

**GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAKURU TOWN, 1895-2002**

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REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS  
DEGREE IN HISTORY OF MOUNT KENYA UNIVERSITY**

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## DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

### DECLARATION

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

**Rose Ombugheh**

**KAK/S/M-HIST/411/01936**

Signature

Date

### RECOMMENDATION

We confirm that the work reported on this thesis was carried out by our candidate under our supervision.

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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, my husband Mr. John Sagala and my children; Barsanter and Patience, for the prayers, motivation and advice they gave all through this study.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

May I express my gratitude to the Almighty God for giving me strength, favour and grace in accomplishing this task, my colleagues in the History Department for the healthy discussion and criticism, my parents for inculcating the value of hard work and perseverance, my husband and children, for their great support and encouragement in completion of this thesis. I cannot forget the input of my friends who were there in time of need, more specifically Alfred Anangwe and the late Richard Ambani for their assistance at the Kenya National Archives. A lot of gratitude also goes to my supervisors Dr. B. K. Chacha and Dr. Charles Choti for the advice, guidance and corrections they gave while carrying out this study.



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>DC:</b>	District Commissioner
<b>IBEAC:</b>	Imperial British East African Company
<b>KNA:</b>	Kenya National Archives
<b>NGOs:</b>	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>NKR</b>	Nakuru
<b>NMC:</b>	Nakuru Municipal Council
<b>PC:</b>	Provincial Commissioner
<b>RVP</b>	Rift Valley Province
<b>WWI:</b>	World War I
<b>WWII:</b>	World War II



## ABSTRACT

Over the past hundred years, Kenyan sleepy colonial towns have been transformed into burgeoning post-colonial cities. As such, this study reflects the recent upsurge and growing popularity and recent interest in Nakuru Town. Moreover, the colonial racial dichotomy and the political economy of the colonial and post-colonial state are underscored in an effort to reveal the historical development of the town. Nakuru is the third largest town in Kenya, started as a railway station between 1899 and became a melting pot for settlers activities. This study thus traced the origin, growth and development of Nakuru between 1895 and 2002. In undertaking this study, both modernization and dependency theories were employed. Two sets of data were generated to inform this study namely primary and secondary data. Primary data was generated from oral interviews and archival data whereas secondary data was derived from books, journals, monographs, government reports and publications among other sources. These sources were accessed from leading university libraries across the country. Two analytical frames were employed to analyze data namely documentary review and content analysis. The study will be useful for urban planners who may be interested in using the past data to reconstruct critical issues affecting modern urban planning.

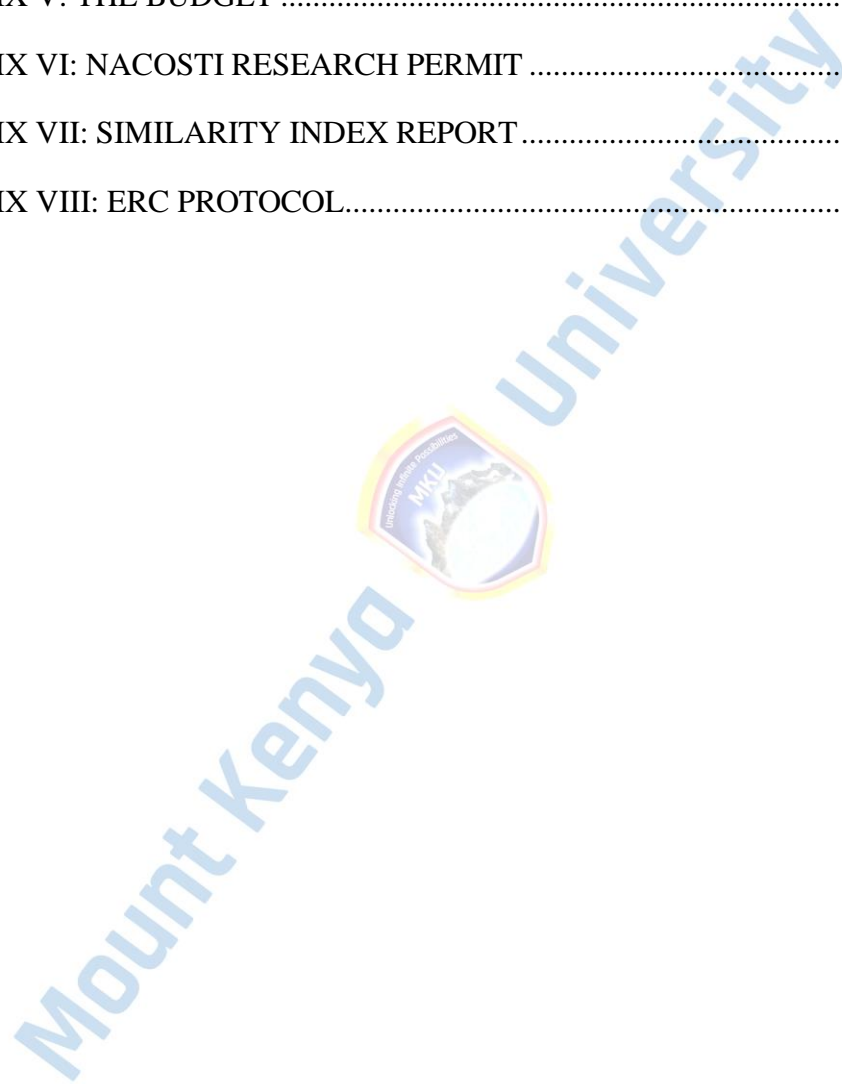


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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the study

A historical journey between the market places, residential areas, government buildings, churches, and mosques, urban dwellers navigate networks of built space that reflect both the indigenous and external forces and emphasize the importance of political, religious and economic power. A historical analysis of spatial networks comments on the variety of architectural styles and control of urban planning, and it can also tell us much about the nature of social and cultural relations. (Davidson, 1992).

Some of the dramatic urban changes that occurred on the African continent has led to a renewed and conflicting interest in Africa's cities within several academic and expert spheres. Attempts to align a growing but fragmented body of research on Africa's urban past with more general trends in urban studies have been few but have nevertheless opened up new analytical possibilities. By looking at how global socio-historical processes articulate with the everyday lives of urban dwellers and how city-state relationships are structured by ambivalence, this study historical study of Nakuru will illustrate and take this into cognizance. These illustrations will also suggest why it is necessary for historians to contest interpretations of Africa's cities that construe them as ontologically different from other cities of the global North.

Colonization of Africa changed its history forever, by altering African way of thinking, the patterns of cultural development and the African ways of living. In the pre-colonial era, African economies were advancing in every area, particularly in trade (Diop, 1988). The Atlantic slave trade together with economic policies imposed by the colonial regimes changed the African economy. The colonialists wanted to exploit the physical, human and economic resources of an area to the benefit of the colonizing nation only.

This study is located within urban history which takes the city as its unit of study. Urban history mainly focuses on varying processes which have influenced the historical progression of each city. The emergence and growth of many cities in the world can be linked to the industrial revolution which stimulated trade and commerce in Europe. Industrial Revolution stimulated massive relocation of people to urban centres in search of employment (Tetty 2005, Macharia 2003). Whereas cities like New York, Los

Angeles and Chicago emerged as trading centres, London emerged out of a combination of factors which included, industrialization, trading engagements transportation and the shipping activities that were undertaken at the city's port. The development of towns in Africa was influenced by ecological factors.

African towns emerged as a result of various factors. One of the factors was ecological favorability. Many towns emerged in fertile regions that favoured farming and raising of crops (Philips 1989). One such town in Africa is Cairo whose emergence was inspired by the River Nile and the fertile soils along the Nile valley. Another factor was trade, which promoted the development of towns especially along trade routes (Backer and Morrison 1965). Kilwa, in Kenya, is one such town which developed due to the Persian commercial influence along the Kenyan coast.

The first towns to emerge in Kenya were located at the coast. Obudho (1988) asserts that Kenya's first towns developed along the coast due to the Arab settlement's influence. Ogonda and Ochieng' (1992) assert that by the ninth century A.D. perhaps because of religious and political quarrels in Arabia, a group of Arabs from the cities of the Persian Gulf came and made permanent settlements along the east Coast (p.10-11). Overall, agricultural activities and trade played a key role in the emergence of towns (Goldthorpe 1975).

