were brushed together by a group of equipped young men (abarisia). They bore stamping recognizing them from steers having a place with far off family members; the making set up responsibility for steers or those recovered from marauders. Oral evidence suggests that when the ancestors of the Abakuria moved from South West with their herds (see, introduction) and settled in their present homeland, rinderpest epidemics decimated their herds and they to build up their stock again.

Rinderpest is well remembered among the Abakuria; the elders call it ekehaha and say it killed most of the cattle, leaving only a few called ibitama or remnants. Apart from the rinderpest epidemic, the Abakuria faced other problems associated with pastoralism: the invasion of locust (amakagaita) destroyed pasture land; while drought devastated their farming activities. Sheep and goats were less important in Kuria animal husbandry; even so, they were key elements in conflict, resolution and religious rituals. Fowl ducks, cats and dogs were equally domesticated.

The kuria exchanged cattle, sheep and goats, either against grain or the craftmanship objects. One proverb would testify to this fact: "Abasi bano bagorre emoori obosongo, egatema nchera ekabiara na bosongo botaraita; hano buguita bogaita mokoro wa tienyi nyamaiso monankomorio" This translates: "the Abaasi (a section of the Abakuria) exchanged a calf for an arrow poison but the calf grew and reproduced before the arrow poison had killed an animal". Oral traditions give evidence of an old custom of lending out grain against the payment of interest (ogotonda) where cattle were

involved. In this way, cattle owners were insured against the adverse effects of a bad harvest or even famine. Thus, ekegoterro was a binding agreement under which:

*"If a man had a cow which he did not want to use in exchange but still needed to obtain grain, he would give the cow to the grain owner, under the agreement that if, the cow bore a calf, the grain owner would keep the calf, and return the cow to its original owner.*

*In such transactions, a witness and a surety were required, and both were given grain in recognition of their role in an arrangement referred to as ekebotora iguri. Cattle provided a means of accumulating wealth and owing their increase through natural reproduction were an attractive piece of investment. In fact, those who exchanged grain for cattle were always at an advantage. As Kitching generally notes about precolonial Kenyan communities: "the paces of trade between the animals, food crops... also, craftsman items were by and large for the domesticated animals' proprietor."*

This was on the grounds that the volume of millet which was traded for one cow or goat was regularly a result of more work than that consumed on raising domesticated animals. This may clarify why the Abakuria were generally hesitant to trade their dairy cattle for grain and why they were so anxious to recuperate them when the harvest was good. The cattle traded back in this manner were known as ichingombe chio omogongo, which translates as "the cattle of the backbone" implying that they were product of hard farm work.

Salt was an essential commodity in precolonial Bukuria and there were different ways of obtaining it. One was to burn the plant inkurwa (*Corchorus olitorius*) and ichinkunyinyi (*vigna senesis*) put their salty ashes in water, filter the ashes and produce crystals by evaporating in specially made pots. The most common method used in salt making was the evaporation on the saline earths that formed around saline springs (engenyi) especially those that were found at Kurutiange and Naora. However, this method was usually more laborious, and the salt obtained was often impure or unpalatable.

It was only in a few places that it was possible to produce enough salt to meet more than immediate local demands. Consequently, in the later nineteenth century, the Abakuria began obtaining salt by trading with the Abasuba who produced it in large quantities. There were numerous springs at Gwasi in Lake Victoria which yielded a plentiful supply of brine. This only needed to be evaporated to produce an exceptionally pure salt.

At the regional level, then, the Abakuria traded with the Abasuba for supply of salt and other commodities such as pots and mats. Similarly, in spite of frequent cattle raiding, there is every reason to believe that a considerable amount of trade occurred between the Abakuria and the Maasai groups. Old narratives reveal that the Maasai would come to stay in Bukuria for several days and were given a lot of food. Coming in a caravan of between thirty to sixty persons referred to by the Abakuria as abotobia, they brought with them beads and other valuables like imikune or spears. To be sure, the essentially semi agricultural way of the Abakuria and pastoral life of the Maasai encouraged complementarity and co-operation. So, whenever the two communities differed or fought, their leaders would call reconciliation meetings; and these meetings were known as okorea ikinyabotati (eating so as to make peace). Both sides needed the material goods and techniques of the other. Therefore, although their relations were profoundly ambivalent there was mutual dependence created by the iron-working industry in Maasailand and the availability of grain in Bukuria.

### **2.3 Traditional Tribal Authority and Unity among the kuria**

A close examination of pre-colonial Kuria society showed that tribal authority began at family level; everyone was a member of the family in which one was born. The father was the undisputed overall head of the family; his authority was the law in the family. The mother followed in the authority, she was the sole head in the domestic matters of

the home. She looked after the children, homestead, utensils, shambas (*ekeremero*) and fed the family assisted by her daughters. If there were grandparents they were respected and obeyed by the parents and the children. They were the advisers of the family and cared for children when the mother went to work during the day. Although children were mainly under their mothers, male children at maturity were more under the guidance of the fathers than female children, vice versa (Magaigwa Chacha Personal communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

More often, the married sons left for their own shortly after marriage but whether living together or in different areas, they were still members of the same family and authority remained with the father and descended to the youngest in order of age when father died, the eldest son was left as the “father” in matters of the authority. He even shared the father’s wealth among his brothers. Sisters were members of the family but were not supposed to inherit any property like land or livestock from the father since they would leave the family on marriage (Nyahiri Machungu, Personal communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018). In these communities every person knew exactly where he stood in the social hierarchy. This helped everybody in the society be aware of how he/she should behave in the society. The age set system (*esaaro*), *Abamaina* were the youngest group, The *Abanyambriti* the mature adults of the society-junior elders and *Abasai* the senior elders of the tribe. The following is the two generation kuria families according to Chacha (1963), which agrees with the study carried out.

**Table 1: Abasai family**

<b>Born</b>	<b>Adults</b>	<b>Junio Elders</b>	<b>Senior Elders</b>	<b>Dying Age</b>
0 years	28 years	56 years	84 years	112 years
Abamaina	Abagamnyeri	Abanyambriti	Abasai	Abamaina
Abasai	Abamaina	Abagamnyeri	Abanyambriti	Abasai
Abanyambriti	Abasai	Abamaina	Abagamnyeri	Abanyambriti
Abagamnyeri	Abanyambriti	Abasai	Abamaina	Abagamnyeri

**Table 2: Abachuma Family**

<b>Born</b>	<b>Adults</b>	<b>Junior Elders</b>	<b>Senior Elders</b>	<b>Dying Age</b>
0 years	28 years	56 years	84 years	112 years
Abachuma	Abamoirabe	Abagini	Abanyangi	Abachuma
Abamoirabe	Abagini	Abanyangi	Abachuma	Abamorabe
Abagini	Abanyangi	Abachuma	Abamorabe	Abagini
Abanyangi	Abachuma	Abamoirabe	Abagini	Abanyangi

Chacha (1963), further says that the generation system helped to determine the social status of each member of the society, *Abasi* family for example; The *Abamaina* are the Fathers of the *Abasai*, grandfathers of the *Abanyambriti*, great grandfathers of the *Abagamnyeri* and great-great grandfathers of the *Abamaina*, and on and on, the cycle repeating itself over, and over again.

In Kuria community, as in many other Bantu speaking societies, the clan formed basic political unit. The clan (*Kizaku*) was sub-divided into sub-clans (*Amagiha*) living in a defined area called *Omogei*. The members of the sub-clan (*Igiba*) lived together in the *Oruberi* which was the settlement in each *Omogei*. The homestead were close to each other for defence purposes and surrounded by a hedge or wall and outside that a broad belt of pasture with the cultivated land ( *ekeremero*) farthest from the homestead and in one block so that the cultivators could band together if danger threatened (Magaigwa Chacha,Personal communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018)

The politics of pre-colonial Kuria society was made up of four divisions' i.e. Bugumbe; Bukira, Nyabasi and Bwirege but Bugumbe formed a strong clan of the four and called itself Batende, Therefore the Batende provided many wise men, ritual and cultural experts during the traditional times. The Batende were among the earliest to settle in Kuria land. Hence they formed a cultural and political entity on which later Kuria society was founded. The society had the iron workers known as *abaturi*. The rituals surrounding production of iron implements caused the smiths to be viewed as special type of people who later became influential in political control. Some other sections of Kuria society there were known leaders who founded their own clans e.g Mwito Gibuswa, the founder of present Nyabasi, Chacha Murimi, Maswi Nchama, Gissona, Nyansiri, Onyaite, Mbusiro, and Nyansisi. And in Bukira, the founder of the clan was known as *Nchuga*, however, they were individuals with outstanding leadership qualities but did not constitute what is referred as a political system. The chief was highly esteemed as the symbol of ethnic unity and all tribesmen paid allegiance to him. He was also the head of the tribe in all matters relating to religion, the administration of justice, government and warfare. Appeals could be made from

lower courts to his court (Nyamohanga Mkami Personal Communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

This oral tradition is supported by Cohen (1972), who narrates that in Kuria society, at the village and clan level, these chiefs were called Abagembi who were clan and a family leader who was the oldest member of a family or clan would become its leader. The leaders or elders formed a council of elders which looked after the affairs of the village or clan. The most senior of them, in terms of age, wisdom, wealth and lineage, would become its chairman and spokesman. The council of elders was called *Inchama*. Each locality had its own *Inchama* that deliberated upon all matters affecting society. The control in Kuria society was made in the office of *omogaka*, who was a senior elder and recognised as such by the community. *omogaka* established his status as a leader of a homestead or clan, and then he became a respected elder in the clan, who was called *omusubi*.

It was also after the circumcision rite that a class of warriors came into being the warrior group had a duty of defending and guaranteeing the independence and property in the community (Chae Magige, Personal Communication 15<sup>th</sup> April 2018). The central family and clan produced a chief who in the event of death was succeeded by the eldest son from his first wife or that of the next wife in order of seniority if the first wife had no son. Each ethnic group was composed of new members due to assimilation by the original clan members, who composed part of the central clan (Were 1974).

#### **2.4 The Kuria Traditional Military Organization and Administration of Justice**

As per Ogot (1967), the accomplishment of most Bantu people group as far as military and political associations was the profoundly progressed proficient military contrasted with different networks that needed. Circumcision, inception and marriage are likewise essential occasions in the Kuria Society. At circumcision and particularly amid the

entire time frame when those circumcised are under confinement, okooroka, there was eating, music-production with instruments, for example, enono, iritungu and ekogogo, singing, moving and numerous different exercises. Amid the time of confinement (four days for young ladies and five days for young men) which begins the specific day a kid or young lady is circumcised, the young men and young ladies, who are called abasamba at the time experience a sort of planning which qualifies them to take part in the exercises of the general public (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication fourteenth April 2018).

Ayiemba (1986), portrays that after circumcision; every one of the exercises of youth were overlooked. The youthful grown-ups occupied with progressively genuine exercises where they should act as develop and dependable individuals. The moves for both genders turned out to be increasingly genuine and important. Be that as it may, the warriors had an essential job of protecting their edge and nation in general. They additionally went to strike for riches from different clans and brought home domesticated animals, weapons and ladies. To play out this adequately and without losing their lives, they were exempted from different exercises like development and crowding and left to focus on war preparing. Now and again they lived in the shrub isolated from other individuals where they gained from more established warriors (njama ya ita) the systems of battling, discipline, making, weapons, and how to keep physically fit (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication fourteenth April 2018).

The Abakuria often boast about their bravery saying that during the pre-colonial period they were so powerful that they killed many Maasai raiders. During interviews on the military strength of the Abakuria, the informants often boasted that they used to be so strong and brave that they killed many raiders on the hill of Barenchoka in Mabera. Behind the boast, was a strove of oral tradition which reflect a long, important

historical and military experience of Abakuria. It contained military data on why, where, how and with whom the local area battled. It best-talked about military techniques and strategies, it uncovered why and how the local area manufactured partnerships and made trade offs or did battle. It alluded to new weapons, which they utilized by distinguishing weapons that they utilized; it worked as a window to the changing military innovation of the local area at pretty much the time that pilgrim powers were infringing. The retiring warrior group or age-set handed over power to the next one at a special ceremony, and then they were absorbed into the class of elders. This system helped to organise Kuria community into a political structure of youths, warriors and elders. It was from among the elders that *Abagembi* and other senior elders who ruled Kuria society were chosen (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

Justice in Kuria community and customary law could not be separated from the rest of community life. This made politics and law to go hand in hand. The council of elders made decisions concerning political matters and land disputes. There were also customs that governed behaviour at the family and clan as well as at the societal level. The decisions of a council of elders carried with them moral sanctions ensured that they would be obeyed. Fear of being cursed by the elders was one such sanction. Public condemnation lasted as long as one lived. It was even considered hereditary so that public trial was occasionally carried out to determine the guilt of the accused with reference to the traditional standards of his lineage (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

The question of compensation among the Kuria varied from locality to locality and depended on the nature of the crime as well as on how closely related to the offended party the accused was. Customary law or justice was more binding at family and clan

level than at the level of society, except with regard to age-set or generation set, when custom or law was generalised for the whole society because members of a set were as close to one another as brothers (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

The society was also bound together using totems, Feudi (1961), analysis of totems and taboos states that totem is a rule a creature whether consumable and innocuous (or risky and dreaded) and all the more seldom a plant or a characteristic marvel (like downpour or water), which remains in a particular connection to the entire tribe. The symbol is the regular precursor of the family; simultaneously it is their gatekeeper soul and partner, which sends them prophets and if hazardous to other people, perceives and saves its own kids. As indicated by above story, an emblem is significant in restricting a general public together as one individuals, a group, and considerably greater units like a sub-clan. One crucial factor about symbol is that it clarifies in a legendary manner the causes of individuals noticing it. All of kuria symbols are wild creatures, including the Leopard, Zebra, Elephant, Baboon, Hippopotamus and Hyena. In kuria society a symbol accepts one faction as well in general sub-clan, or in different cases at least two sub-clans together. All families inside that sub-clan naturally have a place with that symbol (Ogot 1974). Below is a list of the Abakuria totems according to Ochieng' (1974), showing the similarity which exists between the Abakuria and neighbouring peoples such as the Luo Abasuba and the Gusii.

<b>Totem</b>	<b>the Abakuria</b>	<b>the Luo Abasuba</b>	<b>the Gusii</b>
Leopard	Abagumba	Jo-Wiga	North Mugirango
	Abairegi	Jo-Simbeta	South Mugirango
	Abanyamongo		
Zebra	Abanyabasi	Abagusero	Bassi
	Abatimbaru		
	Ababwasi		
Elephant	Abakira	Abamera	
	Abakenye		
Baboon	Abasweta	Jo-Wasweta	Kitutu
			Nyaribari
			Majoge
			Mugsero
Hippopotamus	Abanchari	Abanchari	Wanjare
Hyena	Abatobori	Jo-Wtobori	

## **2.5 The Kuria Relations with Neighbouring Communities**

### **Relations with Maasai**

The narratives in Ochieng' (1974), indicates that by about four to five generations ago i.e between 1774 and 1830, Bokuria and Maasai communities were fully aware of each other's presence. As a result of disruptive warfare organised mainly by the Maasai in raids for cattle from the people of Bokuria, among others, these people had learned not only the tactics but also something about the culture of the Maasai. They had come to copy the Maasai war costumes and weapons like use of poisonous arrows, elaborate head-dresses and the use of ochre (red or white paints on their faces, arms and legs. Narrations from informants support the above claim because during times of war, it was difficult to distinguish between Abakuria warriors and the real Maasai warriors. This helped the people to penetrate deep into Maasai country without being easily detected by the Maasai themselves. Although the Abakuria did not have well defined

military grades as the Maasai did, the age-set system was the nearest they could come to the Maasai method. Each age-set in Bukuria was a distinctive group within the community. The sets were important both as military units and also as historical chronological records. As military units they helped to organise efficient military training within the community (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

### **Relation with the Luo**

In looking at history of Southern Luo, Ogot (1967), argues that since the arrival of the first Luo people in South Nyanza about 1760, they had continued to interact with these lake-shore Bantu people; The Kuria people. At first the Luo seem to have taken the Bantu girls by force to be their wives. This appears to have been one of the major reasons for many conflicts between these people and the Luo, resulting in many of the former people's migrating into Musoma district. But as more Luo people arrived into the area these two communities became more familiar with one another, and a legalised systematic intermarriage between them.

At first, interactions between the Abakuria and the Luo were focused basically on exchange. This was first by implication directed, with the Suna Bantu gatherings like the Absimbete, Abasweta, Abanchari, Wiga and others going about as brokers. In the exchange the Abakuria sold iron weapons and adornments which the Abaturi had produced using the iron minerals mined locally from Taogota (Lolgorien) close to Gutura. Like the walowa of Yimbo, the Abaturi (or waturi) were master metal forgers. The Abaturi; who are today a sub-faction in Bugumbe location, appear to be the same people as the walowa of Yimbo (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

## **Relations with the Gusii**

According to Ochieng' (1974), the interaction between Gusii and Kuria was difficult partly because the Maasai in their frequent attacks on the Abakuria had caused a permanent rift between the Gusii and Abakuria. It was therefore dangerous to travel eastwards to Gusii place. The Luo too appear to have blocked the lowland route so that it was not easy for the Gusii and the Abakuria to interact in trade. During this period the Abakuria appeared to have known much less about the Gusii but also the centre of attraction had moved towards Lake Victoria. The Abakuria production was also same in terms of agriculture and most of the food-stuffs such as bananas, millet, cassava, and fish which the Abakuria needed they either got from the Luo or the other Bantu along the Lake so there appeared to be no real need for turning eastwards. So, in this way these two related communities who perhaps in the beginning had had a lot in common were isolated from one another during this critical period of their history. Thus, during the early period of colonialism, the kuria of Kenya easily agreed to be united with the Luo rather than with the Gusii ( Chae Magige Gituka, Personal Communication 15<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

## **2.6 Conclusion**

From the a above example, we learn that pre-colonial Kenyan systems of leadership and government were complex with complete in-built mechanism for the maintenance of law and order and perhaps more importantly, the element of permanent timelessness ensured continuity which present-day democratic systems cannot fail to envy. This is more so because government among the two peoples, one Bantu and the other Nilotic, was based on the gradation of men into age-sets which ranked them permanently from boyhood to retirement and in which senior men emerged as the communal rulers who controlled the means of production (land) and reproduction (bride wealth). Through the

systems ostensibly sought to give their people equal power in society and the elders tried to balance the interests of the individuals, there were gerontocratic governments which worked to the advantage of initiated elders and oppressed and even exploited societal members in the junior cadres (Maxon 1986).