While the emergence of towns in Kenya took place (mostly along the coast) before the establishment of colonial rule, colonization played an important role in stimulating the emergence of towns in the hinterland. Most of the towns in Kenya began as administrative centres (then called government *Bomas*). The building of the Uganda Railway to link Mombasa and Uganda also contributed a great deal towards the emergence and growth of Kenyan towns. Apart from natural population growth, migration of human populations from rural to urban areas has been a key factor to the high rate of urbanization in Kenya both during and after colonization (Ochieng' and Maxon 1992). Indeed, Kenya has experienced one of the greatest rates of urbanization in the last five decades. One such town which has grown in leaps and bounds is Nakuru.

The establishment and development of trading centres in Kenya was closely linked to the then prevailing colonial policy for initiating production of cash crops in African Reserves through development of trade within the twin objective of intergrating the

African indigenous economy into the colonial merchantile network and obtaining increased government revenue through the institution of hut tax to promote the growing colonial establishment.

The spartial-temporal pattern of establishment of townships followed a gradual diffusion from the centres of colonial power; Mombasa and subsequently Nairobi .Other townships were established as more and more of the colonial territory was brought under effective control of the colonial rulers most of the townships that exist today were established within the first twenty years of the present century. Between 1909-1911 Governor Girward in his circular to provincial and District officials greatly stressed the need to develop trade in Africa. The officials were instructed to encourage trade by every means in their power, by informing people during barazas of the nearest centres the products they should bring to the market by promoting road making in their districts and provinces. The District and provincial officers carried out these directives by gazetting trade centres and trade roads whenever they saw an opportunity for development of trade roads. (KNA DC/EMBU/5/4, secretariat circulars. Circular Nos. 28 and 80).

When Kenya became a British colony, following the scramble and partition of Africa by European countries, the colonial government built the famous Uganda railway which more or less followed the former Mombasa-Uganda trade caravan route. Railway stations were set up at former resting camps (Obudho and Obudho 1992). One such railway station was established at Nakuru. It, assumed, yet, another significance with the settlement of white farmers in what was later named White Highlands. Nakuru became headquarters of Rift Valley Province, in which most of the white farmers were settled. It, thus, became an administrative centre. After independence, Nakuru town experienced rapid growth making it the third largest city in the country (Obudho and Obudho 1992). This growth was partly attributed to location of major industries and the agricultural potential of the region it served as provincial headquarters. Despite the above, the town remains understudied. This makes it necessary to undertake a historical study of the town. This study sets out to narrate the historical origin and development of Nakuru in both colonial and post-colonial periods.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Kenya has a rich urban history that is understudied. Urban centres have been attracting a lot of scholarly attention in recent times. This scholarly attention has come mainly from several disciplines for instance geography, sociology, environmental sciences, urban planning and many more (Munge, Ndeda and Okuro 2016). However, there has been little attention from historians in excavating the emergence and historical growth of Kenyan towns. This is in spite of the socio-cultural, economic and political importance that such towns harbour in themselves and in the history of Kenya. From the colonial period till today, Kenya's towns have played socio-cultural, economic and political roles and functions in the shaping the country's history (Obudho, 1981). Each of these towns has a unique history of evolution (Ochieng' and Maxon, 1992). Despite all these, many of them remain understudied. This study attempts to fill a gap in the existing literature and Kenya's urban historiography by tracing and narrating the origin and development of Nakuru, Kenya's third largest city.

## **1.3 Objectives of the study**

### **1.4. General Objective**

The main aim of this study was to account for the growth and development of Nakuru as an urban town between 1895 and 2002

### **1.5 Specific Objectives**

This study works towards achieving the following specific objectives;

- i. To trace the origins of Nakuru before the First World War, 1900-1914
- ii. To establish the role of the settlers and administrators in the development of Nakuru up to the end of the Second World War, 1915-1945
- iii. To establish the development of Nakuru during the era of nationalism, 1945-1963
- iv. To establish the development of Nakuru during the post-colonial period, 1963-2002

### **1.4 Research Premises**

The study proceeds with the following assumptions:

1. That, Urban Nakuru was founded upon region of high ecological and economic potential that demonstrated rich history and sophisticated cultures. of pre-colonial Kenya
2. Nakuru urbanization during the colonial period was accelerated by settler economy with development and agriculturally-based strategies.
3. Development of nakuru was slowed down during the decolonisation process as it became a hot-spot for the mau mau activities\
4. The growth post-colonial Nakuru was hastened by the Kenyatta and the Moi states

### **1.5 Justification and limitations of the Study**

This study is justified on two fronts. First of all, there is no work detailing the emergence and development of Nakuru from a historical perspective. Moreso, not much has been written on the urban history of Nakuru. Secondly, the study has chosen to cover both colonial and post-colonial period in order to provide an opportunity for comparison. By examining these two periods, the study seeks to uncover the different, as well as similar factors which led to the historical growth and development of the town. Thus, the choice of the study period (1895-2002) is justified on the grounds that it provides an avenue for comparing the colonial and post colonial periods. The tendency has been that most researchers either confine themselves in the colonial or post-colonial period. The second justification of the study lies in the fact that Nakuru town, despite the fact that its the third largest city in the country, is understudied from a comparative perspective.

The main limitation of the study is that the study period is too long to allow for a compact assesement of factors which led to the growth and development of Nakuru. In addition, many of the people who lived in the early period of the genesis of this town have since passed on and will not be available to enable the researcher benefit from their wealth of oral and experiential knowledge. Also, many of the oldest surviving residents of Nakuru may have relocated to rural areas and this will make it hard for the researcher to locate them for interviews.

## **1.6 The Scope of the Study**

This study is limited to examining the origins and historical development of Nakuru between 1895 and 2002. The area under consideration is the geographical boundaries on what constitutes Nakuru municipality.

## **1.7 Literature review**

Looking at Africa's urban past in the context of African history and as part of the world phenomenon is a challenging mission situated at the intersection of deferent subfields of research: urban history, african history and global history. The complexity of this task is further intensified since each of these subfields is framed by its own "psyche" of historiographical review, which is sometimes surprisingly positional. The second historiographic complex, apparent in more recent "global" urban history works and textbooks, is a scholarly desire to balance Eurocentric material by incorporating matters "African." However, the incorporated examples tend to be the most obvious and celebrated ones, being selected almost randomly from famous and important textbooks on history of Africa, resulting in a déjà-vu effect of certain dominance in African historiography.

Many Kenyan Scholars have alluded to the existence of towns in the precolonial period (Obudho 1981, Ochieng' 1992). The problem that these scholars present is their failure to give a detailed account of specific towns which existed in the precolonial period. This study fills this gap by excavating the emergence and historical growth of Nakuru. Studies of precolonial towns in Kenya have emphasized the economic role that such towns played. Anderson and Richard (1957), in particular, allude to the important role that precolonial towns played as centres of economic activities. However, Anderson and Richard (1957) do not delve deep into the economic importance of Nakuru town in colonial and post-colonial period. This study will attempt to explore this ground. Other studies have emphasized on the administrative importance of precolonial towns (Obudho 1981).

Most of the towns which existed in precolonial Kenya were sited along the coastal areas (Munge, Ndeda and Okuro 2016). Pre-colonial urban centres were areas that were mainly linked to a series of functions. Selection of these centres was determined as a result of the geographical locality, Kinship organization hence the family and tribal

structure, religious, political and economic institutions were reflected in the design of buildings, and the final territorial extent of towns (Munge, Ndeda and Okuro 2016)). No study has attempted to narrate the story of the precolonial significance of Nakuru town as will be attempted in the background of this study.

A few studies of Kenyan towns have traced the origins of many towns in Kenya to the establishment of colonial rule (Munge, Ndeda and okuro 2016, Obudho 1992, Ochieng' 1992). The emergence of many urban centres can be traced to the pre-independence period when they were used as administrative centres and political control centres by the colonial authorities (Munge, Ndeda and Okuro 2016). Hence, administration and the general political function by the colonial authorities influenced growth of many towns. These administrative centers became the epicentres upon arrival of Europeans and traditional set up of African political, economic became a basis upon which colonial administration was achieved. Indeed, colonial government provided the pattern of towns throughout the country as argued by (Obudho and Obudho1992).