Kuria too had a segmentary lineage society with no central organisation a minimum of tribe-wide solidarity, and little in the way of institutionalized leadership clans and sub-clans were mutually hostile and fought each other when differences arose, rather than solving their problems peacefully. Retaliation was marked features of their social control system. This made them to accept the issue of modern court systems rather than traditional judgements unlike other Bantu societies. What can be said in here about personality structure that the traditional Kuria social control system had is that since it was a system with very little formalized judicial systems, it did tend to put the burden of social control on the individual. This led to quick change from a social control system characterized by feuding and with hardly any institutionalized judiciary to one in which even petty differences were submitted to a hierarchical court structure hence declining the traditional authority in the community.

It is therefore important to realize that the relevance and usefulness of precolonial institutions and customs among the Kuria relied on whether one perspectives African culture, or any culture besides, as static, or whether African culture is considered to have advanced and changed, somewhat as a result of outside impact and expansionism. Culture should be viewed as powerful, and pre-frontier African societies seen to be verifiable appearances that are applicable completely simply to that particular timeframe. Else, they are pointless as wellsprings of motivation for contemporary social orders.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **KIKUYU SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD**

*It is sad these days taata [my son], the best world in which we lived has been taken from us, it is hot, we have no food, rivers are drying up, forests are gone. Kuria was never like this! What have we done to God! (Nyamohanga Mkami, Personal Communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018).*

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter will examine the themes around conquest of Kuria, the emergence of the colonial administrative structures and the changes in that structure that marked the colonial era. The focus of the chapter will be primarily political but economic and ideological changes are also very significant as they too have impact on administration and politics. The data presented covers respondents' understanding of the pattern of systems of social control, leadership and governance that emerged among the Kuria during colonial period.

#### **3.2 Establishment of Colonial Rule in Kuria**

Formal British organization of the British East Africa protectorate started on first 1895 with the end of the magnificent British East Africa Company, this set in cycle of setting of the diverse ethnic networks along with their frameworks of government inside one huge and new territory of focal organization- they established the so-called "Provincial Administration". Soon after assuming local responsibility for the territory in 1905, the colonial office ended local recruitment of administrators and began to send its own appointees from Britain. By 1907 the qualifications for an administrative post had been raised; candidates had to have either a college degree, standard commission in the military, proficient capabilities in law, or if nothing else 1500 imprints in the common help assessment (Berman 1992).

Foundation of the pilgrim authoritative structures in Kuria was a procedure that ran connected at the hip with the British triumph of the area, the arrangement of pioneer decide that rose in the district was aftereffect of experimentation, strife and

convenience in which activities of both the vanquished and the vanquisher molded the political and managerial framework that developed. The social changes undermined customary specialist since it included splitting far from conventions; the expert of most boss was extraordinarily decreased amid the frontier period as another sort of power step by step usurped their position (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication fourteenth April 2017). Concurring Lonsdale (1989), the British utilized viciousness on a locally extraordinary scale, and with phenomenal singleness of brain; to usher Kenya into the twentieth century. He further expresses that the burden of frontier rule in Kenya involved the procedure of Westernization and industrialist infiltration of African economies and that imperialism influenced the verbalization of indigenous methods of generation inside the entrepreneur method of creation and the combination of African economies into the Western entrepreneur arrangement of market relations. Abakuria pastoralist exercises were incredibly undermined as destocking police was presented among networks and men were required to go working for the whites (Lonsdale (1989). Eliot (1966), saw that the early overseers would in general observe inborn society as without accomplishments of significant worth and dishonorable of conservation. The people groups of Kuria, needed incorporated political establishments, were viewed as possessing one of the most reduced rungs on the stepping stool of social development and exposed to especially cruel judgment. He additionally composed that frontier rule were not annihilating any old intriguing framework in Africa, but rather essentially bringing request into clear, uninteresting, ruthless brutality. This view prompted the crumple of ancestral expert even with an inconceivably unrivaled European human progress among numerous customary social orders like Kuria (Nyamohanga Mkami, Personal Communication thirteenth April 2018).

Bennet (1963), states that the Europeans possessed the highest point of the frontier monetary, political and social pyramid. Their compensation scale was the most noteworthy in the provincial state. In spite of the fact that there were just 61000 Europeans in 1960 contrasted and 169000 Asians and 7.8 million Africans-around 40 percent of the aggregate wage-bill of that year gathered to them. The Europeans likewise consumed the best callings and overwhelmed the mechanical, managing an account, mining and business life of the nation. Moreover they kept an eye on the best posts in the common administration and possessed the greater part of the extensive scale cultivating creation and around 7.5 million sections of land, or about 3.1 million hectares and comprised 50 percent of the arable land and 20 percent of Kenya's profoundly profitable zones this additionally made the larger part of neighborhood individuals to be dislodged from their territory to clear route for white pioneers, the majority of the Abakuria individuals moved to Tanzania amid this period (Zezeza 1996).

At the base of the frontier social and monetary pyramid were the huge numerical dominant part of the populace, the Africans, the general larger part of whom were workers who lived by subsistence cultivating in Kenya's rustic regions like the Abakuria developed cassava and sorghum for household reason. However, there were other social classes, and ethnic divisions, among the Africans. The underlying foundations of this division lay in pre-pilgrim history, however the colonizing organization misused this reality for regulatory reasons, which circumstance they additionally entangled by making ancestral limits and saves. (B.A Ogot 1995).

The foundation of pilgrim rule along these lines, constrained Africans to embrace ethnic ways of life as novel as any teacher categories. African family units bound themselves together in tribes out of recently dissipated loyalties the better to group or

deny the privilege of boss ship. At a more extensive dimension locale limits line on the guide as opposed to moving edges of subsistence and exchange, started similarly to check out clans which guaranteed the ethnographic immaculateness that the British expected of them, very not at all like the friendly variance that had existed previously (Lonsdale 1989).

To force Africans to end up working for the Europeans and Asians, work and financial enactment was instituted to encourage work enrollment and to deny Africans access to beneficial money edit generation and business credits. The absolute best African land was estranged for European use, along these lines constraining African farming generation and access to crisp land. Hovel and survey charges were additionally forced and the need to discover yet more cash constrained young fellows to offer their administrations to the European pioneers and Asian brokers. (B.A Ogot 1995).

In many parts of Kenya, for instance in South Kavirondo District where Kuria is, Sir Charles Eliot declined to consider utilizing indigenous Africans as the operators of business rural creation after the railroad had been developed. In expelling the likelihood of utilizing Africans as specialists of business farming creation, Eliot put together his protests with respect to moral, social and innovative grounds. Albeit, as per Eliot, Africans were viewed as voracious and sufficiently rapacious excessively inactive in their ways, and excessively separated in their thoughts, to improve any endeavor to themselves, or to attempt any work which does not deliver a fast noticeable outcome. He included that the African's brain is far closer the creature world than is that of the European or Asiatic, and shows something of the creature's placidity and need of want to ascend past the stage he has achieved (DC/KSI/1-3 1910).

Foundation of the provincial authoritative structure among the Abakuria begun by modifying Kuria regulatory framework, reports from DC/KSI/3(1910), demonstrates

that all boss among the Abakuria groups were put under one principal boss Chacha Maucha of Suna while others progressed toward becoming headmen. The Abakuria individuals never acknowledged these boss since they were forced on them aside from one boss Makanga Nasonde of Bugembe area. Amid the investigation it was noticed that by 1914 there was still next to no adjustment in life of the abakuria as Western effect was ease back to reach Bokuria in light of the fact that the general population were far cut off from the focuses of European organization like Nairobi, Kisumu, Dar es salaam and Mwanza.

In spite of the fact that the European impact was ease back to reach to Kuria area, kuria individuals started to utilize European made things. A noteworthy emergency for the new managerial framework happened with the beginning of world war I in 1914. During this time; the district was exposed to gigantic requests for expanded tax assessment, domesticated animals and labor in help of the war exertion. In a similar period, Kuria individuals were exposed to constrained work like development of Kisii Migori street, the individuals who rejected were executed. For instance amid the Gemarns time frame numerous Zebra individuals are accounted for to have been killed in light of the fact that they declined to go and join the constrained work forced by the Gemarns as aftereffect of this the general population separated their settlement at Nguku-e sai and Nguku-e chuma however Abanyabasi segment of them later on backtracked their means eastwards into their present territory the rest remained in Tanzania.

The boss were at their most defenseless yet additionally exceptionally intense amid world war I, they utilized power, dishonesty and coercion to give their portion of enlisted people (Wambura Mugini Babera, Personal Communication fourteenth April 2018). Collier (1977), had seen that the Africans social presence was essentially represented altogether by communalistic thoughts and endorses and expected this was

in the end to vanish. Much increasingly imperative, the more that the commonplace organization ended up worried about the dangerous results of social change, the more the craving to moderate ancestral foundations as a feature of a natural network was connected to a conviction that their safeguarding was instrumental for the support of powerful control. While the pioneer executives had been occupied with a procedure of triumph in which protection from British mastery must be pulverized, later authority confronted the altogether different undertaking of keeping up control despite the developing logical inconsistencies of the verbalization of pre-pilgrim African structures with settler and metropolitan capital (Lonsdale 1989).

According to Berman (1992), The three pillars of provincial administration structure comprised the chiefs and headmen, the courts or Native Tribunals, and the Local Native Councils. The central and earliest pillar was the office of chief throughout colonial Africa the search for effective collaborators was shaped by the stereotype carried by colonial administrators of traditional African political systems as hierarchical structures headed by a chief, by compelling the chief to accept the hegemony of the imperial power, or by forcing his replacement with a more compliant claimant of the role if he refused, it was believed that the entire apparatus of authority extending downwards from the chief could be incorporated into the structure of colonial domination, while at the same time returning some of the aura of its traditional legitimacy and permitting the whole population of the political unit to be controlled effectively and, just as important, cheaply. It was expected that without the safeguarding of the design of mostly authority, the texture of ancestral society would quickly break down and leave the modest bunch of field officials to confront a wild ruffraff hence system of indirect rule (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

The preservation of indigenous structures of authority was seen as essential for the transformation of pre-colonial labour and production in the direction required by imperial needs without provoking social collapse and bitter struggle, however, by incorporating the indigenous structure of authority the administration of a colony passed on to it the contradictory demands of production and control. The greater the pressure put on the indigenous authorities to reshape the underlying society, the greater the danger of their collapse; while to equip them to manage the economic sphere meant modernization into a bureaucratized, subordinate extension of the colonial state, a process that progressively destroyed their traditional legitimacy(Ochieng'1972)

### **3.3 Chieftaincy during Colonial Period**

In Kenyan system of direct administration, the chiefs were almost wholly creations of the colonial state. As a result, the contradictions were particularly intense in terms not only of the demands made upon the chiefs both by the state and the indigenous population, but also of their position as both agents of control and the cutting edge of a process of class formation disrupting pre-colonial institutions. On the one hand, they were called on to act as the primary agents for the mobilisation of African labour and production for the colonial economy, to collect taxes and maintain disciplinary control of the reserves (Brown 1972).

Guttsman (1965), argues that As a result of the creation of administration posts, nationality and ancestral character became fundamental ascribes of the frontier experience. Created and hardened in the underlying long periods of pioneer rule, nationality would shape the fundamental structure for African political action for quite a long time to come as the frontier states kept on rehearsing an arrangement of gap and rule through the support of an arrangement of neighborhood organization dependent on ethnically unmistakable locations and districts. Ethnicity or tribalism was thus

embedded in the administrative system, and therefore in the politics of East Africa, from the earliest days of the colonial era (Giddens 1985).

Lonsdale (1989), points out that, before the Native Authority system was finally elaborated about 1910, the administration was plagued by a myriad of clan elders, all clamouring for official recognition and direct access to the District Commissioner. Since British law was regarded as too advanced for the level of evolution reached by the African societies of Kenya and it was believed its introduction would disrupt tribal life, administrators sought some means of using Africans customary law and jural institutions. From the outset bosses were allowed to attempt common and minor criminal questions in their own courts, however the chances this accommodated control and debasement were generally very evident. This investigation was trailed by an endeavor to utilize the committees of older folks that generally regulated ancestral law and an approach of creating local councils started (Samson Nyamohanga, Personal Communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

It was noted that the Bokuria border elders complained that their people are scattering over large area of country making it difficult to control, and in addition the expansionally activities of the Kuria during the period of 1910 to 1915 were restricted by the then district commissioner of South Nyanza D.R Crampton who had issued order to restrict the Abairegi expansion eastwards beyond stream called *Iroro* near Sirungu (DC/KSI/1/3- 1910).

Mitchell (1947), clearly shows how colonialists viewed Africans and their culture by stating that he was convinced that there had been no African pre-colonial development. Africans, according to him, had no wheeled vehicle and (aside from camels and jackasses of the peaceful migrants) no creature transport possibly they had no streets or towns; no apparatuses with the exception of little cultivators, tomahawks,

wooden burrowing sticks and so forth; no fabricates, and no modern items with the exception of the least difficult homegrown handwork, no business, no cash, they had never known about working for compensation. This was an expansionism procedure on the standard of Racism and savageness which invaded Africa and demonstrating that there was no culture to be rescued. Teachers in their zealous obligations supported this standpoint, censoring extremely old African religions and societies, trying to supplant and sometimes prevailing with regards to supplanting them with Western European culture.

During this period the chiefs worked at the pleasure of the commissioner and the people in the community disliked them. Case that was reported by the DC Nyanza (1912), that paramount chief Chacha of the locations adjoining the Anglo-German Border appears to be disliked and distrusted by his people. It was because that some chiefs were gradually replaced because of their age and due to drunkenness by their enlightened sons (KNA/DC NZA, 1910).

The colonial government made efforts to have the ancient power of the Native councils which was a system of paternal government and the recognition of numerous chiefs and headmen who constantly usurp the functions of the councils. The elders were given the opportunity of holding their meetings regularly (twice a month, at the new and the full moon) to hear disputes and try offenders. The natives who brought petty complain to the colonial office or officers on safari were always referred to the Native councils in the 1<sup>st</sup> instance and persons who refused to obey the verdicts of the Native councils were punished. During this period Kuria people were used in working for the Kings African Riffle (Nyahiri Machugu, Personal Communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

In 1916 the attitude of the Native chiefs was entirely friendly and amenable. The elders work seemed declining making the commissioner to give them clerks to assist. In 1917

the idea of paramount chief was dropped among the Kuria community and numbers of sub-headmen were reduced to avoid conflicts because a tendency was observed among the various sub-headmen to regard themselves as independent chiefs the idea that was discouraged and taken as insubordination and there were changes to appointing younger chiefs (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

The relationship of chiefs and colonial government worsened in 1920 and some of them were dropped e.g Ukiria Chief Wita Marua was replaced with Chacha Mtiko while chief Osinda of Nyabasi was considered unsatisfactory as he was suspected of concealing crimes and turning them to his own advantage. In most locations however the elders checked any tendency on the part of the chief who became very oppressive (DC/KSI/1/3). During the period of 1920 the bakuria relations with Natives of other districts was satisfactory other than minor boundary disputes between Maasai and Lumbwa. The people of Bokuria at that time were considered by the colonial government to be brave and intelligent and would repay more attention than they were getting at present owing to their remoteness from the government stations. The chiefs were considered doing just enough work to enable them to retain their position while ignoring their equally important duties as representatives of the people's interest. The council of elders which were much disorganised were reorganised chiefs working with their elders and young men were reported to have shown themselves capable of response to direct administration and to influence of chiefs and headmen. But later in 1923 people of Bokuria were reported to have resented to the rule of the chiefs making the chiefs rule difficult e.g during the year Mwita Marua chief of Nyabasi was set upon by two young men and severely wounded (DC/KSI/1/3).

### 3.4 Creation of Native District Councils (NDCs)

Kuria administration proved to be difficult by the year 1925 owing to shortage of staff, little progress was reported by the DC Nyanza so the people of Kuria were left so much to themselves without any Central Tribunal for Appeals, the chiefs worked with the council of elders. In 1926 two Native District Councils were created in South Kavirondo one for the Kisii Bokuria and the other for the Luo. But the large portion of the Kuria people undoubtedly suffered severely from lack of Administration owing to shortage of staff. The chiefs were undoubtedly enriching themselves by illegal methods and the councils of elders were either not functioning at all or were carrying out their duties without attempting to administer impartial justice (DC/KSI/1/2).

A case supported by Lonsdale (1989), who argues that for most Africans the Native Tribunals were not substantive developments of traditionally legitimate institutions and practices, but rather, along with the chiefs, an integral part of the structure of colonial domination however, for a crucial minority in the reserves. They provided an additional source of power and wealth and another element sustaining their consent to and acquiescence in the colonial presence when the existing structures of control proved incapable of containing the first serious outburst of more modern forms of African opposition and struggle against the colonial order in 1921-2, the administration moved to create the final major instrument for the local containment of African politics (Anne 1987).

Location *Barazas* were established and central *barazas* abolished they worked with Native District Councils in collection of tax, a forestation and establishment of border guards. Later in the year the Kuria locations were more difficult to administer on account their distance from Kisii itself and also owing to the fact that in several cases the present Tanganyika boundary cuts through the middle of the locations so that

offenders can easily find refuge amongst their relatives living across the *Boma* the *Bakoria* Natives first take their cases before the location elders and any appeals are heard by the next officer on safari in those parts. Bokuria area became accessible by 1928 as result of road construction, the headmen became more constitutional and their *barazas* slightly more efficient, and the Tanganyika authorities at Musoma continued to support in administration of the area. The Bokuria joined Luo local native councils and elections for members held latter in the year. Native tribunal for every location was also created ensuring that Abakuria had a right of appeal directly to an officer on safari and exert their rights extensively (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

By the 1920s after the intrusive and innovative interventions of the pre-1914 era, the Kenya administration was consolidated as a conservative apparatus of control focused on the maintenance of the colonial political economy by short-term static adjustment. During the second and third decades of the century the increasing dominance in the administration of the carefully selected products of the public schools and Oxbridge crystallized an elitist, authoritarian and paternalistic ideology of domination (Berman 1992).