They established administrative structures and centres and then developed supportive infrastructure for instance urban centres and linkages of communication in form of, roads, railway lines and telegram lines (Obudho and Obudho1992). Maxon (1989) confirms that the construction of roads and the railway line in Nyanza led to the emergence of towns. As argued by Ndunge, Ndeda and Okuro (2016) the construction of the railway line promoted transportation of natural resources for export. Most studies which have examined urbanization during the colonial period have understudied Nakuru town. This study attempts to fill this gap in existing literature.

Generally, historians have not done much studies on Kenyan towns during the post-colonial period. Studies which focus on post-colonial urbanization are only just beginning to surface. Obudho and Obudho (1992:406) have asserted that since 1962, the overall population growth rate in Kenya has been on the rise and that this has been matched by an even faster establishment of urban growth mainly during the post-independence decade. This seems to suggest that the rate or urban growth after independence was spurred more or less by a change in policy and legal framework.

The post-independence government relaxed some of the policies and laws which the colonial government employed to prevent massive rural-urban migration. The study by

Obudho and Obudho (1992) though focused on post-colonial urban growth in Kenya has failed to focus on the impact of policies and laws on urban growth and instead focused on demographic analysis, which allowed Africans to migrate to urban areas unhindered. The colonial government required Africans to live in towns only when they were employed. The post-colonial government relaxed this requirement. This study will delve deeper into analyzing the impact of post-colonial policies and laws on the rate of urban growth of Nakuru town.

### **1.8 Theoretical framework**

An analyses of urban Africa in relation to world history and the history of the state are suggested as two analytically productive ways for exploring the dynamics of Africa's urban past while contributing to ongoing discussion in urban theory, state-formation analysis, and world history. Unlike current globalization study, which do not tell us much about the historical depth of interconnections between Africa and the rest of the world, world history attempts to explain the processes involved in the exchange of commodities and social and cultural practices between continents. Using such an approach does not require to include the West nor, therefore, to involve a study of Western capitalism in order to pay increasing attention to the social, cultural, and environmental effects of the globalization process.

To put the continent's cities in world history provides a way of analysing that does not depend upon the lens of European history nor does it oblige consideration of cities of Africa as necessarily African cities. As such three theories have been identified namely: growth theories, modernization theory and dependency theory.

The growth theories are a set among the major growth theories that have been put forward to account for the common characteristics of western urban growth are those suggested by Richard M. Hurd, Ernest W. Burgess, Homer Hoyt, Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman. Richard M. Hurd (1903) suggested that as a result of his observations of growth patterns in American and European urban areas – that, cities tend to grow in concentric circles and in axial spokes along major transportation routes (Moore, 1966, 102)

In 1923 Ernest W Burgess developed what came to be known as the zonal hypothesis of urban growth. Burgess believed that in the absence of any counteracting factors, the current American city takes the form of five concentric, more or less symmetrical rings or zones of development. Burgess referred to the most internal or central ring as zone one, the central business district, the area of most intense community activity. Outside zone one Burgess noted what he called a transitional area, more or less concentric around the central business district. This area was believed to be in the path of change and expansion from zone one. Generally, it was heavily populated, mostly by low income and foreign groups, frequently with high personal and social disorganization, but it had relatively high land values in anticipation of the expansion of the central business district. (ibid)

Zone three was referred to as a working men's home area, occupied primarily by such persons as clerks and factory workers. Zone four, the residential zone, tended to consist of dominantly single-family dwellings and local business districts roughly fifteen to twenty minutes by public transit, from zone one. Zone five, the commuter zone, often located some thirty to sixty minutes by public transit from the central business district and was the place of residence of high-income persons. It could also be the location of certain specialized districts such as manufacturing, railroad, and classified areas, mixed in with surviving agricultural areas.

The Burgess zonal hypothesis for explaining the pattern of American urban areas subsequently was subjected to heavy criticism. Maurice R Davie pointed out, for example that the central business district was not necessarily circular in shape, and commercial land use extended out radial streets and at the subcenter as well as in the central business district. Continuing Davie noted that industries were not located just in transitional areas, but also near water and rail facilities, whenever they were. Furthermore, he said that housing of low grade could be found in many parts of an urban area especially near the industrial locations, with second- and first-class housing being almost anywhere else. (Moore, 1966)

Homer Hoyt developed the sector theory, another major theoretical approach to the explanation of growth patterns of urban areas, contrary to what Burgess had suggested. Hoyt observed development appeared to occur faster along main transportation routes and along lines of least resistance. The sector theory not only held that growth proceeds

along a given axes of transportation but also that growth consists of extensions of predominate type of land use in the particular corridor. Hoyt looked at the city as a circle, various areas as sectors radiating out from the centre and same type of land use originating near the centre and expanding outwardly towards the periphery. (Richard M. Hurds 1903)

In the mid – 1940's geographers Chaunc D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman published what later came to be called the multiple nuclei theory of urban growth in which it was believed that land use patterns of urban areas develop around several discrete ie originally independent nuclei, not around a single centre. This might be the nuclei that have been available since the origin of the city or they may have arisen due to migration and specialization of different types of landuse: certain activities require specialized such as retailing requires a high level of accessibility and manufacturing needs ample land and rail road services. Like activities together for mutual gains as in the case of the central business district. Some unlike activities are mutually detrimental or incompatible with one another as for instance the unlikelihood of high income or high-status residential areas being located close to heavy industry. He also noted that some use such as storage and warehousing facilities, which have a comparatively lower competitive ability to purchase good locations are able to "afford" only low -rental areas. To explain growth patterns and development of urban areas there have been numerous attempts to explain this phenomenon. To date there is no one all embracing theory that can be considered comprehensive or universally applicable. (Moore,1966, 104-105)

Another theory here is the dependency theory which developed as a critique of the growth theory. There has been no unified single theory of dependency. There are rather three schools of thought that have some common fundamental characteristics, but that also differ on important points. What they have in common is at times more important than what separates them. Samir Amin is a portion of the school of global historical materialism. An understanding of Marxism as a global system. Baran and Sweezy also appear in this category (Fann K. T., Donald C. Hodges, eds, 1971, 226). Here the Marxist law of value is key in distinguishing this school of dependency from the others. In Amin's analysis, the main characteristic of the global law of value is that the value

of the labour force is distributed in a much more unequal way than are the end products of social labour.

The other two parts of dependency are the dependency school (dependecia) and the world system school, with reference to Amin. The dependecia school is a Latin America school linked to Ruy Mauro Marini, Theotonio dos Santos, Andrea Gunder Frank and others. World system school was founded by Immanuel Wallerstein and Giovanni Arrighi. The Dependency School was somehow a response to the dominant view of the communist parties in Latin America in the 1950's. Whereas the communist parties believed that Latin America was feudal or semi feudal, the dependecia scholars held that the Latin American countries were capitalists from the beginning of colonization and from their incorporation into the world economy in the 1500's. Majorly the problem was that while they were being colonized, their economies were established as a periphery to the capitalist system. (Gunda Frank, Dale Johnson, eds, 1972, 3)

World system theory is perceived and applied differently by the different authors within the school. Wallerstein and Arrighi's idea, was that the global system defines the conditions of each country's growth and development at the national level. Amin had the view that the global system theorists have a tendency of explaining national processes as purely, shaped by global tendencies. Hence, they attribute the failure of national attempts to move out of the system to the operation of the global system itself. Thereby, the global system becomes responsible for the unsuccess of the Soviet attempt, the failure of the Maoist attempt and the failure of all the national famous regimes in Africa and Asia that exited of the Bandung era. Amin in contrast argues that there are dialectics between the impact of the global system and the local national class struggles. (Redfield, 1965)

These three schools cannot be merged to one. (to dependecia nor world systems theory nor global historical materialism) but possibly to identify the commonalities in them. First of all, they all look at capitalism as something that has always been global. Within these theories, globalization is not a new ideology but something immanent to capitalism. Secondly, they share the perception that global capitalism has always been polarizing and that it has never allowed countries to beat per up with those that are more advanced. Instead of convergence there has been a polarization between the centres and the peripheries.

Thirdly, is vocabulary. All the three theoretical perception tend to employ the concept core and periphery. These three strands also oppose orthodox economics. The analysis is grounded in world history and the interaction between economies of the world while mainstream Economics tends to be confined to what happens within the state boundaries. Amin perceives orthodox Economics to be very naïve, as it assumes that poor countries can catch up with advanced countries if they are clever enough and simply have the will to do. The view – that globalization can be good for all – completely ignores the polarization tendencies of globalization. (Ferraro,2008,58-64)

The three dependency schools look at today's globalization as a new phase of an old phenomena. Amin concentrates on the increased degree of centralization of the control of capital, which he considers to be critical to the pattern of financilization. This high level of control is qualitatively new compared to what it was a half a century ago. Amin argues that this centralizing tendency results in an accelerated growth of income and wealth disparities in both the North and South. He argues that this design cannot continue for – not only for political, social and ecological reasons but also because of the systems internationally

Lastly, Amin argues that we are not living in times of democracy, as different economic ideologies are not tolerated by the main stream. As orthodox Economics is being channeled through both the universities and media, all the conventional economists end up saying the same thing. Therefore, are afew academics that criticize the hegemonic order such as Amin himself but they are marginalized in the system and hardly get access to the most leading media outlets. (Foster-Carter, 1973)

Dependency theory developed as a critic of modernization theory. Modernization is equated to development. On the contrary, Kenyan towns have little to show in terms of modernity. The rate of urbanization is faster than the rate of industrialization. Indeed, many towns in Kenya lack industries. Many industries which were set up at independence have collapsed and rendered many town dwellers jobless. In terms of urban employment, many town dwellers survive on informal sector activities and live in dilapidated shanties or slums. This is the opposite of modernization. Dependency

theory helps us to understand local, national and global processes which lead to the situation we see in our cities today. (ibid)

According to dependency theory, towns facilitates the acquisition of production surpluses (mostly raw materials) from rural areas and as well as the transfer of the same to industrialized nations. These towns are the places where finished manufactured products from the industrialized nations are presented for sale. Raw materials are exported at a cheap price and products which are made from the same raw materials are sold to rural dwellers at a higher price. The result is underdevelopment of both towns and rural settings. This study adopts the dependency theory as its guide. The origins and development of towns in Kenya fits the explanation of this theory on many fronts. Firstly, the development of towns in Kenya depended on the establishment of colonialism in Kenya. There emergency was intended to facilitate the exploitation of African labour and rural farmers. Thus, urban centers facilitated the integration of African rural and urban economies into the global economic arena with the sole purpose of exploiting economies surplus. (Moore, 1966, 102-108)

Rural populations migrated into urban centers in search of better opportunities (Carney 1999). These opportunities were not forthrightly coming and as such many people found themselves jobless or poorly paid. As a result, they could not afford to live in descent houses. This forced many of them to seek shelter in informal settlements/slums (Nzioka 2002) which lack basic social amenities and services (Nabutola 2011). In order to keep themselves in urban settings, many of them resorted to informal sector activities (Kapur 1970). These activities included street vending/hawking, brewing of illicit brews, prostitution and many other activities which were regarded by urban authorities as criminal. (Camey, 1999)

The colonial administration feared the negative impact of mass rural-urban migration because it would lead to town increase in criminal behaviour. That is why migration of Africans into urban centers was restricted through a diverse legal programme. The Vagrancy Ordinance was one of them. Native passes were employed in order to check African populations in urban centers. These passes showed the employment status of African town dwellers. Mostly affected were women who were not allowed in towns except with proof that they were living with either their husband or father. However,

these laws changed at independence and many Africans swarmed into towns (K'Kakumu and Olima 2007).

According to the dependency theory, one would expect that the economy of Nakuru mostly depends on and is largely shaped by agricultural activities of the rural areas and cheap labour that resides in it. While towns or urban centres are defined in terms of population size, most of town dwellers in Kenya, in colonial and post-colonial period, were mostly the poor lot. Thus, it would be interesting to know what percentage of Nakuru town dwellers are poor and how these poor people have shaped the historical development of the town.

The strength of dependency theory lies in its ability to link the emergency and development of Nakuru town to colonialism. Thus, this study agrees with the colonial city theory by Anthony King. According to King (2004), all cities are described as colonially linked. However, the theory is weak because it hips a lot of blame on colonialism thereby exempting those responsible of urban planning in post-colonial Kenya. Many of the problems we experience in urban areas today, such as the mushrooming of slums and environmental pollution, are caused by ineffective city governance.

On the other hand, theory of Modernization is used to explain the process of modernization that a country goes through as it transitions from a traditional society to a modern society. The theory has not been attributed to any one person; instead its development has been linked to American social scientists in the 1950's.

There are different versions of modernization theory; the Marxists and the capitalist version, a western version and a present-day version of modernization theory. The Marxist theory of modernization theorized that as nations developed, adopting a communist approach to governing, such as private property eradication, would end exploitation, inequalities and conflict. Social change and economic development would lead developing nation to develop into a society similar to the Soviet Union (Levy, 1967,207).

The capitalist belief of modernization theorized that as nations prospered, economic development and social change would lead to democracy. Most modernization theorists of the time such as W. W. Rostow argued that when societies transitioned from traditional to modern society, they would follow a similar criterion. They further theorized that every developing country could be put into a category or stage of development. Rostow's stages of development are: traditional and agriculture-based society, pre-condition for take off-an abundance of entrepreneurial activity, take off-period of rapid economic change and maturation-period of economic development slows to a more consistent rate and finally the mass production or mass consumption where real income increase. (Tipps,1976,14)

Other modernization theorists such as Samuel Huntington argued that economic development and social mobilization were the driving forces behind modernization. Increased social mobilization meant that individuals and societal groups changed their aspiration. High economic development implied that the capabilities of the newly modern society would change. Huntington argued that those societal changes would automatically lead to democratization.

Although the Marxists and Capitalists versions of modernization held different views, both views assumed that in order for developing countries to modernize the countries needed support in the economic development and social change. (study.com)

Communism was deteriorating by the 1970's and democratization had terribly failed to occur in many nations struggling to develop. Most critics declared that the Marxist and capitalist versions of modernization were null and void. The capitalists and Marxist theories were majorly affected by the political climate between the United States and the Soviet Union. During the era of the cold war (1947- 1991) two versions of modernization theory, were prominent (study.com)

According to these theories, modern production methods for instance, the use of advanced technology for industries in under- developed countries will boost their economies and this will result in development (Munge, Ndeda and okuro 2016). According to the school, state modernization through Economic development encourages other features of development like social and political developments.

Modernization denotes the transformation of society or its elements from a primitive or traditional state to a civilized or modern state (Hussain *et al.*, 1981; Lenin, 1964). Modernization theorists viewed urbanization as a modernizing process (Munge, Ndeda and Okuro 2016).

To modernize, Africa needed to follow the path that Europe had followed. The theory justified the colonization of Africa because Africa needed European intervention. There is, therefore, a strong link between modernization, capitalism and European colonization of Africa. Modernization theory erupted during the industrial revolution which sparked the process of rapid urbanization in Europe. The development of industries (industrial capitalism) and their concentration in urban centers encouraged rural-urban migration.

The strength and merit of this theory is rooted in its ability to create the link between urban development in Africa, industrial revolution in Europe and the colonization process in Africa. As for the case of Nakuru town, its emergence and development started during the colonial period. It served the interests of industrial capitalists because it was a centre which facilitated the acquisition of raw materials for export to Europe as well as a centre for selling manufactured European products (imports from Europe). However, the weakness and demerit of this theory lies in its failure to recognize and explain the development of the ugly side of urban areas such as slums, crime, prostitution, and environmental pollution. These processes which take place in urban areas have no link to modernization or civilization. It is for this reason that we seek intervention from dependency theory.

### **1.9 Methodology**

The methods and procedures which the researcher employed to get secondary, oral and archival data will be looked at. More specifically, this section examines the following: research design, sampling procedures, ethical issues which the researcher observed, study area, research instruments and the method of analyzing data.