In 1929 Kuria headmen became difficult to handle making the District Commissioner in Kisii to give suggestions to hand offer Bokuria to Tanganyika authorities but negotiations did not materialise. Stock thieving increased, leading to formation of two superior council of elders in addition to native tribunals, which dealt with appeals from civil cases heard by the location tribunals but the administration of Bokuria continued to be difficult due to variations in judicial powers and laws and headmen were unable to control their people. It happened that by the aid of chiefs and elders of the location murderers were hidden this led to the deposing of the chiefs and all elders and the

substitution of an alien Luo as chief as it was found impossible to find a suitable man in the location. But equally the alien chief had difficulties in ruling the community (DC/KSI/1/3).

Beliefs about the organic community and the role of the ruling class exercised a profound influence on the self-image of colonial administrators. They firmly believed that the existence of a stable and integrated social order depended on their exercising their duty to govern. The notion of obligation underlay their ethos of public service; their belief that political participation should take the form of voluntary and disinterested service in behalf of the common good. Administrators sought distinction in public service rather than individual achievement and wealth in business and the professions. The desire to do one's duty to society was a pervasive motive attracting young men to careers in colonial administration (Totton 1968).

An analysis of the system in the mid-1940s by Bennett (1963), revealed that in district after district the greater part of the 139 tribunals existing in Kenya had been subjected to perpetual and radical change. In the fourteen years since the system was inaugurated, often anew system would last no longer than a tour of a district commissioner and fundamental alternations in composition, procedure relations with indigenous institutions or the local Native Authority were quite common every two or three years. What one district commissioner put forward as a panacea, then the next found to be anathema; what worked well in one area was exported to another without much regard to whether social and other relevant conditions were broadly similar. Moreover, the fundamental ethos of the courts was moved from that of the customary native destinations of compromise and compromise to the authoritative goals of implementation and discipline of common and minor criminal infractions (Tamarkin 1973).

Some societies, like the Watende in Bugumbe and Luo sections of Karungu, The Kadem, The Wanjore and certain sections of Jo-Alego and Ugenya assumed non-compliance, or reluctantly acquiesced with the British. They refused to co-operate in matters like agriculture and education and as far as possible wished to have nothing to do with the British. This technique could be termed passive resistance. It led to certain parts of Nyanza retaining for a very long time their cultural practices, and activating traditional religions, like Mumboism, which were opposed to European values (Samson Nyamohanga, Personal Communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

### **3.5 The Changing Pattern of Colonial Government and Struggle for Independence**

By 1949 the three basic arms of modern government, the executive, the judiciary and the legislature had taken shape in Kenya. This was the horizontal distribution of government authority, and the entire hierarchy was almost invariably concentrated at the head- quarters of government in Nairobi. The period between 1945 and 1955 was the first time since the Devonshire Declaration 1923 that the colonial discourse in Kenya once again assumed its multiples dimensions: imperial within the colonial office, the second colonial occupation within the white Highlands, Opposition among the African populace in the reserves, in the *Bomas* (often called towns) and in the settler farms, and sitting on the fence amongst Asian *dukawallahs* (or petty shop-keepers) from Vanga to Lodwa (Roseberg 1963).

By 1946 the colony was divided into four provinces and three extra- provincial districts with the general administrative control of each province under a provincial commissioner (Parker (1958). Under him were district commissioners, in each district were a varying number of “Native administrators”, councils of elders and Native courts. It is here that the district commissioner made the ultimate and all-important contact with the colonised and that from 1947 squatters were being subjected to

oppressive labour contracts and to a reduction of their economic opportunities. The idea was to destroy the economic basis for squatter existence as pleasantly; to transform them from peasants in rural proletariat, working for white farmers who for the first time were to develop their employer-labour relations along strictly capitalist wage-labour lines. To achieve these goals new contracts were drawn up during and after the war. The squatters were now required to work 270 days of the year rather than the previous 240 days. In addition they were required to limit their stock to 15. Squatter resistance ensued; at least 3000 refused to sign the new contracts in the Rift Valley. Meanwhile, squatters living in government forests pitted themselves against the Forest Department and against capitalist concessionaries (White 1990).

Blundell (1964) narrates that African participation in local government was further hampered by efforts to develop the local Native councils on British lines. And that in 1950 they were transformed into African District Councils with expanded authority and responsibility for local affairs. For the first time African local government came under the formal supervision of the Local Government Department in Nairobi although District Commissioners retained immediate control. The African District councils represented a system of such scale and complexity that professional local government officers from Britain had to be brought in to advise the officers of the provincial Administration on their operation. The educative function of local government faded and in fact special programmes had to be established to recruit and train African District Council personnel (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

Blundell (1964) further argues that the development of local government never provided a formal mode of access for Africans to the central political institutions in Nairobi. The intervening tiers of councils leading to the legislative council were not

created, despite almost a decade of discussions in the administration. Moreover, not only was there a lack of defined institutional linkages between local councils and the legislative councils, but also, as local government became more complex and specialized on the British model, officials felt a growing need clearly to separate local and central government organizations and functions. This separation ended any idea that the councils would be a training ground for a new elite that would gradually gain access to higher institutions (K.Robinson 1963).

Lonsdale (1990), states that after the Second World War there were no immediate signs that African grievances would be redressed by the government; hence, there was the rise of militancy which culminated in Mau Mau movement and the outbreak of violence in 1952. He further argues that, the rise of Mau Mau greatly contributed to change of colonial leadership. Kikuyu Mau Maus and other Mau Maus' taking place in Kenya like Hola Massacre, 1959, The Banyala of Mulukhoba (Port Victoria) were in 1953, fully mobilized by people like Mukudi, took the nakhabuko oath of unity and empathized with the wider struggle in the highlands (Ogula 1974).

Kabiro (1973), asserts that the Mau Mau raiders of Athi River prison in 1953, included a contingent of South Kavirondo people (Luo, Kisiis and Kuria) combatants and the intelligence reports from Kampala and North Mara cited a movement of Luo Mau Mau guerrillas known as *Onegos*, who sought to link the Mau Mau war and the agitation of the Baganda for the return of their Kabaka from exile in England. It was the *Onegos* who threatened to sabotage the ceremonial royal opening of the Owen falls dam at Jinja in 1954 (Lonsdale 1990). The Meru participation in Mau Mau has been recorded as was the Embu. The Dini ya Msambwa was the Mau Mau of the Ababukusu As well as of the Pokot led by an elusive female spiritual medium, Chepusia, the Pokot played hide

and seek on both sides of the Kenya/ Uganda border against British Levies until 1956 (Kabiro 1973).

On the other hand, there were section of Mau Mau loyalist Kenyanist historians and literary commentators have often associated loyalist with the chiefs who seen as self-seekers but as integral part of the African's struggle for progress and dignity (Ochieng; 1972). Both Ochieng' (1972), and Tamarkin (1978), agree that the Mau Mau young men were opposed by the elders in the country side and in Nakuru. The urban sub-elite that comprised the leadership of the Kenya African Union (KAU) and the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) pitted themselves against the militancy and the violence of the young men. They further argue that in both cities, the elders lost the control of both organizations to the militants by 1951 and that Steadfast Africans were coordinated by the organization from mid 1953 and for the accompanying three years the Home Guard framed the foundation of supporter (Tamarkin 1978).

Ogot (1972), portrays that out of supporter arose the Home Guard, a power of more than 100,000 Agikuyu who battled and crushed the Mau at the level of the family units and the edges. There was the genuine triumph, for they separated the crown jewels place that is known for the Mau among themselves. In this sense, the Kings African Rifle (KAR) and the British Mjoni (Jeshi la wakulia comprehensive) were their hired fighters who were just paid a compensation. Ochieng (1972), states that the battle against Mau had demanded objective cost from the British colonialist. Their military control of Kenya couldn't last inconclusively thus change got basic. The pilgrim system presently saw the need to widen the premise of coordinated effort at the public levels to incorporate Africans inside the political and financial constructions of the provincial society. The primary goals of these frontier changes were to make a base whereupon a

collective African administration could arise and to sabotage the help of Mau political dissidents (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

Spencer (1985), narrates that it was during this period that major regional differences between central and Nyanza provinces, which hitherto had been at par in marketed agricultural output, took place. Land reform was spreading rapidly in central province at a time when Luo political leadership was successfully mobilizing against its implementation in Nyanza province. There was also the danger that the increased prosperity of Kikuyu farmers and the fact that most of the funds secured for African agricultures was going to be spent in Kikuyu areas could be interpreted by other groups as a reward for rebellion. In Douglas (1978), Sir Evelyn Baring the Governor saw this danger of this discrimination clearly, and he made sure that land consolidation was introduced in other areas, namely the Nandi and Kericho districts(Lambwe) and South Kavirondo District But these changes, which were proposed to build the chances for Africans in the pilgrim society and to coordinate them all the more adequately into the changing example of the economy couldn't contain African legislative issues nor could African lawmakers be taken on the grounds that the land and other monetary changes that had been presented, while profiting native industrialist interests, missed the mark regarding well known requests.

As the economic fortunes of the settlers declined, the traditional centres of power in the colonial state apparatus were undermined. Growing African nationalism forced open the gates of African representations to the central structures of the colonial state, which ushered in more fierce struggles over who would ultimately control the state and the policies it would pursue. Thus, the rather cavalier attitude of some radical historians towards constitutional struggles in unwarranted. The association of struggle exclusively with armed struggle has led some historians in Kenya to treat the period up to 1955,

when Mau Mau was active as the peak of African nationalism, and the subsequent years as marking nothing more than a humiliating retreating into betrayal and eventual neo-colonialism (Maina wa Kinyatta 1977).

Mau Mau-liberation movements, unlike Front Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo) or the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) of Zimbabwe for example - never transformed itself into apolitical party, thus leaving room for district and later national political organizations such as the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya Democratic Union (KADU), which were never liberation movements, to emerge, and which never included all the communities that were involved in Mau Mau activities like South Kavirondo people (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2017).

It might be a salutary reminder, both to those who dismiss Mau Mau's contribution to Kenya's decolonization and others who see the suppression of the movement as marking the end of the nationalist struggle, to note that Kenya's tortuous constitutional road to independence started in earnest with the introduction of the Lyttelton constitution in 1954, at the height of the British anti-Mau Mau crusade (Bennet 1963).

### **3.6 Constitutional Changes Leading to Independence**

The Lyttelton constitution introduced a new central government structure based on a ministerial system, which included African and Asian ministers and conceding the principle of multiracial representative party between Europeans and non-Europeans (Bennet 1963). The colonial regime had hoped that middle-class Africans would become part of a shared community of interests integrated into the colonial order, but the Africans had different perspectives. The new African middle classes in both the urban and the rural areas saw competition with the immigrant groups, Europeans and

Asians, and ultimately with the colonial regime itself, as the way to ensure their continued upward mobility. (Crowley 1967).

When the district political organizations were allowed in 1955, they continued to be prohibited in central province. A nominated Advisory Council for the province was later established to allow the loyalists to discuss government policy. An articulate section of the Kenya population was thus denied participation in politics. But despite these political and legitimate imperatives, an African political tip top was arising that skilfully utilized its situation to subvert European political impact and gain strength that permitted it to move Kenya towards freedom with extraordinary rapidity (Ochieng 1972).

In 1956 the minister for African Affairs and the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza were in agreement that there should be no division of the South Nyanza African District Council but a letter from the Kisii Union expressed great concern by stating that South Nyanza is consisted of three main tribes with different language, customs and traditions this made administrative work very difficult because each tribe believes in entirely different things from others and the out-come is maltreatment, disunity and mistrust. It continued to state that previously, in the early 1920s the area had separate local councils although they were under one district council with small population yet they managed their work successfully (DC/KSI/1/4-1956).

Formation of districts led to each community demanding autonomy and tribal identity, for example in 1958 the Kuria and the Watende expressed their dislike of the concept of being included in the new Luo district but unfortunately geographical factors made it impossible for them to be included in the new Kisii District. It was not a popular decision but there was an increased sensitiveness to so called 'Luo domination'. During the period the indigenous elders lost their authority and this in turn aggravated the

problems of getting colonial government policies adequately explained and carried out in these areas (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

Report of the Commissioner designated to explore techniques for choice of African individuals from Legislative Council (1956), states that, in 1956, Nairobi District African Congress was formed the congress cry of African for the Africans were seen as a serious threat to the Europeans and Asians in Kenya. Other district associations that emerged at that time were the Mombasa African Democratic Union, the African District Association (Central Nyanza), the Abagusii Association of South Nyanza District, the South Nyanza District African political Association, Taita African Democratic Union, the Nakuru African Congress, The Abaluhya people's Association and Nyanza North African Congress. But this was not the first time that the colonial government was attempting to restrict African activities to the district level. From 1924, when the local Native Councils were established to 1944, when the Kenya African Union (KAU) was formed, the colonial government encouraged the Africans to air their political demands through these local institutions (KNA/DC NYZ 1915-1994). One major consequences of the formation of these district organisations was that the pace of political development among the various districts continued to be uneven and parochialism rooted in ethnic loyalties was encouraged at the expense of African unity, They became tribal organisations and the majority communities like Kikuyu and Luo dominated the other minority communities leading to unvoiced political authority and representation from those minority communities like Abakuria. The other effect of the period of district-based political associations was the emergence of the local powerful figures that would in future resist attempts at political centralization by colony-wide political organizations such as Kenya Africans National Union (KANU) (Ogot 1995).

The usual system of election by lining up behind candidates in an open *barazas* was replaced with an electoral college based on new locational councils composed of official chiefs and traditional elders. To be eligible for election candidates also had to demonstrate reasonable support from a traditional territorial or kinship group. Furthermore, although most of the councils in the larger districts had an elected majority by the late 1940s, a sizeable minority of members continued to be appointed by the provincial administration, which used these seats to balance the councils against members who tended to oppose official policy (Berman 1992).

In 1957, Africans were allowed to elect eight representatives to the Legislative Council, on a qualified franchise that gave up to three votes to persons of income education or active government service while denying most Africans any franchise whatever. In Nyanza South Constituency, there were six candidates; there were J.J. Bonga, a former teacher and warrant officer in the army, from Karachuonyo, and FK. Arap Chumah; who was the incumbent and who entered the Legislative Council in 1955 he hailed from Kericho. The third candidate was J.K Kebaso others were L.G. Oguda, G. Orinda Okumu (KNA/DC/KSI 1956). Through the constitutional changes and conflicts of 1954-60 a process of negotiation and accommodation between the petty-bourgeois African nationalist leadership and the metropolitan and local state authority's metropolitan capital and local business interests slowly and painfully emerged (Ogot 1995).

It was around this period that all tribal groups including the Kuria became increasingly interested in the demands of African nationalistic favour. South Nyanza formed two political parties i.e South Nyanza District African Political Association and the Kisii Highlands Abagusii Association. But still the Kuria community disliked the proposal of being swamped by the more numerous and educated Luo when the new district

headquarters were established at Homabay. This sensitiveness to Luo domination became more marked and the commission gave it attention by proposing that Abakuria to be given their system of administration. They were given representation on most local committees and boards even in the same year it was reported that stock theft increased due to absence of effective means of bringing the culprits to heel or of penalising parties assisting them. The borders remained uneasy although Districts Ordinance to both communities together with a stock theft prevention officer with a tracker team was appointed (Chae Magige Gituka, Personal Communication 15<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

It was till 1959 that Kuria south most locations protested against being placed under the domination of the Nilotic Luo. Due to the split in half by an apparently immovable internal Boundary and that it is not a practicable proposition to allow them to be joined with their fellow Bantu the Kisii. It was therefore decided to give them as much local independence as possible within the new South Nyanza District. The two locations agreed at a large *baraza* to join together to form one Kuria location council which was expected to show a sufficient sense of authority and be given wide powers to control their own local affairs (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

The Luo/Maasai and Kuria border committees met regularly and assisted in preventing trouble providing a forum for exchange of views on common problems and for arbitrating on stock theft claims but their effective were hampered by lack of legal means of enforcing their decision. The Kuria indigenous elders were reported to have far less influence or effective customary authority but they were consulted in land disputes and by consent of the parties act as arbitrators in attempts to reach settlements out of court. It was noted that location councils functioned satisfactorily under the

chairmanship of the chief and the guidance of the chief of the divisional officer they performed the following roles supporting schools, establishment of *baraza* halls, construction of roads, tree planting (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

The authority of the chiefs was increased to control local politicians and local elders were replaced this made the Kuria to continue cheerfully and unrepentantly with a complex system of inter-village, inter location and inter territory stock theft with huge rate of cracked skulls and other less serious injuries. The colonial government made every effort to resuscitate these traditional authorities and bring them into the government network as a paid headmen supported by an efficient traditional authority below him. The commissioner further suggested that a modernised form of authority under the sub-headman in the form of a parish council was needed (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

Crowley (1967), asserts that, no neo-colonial strategy sprang full-blown from the brow of some imperial Athena. The constitutional changes, despite the increased number of settler ministers, combined with the changes in the political economy of Kenya to seal the decline of agrarian-based settler political power and end any possibility of settler control of the state. In January 1960, Iain Macleod, the new colonial secretary, accepted the principle of independence under African majority rule in Kenya within three years. On 3, February 1960, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, who was on a tour of Africa, told the South African parliament that the wind of change is blowing through this continent and whether we like it or not this growth of political consciousness is apolitical fact and our national policies must take account of it (Berman 1992).

Administrative awareness of the problem of maintaining parochial institutions and loyalties vital to the local containment and control of Africans was expressed in a

growing concern with tribal discipline which was thought to be a fragile structure, easily corroded by the individualism of wage labour. Some more far-sighted officials saw in the emergence of a permanent African wage-earning class the seeds of proletariats wholly detached from tribal institutions and the threat of the development of a class struggle on a colony-wide basis, a fear increasingly shared by colonial officials' thought-out Africa. This shattered the dominant political influence of the entrenched European community and forced the government to concede to the need for constitutional reform (Blundell 1964).

Crowley (1967), states that, the visible autonomy of the state began to disappear and it became more and more apparent to Africans that it was a direct partisan agent of European interests. The role of the provincial Administration as paternalistic mediator and protector was fatally compromised at the same time as the struggles across the main axes of contradiction in the political economy of the colony intensified. Constitutional changes, especially ministerial organisation and elections, brought a rapid decline in the corporate power of the administration after its resurgence during the first years of the emergency

The formal introduction of functional ministerial organization in 1954 finally broke up the old unitary structure under the control of the Administration into several ostensibly equal ministries, thereby upgrading the status of the specialist and technical departments and reducing the Administration to the status of one department among many in a complex state structure. The policy turn of early 1960 brought the effective end of the colonial state as such in Kenya and initiated an intense and conflict-filled period of transition to formal independence in December 1963 (Hyden 1972).