### **1.10 Research Design**

Research design helps in enabling the researcher to collect and analyze data conveniently. According to Sekarana (2009) a research design involves or entails making choices regarding the organization and development of a research agenda with the aim of enabling the collection and analysis of data attain the objectives of a study. The research design which was adopted for this study is called historical research design. Historical research design is the exploration, explanation and understanding of past phenomena from already available data. It assists the researcher to be able to arrive at conclusions about causes, trends and effects of past phenomena in order to explain the present, predict and control the future (Munge, Ndeda and Okuro 2016). This design or technique of carrying out research was deemed suitable and convenient for this study because the study was digging into historical processes behind the emergence and development of Nakuru town.

### **1.11 Target Population**

For this study, the target population will be people who lived or have lived in Nakuru for a long time. These are people who have witnessed the development of Nakuru town either during the colonial period, in the post-colonial era or both. The study will also target politicians who have served the people of Nakuru, either in the local or central government. Members of parliament and councillors as well as other government officials who were involved in planning matters of the town will be recruited as respondents in this study.

### **1.12 Sampling techniques and sample size.**

Both purposive and snow balling sampling techniques were employed in this study. In the snow balling sampling technique, the researcher began by interviewing a few people and then gradually increased the sample size as new contacts were introduced by the first interviewees. Key informants were also identified. These were mainly civil servants, members of the Asian community, traders and landlords who have been involved in economic, administrative and political activities in Nakuru town.

All the key informants were identified and interviewed. The study had intended to interview about 100 respondents but it ended up interviewing 20 because the saturation

point had been struck and some respondents were repeating what others had already said.

### **1.13 Research Instruments**

The study employed an interview schedule to collect data. These instruments provided intensive information that could not have been obtained by use of the questionnaire and since some of the targeted respondents did not know how to read and write. The interview schedule provided open-ended questions regarding colonization and the origins and development of Nakuru town.

### **1.14 Data Collection Procedures**

This study sought both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from the informants who had lived, worked, and traded in Nakuru town or engaged in politics of the town in one way or the other. Efforts were made to get informants who had knowledge of Nakuru town in both colonial and post-colonial eras. Informants were given a chance to talk freely. However, the researcher would interrupt them with questions here and there for further clarification.

Additional primary data was sought at the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi and Nakuru. In particular, the researcher looked at the annual reports, labour reports, intelligence reports and handing over reports of the various administrators who served in Nakuru. Records of the Nakuru Municipal Council were also gleaned through to ascertain the role of the local government in planning Nakuru town. Of utmost importance were the various government censuses. These censuses provided data on the growth of population in Nakuru town and the challenges which came with this population expansion. This information provided data on the developments and government policies on the informal enterprises especially during the colonial period. Secondary data was obtained from sources such as books, journals, theses and dissertations, seminar and conference papers as well as the internet. These data were accessed from university libraries across the country as well as non-university libraries. Two research assistants were recruited and trained to assist in collecting primary data for this study.

### **1.15 Data Analysis**

A qualitative approach was used to analyse the research findings in this study. The recorded data was transcribed and data, which was in vernacular, was translated to English. All the data found from the various sources was categorised according to the sources, the sector concerned and the historical period in question.

In addition to this, the secondary data obtained from various sources was subjected to historical criticism in order to verify their validity. Data from the various sources was then corroborated, by comparing it with other information sources. Where the oral data conflicted from one informant to another, the archival and secondary sources were referred to, and vice versa. Moreso, the researcher posed the same question to several informants and this helped in establishing clarity and validity of the information thus gathered.



## CHAPTER TWO

### ORIGIN OF NAKURU TOWN, 1900-1914.

#### 2.0 Introduction

Several factors contributed to the emergence of Nakuru in 1900 as a railway station. The emergence of Nakuru was directly and indirectly linked to the industrial revolution in Europe, consequences upon which Britain annexed Kenya as its colony after the Berlin Conference. Within the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century, the snail paced process of European penetration of the African continent through trade, exploration and missionary work, gave way to the scramble and partition of Africa. This threatened to pit European nations militarily against one another. In this chapter, there will be an account of how the Industrial Revolution, the Berlin Conference, the British colonization and the white settlers of Kenya, affected the development of Nakuru. The effect of the Uganda Railway which passed through the present day Nakuru town will also be discussed.

#### 2.1 Industrial Revolution, Berlin conference and British colonization of Kenya.

In 1871, a movement to have colonies abroad, (mainly in East Africa,) started in Germany. Some personalities in Germany argued that it was not enough for Germany to be a great nation on the continent of Europe; she must also be great on the seas, and sea-power was linked with colonies. This led the British missionaries and trading companies to begin pestering their home government to contain the situation in East Africa. This gave birth to a British policy whose main goal was to begin an intensive search for ways to acquire and negotiate for a sphere of influence in East Africa. Ochieng' (1992:61) notes that:

Within the last quarter of the nineteenth century the slow process of European penetration of the African continent (through explorers, traders, missionaries and concession hunters) gave way to a scramble for colonies which threatened to pit European nations militarily against one another. The potential for conflict was only reduced through a series of bilateral and multilateral agreements which culminated in the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885.

Apart from political interests in Africa, European nations also wanted to exploit Africa economically. In the decades before colonial rule over Africa, Europe greatly increased her industrial and economic capacity while Africa seemed to have been almost static.

The European economy was producing more goods than the European could use. Their monopoly firms operated by constantly fighting to gain control over raw materials, markets and communication means. They also fought to be the first to invest in new profitable undertakings related to their lines of business. Indeed, after the space for expansion became limited within Europe, their attention was shifted to those countries in Africa and Asia where the economies were less developed (Ochieng', 1992, 59).

There were many who had foreseen colonialism coming even before the Berlin Conference, and their prediction was based largely on the economic motives of the influential pressure groups who were calling for colonization of Africa, as early as 1868. Among the capitalists and imperialists in Britain who pushed for colonization of Africa were men and women of widely divergent basic interests and motivations. Some favoured an expanding British empire because it offered a wider field for Britons to fulfil a 'civilizing mission'. Some favoured imperialism for security or military reasons. The majority justified their position in terms of the economic benefits which, they argued, a greater British empire would convey to Britain. (Ochieng' 1992, 60)

One of the leading British statesmen at the period of partition, William E. Gladstone, is reported to have been opposed to Britain acquiring colonies in Africa, but he feared to go against the tide of public opinion. Another senior British leader at the time, Lord Salisbury, said that when he left the Foreign Office in 1880 nobody thought about Africa. When he returned to it in 1885, the nations of Europe were almost quarrelling with one other as to the various portions of Africa they could obtain [However it was] between 1884 and 1885 that European statesmen sat in Berlin, in Germany, and divided up Africa amongst European nations. (Ochieng, 1992,58)

Some colonialists associated imperialism with military operations and the consequent taxes, and therefore they opposed it. But in the end, those who favoured British expansion into Africa carried the day. Before Britain established its presence in Kenya, activities of the Imperial British East African Company started first.

Trade relations between Europe and Africa started after the eighteenth century when Portuguese monopoly of Indian Ocean trade had been shattered by the combined Omani Arab and East African nationalist insurgencies (Ochieng' 1992:53). Before the

intrusion of Industrial capital into East Africa in the nineteenth century, the dominant form of European capital in Indian Ocean had been merchant capital which originated from individual or from chartered companies or joint stock companies (Ochieng' 1992:54). One of the European companies which dominated trade in Kenya in the nineteenth century was called the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC).

IBEAC company began to administer Kenya and Uganda in 1888 (Maxon 1992:249). This was after the Company, led by Sir William Mackinnon, had accepted an offer from Sultan Khalifa bin Said of Zanzibar, in 1887, with the approval from the Foreign Office in London, of the grant of concession to administer his coastal mainland territory (Foran, 1962, 4) The Company was formed that year to develop trade in the far interior and in the Uganda Kingdom and it began its mission in Mombasa, in 1887, even before a treaty was signed at Zanzibar the following year and a royal charter issued to it in 1889. In 1888, the company set about a gigantic task of tapping the interior for trade, even into the small Kingdom of Uganda. The journey that the company was to traverse from Mombasa to Uganda was inhabited by tribes which Foran calls "savage" (Foran 1962:3). The Company established guard forts along its trade route, between Mombasa and Uganda which served as resting and storage points.

The trade route determined the pattern of intrusion of colonial infrastructure of administration in Kenya. Imperial British East African Company had, by 1889, greatly expanded its influence in Uganda. Great store was set on that country. Along the caravan route between Mombasa and Uganda were established fortified posts at trading centres- Mazaras, Machakos, Ngong, Fort Smith, Eldama Ravine and Mumias (Foran 1962). Each had a small body of policemen (known then in Kiswahili language as *askari*) who came under the command of the official in charge of the trading station. In most cases, the police worked under District Commissioners or their assistants, the District Officers. These Askaris or policemen were akin to being armed guards than serving as a police force. Apart from performing policing duties, they were also called upon to carry out construction and maintenance work, and there existed no over-riding form of administration of these men as a composite body (Foran, 1962,4.)

The company was not able to continue meeting the colonial administrative costs. It explained this to the Foreign Office in London, urging for assistance, as a result, without

which he would withdraw Imperial British East African Company from East Africa and Uganda. The Foreign Office accepted to take over Uganda in 1893, and two years later, it also accepted to take over East Africa. This marked the death of IBEA Company. From 1895 to 1905, East Africa and Uganda were administered by the Foreign Office in London. In 1885 Kenya became known as the British East Africa Protectorate (Foran 1962). The contribution of the Imperial British East Africa Company to the origin of Nakuru town lay in the fact that the route which the company had established for interior trade passed through Nakuru. A road was constructed along this trade route. The impact of transport and communication services to urban growth and development need not be emphasized. Ogonda (1992: 129) has correctly examined this impact when he states that:

Once fully established, transport and communication lines and the various services associated with them perform multiple functions. The movement of saleable produce and services and their internal and external distribution become possible through the medium of trade. Industries and market centres tend to develop at nodal points, and these accelerate the movement of people, both for business purposes and for leisure. Besides promoting contact that leads to regional specialization and increase of wealth through the intensification of commercial exchanges, transport and communication create and promote the growth of urban centres.

For more than a thousand years before effective contact in the second half of the nineteenth century, Kenya did not have well established transport routes of any commercial significance. Such routes, as existed, were simply no more than village-village foot paths or animal trails leading to water points or grazing grounds (Ogonda 1992). In the interior of what came to be known as Kenya, there were no established trading centres such as exists in Nakuru today. It was only at the Kenyan coast that well-established trading centers existed such as Vanga, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu and Pate. These ports had some routes of significance that linked them to the immediate hinterlands from where Arab and Indian merchants obtained ivory and slaves. But even then, these routes were not that much developed.

With the coming of the Europeans in the nineteenth century, first as explorers and missionaries and later as traders, administrators and settlers, the development of transport routes began to take shape. The formation of the Imperial British East African Company in 1888 signalled the beginning of this new era of significant improvement

in transport sector (Ogonda, 1992). This company was formed specifically to trade with and administer Uganda and the area between Mombasa and Uganda. Ogonda (1992: 130-131) notes that:

The IBEAC's first effort was directed towards the construction of the first modern road to convey wheeled vehicles in Kenya, known as the Mackinnon Road between Mombasa and Kibwezi. The construction of the road was begun in 1890 by Mr. Wilson of the IBEAC. In 1894, it was decided to extend the Mackinnon Road beyond Kibwezi. Captain B. L. Sclater, the leader of a team of Uganda Railway surveyors, took charge of the lower section from Kibwezi to the Rift Valley, and his colleague, Captain G. E. Smith carried on the work to Busia at the present border with Uganda

The establishment of Mackinnon-Sclater road, linked Nakuru to the international system of trade. Another mode of transport which connected Nakuru to the international system of trade was the Uganda Railway whose construction coincided, more or less, with the construction of the Mackinnon-Sclater road. Thus, the establishment of colonial rule in Kenya contributed to the integration of Nakuru with the international capitalist system. Maxon (1992:69) notes that:

The colonial conquest brought with it new patterns of trade and existing patterns of local trade were integrated into a new and broader colony-wide market and linked to an even wider international network. The colonial state constructed railways and roads to facilitate the penetration of commercial capitalism as well as European settlement.

Nakuru also served to link other areas in Rift Valley province to the international system of trade through feeder roads. A road linking Nakuru and Baringo was constructed in 1907 (Ogonda 1992:131). This road facilitated the transportation of agricultural products from Baringo to the railway station in Nakuru.

The Uganda Railway was started in Mombasa in 1896 and would not be completed until 1901, when the railway reached Kisumu, then known as Port Florence. (Kenyanjui,1992,112) The Uganda railway passed through the present-day Nakuru town in 1900 as noted by Ogonda (1992:131) thus:

The construction of the Uganda Railway began in 1896 from the port of Mombasa; by 1899 the line had reached Nairobi, in 1900 it was at Nakuru and in 1901 the line had reached its terminus at Kisumu.

The Uganda railway was an imperialist strategy of integrating Kenya, Uganda and Egypt into the British Empire. In the case of Kenya, it would speed up the process of colonization. Colonial troops would also use the railway to punish the Africans who resisted colonial rule. The official explanation was, however, different. It was argued that the Uganda railway was an economic venture or investment.

Some scholars believe that the trade-minded British, determined to provide an economic support for the rail road built from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, looked at various alternatives for making their new territory self-supporting and, perhaps due to the agreeable climate as any other factor, decided on introducing a system of settler agriculture as the economic basis of the colony.(Talbot,1992,80) Given their past experience, the British looked for agricultural or mineral products that could be included in an international system. Technologically, various grains which were in demand in Europe could be grown in Kenya. Talbot (1992:81) notes that maize had already been extensively incorporated into existing African production systems, and experiments indicated that barley and wheat could prosper.

The railway contributed to the growth and development of urban centres directly and indirectly. This indirect relationship resulted from the fact that the railway construction employed a lot of Indian labour. Upon the railway reaching Kisumu in 1901 many Asians who had been involved in its construction was rendered redundant. Many of them had to find alternative means of survival. Indeed, there were numerous means of survival mainly in emerging towns. On completion of the railway construction, some of the Indian coolies who remained in East Africa became market gardeners in and around the towns; about thirty settled near Kibos river in kavirondo and grew rice, cotton, linseed, sim-sim and later sugar. While some took to gardening, others became traders. In fact, most of them thus took to trading in urban centres such as Nakuru which had been established along the Railway line. (KNA, AWS, /1/934, History of The Railway:111)

With the coming of the railway, Indian traders, who had been long established at the coast for centuries, found their way into the interior of Kenya, although an insignificant number were already in the interior before the construction of the railway. This was in addition to the large number of Indian labourers, used in the construction of the railway, who opted to stay permanently in the country.

It is generally true that it was not until about 1900 that the Indians effectively spread into the interior. They then practically had a monopoly of trade in the emerging small townships of Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu... The importance of the Asian trader in introducing the cash economy by selling and also buying the produce in the rural areas of Kenya cannot be underestimated. Moreover, they helped reduce the hardships of the colonial service by making available provisions on the shelves of their shops (Ogonda 1992: 139)

Apart from engaging in farming around towns and trading in towns, some of the Indians exploited their skills to earn a living. But even when they did this, they did it in towns. Some of the Indians earned a living as artisans, carpenters and stone-masons (KNA, AWS/1/934, History of the Railway, III).

Indian presence in towns was not without problems. Most of them contributed to poor sanitation levels in towns such as Nakuru. This situation was occasioned by the fact that their earnings were little and they could not maintain higher standards of hygiene. Also, town planning authorities were dominated by Europeans who segregated other races in matters of provision of services to town dwellers.

... but the great majority became petty traders, opening small stores wherever there was an opportunity to trade. The Indian traders played an important part in the protectorate's economy. Content with a low standard of living they blazed a trail of trade where prospects of profit were poor and precarious. But their presence in trading centres and embryo townships created many problems and difficulties, mainly arising from their disregard of elementary standards of sanitation and their general low standard of living ((KNA, AWS/1/934, History of the Railway part III).