Tamarkin (1973), narrates that change had to come as gradual organic evolution, and it was the necessary role of the ruling class to guide society through processes of change

in a way that preserved its vital order and continuity. The fundamental means towards this end was the maintenance of law and order. A cardinal point about the whole of the colonial administrative concept was that you could do nothing unless you had law and order. There was no preconceived theory or plan for shaping the process of social evolution, but rather a determination to maintain social continuity through piecemeal adjustments to social change deriving from other sources. Government eliminated aberrations and ensured that change was a natural and organic process.

Conflict was regarded as inherently disruptive of the harmony of the organic community and it was the duty of the ruling class to moderate or remove sources of divisiveness. Conflict within the ruling class was muted by common ties of friendship and experience, and the pressures of team solidarity, that cut across divergences over issue of policy. Politics in the ideology of paternalistic authoritarianism meant the unrestrained pursuit of self-interest through noisy partisan struggles that ignored the general interest of the community. As a source of potential disruption that set men against each other and rent the social fabric, politics was something to be controlled and limited (Ogot 1972).

The development of organized African political activity at the local level was determined by the scope and intensity of the processes of change in particular societies. Where African societies remained isolated from these forces not only was the development of political organizations retarded, but also administrators tended to complain about the apathy of the locals populace and their lack of interest in social and economic improvement or in such institutions as the local Native councils. The colonial state in Kenya thus ended neither with a bang nor a whimper, but with yet another round of modifications and additions to its existing structures KNA/DC/KSI (1933-1938). The state passed into the hands of African bureaucrats and politicians and was

readily turned to their class project. In the process, the state apparatus expanded in size, grew even more complex, and further developed the scope and intricate specialization of its interventions into the political economy of the country (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

The original prefectural core of the colonial political control apparatus was not abolished, despite the wishes of some African leaders, but remained as the foundation of the state with restored and even augmented powers. There was thus no sharp discontinuity or institutional break between the colonial and postcolonial state and rather a sometimes halting and lurching shift during the 1960s and 1970s to the new stage in the historical development of the state and political economy of Kenya (Okumu 1978).

### **3.7 Conclusion**

The colonial period was one of momentous political change, but it also witnessed the continuation of traditional political and social patterns in the new era. This was a time of conflict and acceptance in which the colonialists and the subjects both played an important role in shaping the administrative and political system that emerged. The outcome of this process was a heavy authoritarian system, which had a momentous impact on the remaining years of colonial rule and the first four decades of independence. Though the structures of divisions in South Nyanza changed over time and a number of administrative personnel increased the authoritarian and static nature of the system did not fundamentally change among the uria (Berman 1992).

The portion of the South Kavirondo district which is Kuria undoubtedly suffered severely during the colonial period owing to shortage of staff and the locations were generally far from Kisii which was the centre for colonial administration for South Nyanza district. The splitting of the Kuria community by the colonial boundaries also

was a great challenge as it made Bokuria not to be joined with their fellow Bantu, the Kisii. The sensitivity of Luo domination became more marked which led to creation of the Kuria division which was a considerable measure of control in the community. The Kuria indigenous elders during this period had far less influence or effective customary authority even if they were occasionally consulted on matters related to land and stock theft.

The greatest challenge was the introduction of colonial chiefs who worked as merely government servants doing just enough work to enable them to retain their position as chiefs while ignoring their equally important duties as representatives of the people's interests. The last blow to Abakuria traditional authority was when all elders in Bokuria were put under the chiefs and some of them were made headmen and given colonial clerks to assist them in administration (Ogot 1972).

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**THE KURIA SYSTEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL, LEADERSHIP AND**  
**GOVERNANCE DURING POST-COLONIAL PERIOD**

*"It has been common thing with the colonial government to neglect the Kuria people for nearly everything particularly in agriculture... When we look at our own government, we see as it it is following the same thing... the Kuria people work so hard but receive no support..."*  
(KNA/DC/HB/2/2/20:1964)

**4.1 Introduction**

Between 1963 and 1975, Kuria went through changes in political, social and economic relations, together with infrastructural transformations in expanded road networks, increased cash crop production and education between 1963 and 1975. With the introduction of tobacco growing at the end of the 1960s, the articulation of kuria into colonial capitalist economy intensified. The coming of the multinational tobacco corporation; the British American Tobacco Company Ltd., meant that kuria was more broadly and tightly integrated into the world capitalist economic system than it had ever been before. Kuria society had been transformed through a complex process which may be conceived abstractly as a transition from one mode of production to another. This chapter presents therefore, some understanding of the Kuria system of social control, leadership and governance during post-colonial period.

**Economic and political developments, 1963-2007**

The years after independence were important in the transformation of Kuria politics and economy as well as that of Nyanza Province as a whole. Prior to this, the various stimuli to which labour migration exposed the Kuria may have resulted in increasing interest in education; and often, school fees were paid from the remittances of labour migrants. Thus, Kuria exposure to formal education as well the manifold experiences of labour migration combined to make them politically conscious. In 1961, the Kuria

Political Union had been formed under Samson Mwita Maroa as the Chairman and Maisori Itumbo, Giboro Machera and Nchama Sagati as members.

Feeling isolated, the Kuria began to address problems pertaining to employment, education and agriculture that had been inherited from the period of colonial rule. However, only a few infrastructural changes such as the expansion of roads and the market sector were affected. Even so, by the end of the 1960s, a firm foundation had been laid for meeting the problems of agricultural growth in Kuria. As already indicated, arising political awareness characterised the emergence of a group of radical Kuria thinkers who challenged the continues underdevelopment of agriculture in Kuria. One example is the Kuria Member of Parliament, Samson Mwita Maroa, who in 1964 wrote to the District Agricultural Officer as follows:"... when visitors come to see places where rice can be grown, they are taken to other parts of Nyanza but not Kuria. We are fed up being neglected in this manner".

In the same year, Farmers Training Centres had been built in several places in South Nyanza by the Ministry of Agriculture, however, Kuria was neglected. In this connection, Hon. Samson Mwita's memorandum further stated:

*"... We feel dissatisfied with the Agriculture Department in the way it has distributed Farmers Training Centres in South Nyanza. If the government is to build one centre in Homabay (Luoland), it should build one in Kehancha (Bukuria), why should it be built at Oyani? (in Luoland)?"*

As earlier discussed, the colonial government had denied loans to Kuria farmers and Traders arguing that they made no profit. This practice continued even after independence. The memorandum touched this issue as it read:

*"We would like to be given loan like other people for the development of our agricultural industry... we here in Kuria work so hard but we are not known for any support... Our people cultivate more land than any other people in Nyanza but we are not given any help even when we ask for it".*

The Kuria local council also played a vital role in post-independence Kuria agriculture.

From time to time, the council sought to have men trained so that they could take up positions as extension officials. These efforts yielded results, especially when the Ministry of Agriculture sent circular to the Kuria ADC, stating:

*"... After many years of hand-cultivation and use of ox-ploughs, it has become increasingly clear that these methods (Ox-ploughs) will not permit the full utilization of the potential of this District... You are therefore, invited to attend a seminar on mechanisation at Homabay on 24th July, 1964."*

Following the circular, the council sent a special agricultural committee of four persons representing the four Kuria Locations to attend the seminar. There after two tractors were sent to the Kehancha Divisional headquarted and the four individuals were employed on return as Field Officers to aid people on tractor hire services and to encourage the use of it.

The year 1965 was a very difficult year for all sectors of agriculture in Kuria. Nearly all areas had insufficient rain and the shortages almost reached drought proportions. The consequence of this was a marked fall in the output of subsistence food crops and a significant decrease in the output of nearly all major cash enterprises, notably coffee and dairy products. However, a few coffee nurseries were established at Nyabohanse in Nyabasi, Mahuntuntu in Bukira and Kwigancha in Bugumbe close to the rivers which had survived the dry period. Further demonstrations on Coffee growing techniques were organised, especially at Nyabosongo. Four more people, E. Munemi, Saulo Munyoro, Benedicto Machera and James Wankyo were taken by the Ministry of Agriculture for a training course on coffee at Kisii Farmers Training Centre. They were later assigned to manage and supervise coffee growing in Kuria.

However, coffee growing continued to face various problems. The most serious one was the coffee berry disease, an anthracnose organism which causes lesions and fruit shrinkage. Although this disease had even been successfully controlled in many areas by spraying, in the later years it was still severely reducing production, especially in Bwirege.

At worst, it could diminish a crop by as much as ninety percent. Another problem affecting coffee growing was quality control. With a relatively small number of growers all cultivating young trees, staff funds were cut and factory management at Nyabosongo deteriorated and quality dipped. In 1964/65, only 26.30 percent of the total crop was in the top three classes and less than 0.2 per cent was in class.

The most striking change in land use and crop production during the post-independence period had been the move towards individual holdings supported by documentary title. In 1967, for example, the demand for land consolidation and issues of titles increased, but now prompted perhaps by the fear that Bukuria would be left behind the rest of South Nyanza and in the hope that the titles would automatically mean government loans. In Bugumbe, 16 plots totalling to about 171 hectares were surveyed while several farm enclosures of 16 farms totalling to 320 hectares in Kehancha and Between 300-620 hectares surveyed in Bwisaboka.

The pressure to enter trade as a potentially profitable venture, was so great in post-independence Kuria that large numbers of people entered with the result that opportunities soon become limited. Even with the coming of independence, however, the basic situation of a large number of small-scale business with a preponderance of Asian traders in towns continued unaltered. Asians owned wholesale business from which the Kuria small scale traders often got their stocks.

In the 1964, the Kuria ADC approved the establishment of many more trading centres. These included Masangora, Nyamosense, Kugitimo, Kogetontira, Masebe and Nyametaburo. At the same time Nyanza Provincial Marketing board continued to increase its activities in Kuria. As it was stated in the Boards statutes:

*"...a system of organised marketing boards can perform a very important development function in providing the means whereby a large scattered peasant population can sell crop surpluses no matter what small quantity."*

The Board provided crop inspection services, gunny bags, and transport services to Kuria traders. In October 1964, Maisori Itumbo became the agent of the Marketing Board in kuria and was given 1,500 gunny bags for the storage of maize and other grain. In August 1965, the Board bought a total of 495,515 bags of maize from African growers in South Nyanza, the largest share coming from "South Nyanza border market" (referring to kuria)

A major factor that enhanced Kuria participation in trade after independence was the need for money for education for their children. Consequently, by this time, many Kuria families looked upon education as the most important economic alternative to Agriculture. Cattle and grain were sold, mainly to meet the school fees expenditure.

In 1968, the relationship between the kuria and the Maasai became hostile. This resulted in the closure of the trading centres of Lolgorien, Angata Baragoi and Masurura. These centres had hitherto provided cattle trading opportunities for both communities. As a consequence of the hostile relationship, prominent cattle traders in the Bugumbe and Bukira namely Bwiro Sabora, Chacha Kerata, Simion Robi and Mwitira Rasimi - changed their Maasai trading partners and began selling their cattle in Kisumu. This they did by waling cattle, stopping at Oyugis, Ahero and Sondu to purchase more cattle from the Luo, and subsequently sell them at a profit in Kisumu. On coming back, they would buy paraffin, books and stationery for sale in Kuria.

The economic growth of kuria with the markets as a focal point can best be measured by the investment into which the traders ploughed their profits. Of the 13 most successful business men in Bukuria four had carefully invested in motor vehicle totalling some Shs. 100,000/=; Seven invested in land amounting to Shs. 30,000/=; two built for themselves permanent houses at a cost of almost Shs. 80,000. Thus, between 1963 and 1969, some prominent businessmen have made a profit of and invested over Shs. 250,000/=.

Despite the introduction of cash crops and supposedly better methods of farming, not all areas of Kuria witnessed a significant change in production during these years. Most former traders interviewed agreed that the worst years had been those immediately after independence. The production was low at that time, because few people really got involved in the cultivation of land. This of course, meant that there was relatively little money on circulation. This meant low purchasing power traders who in turn returned to the land for subsistence. Co-operative Movements in Kuria fuelled political awareness and had played an increasingly prominent role particularly in Marketing and processing in the late 1950s. In Kuria, the growth of the co-operative movements was greatly aided by the insistence of the colonial government that all potential growers join co-operative societies before obtaining permission to plant coffee.

Kuria farmers joined co-operative societies in order to obtain credit and invest savings; Provide themselves with tools or implements; and process and market their produce. In 1963, the Bugumbe Farmers Co-operative Society was formed by Joseph Magige, the Chief of Bugumbe Location. Farmers came together and, through collective bargaining, they could earn more from the sale of coffee. Later, other societies were formed in the coffee growing areas Gitungi, Nyabikondo, Mahuntutu and Nyabsongo.

In 1964, officers of the Ministry of Labour visited the Bugumbe Farmers Co-operative Society to advise and teach co-operative management skills. The members of the Society chose six of themselves to train in Kisumu under the sponsorship of the Ministry. At the same time, the Minister for Labour and Social Services, Tom Mboya, visited Taranganya and Ntimaro to check developments of the co-operative societies and self-help groups of the area. In late 1964, he visited the Masaba, Tebesi, Isibania, Ikerege and Nyabohanse self-help groups

Politicians played a significant role in support of these co-operative groups. For example,

Maisori Itumbo assisted the Bwirege co-operative Society to obtain 1,000, being a loan from the government for the construction of a health centre at Ntimaru. On the whole farmers' Co-operatives played an important role in facilitating the transition to a more commercial or market-oriented agriculture. They provided the marketing link between individual farmers and the National Marketing Organisations.

Crucial to the economic success and rapid diffusion of Kuria Coffee was the Bugumbe Farmers Co-operative Society. It had supervised the planting cultivation, processing, transportation and marketing of all Coffee grown in Bukuria since 1955. Commencing as a loose cooperative comprising three factories and 350 growers, It eventually expanded to six constituent societies. As a powerful economic force in Kuria, the society opened the doors of a new office building and general headquarters at Maberu in 1967. However, this and other societies faced many problems since most Abakuria were inexperienced in the management of such Co-operatives. Indeed, Kuria were driven by the desire to control their own affairs and their economic destiny. However, they faced officials from the Department of Agriculture with whom they differed occasionally. Despite management problems and considerable internal conflicts, it may still be said that without the power and organisation of these societies, the production of coffee would not have been a success in Kuria.

After independence, the Kuria began to focus on land reforms which had already been applied in a number of other areas of Kenya. Kuria attention had for a long time been riveted mainly to the problem of land tenure and change wrought by population increase. Thus the land reforms were to represent a promise of security of tenure through a title which could be used as collateral in securing agricultural loans.

In 1963, enclosure continued to spread fast in kuria in response to land scarcity. This was accelerated when the agricultural Officials provided sisal plants for hedging. Not being

edible by stock, sisal could form an excellent fence against straying cattle and also sometimes serve as an erosion barrier. Besides this, the plant produces poles which could be used for building and fencing and fibre for weaving; this was undoubtedly appreciated by the kuria.

In 1965, there were still many Kuria resisting land consolidation. When this was reported to the Divisional Agricultural Committee, the latter recommended that the government force people to consolidate their farms since this was "obviously to their advantage". The committee also passed a resolution that no loans would be given to people who had not consolidated their holdings.

The anticipation of consolidation and registration created an unprecedented amount of litigation over land, as lineages attempted to maximise their holding as the expense of others. For example, the majority of the 200 civil cases (including land, divorce and theft), heard in the Suba-Kuria District Court in the period from March to October 1967 were case of land disputes between family members. The value of land was constantly rising and it was becoming a commodity just like labour which could be bought for money. Land consolidation made farming management more efficient; it facilitated the use of animal manure for improvement of crops and disease control; and, it opened new source of credit from private banks.

In July 1967, the Agriculture Department in Homa Bay conducted a farm survey in Bukuria as follow up on the land consolidation. This effort stemmed fro awareness that the Ministry needed to understand the problems of the small farmers so as to protect their economic status. Meetings were held at various administrative centres to explain to the interested parties the nature of survey. Also, Chiefs were asked to help by listing the names of small farmers living within the areas of their jurisdiction.

In early, 1969, the Maberu Sub location of Bugumbe location was declared on

adjudication section with boundaries running from Ragana bridge, ascending westwards towards Renchoka Hill and curving northwards to Kwigancha Stream. Under this declaration, all land within the said boundaries was to be consolidate and enclosed, and titles obtained proof of ownership.

In October, of the same year, the Land Adjudication officer appointed the Land Adjudication Committee whose Chairman was Joram Mosoba, Vice-chairman John M. Wang'ang'a, and Kombo Mwita being a member. The purpose of the Committee was to advise the on the consolidation process. By way of promoting land reforms in Bukuria, the then Minister for Economic Planning and Development, T.J. Mboya, visited Kehancha and spent several days in Bugumbe and Bukira. He toured selected enclosed farms in the two locations and gave remuneration for good work done.

Late in December, a large number of Maragoli, Kikuyu and Abagusii began migrating into Bukuria, especially Isibania, Nyamtiro and Masaba areas. They bought farms and obtained titles to the land. Others leased land for a period of time at a cost. Similarly, some Somali come-although they were mainly interested in trade and business-and they settled at Nyamtiro. The Kuria people became painfully aware of the finality of land registration which was completed with the issuance of title deeds.

Any casual visitor to Kuria at the end of the 1960s could not help but recognize the profound changes in the landscape which came in the wake of consolidation. The land was bared by the removal of trees, and an incongruous symmetry evolved as farms were demarcated by hedges, roads cut out, and new species of trees for windbreak planted. Changes in housing and settlement patterns were also stimulated by land consolidation. The indigenous cylindrical or conical houses were being replaced by rectangular ones with corrugated iron roofs construction of the latter being actively encouraged by government health authorities. Throughout the consolidated areas, angularization of plots

led to the disintegration of the indigenous settlement patterns. And, under the new system of land use, animals were kept in separate sheds rather than in the circular animal compound located between the houses as was the practice in earlier times.

Another significant changes was that, instead of each farming unit occurring several ecological zones, individual farms were now restricted to one zone. Consequently, regional specialisation began to occur. This was especially the case with most cash crops which usually grew in the upper altitudes. Lastly, new relations of agrarian production emerged on the consolidated farms. Farms task now shifted increasingly to the male as he become an active participant in all stages of crop production. No doubt, because such participation was facilitated by having the entire farm located together in one place.

Bitter complaints arose, however regarding the issuance of hawking licences by the County Council. Traders Complained that the licences had denied them opportunities as they were required for trade on everything unlike before, when the requirement for licensing was restricted to second-hand clothes only. An appeal by traders who were choosing to quash the licences failed since hawkers sold their Merchandise cheaply. During the year, Barclays Bank opened a fulltime branch in Homa Bay and served traders who previously had to seek such services in Kisii. Up to the end of the Period of our study, there were no Banks in Kuria.

### **TOBACCO AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGES IN KURIA**

The presentation of tobacco in 1969 was a noteworthy advancement in the horticultural history of the kuria. Tobacco generation in kuria was started under aegis of the British American Tobacco Company Ltd.(B.A.T) on thirteenth October, 1969 when a gathering of B.A.T. authorities visited the zone to choose pilot ranchers. The initial three were, Joseph Tunai of Bukira, Boniface Rioba of Bwirege, and Nyaichowa Mwita of Nyabasi. Later the District Officer had the ability to report: Around ten agriculturists have been

chosen to develop tobacco, this is the initial step B.A.T. is stretching out tobacco homesteads to the District. There are government horticultural educators connected to this venture" (sic).

Invigorated by stupendous development in the utilization of mixed cigarettes in Kenya, the B.A.T. strengthened its publicizing efforts in Bukuria and it likewise settled nurseries at Taranganya which utilized various school leavers as Leaf Technicians. Around the same time, Maberu and Taranganya were chosen as reasonable spots for the establishment of leaf focuses. Taranganya in this manner turned into the central station of the B.A.T. Organization in Kuria.

There were two assortments of tobacco developed in Bukuria: the vent - and fire - relieved assortments, which both required overwhelming compost application. The pipe relieved assortment essentially utilizes warm gone through aluminum pipes inside a stuffed house. A great deal of wood in this manner is expected to give fire and warmth. Moreover, warmth and stickiness control being to a great degree essential. This implies a 24-hour watch over the entire procedure including normal checking and change in accordance with the heaters on a hourly premise. It is simply in the wake of relieving that tobacco is evaluated. Ranchers are paid preferable for review one over for review two. On other hand, for the fire-relieved assortment, substantial smoke is carried into direct contact with the leaves, which turn dim dark colored. The smoke from consuming leaves and green wood gives the tobacco an impactful flavor and particular smell and additionally enhancing its protecting characteristics. Both fire - and pipe - restored tobacco leaves are reaped when completely ready, and are then hung in levels in a horse shelter and permitted to yellow for around seven days before relieving happens.

Following an underlying year of trouble, at that point, the kuria had aced the methods of association and generation of tobacco. Considerable help was acquired from government sources as far as expansion, while the B.A.T Company gave credit offices. Agriculturists were in charge of developing collecting and relieving their very own product, however these exercises and the grounds were entirely controlled by the B.A.T. the executives. The last had the expert to enlist and train singular ranchers - notwithstanding banishing unfortunate ones from kept cultivating exercises. As indicated by a source in Bukira, the nurseries for the tobacco seedlings and mechanical land planning were once in a while sorted out by the B.A.T. the executives on a unified premise.

The year 1970 saw a consistent extension of tobacco regarding real esatate of the yield. Additionally, the quantity of tobacco agriculturists expanded significantly: for instance, the number rose for both vent restored and fire-relieved tobacco from three out of 1969 to 24 of every 1970 in Bwirege. In Bukira the comparing figures were 5 and 3 out of 1969 and 60 and 32 of every 1970 individually. This development was maybe the outcome of rising tobacco costs and the excitement of lively rural authorities.

In the beginning times, enlistment as a tobacco agriculturist had been founded basically on the responsibility for. Nonetheless, in light of the weight ashore in a few sections of kuria and the subdivision of plots, this later changes to enlistment dependent on people opening records with the B.A.T. The B.A.T. would once in a while contract ladies when the spouses were not intrigued. Also, without the spouse or his demise, the wife was allowed to run his record. In 1970, collect of the product occurred among March and June, and an aggregate of 4,164 kilogram was sold amid the period of July at a normal cost of Shs. 2/59 for each kilogram. The postponed beginning of the long rains that year and late transplanting had brought about just 12 hectares fire-relieved tobacco

being planted as against the B.A.T. focus of 175 hectares. Seedbeds had also been sown late, attributable to absence of seeds.

In any case, the Special Rural Development Program (SRDP) that was propelled in Migori and kuria in October was to wind up a noteworthy stimulant to tobacco cultivating, in kuria. Later in the year, the fire-restored tobacco gathered expanded significantly to an expected 16,000 kilograms for December. Toward the year's end, it was accounted for that tobacco had been reaped in bounty at Taranganya and that promoting of the fire-relieved assortment of the harvest bringing about a sum of 4,163 kilogram being sold in the territory at a normal of Shs. 2.59 per kilogram.

In 1972, because of the poor costs paid and different complaints against the B.A.T., Kuria ranchers built up the Kuria Omogango Tobacco Co-agent Society comprising of around 30 individuals. The general public helped individuals to anchor 2,050 seedlings from Oyani in Migori. Likewise, it accomplished cost increment of one pushing for each kilogram for both additionally, pipe and fire-relieved tobacco. What's more, it saw to the foundation of four all the more purchasing focuses at Nyabohanse, Kebaroti, Ntimaru and Gwikonge. Amid the primary quarter of 1973, a few additional business sectors for flame relieved tobacco were opened. Conveyances at the Tarangaya purchasing focus totalled 1,293 kilograms.

Among January and March 1975, the B.A.T organization announced that 600.4 hectares had been planted with vent restored tobacco in South Nyanza. For all tobacco developing zones, the biggest was kuria where 400 hectares were planted. Lamentably, the report contains no figures for flame relieved tobacco. Amid the quarter from April to June, 18,825 kg of flame restored tobacco were obtained from kuria, while the buy for the quarter from July to September was 23,601 kilograms.

By August 1975, somewhere around one out of three properties in Kuria was developing tobacco. In one restoring period, a normal of 60 indigenous trees were chopped down to give fuel to relieving tobacco. That implies that the 300 tobacco ranchers then dynamic in Bukuria were chopping down more than 18,000 indigenous trees for every year. In this way, before the year's over 1975, around 100,000 indigenous trees would have been devastated. Then again, B.A.T. tree nurseries had been built up at Taranganya and Nyabohanse Leaf Centers, predominantly to develop the eucalyptus and blue gum species. Around 150 seedlings of these two species were to be conveyed to every rancher consistently. The guidelines were that the species be planted on the banks of waterways. Lamentably, these intriguing trees are known to empty water out of the dirt, in this manner diminishing the waterways to regular streams.

Amid his visit to Bukuria in October 1975, Aggrey Luseno, a B.A.T. Advertising Director, anticipated that Kenya would act naturally adequate in tobacco by 1985. He at that point propelled a serious crusade to advance the developing of tobacco in Kuria. As per a witness, new agriculturists were given motivators like free furrowing and tobacco seedlings. Likewise, eucalyptus seedlings were circulated to ranchers to take care of the demand for kindling. In any case, the nearby B.A.T authorities kept on empowering the utilization of indigenous trees for relieving purposes, on the understanding that:

*"the smoke from these flames decides the fragrance of the last relieved leaf and it is subsequently fundamental that specific assortments of wellsprings of fuel, for example, eucalyptus, cypress, pine and so forth which give undesirable smell should never be utilized. Suggested wellsprings of fuel are green grass or banana leaves and neighborhood African fig trees."*

In December 1975, it was accounted for that "Kuria has a tobacco blast" and that tobacco was a developing industry in the Division, where numerous hectares of land had been put under the yield. Amid these years, feeder streets were developed to

interface all tobacco developing zones of Bukuria. These were expected to encourage the transportation of relieved tobacco to Leaf Center particularly Nyabohanse and Taranganya. In closing this discussion, it might evenhandedly be said that no other advancement in Kuria agribusiness in the post-autonomy period had a more prominent effect than the improvement of tobacco as a money trim. The issues of value the executives, models of development, transport, showcasing and the restoring of the product unmistakably demonstrate that tobacco is a work escalated trim. First experience with Bukuria improved the investment of men in harvest creation instead of creature farming just like the case up to this point. This change modified the indigenous Kuria cultivating rehearses under which ladies were the cultivators.

Notwithstanding these disasters, regardless, the advancement of tobacco in like manner accomplished different positive changes to kuria. For one, it made a rich class of people who obtained cars and lorries; others presented grain pulverizing machines and acquired survey steers. These individuals included Gesabo Mwita, Maisori Itumbo, Mwita Nyagakende and Maroa Wantera to make reference to a couple. The Abakuria used the money gained from the offer of tobacco to purchase wrinkles and other property inputs. In that capacity, tobacco creation acknowledged mechanical and specific improvements in the yield age. In such manner, the B.A.T. Association bolstered farmers, who therefore obtained tractors and various wrinkling executes. Eventually, it should be seen that the occurrence to tobacco to kuria did not decrease vitality for coffee creating - anyway this last gather was not as productive as tobacco.

For Kuria the period some place in the scope of 1980 and 1990 were a period of fiscal impact. The domain focused on tobacco improvement in the Kuria climbed basically in the midst of the period 1975 to 1985. For whatever time allotment that there was a predictable enthusiasm for tobacco on the planet feature the laborers had the capacity to

recognize great pay from its improvement. Dairy animals ended up being uncommon, the Kuria. Kjerland composed:

- *..the Abakuria in Kenya were effectively developing tobacco for the BAT and they were procuring great cash... individuals were compelled to put resources into question other than stock the iron sheeting was one sign...numerous nearby shops and bars others...Those who had additional cash to save put resources into posho factories, high breed cows and in canopied get trucks-matatu"*

Without a doubt, Herman Ogulla reviewed what occurred at Taranganya in Kuria and Oyani in Migori when leaf purchasing and rancher preparing focuses were set up in the seventies . With the happening to BAT to the zone, changes started to be unmistakable, where just dairy cattle bushtracks existed previously, streets small augmented and made progressively tolerable and arrive which had been lying inert for ages was made prepared for harvests. Utilizing present day rural strategies... When BAT Kenya presented tobacco cultivating here, most of the general population in this district small confronting exceptional dimensions of destitution.

By 1992, the association earned US\$ 3.7 million. Kuria District alone was making an increasingly vital dimension of the total tobacco age in Kenya. This regardless, dropped to US\$1.6 million out of 1993, with just around 400 tons being conveyed to the U.S, Europe and Egypt. This was credited to perplexity in the market occasioned by the section of the new tobacco association in Kuria, the Mastermind Tobacco Kenya (MTK) in 1989, which BAT affirmed had provoked a total breakdown in harmony inside tobacco creating areas.

Various Kuria agriculturists misused the of the section of the new association into the market to offer their tobacco while evading to repay the credit advanced to them by BAT, while others clashed with the set-up tobacco creating logbook by getting to be out-of-season tobacco. In this way, most of the tobacco was wiped out by ailments. A noteworthy ailment was the thick best affliction caused by agriculturists' failure to

watch the finish of the season which anticipates that they will evacuate all stems after a tobacco season and start another item. Due to this the leaf age went down from 10000 tons in 1989 to 5,000 tons in 1996. Yet 1990s had exhibited shockingly increasingly horrible for whole of Nyanza and even unique bits of the nation. The yearly agrarian advancement rate truly declined in the hidden extensive stretches of the decade. It recovered in 1995 and 1996, yet starting in 1997, the yearly provincial advancement rate was underneath 2 percent. The start and the decade's end was separate by declining costs for some agrarian things, continued with government inefficiency in the cultivating division, and reliably expanding costs of wellsprings of data, while customer costs extended.

Nevertheless, the generation of Kuria as an alternate district in 1993 had a particularly definitive impact, giving Kuria another status in the Kenyan setting and, meanwhile, organizing the region even more personally with the state and its choice gathering, KANU. It moreover gave further power to enthusiasm for the area; each and every piece of it financed by Kuria themselves. By 1994, despite the consistently dairy steers markets held at various districts all through the region, there were twenty-five common markets for sustenance and nuclear family stock, the three greater ones being held two times each week. This was joined by an enormous building effort, with Sukuma square makers moving in the midst of August after the tobacco promoting, and constant and semi-enduring structures being raised by individual Kuria wherever all through the area, anyway particularly in its essential trading centers. Despite the immense number of little scale associations, significant private recuperating offices had been built. These had been financed inside and out by Kuria and, comparably similarly as with other little scale exercises; they lay on the thriving thought of the adjacent economy. According to Suzzete, the mean cash pay per property rose in the ten-year time allotment, from

7,059.5 to 57,599.6 Kenyan shillings. This gives a rate addition of 716 percent, twofold the rate of swelling, 360 percent. Likewise, a great deal of this wealth, as appeared above, has been wrinkled by and by into the adjacent economy.

A visitor to Kuria rural regions could clearly watch the delayed consequences of the change the country had encountered. Changes had been snappy and authoritative. Kuria farmers like those of the Philippines in the late eighteenth Century looked like gold excavators, ceaselessly needing to strike it rich. Elderly people still remember the introduction of tractors and new vehicles by interpreneurs in the period of improvement of feeder roads joining all districts of the area. These individuals included Gesabo Mwita, Maisori Itumbo, Mwita Nyagakende and Maroa Wantera to make reference to a couple. The cash economy had entered all dimensions of rustic culture, and it was basically difficult to name exercises in which no money related costs were included. Suzette Ironically Kuria reaction in the accompanying way:

*... .While the advancement of tobacco contract cultivating without a doubt gave a driving force to this improvement, it has since been to a great extent a matter of Kuria getting a handle on circumstances instead of reacting to them in a progressively detached manner. On the off chance that they speak to, in that essential expression, a lower class 'caught by the market', affected to generation so as to satisfy their expanded utilization needs, the advancement of the market segment in Kuria has to a great extent been created by Kuria undertaking itself.*

Be that as it may, the Kuria excitement for tobacco had lamentable results. Similarly, accomplishment with tobacco carried the BAT organization new issues with which they needed to manage for the following decade. The restraining infrastructure position of BAT in Kenya was tested in 1989 when a little adversary organization, Mastermind (MTK), was set up to fabricate cigarettes. Requiring tobacco, it misused provisos in the law to start purchasing leaf tobacco from smallholders who were developing under BAT's agreement plans. This opposition was by and large invited by the cultivators, since it worked to drive costs up. For BAT, as yet endorsing the expenses of tobacco

developing through its augmentation administrations and advance framework, it was viewed as a genuine risk to the feasibility of creating tobacco leaf in Kenya. They progressively and covertly campaigned and tricked the legislature to manage the division, initially by presenting a zoning framework whereby BAT surrendered its minimal zones to MTK, a concession which did little to comprehend the issue, as MTK kept on stirring tobacco in the BAT zones. At long last, in 1994, the legislature was influenced to present new directions, which obliged the two organizations to give augmentations administrations to agriculturists who, thus, were to sign a coupling contract with one organization alone.

In a letter from the BAT Managing Director's office to the Minister for Agriculture Livestock Development and Marketing Hon. Simeon Nyachae, the chiefs tried to examine a report entitled "standards and directions overseeing the generation of tobacco in Kenya", this was planned to be an industry proposition for it bury alia read:

*The Kenyan tobacco business as far as its turnover and commitment to government (Kshs. Around 6bn in 1994) was one of the biggest ventures in the nation. It merits watchful control, hence as well as on the grounds that was a noteworthy wellspring of income for individuals who live in provincial zones. Besides it was our firm conviction that leaf trades from Kenya was undersized in worldwide terms and accordingly this road has incredible potential for development. To guarantee its progression and to exploit the development openings that exist, rules which empower the dependable advancement of the developing and advertising side were fundamental.*

The proposition in the report in this manner managed in some detail obligations of harvest supporters and producers. They additionally demonstrated the help the business ought to have from the service and from common organization. In another letter by BAT Kenya saw that leaf showcasing side of the business had kept running into significant issues. It saw that, directions were important to control the issues raised. These issues included that farmers and patrons together guaranteed that, through the zoning plans, they were minimized.

The buying of tobacco by people who had not supported it was broad . Growers hosted acknowledged sponsorship from one get-together and were straightforwardly pitching their yield to an outsider Provincial organization contended that, without direction, it could offer little help towards the goals of these issues:

*Growers in anticipation of quick money were raising tobacco out of the gazetted season and in so doing were dramatically increasing the risk of disease in the main crop that follows: additionally, there had been a total lack of transparency with respect to the number of farmers a sponsor has and the quality of inputs and extension servicing provided. Falsifying these fissures enables a sponsor to argue that he has supported a sizeable crop when the extent of his involvement has been minimal. Finally the question of afforestation of sponsor who does not insist on re-afforestation was signaling me and of the industry. A practice which was widespread. (McDowell, 1989):*

Curiously, the whole thing was being masterminded by BAT and in a report for example a letter copied to M.F Broughton of the BAT headquarters in the UK dated 17<sup>th</sup> November, 1994 subject “*meeting with president Moi*” from Norman Davis a managing director BAT Kenyan it was very clear on how the ministry had been manipulated:

*A positive point, the Kenyan government has passed a "tobacco law" which looks like it was effective (if appropriately executed) in halting poaching and illicit unavailability developing. The law was really drafted by us however the public authority was to be saluted on its savvy action....I was also be raising the subject with the president this evening if I get a chance (Broughton, 1994).*

It should be observed that the liberalisation of tobacco cultivation allowed MTK and off cause other local companies to begin contracting planters thus ending BAT monopoly in commercial tobacco cultivation in Kenya. According to Otieno, BAT initially had opposed liberalisation making claims that MTK was totally not concerned with crop quality ‘their participation would lead to increase in pest and diseases thereby threatening to destroy the tobacco industry (Otieno, 1996).