Asians were encouraged by the colonial state as a means of promoting commerce and the monetization of exchange relations in the rural areas (Maxon 1992). Asian traders thus became a major vehicle for the marketing of peasant production. Not only were Indians heavily involved in produce buying but also set themselves up in general retail and wholesale trade as well. At first, many ventured in itinerant trade, but by the end of the first decade of this century, most had settled in the colony's townships or urban areas (Maxon 1992: 69).

The construction of the Uganda Railway was conceived in economic terms. Indeed, it had many advantages with regard to opening up remote and far flung areas of Kenya to international trade. On one hand, the railway was to help bring slave trade to a stop.

Ogonda (1992:138) states that with the completion of the railway, the slave trade threat to East Africa and Kenya came to an end, for it was no longer economical to use human portorage as a means of transport. The construction of the Uganda railway was also deemed to help reduce the costs of transportation. Ogonda (1992:138) states that:

Early in 1902, it was estimated that the average freight rate between Lake Victoria and Mombasa was less than £10 a tonne compared to £130 per tonne using human porters. The railway revolutionized the concept of time -distance in Kenya, led to the reorganization of trade patterns and greatly reduced the friction of distance. In 1893, for example, a large caravan had set a record by moving from Mombasa to kampala in 75 days, a journey which in 1903 could be accomplished in three days with much less effort, expense, danger and loss of life.

By the end of 1901, the colonial government in Kenya was faced with the responsibility of maintaining a railway which was to become an intolerable burden on the country's budget. This state of affairs could not be left to go on forever. A way had to be found by which the railway could be able to pay for itself (Ogonda 1992:139). The solution was to encourage the European farmers to settle in the Highlands of which included the area where Nakuru stands today. Kenyanjui (1992) notes that:

After 1901, it was argued that since Kenya had no vauable natural resources to exploit to repay investment which had been made on the railway, European settlers would farm the idle land along the railway to repay the investments (Kenyanjui 1992:113).

Before European settlement commenced under Sir Charles Elliot in 1902, ten years had passed since Lord Lugard and Sir Gerald Portal had predicted that the Highlands of East Africa would prove suitable for European settlement (KNA, AWS/1/1934,).

It needed little thought or practical experience to realize that if the task were left to the Africans there would be scant chance of the Railway paying its way within twenty years (KNA, AWS/1/934, History of the Railway part III).

European settlement in Kenya was conceptualized by European travellers, missionaries and imperialists (Kenyanjui 1992:111). During their travels and missionary works, Europeans regarded unhabited lands as 'no man's land' and therefore, free for settlement and exploitation by European farmers. This propaganda must have influenced the decision to build the Uganda Railway in 1896. Ironically after the

Uganda Railway was completed it was made to justify European settlement. In fact, European farmers had begun to arrive in the country around 1890, well before the start of the railway. Kenyanjui (1992:112) concludes that the Uganda railway made European settlement in Kenya possible, not necessary.

Upon Kenya being declared a British Protectorate in 1885, and the completion of the Uganda railway in 1901, the leading advocate of European settlement and how this would help pay for the Railway was sir Charles Elliot (KNA: AWS/1/934, History of the railway Part III). Elliot succeeded Sir Arthur Hardinge as Kenya's second Commissioner (the title was later changed to Governor). European settlement in Kenya started in 1890 when two or three Europeans settled at Mua Hills near machakos. Over the years, white settlement expanded across the Rift valley to include parts of western Kenya. Altogether the white highlands comprised 17,000 square miles or 15 percent of the size of the country (Kenyanjui, 1992,113).

Maxon (1992:67) notes that European settlers came to Kenya in increasing numbers at the beginning of 1902. They came from Britain and South Africa. The main legislative vehicle for the initial land alienation to settlers was the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 which gave the Commissioner (later Governor) power to lease or sell land to settlers. This saw the alienation of a big chunk of land (called the White Higands) for European settlement, much of which was in Rift Valley. Nakuru became the administrative headquarters of both Nakuru District and Rift Valley Province. As an administrative headquarter of an area predominantly occupied by Europeans, this town came to be referred to as the "settlers" headquarter (Kenyanjui 1992). Thus, most of the settlers in Kenya were administered from Nakuru.

European settlers, also, contributed to the emergence of Nakuru from another perspective namely farming. While Nakuru started as a railway town as demonstrated elsewhere, its development was catapulted by agricultural activities of the settlers around the town. This was the case both in the colonial and post-colonial period.

The railway, after reaching Nakuru town, only served to transport what the settlers were producing around Nakuru and from other areas of Rift Valley Province. Maxon (1992:66-67) observes that the decision to consistently encourage European settlement in the kenya highlands, first made by the colonial state and only reluctantly accepted

by the British government, has traditionally been viewed as primarily an economic one. The colonial state was confident, White settlers were capable of rapidly producing the exports that would increase the colony's revenue and make the railway pay for its operation.

There were, however, more reasons which led to the invitation of European settlers in Kenya. Thus, Lonsdale (1989: 5-26), has stated the complex reasons which led to the invitation of European settlers in Kenya stating that European settlement was also justified as providing buffer zones between potentially hostile African communities; it would also pin down pastoralism, and separate the thorny opposites of export production and African hostility (See also Maxon 1992:67).

Kenyanjui (1992: 116) observes that the years immediately preceding the First World War were years of immense economic advancement. Farmers were at least making profits; profits generated further investments; and investments generated further increases in income. As the headquarters of settler farmers in Rift Valley province, Nakuru had become a flurry of commercial and leisure activities funded by European settlers' money. The town was not only home to Europeans but it was also surrounded by European farms. In its initial stages of growth and development, Nakuru lacked proper planning and the kind of development that took place in the town was undesirable. The European race was, as a result, concerned with the proper planning of Nakuru. By 1910, a plan for the development of the town had not been properly laid down. Basing on my interview with Richard Boiyo Musa, a resident of Nakuru who was born and raised in Nakuru's London Estate, said that his father, the late Mr. Chemungu had explained to him on several occasions that the greatest hindrance was the delay in surveying and marking out of township plots. The presence of the European residents in Nakuru township at that time would not have allowed for any haphazard development of residences, especially for Africans and Asians, in the town. The same sentiments were echoed by the District Commissioner. Writing about Nakuru town in 1910, the District Commissioner noted that:

Though unavoidable no doubt, hindrances to the progress of the Township have arisen from time to time and it is regretted here that the settlement of the Native location awaiting survey as also a scale of moderate fees suitable to the town cannot be reported as a "a fait accompli" for the year (KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/1. The latter are essential in enforcing the conditions of the Township Regulations on butchers, dhobies, eating houses, etc". The town, by this year, had some

Indian-owned shops but the lack of building stones was hindering the upgrading of Indian shops” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/1, Nakuru District Annual report 1910, p 6).

Since Indians were mostly confined to reside in townships and to carry out commercial activities, the development of Indian shops was on the increase especially in what was commonly known as the Indian Bazaar. Indian shops were stocking and selling grains (mealies, *Matama* (Millet), sugar, beans, flour, rice, potatoes, and onions, among others. We also had a European shop by the name Nyanza Trading Limited which operated trading activities in Nakuru in 1910. The general sanitation and hygiene of the town was wanting. In particular, conservancy services were very poor in this town as solid waste was dumped anywhere between the town and the lake. This unsanitary state of the town got the attention of the town’s Sites Board which selected a place and the place was fenced by the Railway using posts and wire (KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/1, Nakuru District Annual report 1910).

## **2.2 Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have found out that, in order to administer Kenya and Uganda effectively, the Imperial East Africa Company was formed. This company was also to establish, guard forts along its trade routes between Mombasa and Uganda which served as resting and storage points. The, Imperial East Africa Company contributed to the origin and growth of Nakuru in the sense that, the route which the company had established for interior trade passed through present day Nakuru.

Nakuru started as a railway station but its development was catapulted by agricultural activities of the settler around the town. The white settlers were to rapidly produce the export and increase the colony’s revenue thus making the railway pay for its operation. European settlement was conceptualized by European travelers, missionaries and Imperialists who while travelling came across uninhabited lands. To them, this was “no man’s land”. The white settlement expanded across the Rift Valley province. Being an administrative headquarter of an area that was purely dominated by the Europeans, this town came to be referred to as the ‘settler headquarter’.