As second tragic consequence occurred in 1996 when Kuria tobacco cooperative societies sent a memorandum to the BAT management claiming that tobacco crop was no longer benefiting them. In a separate meeting with the chairman of the BAT

company for Kenya M.I Gechaga, - they held that Kuria District remained the only district in Nyanza province where rural development was not taking place and that since the company's operation in the area it had not employed any single person from the District. The memorandum read:

*We produce practically 80% of the absolute tobacco creation in Kenya and the yield we produce was being utilized to give work to others who don't develop it. This reminds us in frontier days when Kenya was delivering cotton and trading it to England for handling garments and offering work to individuals of England. In Kenya today we have crop drafting, we assemble sugar Factory where sugarcane was developed, Tea industry where tea was developed and milk handling plants where milk was delivered and so on, and so on... for what reason should BAT fabricate tobacco an arranging industrial facility in Rongo where tobacco was not grown?(KOTC, 1996).*

They named this as "sunshine burglary and altogether bad form" ranchers thusly, took steps to blacklist tobacco cultivating until the organization guaranteed that the harvest profited them, the ranchers entomb alia whined of dissatisfactions from the BAT staff and utilization of haughty and inconsiderate language the report went on:

*This matter was of genuine nature. In the event that it was not examined and settled to help the group of people yet to come of Kuria individuals, the creation of tobacco in Kehancha division was stop. This was a message that ought not be overlooked by the BAT organization, they should be tended to before the following planting season. The Abakuria were disillusioned and definitely” (Ibid, 2017).*

efore long, the agreeable society was prohibited by the neighborhood government authorities asserting that it had become "a hotbed of incendiary legislative issues". Oral meetings anyway uncovered that this had a lot to do with the BAT Company. Still however the advancement for the BAT in Kuria area was not consistently smooth, individual pastors endeavored at different occasions to contain if not kill the developing of the yield in the region. As a necessity for full participation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, disciples were to surrender their tobacco ranches. Oral meetings uncover anyway that those ministry who lectured against tobacco in the region regularly got cautioning and undermining flyers from the BAT staff. One pastor in a church at Maberu confessed:

*I think it was (a letter) from the Leaf Technician posted to this area, he wrote in anonymity and told me to stop inciting people against planting tobacco, he said my theology does not feed them but tobacco does. He told me that I should watch who was ultimately win, and should take care of my life. I took the letter to Isibania Police Post and nothing happened (Ibid, 2018)..*

Thirdly, the contending interests of tobacco farming, backwoods items and region usage for a developing populace on one side, and preservation of catchment on the other have brought about complex administration gives that were hard to determine. Undoubtedly changing conditions in Kuria area appears to have been established in changing methods of creation i.e from agro-pastoralism to serious tobacco horticulture. Millet and sorghum production fell behind despite the initial expectations that the new opportunities of this area would cereal sugar prosperity in Kuria. Curiously maize and tobacco agriculture soared. Tobacco in particular attracted many farmers. The simple reason for this was the easy cultivation of [tobacco] and the short timespan between planting and harvest, together with the abundance of land suitable for this agriculture. Farmers took a huge gamble on tobacco as opposed to other food crops. Planting tobacco therefore, became a gamble- no one would be sure of the outcome as one informant held:

*In tobacco the big gambler is the farmer himself. He has no guarantee of anything. He takes a chance on raising his crop and when he gets it raised he does not know what it will bring. It's a ninety day crop growing but, with curing it takes thirteen months a year...(OI, Osoko, Masangora, 2016).*

When the tobacco crop failed, there were many reported cases of suicide. For instance, Gabriel Gati a 45-year-old farmer had reason to be anxious. His tobacco crop had failed; he had already sold his two bulls to repay one loan and had nothing more to offer usurious BAT officials who were hounding him. He owed about 170,000 equal to two-and-a-half years' earnings in good harvests. Yet this season, caterpillars, immune to pesticides that he sprayed frantically, ravaged his crop. The fate that failed to rid him of that plague added to his torment he hung himself inside the tobacco kiln (Maroa,1998).

Tobacco growing also affected the production of maize in two ways. First, people paid less attention to maize cultivation since they were making better money from tobacco. Secondly, tobacco growing, as already mentioned, exhausted the soils because of constant and heavy application of dangerous fertilizers and chemicals. Fields previously planted with tobacco could therefore not withstand the cultivation of maize and other food crops like sorghum and millet. This decrease in maize production had a negative impact on the food situations. As already indicated also, an equally insidious effect resulted from the cutting down of indigenous trees to facilitate agricultural expansion. Consequently, there were many cases of disastrous soil erosion. In due course, the permanent streams of Nyangoto and Kwigancha, which had been the main source of water for both people and livestock, became intermitent. In other places, the streams, when they continued to flow, became silt laden.<sup>1</sup>

### **Politics and Administration during Kenyatta Era**

Lonsdale (1989), states that Kenya's path to uhuru was slower still. With the banning of the Kenya African Union in 1953 and the jailing of its leaders Jomo Kenyatta, African political activity was forced to adopt a district focus until 1960. In the first African election to the legislative council in 1957, for example, only district based political organizations were allowed. Despite the absence of national political organizations, African leaders were able to mobilise protest through the trade union movement and the legislative council in support of the goals of nationalism. Anon cooperation campaign by the elected members as well as rising levels of discontent in the rural areas and the continued unrest generated by the land question helped bring about further policy changes by the British government (Siegler 1990)

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<sup>1</sup> O.I. Solomon Menge, Bukumburi, 24/6/07. See also, Kenya Farmer, June, 1976 p.16.

The institutional universe of Nyanza politics before 1945 remained largely confined to district and provincial levels, with the specifically political objectives of the African colonial elite being greater power and autonomy for the local roles and institutions in which they already participated, ethnic parochialism and religious denominational differences further fragmented Nyanza politics, much conflicts were experienced in South Kavirondo district where the Kuria community opposed the idea of being in one district with the Luo, and political domination (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

At the district level leaders emerged among them in Nyanza is Oginga Odinga. The activities of these men played a leading role in the winning of the first direct elections for Africans to Legislative Council in March, 1957. In Nyanza, Odinga overwhelmed Ohanga. North and South Nyanza had also new representatives who were young well-educated men who had only emerged as local political leaders ((Lonsdale 1989). In 1954 the Ministry of Defence assumed responsibility for internal and external security under a strong civil service minister. This became a large and well-organised force which was a major asset of executive in exercising its control and asserting its authority over the country. The re-organisation and strengthening of the arm of coercion went hand in hand with the revitalisation of the provincial administration as the executives other agency of control. It is remembered that inn 1948, modification of the legislative councils was done to include an unofficial majority, in which an increased number of European, Asian and African members collectively outnumbered the government benches for the first time (Brown 1972).

The process of transition, however, was envisaged as being extremely long and gradual. Although they laid the basis for important changes during the late 1950s, neither the structural reform of the central government nor the ideological focus on multiracialism

were able in the immediate post-war years to bridge the cleavages in the political economy of the colony and in the state itself. The structural and political constraints that had inhibited the formation of general policy in the interwar period were not overcome by the reforms and continued to make the governor and secretariat officials unwilling and unable to fill the hiatus between the vague platitudes about inter-racial cooperation and the realities of economic and political practice. In 1957 eight constituencies were established and though they included more than one district and hence were not specifically tribal units, in the period 1957-60 the African members were forced to establish district Associations; in the absence of national party organisation emphasis was put on local leadership and organisation which in turn emphasised the tribal unit (Crowley 1967).

In 1960 the Bokuria political Union was formed in an attempt to focus political thought in the two Kuria locations but it was not prominent and the political enthusiasts of the district remained predominantly Kenya African National Union (KANU) in sympathy. Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) made sporadic and unsuccessful attempts to gain a footing but opposition continued from the Kuria tribe to the prospect of being part of the primarily Luo district to be established at Homa Bay and more *Barazas* and additional in local committees were encouraged. Between, November 1963 November 1964 there was a steady defection from KADU to KANU. The collapse of the opposition KADU merely demonstrated the difficulties there are in operating an effective opposition party in an undeveloped political system and the result might not have been different had KADU been the one that succeeded in forming the first government of an independent Kenya. The demise of KADU was quickly followed with the dismantling of the *majimbo* constitution which by all practical purposes had ceased to function by the end of 1964(DC/NYZ 1915-1994).

The disappearance of KADU did not last long before the power struggle that had been going on within KANU since before independence had finally erupted into open conflict. The radicals led by Oginga Odinga and Bildad Kagia were literally forced out of KANU in May 1966 when the moderates in the party manoeuvred them and their key supporters out of the party. They in turn responded by forming a new party-The Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) which the government against all expectations allowed to be registered. Kenya had once again become a multi-party state with inter-party power struggle taking a new shape once again Between 1964 and 1978 KANU failed to establish strong and consistent working party machinery, members of parliament quickly learned to use first the House of Representatives and later the National Assembly as an alternative platform from which to make demands upon the government (Okumu 1978).

According to Mueller (1984), after the arrangement of KANU, new coalitions were shaped with Mboya driving what was later to be alluded to as the moderate wing while Odinga accepted the authority of the revolutionaries. As it were the moderates were simply those prepared to reach some accommodation with the immigrant races- especially the white settlers-regarding the future of an independent Kenya. The radicals on the other hand were those calling for fundamental restructuring of the political economy of Kenya after independence. Naturally, the whites joined hands with the moderates in doing battle with the radicals and in so doing made it difficult for an African solution to be the struggle to emerge. The institutional base during this time owed much to the institutional legacy of a weak party structure and lacked inclusivity this created personal rivalries as no single leader was sure that he could retain ultimate control(Goldsworthy 1982).

In 1965, the constitutional change in independent Kenya affecting regional assemblies was accepted as inevitable without much ado. A few of the members got absorbed into more useful occupations. Chiefs and their assistant chiefs worked very hard to initiate government projects, deal with the day to day public matters as well as that of maintaining law and order in their respective areas of jurisdiction. Co-ordination of government services took the upper hand in all their duties. Up to 1966, the radicals in KANU had been portrayed as the dissidents out to wreck the party unity. Their removal in March 1966 did not however lead to peace and tranquillity in KANU. Once the radicals had been removed Mboya himself became the threat like the radicals he had to be stopped from capturing and controlling the party both in and out of parliament, for such control was the gateway to succession to the presidency. (Ochieng' 1980)

In Kenya, Luo identity has likely altogether developed since autonomy, part of the way in protective response to some government policies. This turned out to be particularly obvious in the time frame somewhere in the range of 1966 and 1969 during the wild life expectancy of the Kenya People's Union (KPU), so called communist faction drove by Oginga Odinga that drew the majority of its help from Nyanza region among the Luo. Re-tribalization of politics, economic mismanagement, social chaos and sheer self-interest have led armies to intervene in national affairs in many countries in Africa. Army coups, mutinies or army-dominated governments mark a variety of political administration. One level, it can be argued that armies intervene because politics have failed (Mueller 1984).

In 1970, a watch out policy was adopted in South Nyanza district by minority tribes like the Kuria and Suba against absorption by the great Luo community. The minority appeared to be much awakes particularly the Kuria who started asking for separate district of their own. The situation called for closer observation and comparison with

what was had been the case between Luo and Luyha. During this period stock theft and boundary disputes remained the major sources of tribal frictions, several border meetings were held during the period on divisional, district and regional/provincial levels and as result border clashes were stamped out despite a few stock theft case. The events of 1971-77 contributed to the begging of neglect of the party. During 1971 when the Moi report on the revitalization was issued, the state discovered a plot to overthrow the government. The Kamba and the Luo were implicated. The Kamba head of the army General Ndolo was forced to retire as was the first African chief justice other Kambas and Luo were tried and imprisoned. After the 1974 General Elections a group of what turned out to be young radical legislators were returned to parliament, among them were; George Anyona (Kisii District) James Orengo (Siaya) and others. They received support from other government critics such as Shikuku. It is they who from time to time decried the declining stature of the party and often challenged the regime on some very sensitive issues (Ochieng' 1980)

By 1975 they had constituted themselves into a force to reckon with and had therefore to be contained by the state, the crisis which followed the assassination of J.M Kariuki; who had fallen off with the regime. The state became concern not to allow any group to take advantage of the situation. Therefore, in that year a number of radical mps were either detained (Anyona, Shikuku, Seroney) or imprisoned for one reason or another. (e.g Chelagat Mutai) or fled the country to avoid imprisonment (e.g James Orengo) (Ochieng1980).

Ochieng' (1980), further narrates that, by 1976 Gikuyu, Embu, Meru Aembeere (GEMA) had seized complete political initiatives as exemplified by the public rallies it organized in the three provinces. Politics of constitutional change had been part and parcel of KANU factional fighting. This time GEMAS's target was the vice president,

Daniel arap Moi. Under Mzee Kenyatta in the 1970s, the party remained organizationally weak. This weakness was to be underpinned further by the crises that deflected the attention of the state away from party affairs. The party was further marginalized following the resurgence of ethnic based political associations that competed with it for the ears of the state.

#### **4.3 Politics and Administration during Moi Era**

According to Moi (1986), the struggle for power within KANU at the centre was remarkably absent since Moi took control of party affairs in 1978 due to the personality of the leader as Moi appeared to have enjoyed good health throughout the time he has been president. This had enabled him to be in full circulation and to be seen far and wide as a functioning president. This denied political schemers room for manoeuvre. Associated with the health factor is the absence of anticipation about his impending departure as was commonly the case with Mzee Kenyatta. Another factor is the president's style of operation, he was usually seen as the master of the political stage who instead of operating from behind the scenes like Kenyatta, seizes the initiative as matter of routine (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

This style enabled him to pre-empt his adversaries and thus assert his leadership in every field of political activity. Moi's insistence on absolute loyalty as basis of one remaining a member of his team also gave him an upper hand in his administration; this had had the effect of circumventing political manoeuvring on the part of those holding key positions in the party. True to its operative philosophy of following in the footsteps of its predecessor, the *Nyayo* regime inherited intact the infrastructure of state power. Even where changes have been supposedly introduced there seemed to be more continuity than change Kuria district remained so loyal to the ruling party all this period (DC/NYZ 1915-1994).

The provincial administration was an old institution in Kenya having been established during the colonial period to serve as the instrument through which the state penetrated and controlled the localities. During the period of nationalist movement it was again the provincial administration that was used by the colonial authorities to suppress the movement or any form of political opposition as such. On the eve of independence the administration temporarily lost some of its law and other functions to the regions and to the police but regained the same soon after the formation of the first KANU government (Berman 1990).

With the passage of time and the accompanying political crises, the state increasingly relied on the administration to set the security agenda in the countryside. All these various roles played by the administration have turned them into the real actors on the ground. Today they continue to play a key role as the link between the people and the state thus denying the politicians what they regard as their inherent right. What had followed was bitterness and calls for the abolition of the institution the bond between the political executive and the administration is an effective one and the Provincial Commissioners (PCs) and in some cases even the District Commissioners (DCs) continued to report to him directly (Moi 1986).

According to Wanyande (2003), political developments during the Moi era gave the political world class the chance to amass abundance to the detriment of general populace, most of who stayed poor and frail. There was obvious proof of expanding local incongruities in asset appropriation which set off huge country metropolitan relocation the conflict between the colonial state and the Africans in Kenya was right from the early 1920s, about the denial of African representation in the newly established apparatus of the central government, notably the Executive Council (EXCO), the legislative council (Legco) and the public bureaucracy until the cosmetic

nomination of few Africans from 1944, the election of a minority group from 1955 and the Africanisation of the civil service from the beginning of the 1960s. While local native councils existed since the mid- 1920s heavy state control of membership and operations undermined their capacity as vehicles for African representation (Berman 1990)

The cycle of political portrayal was watered down through purposeful changes that the postcolonial KANU government presented in the constitution, the appointive laws and practically speaking. The most striking of the progressions incorporated a move from a multiparty to a solitary gathering electing framework and the exchange of management of decisions from an autonomous body to the common organization that was firmly controlled and controlled by the Kenyatta and the Moi systems (Throup 1998). There is appoint at which political leadership can in fact, through its policy decisions, subvert national efforts towards decolonization. In Nigeria, Chinua Achebe has in forthright terms stated that the leadership is the problem; the Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership. Leadership does not merely govern and administer but also co-ordinates a national thought process towards an uplifting national vision of where the society should proceed after attaining political independence (Achebe 1983).

The evidence presented indicates that the inter-party power struggle in Kenya since independence has been a struggle between the state and the opposition party with the ruling party acting merely as an agent of the state. During the lifetime of both KADU and KPU, the ruling party- KANU- relied heavily on the state apparatus to do battle for them. The state became a willing partner because the interests of the government of the day and those of KANU were unpredictably between connected in away, while the

state has utilized different demonstrations to contain the resistance, the main connection in this control game has been the commonplace organization. It is the most politicized office of the state – a picture it acquired at freedom and has kept on projecting to the disdain of the legislators (Okoth 2006).

KANU was at its inception an amalgamation of the then existing district political associations. The leaders of the associations insisted on and became the chairmen of the new party in their respective districts. Because the branches were headed by people who the new party had no part in bringing up as leaders, their management right from the beginning tended to be autonomous. The relationship between the party headquarters and the branches weakened steadily with the passage of time. This was due partly to the neglect of the party business which slowly but surely led to its decline as an instrument of governance. The political challenges that faced the nascent post-colonial African states during the 1960s included, national identity, legitimatisation of government, citizen participation, and social and economic development (Minogue 1974). Political exclusion in turn bred resistance through mobilisation of ethnic groupings to challenge the established political regime, thereby spawning social polarisation, conflict, and marginalisation (Okumu 1978).

The adjudication surveys continued to supervise mapping for adjudication purposes but Kuria areas were reported to be bushy and difficult to approach. In 1980s, Kenya African National Union was the only active national party in the area; all members of the public in the community followed the *Nyayo* Philosophy. Provincial Heads, District Commissioners and Departmental Heads including local government worked hand in hand to implement the government policies and the wishes of the people in the areas. There was use of youth wingers in the area working with chiefs and sub-chiefs. Local

leaders and *wananchi* cooperated and worked hard towards development (Nyamohanga Mkami, Personal Communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

During the year the political climate of the multi-party advocates which gripped some parts of the country were more or less felt in the region. There were no known advocates of the multi-party who came openly in the community as result only Kenya African National Union was recognised among the Kuria people. There was creation of *iritongo* in the location of Bukiria East, the location in which the District administration is based at Kehancha, and it was the first to develop the organisation and thus provided the template for those that followed throughout Kuria. It was to work with youth wingers (*Sungusungu*) in the effort of restoring order in the Division and control cattle theft in the area. The study found out that those traditional institutions worked effective in the control of cattle rustling till early 2000 when they were declared illegal and the office they were using in Kehancha was closed. This led to the end the kuria traditional authority (Magaigwa Chacha, Personal Communication 13<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

### **End of Cold War and Ethno Political Conflicts in Kuria**

The Kuria of Kenya also faced the brunt of conflicts occasioned by the introduction of multi-party era which ushered Kenya into a political dispensation of political pluralism following the repeal of section 2A of the old Kenya's Constitution in 1992. In the 1980s, the expansion of little arms influenced not just Kuria living in the Mara Region of northern Tanzania yet their clansmen over the line in Kenya. This territory also saw a huge acceleration in examples of group striking and fighting in the mid 1980s. In Kenya, battles between Kuria families were to a great extent managed by an overall preparation following upon a Presidential reprieve on firearms in 1985 and many were gathered in as of now (Heald, 2000). Despite the fact that the serious instability of the mid 1980s was to a degree managed by such measures, the issue of cows stirring didn't

disappear. Nor did the weapons. Despite the fact that many were gathered during the absolutism, weapons kept on entering the framework through different courses.

The security powers were one of them and a prospering, if surreptitious, town weapon smith industry created, with firearms custom fitted to the type of accessible shots. Very few historical studies on Kuria exist and even the scantiest work does not reflect historical knowledge on the subject. Heald's (2000) work, takes up the issue of the decline of pastoralism in Kuria and argues that this process should not be taken as self-evident, that a decline in stockholding should be seen as a consequence of relative rewards of agriculture, population increase and environmental depletion. On the contrary, she argues that such a view ignores the fact that cattle were the first sector of the traditional agro-pastoralist societies of Kenya to become commercialized and, in the process, criminalized. This acceleration into war turned into a steady danger after 1980 with the flood of little arms. Firearms significantly changed the idea of attacking, moving the equilibrium definitively for the plunderers. Prior to this, bandits stopped by secrecy and were helpless against the harmed bolts of the residence's safeguards.

As indicated by Nilsson (2012), with weapons, marauders came audaciously, frequently straightforwardly testing the estate and in any event, when this was not the situation, dread of firearms made the safeguards less prepared to hazard protection. Nor, from the 1980s onwards, has striking been simply an issue of dairy cattle stirring. Ambushes along the streets, frequently at spans, turned into a customary component in Kuria, ordinarily around evening time yet in addition – at awful occasions - during the day. Those burglarized in this manner were sporadically shot if the vehicle neglected to stop and were constantly pummeled. In Kuria, matatus, which means common cantina vehicles utilized as taxicabs - conveying brokers were a specific objective yet the daily danger viably brought street transport to an end after 7.00 pm and, now and again,

significantly prior (Ndegwa, 2001 and Ruel, 1964). Vehicles of numerous sorts were likewise taken; the motorbikes of the field officials utilized by the tobacco organizations were consistently commandeered, regularly making passing or injury the rider.

Besides, the plundering stretched out to different things as well, things which not at all like dairy cattle couldn't run. Schools and Missions lost their water siphons and generators; organizations their posho maize flour plants. At the point when the principal sun oriented boards were presented during the 1990s, these also were lifted. There appeared to be nothing, anyway hefty and very much secured, that couldn't be taken by these efficient criminals. Once over the line in Tanzania, they were seldom recuperated. No part of the local area was safe from the thefts of criminals. Though there has existed mistrust between the two Kuria clans in Kuria East for quite some time, this time round, like in 2009, the mistrust did boil up to near catastrophic level, a condition seriously aggravated by the frequent cattle robbery from either clan. Since December 2012, the situation worsened as more robbery and deaths were witnessed by both clans, with each clan blaming the other for the ills. By the January 2013, the situation was spilling over. More deaths were being registered; more cattle being driven as more families fled their homes.

Despite the situation getting rather out of hand, the issues hardly got any attention from the media houses, and if at all reported, it was reported wrongly; saying that it is cultural. Houses were burnt, food reserves destroyed, deaths recorded and more than 500 persons displaced from their homes with many families totally having lost their homes in arson attack. There would be almost two strikes every week, as residents in these affected regions constantly called the People for Rural Change Trust (PRCT) and Human Rights Networks (HURINET) Office in Maberu. PRCT staff visited the

affected regions on several occasions and documented the sorry state of the victims; women and children, living in state of near hopelessness. PRCT shared these pictures and video clips with other key stakeholders, including Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC), Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC) among others. On 19 April 2013, the Executive Secretary CJPC, Catholic Diocese of Eldoret (Mr James Kimisoi) responded by visiting Kuria East. First he met with all the District Peace Committee (DPC) members of Kuria East. He pledged support and partnership with the DPC for the next 12 months, with the view of strengthening and steadying the group in peace building. On 20 April 2013, he separately met with two groups, each from the two conflicting clans. The agenda in these groups was basically to respond to some questions in regard to leadership levels that exist or existed in each clan.

Amongst the Kuria of Kenya, this was seen in the approach, during and not long after the multi-party races in 1992 and 1997. Political investigators fight that the KANU government utilized savagery to scare allies of the then political resistance, which represented a test to its authenticity. Others kept up that viciousness was a device to hold political imposing business model in geological zones assigned as 'selective' to specific ethnic networks and ideological groups. By making frailty, it made it hard for other ideological groups to infiltrate or support uphold in these zones.

In 1992 and 1997, 'land' or 'ethnic' conflicts, as the savagery came to be known, spread in multi-ethnic areas of Western, Rift Valley and Coast regions, bringing about death of an obscure number of people and relocation of thousands of others. While the media and government officials no matter how you look at it described the furnished threats as 'ethnic', 'customary' or 'shared', Human Rights spectators and strife investigators contended that current collective clashes over land cases and steers striking were controlled so networks gave off an impression of being battling about 'conventional'

issues. Admissions made to Human Rights Watch scientists by culprits additionally uncovered that while aggressors were purportedly wearing conventional clothing, now and then they were brought from outside the contention territory to pounce upon the neighborhood individuals. Constrained populace uprooting or removal of specific networks from some geological locales served to change the appointive demography, to foreordain political decision results. It likewise empowered influential individuals to deceitfully obtain land having a place with those related with the political resistance. The said land was subsequently used to compensate political customers.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

Traditional authority is legitimated by the sanctity of tradition, the idea that it is man's duty to conform have generally continued to affect independent governments in Africa as they do not want challenges to their authority. Governments have gone as far as abolishing traditional authority and terming traditional institutions as illegal groups. Alavi (1972), asserts that the post-colonial state did not reform the bifurcated state that was inherited from the preceding era. Rather, the colonial structures were largely retained.

In some cases, the structures were only re-defined to suit the purpose of the new elite's consolidation of political power, the authoritarian tendency of the state under Kenyatta continued into the second post-colonial political regime of President Daniel arap Moi who consolidated political power through the provincial administration thereby perpetuating the suppression of the civil society and opposition politics in general. Following the achievement of independence in 1963, Abakuria experienced many far reaching and significant political and economic changes. Despite efforts by the government of independent Kenya to redress the balance in favour of those districts which had been most marginalised and underdeveloped in 1963, the start of the 21<sup>st</sup>

century found little changes in the Kuria political systems. This made the members of the community to often express the same behavioural pattern, attitudes or reactions towards whatever threatens their political survival as distinct community. They want to be recognised and reckoned in leadership matters irrespective of the size of its population (Okumu 1978).

## CHAPTER FIVE

### GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*...priorities have shifted in Kuria agro-pastoralism. The hillsides once dense with grazing cattle were now covered with a green gold patchwork of tobacco fields.... The once mighty cow has lost all economic or social utility, (sic) but now it occupies a limited space, both physically and metaphorically in the Kuria culture (Friedsberg, 1987:18)*

In Kenya, as in the other regions of the world, the combined impact of the local and complex phenomenon of globalization has been shaping the socio – economic and cultural environment, leading to the transformations of major social institutions, with that of the family becoming the most affected and the cultural norms, socialization processes and values also being affected. This article discusses the impact of social change on the institution of the family in south-western Kenya. It outlines the major changes experienced in terms of social organization and how these have worked in altering the “cultural terrain” which served to provide the prerequisites for adolescent socialization inherent within the traditional family system. This system is comprised of kin with mutual obligations and responsibilities whose inherent traditions served to maintain family life. It is hypothesized that the instability experienced due to the abrupt cultural changes is likely to have adverse implications for child and youth development (Sandstrom & Huerta, 2013). As a result, the role of configurations and trajectories towards functional adulthood are severely impaired, leading to negative outcomes in the important process of acquiring roles and values across the social, emotional, cognitive and personal domains.

It has been argued here that the egalitarian structure of pre-colonial Kenyan societies contained numerous conflicts, but the hierarchy of authority from heads of the nuclear and extended families to council of clan elders generally performed the dual function of decision-making and arbitration of disputes in the interests of the community as a

whole. The socio-economic transformation that occurred in the wake of European colonisation produced new sources and new forms of conflicts in the society. Cultural conflicts emerged in society especially between indigenous African traditions and practices and the newcomer western cultural values notably religious beliefs and social practices such as the circumcision of women. The class-based conflicts that emerged during the colonial period continued into the post-colonial era, precisely because the class structure of society was retained although the bourgeois was reconstituted. Ethnic communities that were affiliated to the core of the political regime were able to accumulate by far more than ethnic groups that lay outside the inner circle of the political regime (M. Minogue 1974).

The accounts of African History on migrations by Okoth (2006), shows that migrations among African societies were not meaningless wanderlusts. Often they were a response to economic opportunities; although sometimes they were caused by hostile environmental factors such as diseases, droughts, floods warfare and calamities. Migrations were the means by which empty or sparsely-populated land came under cultivation or became the hereditary grazing lands for pastoral peoples. Even more important, migrations were the conduct through which new techniques and skills, new ideas and beliefs and new crops and products were channelled into the more far-flung regions. When people moved into lands already occupied by indigenous population, their response was usually to adapt themselves to unfamiliar ways rather than to adopt those ways wholesale. In turn, the indigenous populations borrowed and adapted new ideas and skills from immigrants. Migrations of people were, thus, important agencies through which culture, technology, literature and cosmology were diffused widely across the African continent (Odhiambo 2000).

Most pre-colonial African societies were pre-occupied with the quality of leadership. A society's fate as well as its survival was intertwined with the ability to produce leaders that could ensure socioeconomic reproduction of the society. The society therefore socialised the young to appreciate and support the evolution of a mechanism for the realisation of appropriate leadership. Societies were thus engaged in the development of pre-requisites for a social infrastructure that could guide and support the transition of leadership from one generation to the next. Individuals and their ability to work with the established institutional framework within the society and to convert social capital into a tool for checking behaviour and actions of leaders were emphasised (Ayayo 1976).

According to Boateng (1985), other societies emphasised the need for horizontal accountability of institutions to ensure mutual checks while allowing for vertical accountability that makes it possible for the leadership to be answerable to the polity as a whole. Each generation therefore began from the lower scale of the functional ladder from minding livestock to the security of the society, once in the warrior stratum, to the reproduction and sustenance of the family, before finally transiting to leadership positions as elders. Most importantly, each group was accountable to itself and to the society, an arrangement that constituted a mechanism for restraining individual excesses, while helping the society to shortlist candidates for leadership roles.

In Kenya, examples include the Kikuyu, the Luo, the Luyha, the Kalenjin, and the Orma, who are also found in Southern Ethiopia. Poor leadership in traditional societies portended major threats to the survival of the political unit. Self-centred and unchecked leadership that was un-institutionalised was bound to weaken social institutions and ultimately break up the society which this holistic leadership was emphasised in many traditional societies, and today forms sinews around which leaders in western societies

are elected, contemporary African nation states do not invest in the development of these virtues (Ehret 1977).

Going back to Kuria community, they had a segmentary lineage society with no central organisation, a minimum of tribe-wide solidarity, and little in the way of institutionalised leadership. Clans and Sub-Clans were mutually hostile and fought each other when differences arose, rather than solving their problems peacefully. Retaliation and feuding were marked features of their social control system. In light of this fact it is remarkable how quickly and completely the Kuria accepted the government system of courts when their area came under British administration in 1910, they soon submitted more cases for adjudication to the officer in Safaris and *Balozis* than they could handle. Today Kuria community is among the societies lacking adequate traditional authority in form of tribal elders this makes us understand how the Abakuria were able to change from a social control system characterised by feuding and hardly any institutionalized judiciary to one in which even petty differences are submitted to a hierarchical court structures. The Kuria were then only too happy to submit all their disputes and rule violations to this powerful individual and his delegated representatives, including newly appointed chiefs. This led to disapproval of traditional social control system which finally led to its decline and subsequent collapse of Abakuria traditional authority (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

Berman (1992) argument supports the above narration by saying that colonialism destroyed traditional mechanism of government and instead established perverted forms of leadership, notably indirect rule. Despite claims that sought to legitimise indirect rule as an African practice, colonial chiefs lacked legitimacy in the society and sustained themselves in power mainly through the support of colonial authorities. The colonial form of leadership both systematically constrained the evolution of a

nationalist leadership that was rooted in the traditions of African societies and encouraged fragmentation and ethnocentrism through the transformation of petty bourgeois African leadership mouthed epithets of independence, but failed to appreciate the issues around which the post-colonial state need to be organised. The colonial state failed to lay affirm foundation for the development of a nation state; it failed to initiate a process for national identity and instead balkanised the different communities through a system whereby each community was administered under its unique set of traditional rules (Lonsdale 1989).

Community conflicts emerged during post independence period as different communities felt left out in the new government system. Okoth(2006), analysis of the Kenyatta regime argues that, the era was confronted right from the outset with numerous nation state crises. One, there was the crisis of identity, manifested by the tendency of the various communities to identify themselves as members of a particular ethnic group as opposed to identifying themselves with the nation. National politics remained brittle and was articulated in ethnic terms through threats, bribery, and outright violence. These tendencies poisoned, polarised and eventually narrowed associational space. Devoid of requisite structures of conflict management and resolution, state drifted very fast into a civil war, many conflicts were experienced along the borders of Abakuria and Luo and Maasai (Davies 1940).

Further the Kenyatta era witnessed apolitical conflict and rivalry between leaders' allied to different ideological predispositions. There was a switch from a democratic to an authoritarian system of government soon after independence. The Kenyatta regime replaced the federal structure of the state with a unitary structure, and prevailed upon KADU members the opposition. The Odinga faction founded the KPU in 1966 but the party was proscribed in 1969 and its leaders detained. Kenya remained a de factor one-

party state. One of the major consequences of the shift was centralisation and personalisation of political power in the person of the president. The Kenyatta era therefore was characterised by personal rule. Popular participation in the management of public affairs declined drastically, while governmental behaviour became both unpredictable and unaccountable to the population (Wanyande 2003).

Unlike the Kenyatta elite that used nationalist rhetoric to drive accumulation, Moi leadership resorted to populism in its search for legitimacy. As the Moi elite however sought to ideologically fragment the GEMA and unify the rest of the nation using Kikuyu phobia, it fell back on pragmatism. The leadership lacked a strong organisational base and remained driven by particularistic interest (Goldworthy 1982). Every national crisis was responded to by setting up new institutions and as a consequence, too many institutions were set up during Moi's era. But the inability of the *Nyayo* leadership to operate under institutional discipline spawned a situation where these institutions become sources for resource extraction and wanton looting (Wanyende 2003).

Moi adopted a populist leadership style; for example he released all the political detainees, although he retained the laws on detention. He soon adopted an authoritarian style of leadership, however following the rise of dissent against his government he began to contain opponents through detention laws, elevated the single-party system of government to adjure status through a constitutional amendment, and followed in Kenyatta's footsteps of authoritarian rule. He introduced what was referred to as the philosophy of peace, love and unity popularly known as *Nyayoism*. *Nyayoism* was expounded as a national way of life through which each Kenyan was to be mindful of each other's welfare as a means for the promotion of peace, national unit, and development (Wanyende 2003)

Parallel to its attempts to hang on to power through the reform process, Moi leadership evolved alternative methods of entrenching the regime while narrowing the democratic space. At one level it successfully applied violence on opponents. This saw the emergence of vigilante groups such as *mungiki*, *jeshi la mama*, *jeshi la mzee*, *Taliban*, *Baghdad boys* and *sungusungu* of Kuria. These groups ultimately saddled the political and economic spaces in the urban areas where they terrorised and extracted resources from the public with impunity. In rural areas, new forms of banditry that unleashed violence that turned out to displace thousands of families emerged. Between 1992 and 2002, rural bandits led to the loss of 300000 herds of cattle valued at ksh 3 billion (Katumanga 2001).

From *iritongo* of the location of Bukiria East, the location in which the District administration is based at Kehancha, was the first to develop the organisation with youth wing and thus provided the template for those that followed throughout Kuria. The organization formed earlier to liberate people of Kuria got a setback in the late years of Moi regime. From oral interview the informant narrated that during the elections of 1997, whilst the votes in the National Elections were being counted at the District headquarters in Kehancha, and the place was bristling with police, thieves made an audacious daylight swoop. They got away with all the cattle held in the police pen despite being pursued into Maasailand and into Tanzania in vain with the *Sungusungu* group, which later was discovered that the thieves worked with the *Sungusungu* due to lack of proper institutional mechanism to ensure proper functioning of that organisation which was meant to safe guard the community (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2017). After the 1982 coup attempt, Moi intensified efforts to consolidate political power. He, like Kenyatta before him, surrounded himself with members of his ethnic group- now the Kalenjin- and placed

many of them in key positions of the government. Politics was thus ethnicised, and ethnicity was politicised as the political elite appealed to its ethnic group for political affinity (Goldsworth 1982).

The president had through such political practices undermined the principles of *Nyayoism*, resulting in conflict and disunity rather than a peaceful and solid nation. Human rights abuses increased significantly. These included the suppression of political dissent, detention without trial, police brutality, political assassinations, and an instigation of clashes between ethnic groups that had co-existed peacefully. It was widely believed that the ethnic clashes that occurred in different parts of the country between 1991 and 1993 as well as in 1997 were state sponsored. Through the clashes, the KANU regime intended to intimidate perceived anti-KANU communities in the face of the emergent multiparty elections and to divert attention from the economic decline that the country experienced at that time (Okoth 2006).

The emerging authoritarian regime under Moi came to a head in August 1982 when a section of the Kenya Air Force attempted a coup against the Moi regime. The failed coup attempt was followed by ruthless crushing of the insurgents and by court-martial proceedings. Throughout the rest of the 1980s and the early 1990s Moi's leadership style was a near perfection of fascism. The style involved personal rule, a violation of human rights, accumulation of wealth by a clique of the politically correct, an impoverishment of the majority, a persecution of the systems critics, a manipulation of and spread of ignorance among the poor, and a one-party dictatorship. The population began to challenge the Moi regime more actively from the end of the 1980s. Civil society organisations emerged and engaged in a campaign for democratic political reforms and constitutional change. The donor community supported the reform initiative, especially the introduction of the multipart system of government and respect

for human rights. Consequently, the single-party system was constitutionally repealed and the door opened to political pluralism. The 1992 and 1997 general elections were characterised by massive rigging, however while the opposition side was highly fragmented resulting in the victory of KANU (Siegler 1990).

The Kenyatta eras' pre-occupation with a centralisation and consolidation of political power inevitably produced an authoritarian system of government. The successive governments in post-colonial Kenya have claimed support for decentralisation- with attempts to confer decision-making power and authority in the allocation of resources to lower levels of government such as districts and sub-districts.

The support for decentralisation was accompanied with the call of *turudi mashambani* (let us return to the farms) that Kenyatta coined in the early 1970s. De-concentration of power from the centre to the district however has occurred without a commensurate delegation of decision-making power, especially with regard to the distribution of local resources. District heads of departments represented the permanent secretary of their respective ministries or the president himself. The apparent decentralisation in Kenya therefore has increased rather than reduced the central government control of the localities (Hyden 1972).

According to Mueller (1984), decentralisation has been unsuccessful due to both inadequate political will and limited capacity for decision making at the local levels. Members of local councils have low literacy, executive officers are unmotivated due to poor terms and conditions of service, and local government departments are understaffed and poorly managed, the politicisation of the public service has created inefficiency and ineffectiveness in the provision of services. The social, economic and political institutions that were created in the colony were caricatures of British institutions. The Kenyatta team that took power at independence in 1963 comprised

mainly Western-educated technocrats who were against a radical break with its former colonial masters, partly to ensure continuity of foreign aid and partly for political expediency (Joseph Omari Ogora, Personal Communication 14<sup>th</sup> April 2018).

Some of the main characteristics of the second, third and fourth decades of independence included excessive interference with institutional autonomy and functioning. Formal rules and procedures were replaced with presidential decree, which inevitably undermined the institutional foundations of the economy and greatly compromised democratic values. Thus, the consolidation of autocratic rule elevated the institution of the presidency above all others. By the late 1990s, Kenya had reached the apex of authoritarian rule. From 1990 onwards, however, Moi's personal rule began to receive a multi-pronged assault. The campaign for democratisation and constitutional reform emerged, involving progressive politicians, civil society organisations, the media, and foreign diplomats accredited to Kenya, as well as the multilateral financial institutions- the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The movement produced the multiparty system of government at the end of 1991, although the opposition parties, unable to defeat KANU during the 1992 and 1997 elections, succeeded in 2002 (Kenya government session paper 1965).

The aim of the study been to show the transformation of the Kuria leadership and politics as well as change in relations to global economic system and the transformation of extant social relations. Although we recognise that social change is an unceasing process in any society, this study argues that forces associated with capitalist penetration accelerated this process. Thus, for example, the authority and power of the elders who had for many generations dominated the Kuria society was undermined. There was radical transformation of kinship and property relations and elders were no longer influential in matters relating to production. There was progressive

individualisation of property rights as subsistence production was transformed to serve the needs of the capitalist sector.

The role of the law and state is also discussed. We argue that both the colonial and the post-colonial states were instrumental in this process of change even if some of their policies appear to have been aimed at conserving certain forms of traditional relations. Within this context of change the responses of the Kuria people to economic change is examined. The study too argues that rather than being passive objects of capitalist penetration the Kuria tried to influence events even though their options were highly circumscribed. For the elders change represented an opportunity to utilise their traditional positions to secure resources from the non-traditional economic sector while for the younger generation and the women, change opened up the means for them to extricate themselves from relations of subordination.

To sum up, therefore, state regulation of Kuria traditional relationships has had two closely interlocking facets, one broadly aimed at undermining the traditional order and the other at slowing down during this process. In the sphere of family leadership, the provisions of the social change represent clearly this dual policy at work. As Ghai remarked, the Kenyan state was "clearly keen to reform the law in the context of modern social and economic conditions but at the same time careful not to destroy traditional values and practices. It is therefore not surprising that the proposals contained many compromises between various conflicting principles, and that while it talked in terms unifying the law, it provided for the accommodation of divergent rules and practices. After the public discussion, it was forced into yet further compromises" (Ghai 1971:103).

In order to analyse clearly the Kuria response to capitalist penetration, we discussed separately two otherwise closely related aspects of this response. The first concerns the

response of the traditionally subordinate groups such as the younger generation and women. For such groups, as noted before, capitalist penetration and colonial state intervention provided an opportunity to challenge existing relations of domination. Elders, on the other hand, saw change as a means of utilising their traditional positions of authority to maximise their earnings. The second aspect looked at the Kuria peasants as a group and their response to change in terms of co-operation and active opposition to various forms of state intervention. We used informed self-interest as the criterion to account for their reactions, even though I recognised that their economic options, as indeed those of the dependent post-colonial state, are often limited by wider, more constraining forces.

In conclusion therefore it may be stated that the Kuria pre-capitalist and economic system has been substantially transformed, traditional elders who used to benefit social relations of subordination and obligation, have retained their ideological systems which they tactfully deploy to gain economic and other advantages from people who, under the traditional system, would normally be bound to them. Finally, the conservationist policy of the colonial and postcolonial state facilitated elders' claims on their subordinates, and both operated together with a mutually reinforcing effect.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Letter of Introduction

Onserio Arori Wilfred

Mount Kenya University (MKU)

School of Social Sciences

Dear Participant,

#### **RE: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION TO RESPONDENT**

I am a Master of Arts History (MA) student in the School of Social Sciences in Mount Kenya University (Thika Main Campus).

As part of the requirement for the award of the degree I am expected to undertake a research study on “Continuity and Change in Kuria Politics: 1885- 1995”. I am therefore requesting you to participate in the study.

The results will be used for academic purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Only summary results will be made public. No one except the university will have access to the records.

Your cooperation will be appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Onserio Arori Wilfred

**Appendix II: Consent Form (English)**

**RE: CONSENT FORM**

I am Onserio Arori Wilfred, A master’s student at Mount Kenya University conducting a study on “Continuity and Change in Kuria Politics: 1885- 1995”.

I kindly wish to inform you that the study is in partial fulfilment of my master’s degree program. I recruit you conveniently to participate in this study and am seeking your consent.

Confidentiality will be maintained by using visit numbers rather than names and information gathered will not be revealed to anybody without your consent. Participation in this study is voluntary. The project poses no any risk to the participants.

Before I involve you in this study, I kindly request you to sign the declaration below.

I have read the purpose and I hereby agree/disagree to participate in this study

**Respondent**

Sign.....Date.....

**Principal Investigator**

Sign.....

Mobile Number.....

**Ethics Review Committee Office**

The Chairman

Mount Kenya University, Ethics Review Committee

P O BOX 342 -01000

**THIKA**

### **Appendix III: Consent Form (Kuria)**

#### **RE: CONSENT FORM**

Nuni Onserio Arori Wilfred mona wa Mount Kenya University. Gosomerand'e ubuchungusi bo "Continuity and Change in Kuria Politics: 1885- 1995".'

Ndasaba kokotobia iga, a masomo gunturia gare nzukia Masters degree gotore iga unturia komasomo gana na ngutunande oruhusa roo taratomere inamba kibisere na taga. Iga nilina reo hai kukugira amangana gano orantebi gange kumanyekana noo omonto oonde. Nuwe orahanche kugunturia na tiga iga gokohamilia hai na a masomo tegana bupepe bulebonswe hai. Nyuma otarahawansa gunturia ndagosaba osainili ebarua eno hanse hano.

Nensomere igoro ya ebarua eno nahano nitapiriyi/hangere guturia nyuma ya asomo gano.

#### **Respondent**

Sign..... Date.....

#### **Principal Investigator**

Sign..... Mobile Number.....

#### **Ethics Review Committee Office**

The Chairman

Mount Kenya University, Ethics Review Committee

P O BOX 342 -01000

THIKA

**Appendix IV: Letter to the Area Chiefs**

THE AREA CHIEF

.....  
.....  
.....

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN YOUR LOCATION**

I am a Masters student at Mt Kenya University currently conducting a research aimed at examining continuity and change of Kuria systems of social control, leadership and governance.

I am pleased to inform you that your location has been chosen as an ideal research sample.

I wish to collect oral information from elders of 80 years and above using interview schedule. The research findings will be used for writing this study and not for any other purposes.

Participation in this study is voluntary, which means that there is no penalty if one chooses not to participate.

Yours assistance will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Onserio Arori Wilfred

## Appendix V: Interview Schedule

This interview schedule intends to examine continuity and change of Kuria system of social control, leadership and governance, based on your response we will be able to understand better the role of traditional political systems in the new political order and challenges the community is facing and then draw the way forward in dealing with the situation.

The data collected will be treated confidentially.

### PART A: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Gender

Male

Female

2. Age

80-90 years

90 years and above

3. Your highest education level

Primary

Secondary

Tertiary

**PART B: THE RESPONDEES VIEW ON THE PATTERN OF TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE AMONG THE KURIA.**

1. What were the underlying forces, or values which kept your traditional people together?
2. Did your community constitute a single political unity with a common overall leadership? How was it organised?
3. How did your community organised itself for judicial and military purposes?
4. What was the nature of your community relationship with the neighbouring communities?
5. What led to the decline and fall of the traditional authority in your community?

**PART C: THE RESPONDEES VIEWS ON THE PATTERN OF SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE THAT EMERGED AMONG THE KURIA DURING COLONIAL PERIOD.**

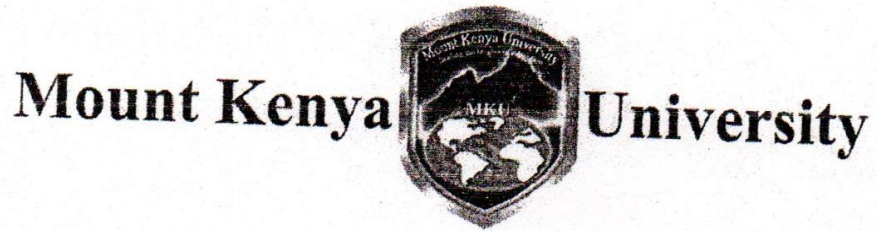
- i) What is the distinct period in your opinion can separate your traditional political systems and colonial systems?
- ii) Throughout that period, despite other changes what political forces, events or ideas were continuous and persistent for you in your community?
- iii) How were the initial reforms of the military and administration that accompanied the colonial rule in your community?
- iv) What were the strengths of your community's political systems during colonial period?
- v) What difficulties encountered your traditional rulers during colonial period?

**PART D: THE RESPONDEES VIEWS ON THE SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE AMONG THE KURIA DURING POST- COLONIAL PERIOD.**

1. What did your community independence involve?
2. How was the organisation of the initial post-independence system of administration in your community?
3. What checks and balances that the post-independence government put in place in your community to ensure continuity of the traditional authority?
4. How was the relationship of traditional authority with the post-independence government in your community?
5. Throughout this period, despite other changes what political forces, events or ideas are continuous and persistent for you in your community?

**Thank you**

Appendix VI: Ethical Clearance Mount Kenya University



MARCH 30, 2017

Ref. No. MKU/ERC/0372

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL CLEARANCE

This is to certify that the proposal titled “CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN KURIA POLITICS: 1885 - 1995”, whose Principal Investigator is Mr Onserio Arori Wilfred (MAHS-24411/2013) has been reviewed by Mount Kenya University Ethics Review Committee (ERC), and found to adequately address all ethical concerns.

**Mr Francis W. Makokha**  
Secretary, Mount Kenya University ERC

Sign: 

Date: 30.03.2017


**Prof. Francis W. Muregi**  
Chairman, Mount Kenya University ERC

Sign: 

Date: 03.04.2017

The Chairman  
Mount Kenya University  
Ethics Review Committee  
P. O. Box 342 - 0100, Thika

Appendix VII: School of Postgraduate Letter Mount Kenya University

  
**Mount Kenya University**  
**SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES**

REF: MAHS - 24411/2013

4<sup>th</sup> April, 2017

The Director, Research Coordination Division  
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation  
Ugali House, 8<sup>th</sup> & 9<sup>th</sup> Floor  
P.O. Box 30623- 00100  
Nairobi

Dear Sir/Madam,

BE. ONSEKIO ARORI WILFERED - REGISTRATION NO. MAHS - 24411/2013

The purpose of this letter is to introduce the above named student who is pursuing Masters in History in the Department of Languages and Humanities in the School of Social Sciences.

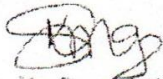
The title of his Project "*Continuity and change in Kuria Politics: 1885 - 1995*"

He has been cleared by the University's Ethics Review Committee (certificate attached) and now has to proceed to the field to collect data for his research project in the course of this semester (April - June 2017).

Any assistance accorded to him will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Mount Kenya University  
School of Postgraduate Studies  
P.O. Box 342 - 01000 Thika

  
Dr. Samuel Karenga  
Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies

Enc

## Appendix VIII: Research Permit Nacosti

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
**MR. ONSERIO ARORI WILFRED**  
of MOUNT KENYA UNIVERSITY, 0-10206  
Kahuhia, has been permitted to conduct  
research in Migori County

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/17/32313/16889  
Date Of Issue : 28th April, 2017  
Fee Received :Ksh 1000

on the topic: **CONTINUITY AND CHANGE  
IN KURIA POLITICS:1885-1995**

for the period ending:  
28th April, 2018



.....  
Applicant's  
Signature

*CPalmer*  
.....  
Director General  
National Commission for Science,  
Technology & Innovation

### CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officer will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



National Commission for Science  
Technology and Innovation

RESEACH CLEARANCE  
PERMIT

Serial No. A 13828

CONDITIONS: see back page

## Appendix IX: Research Authorization Nacosti



### NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,  
2241349,3310571,2219420  
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249  
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke  
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke  
when replying please quote

9<sup>th</sup> Floor, Utala House  
Uhuru Highway  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref No. **NACOSTI/P/17/32313/16889**

Date: **28<sup>th</sup> April, 2017**


Onserio Arori Wilfred  
Mount Kenya University  
P.O. Box 342-01000  
**THIKA.**

#### **RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Continuity and change in Kuria politics:1885-1995,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Migori County** for the period ending **28<sup>th</sup> April, 2018.**

You are advised to report to the **County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Migori County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

  
**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM**  
**FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner  
Migori County.

The County Director of Education  
Migori County.

**Appendix X: Letter from Area Chief**

APPENDIX IV: LETTER TO THE AREA CHIEFS

THE AREA CHIEF / ASST. CHIEF

JOSEPH N. MWITA

MABERA SUB-LOCATION

TAGARE LOCATION

JOSEPH N. MWITA  
ASSIST. CHIEF  
MABERA SUB-LOCATION  
12/04/2017  
0729093589

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN YOUR LOCATION**

I am a Masters student at Mt Kenya University currently conducting a research aimed at examining continuity and change of Kuria systems of social control, leadership and governance.

I am pleased to inform you that your location has been chosen as an ideal research sample.

I wish to collect oral information from elders of 80 years and above using interview schedule.

The research findings will be used for writing this study and not for any other purposes.

Participation in this study is voluntary, which means that there is no penalty if one chooses not to participate.

Your assistance will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Onserio Arori Wilfred

Appendix XI: Research Authorization County Commissioner

**OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF  
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

Telephone: (059) 20511  
FAX (059)20361  
Email:  
countycommissionermigori@yahoo.com



**OFFICE OF THE COUNTY COMMISSIONER**  
MIGORI COUNTY  
P.O. BOX 2 - 40400  
**SUNA - MIGORI.**

**When replying please quote**

**Ref. No:** CC/ED.12/19 VOL.II/77

**Date:** 27<sup>th</sup> February, 2018

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Onserio Arori Wilfred NACOSTI/P/17/32313/16889 a student at the Mount Kenya University has been authorized to carry out research on ***“Continuity and change in Kuria politics: 1885-1995, in Migori County, Kenya”*** for the period ending 28<sup>th</sup> April, 2018.

Accord him the necessary assistance.

  
STEPHEN KAVULU  
FOR: COUNTY COMMISSIONER  
**MIGORI COUNTY**

DEPUTY COUNTY COMMISSIONER  
SUNA EAST SUB COUNTY  
P.O. Box 2-40400,  
SUNA - MIGORI.

**CC**  
The County Director of Education  
**MIGORI**

## Appendix XII: Research Authorization County Director of Education



### MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, State Department of Education

Telephone: (059) 20420  
Fax: 05920420  
Email: [cdemigoricounty@gmail.com](mailto:cdemigoricounty@gmail.com)  
When replying please quote

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
MIGORI COUNTY  
P.O BOX 466-40400  
SUNA – MIGORI

27<sup>th</sup> February 2018


***REF: MIG/CDE/ADM/VOL.III/190***

Onserio Arori Wilfred  
Mount Kenya University  
P.O Box 342-01000  
**Thika**

#### **RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “*Continuity and change in Kuria politics :1885-1995*” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Migori County** for a period ending **28<sup>th</sup> April 2018**.

Thank you.

  
Luka Chebet  
County Director of Education  
**Migori County**

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
MIGORI  
P. O. Box 466,  
SUNA - MIGORI.

**Appendix XIII: Map**



## Appendix XIV: Similarity Index

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF KURIA SYSTEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE, 1885-1995			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
<b>14%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>6%</b>
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	archive.idrc.ca Internet Source		1%
2	openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au Internet Source		1%
3	Submitted to Kenyatta University Student Paper		1%
4	lse.ac.uk Internet Source		1%
5	wrap.warwick.ac.uk Internet Source		1%
6	hdl.handle.net Internet Source		1%
7	citeseerx.ist.psu.edu Internet Source		<1%
8	Suzette Heald. "Agricultural intensification and the decline of pastoralism: a case study from Kenya", Africa, 2011 Publication		<1%
	Dr. Charles O. Choti <i>Chotigo</i>	Date	18 <sup>th</sup> 03/02/
	Dr. B. K. Chacha <i>[Signature]</i>	Date	18 <sup>th</sup> 03/02/