In the years that immediately preceded the First World War, Nakuru had become a flurry of commercial and leisure activities funded by the settler’s money since these years were of rapid Economic advancement. At this time there was delay in surveying

and marking out of township plots. The growth of Nakuru was slowed down by the town planning by-laws which, among other things, required that proper building regulations be followed. Whereas housing was in acute shortage, bureaucratic requirements barred private developers from undertaking the same. Survey of plots and clearance of building plans also took too long. This prevented the Municipal authorities from undertaking building projects such as schools. In spite of this, small government building projects continued to be carried out in the town. These were mainly in the form of schools and hospitals which were required to provide essential services to the various resident races of the town. The initial growth and development of Nakuru was to a large extent shaped by the Europeans. This will be discussed in the next chapter.



## CHAPTER THREE

### ROLE OF SETTLERS, ADMINISTRATORS AND SQUATTERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NAKURU BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS, 1914-1945

#### 3.0 Introduction

By the beginning of the First World War, Nakuru had been established the headquarter of Riftvalley province. Nakuru was at times referred to as the settler headquarter because most of the white farmers had settled in Riftvalley and specifically around Nakuru. Agriculture played a key role in the development of Nakuru. Squatters formed the backbone of the labour on the settler farms, but when the labour exceeded demand, the colonial state came in with ways of curbing this influx of Africans onto the settler farms. The First World War led to a drop in agricultural production. This negatively affected the development of Nakuru. Moreso, after the Second World War, Africans moved to Nakuru in great numbers leading to shortage in housing. The settlers, administrators and the squatters greatly shaped the development of Nakuru during the period between the First and Second World Wars. This chapter will assess the role of the settlers and squatters in the development of Nakuru. It will also look at the development of Nakuru during and after the First and Second World War.

#### 3.1 Nakuru as a settler's town

It was clear by 1914 that Kenya's colonial economy would be largely agrarian based. Agricultural produce made up, and would continue to make up, the overwhelming bulk of Kenya's exports. It has also been established that those exports would come from both settler and African producers. (Maxon, 1992,71).

It is against this background that we see Nakuru by the beginning of the First World War, established the headquarter of settlers because most of them had settled in Rift Valley. Nakuru was the headquarters of Rift Valley Province. Moss (2015) observes that Nakuru was a predominantly European and Asian town since African presence was severely controlled. To this extend, Africans played a limited role in the growth and development of Nakuru between the Two World Wars. African presence was minimized by the colonial state through lack of African housing.

Towns in Kenya came to play a commercial and residential role. Most Europeans were encouraged to reside in towns because, comparatively, towns had better security machinery than rural areas. Police stations, District commissioners and Provincial Commissioners were mainly residents in towns. Maxon (1992:70) observes that the British mercantile companies also entered Kenya with the establishment of colonial rule. The British East Africa Corporation and Smith Mackenzie Ltd. were among the first. These companies came to play a big role in the export of the commodities produced by peasants and settlers alike and these, with other similar trading companies, came to play a large role in the import and distribution of European manufactured goods in the country. These companies were mainly centred in towns such as Nakuru.

Trading companies which established themselves in Nakuru mainly traded in agricultural produce. The development of Nakuru also depended on its role as the administrative and trading centre. Since agriculture played a leading role in the development of the town, fortunes and misfortunes which bedeviled the agricultural sector also dictated the tempo and rate of development of the town. Kenya, and settlers faced a number of fortunes and misfortunes between 1915 and 1945 which impacted on the growth and development of Nakuru. The town experienced the first misfortune during the First World War (1914-1918).

### **3.1.2 Squatters in Nakuru.**

By the end of the First World War, squatting was a well established part of the socio-economic structure of the White Highlands. Squatters were the backbone of the labour supply on the settler farms. Europeans saw squatters as cheap labour tenants. They were not supposed to work for more than three or four months per annum. W. J. Dawson a mixed farmer from Nakuru in giving evidence to the Economic Commission of 1917-18 stated that;

Asquatter and his wife might be expected to work for five months in the year between them; he should be required to work for three and a half months a year atleast.

After the First World War, squatters became an important asset to the settler economy. They formed the centre of the labour force and were responsible for most of the economic progress that took place in settled areas at that time. Apart from being the main source of labour, squatters produced food in their own right. During the war settler

agriculture was at a stand still and most of the agricultural production in the Rift Valley was done by squatters, (Furedi,1960,181)

By 1919, Nakuru district had around eight thousand squatters and their families living on the farms. The same year Naivasha had an African population of nine thousand one hundred and sixteen of which atleast eight thousand were squatters. European population at that time was two hundred and fifteen. (A.R. Laikipia District1920-21 KNA) There was a gradual increase in the number of squatters in Laikipia district after the First World War under the soldier settlement scheme. (ibid)

Squatters also traded with several pastoral people. The District Commissioner Naivasha in 1919 reported that kikuyu on the farm had large flocks of sheep and that they were trading with the Maasai every day. This initial trade was beneficial to both sides: the maasai received maize and vegetables or cash and the kikuyu got highly prized livestock. More often, the squatters sold their produce to the European farmers or to Indian traders and used the cash to purchase animals from the Maasai. A man who took part in the trade related that:

“When I came to the Rift valley, I had no stock. I remember after the Great War when I bought my first sheep. After I sold the maize that I grew to an Indian I bought three sheep from a Maasai. The Masaai used to come and trade regularly to Molo and Elburgon. All the people bought stock whenever they could. From food that I sold during a year I could buy three or four goats and a couple of sheep (interview with Njihia Muirari at Elburgon)

While the squatters were relatively well off economically, socially and politically they suffered great set backs. Until 1918, there was very little economic development carried out by settlers on their farms and Africans in the Rift Valley led a life more or less uncontrolled (by Europeans). After 1918 the settlers, many of whom had just returned from the war, begun to assert their power in any way that they could do. The European farmers had almost total authority to deal with Africans in the way they wanted. Africans had no political power and right whatsoever in the Highlands. (Furedi, 1960, 186)

During this time, local government comprised of district committees which were chaired by the District Commissioners and consisted of representatives of Europeans. The African squatters had no legally recognized channel of the articulation of their

rights and interests. In addition to the absence of African political institutions, there did not exist any recognized African courts. They had to settle their disputes informally or in serious case the District Commissioner had to intervene. The life of the squatters was directly related to the political and economic interests of the settler community. Changes in these settler interests gave rise to changes in the basic condition of the squatters. (KNA / A.R /Naivasha District, 1916-17)

The subordination of the squatter in the Highlands to the interest of the settlers was enforced through a set of rules; some legal, some informal. The Kipande was not just an identification card, in the Highlands but also a system of control. Employers in need of labour would often refuse to sign the kipande of their labourers forcing the labourers to stay longer on the farm. An examination of labour files of one hundred and fifty farms in Nakuru and Thomson Falls districts revealed that even in the thirties, the rejection of employers to sign off their labour laws was the single biggest source of complaint of workers against their masters. Settlers also entered comments on their squatter's kipande. By doing so, an employer could blacklist labour that he disliked. Squatter movement was also restricted by a system of informal passes which the farmers gave to their labour. This made even daily movement of Africans quite difficult. (farm files in labour offices in Molo, Thompson Falls and Nakuru)

The flow of squatters from the Reserves went on unabated in the early twenties. By 1923 Naivasha alone had a kikuyu squatter population of sixteen thousand. The supervision of this great concentration of squatters was becoming an uphill task to the administration in the settled areas. A special report on squatters written by the District Commissioner of Naivasha in 1922 warned:

This ever-increasing population is threatening to become a menace to the country and should there at any time be any local disturbances they would be the first to take advantage of it. (KNA /A.R. Naivasha District, 1923,)

By mid twenties it had become clear to the Kenya government as well as to the settlers that the integrity of the "White Highlands" could not be compromised if the system of squatting was not better regulated or restricted. By 1921 labour exceeded demand, this in spite of cuts in wages. For the first time settlers did not have to worry about shortage

of labour. They moved swiftly to consolidate their advantage – their aim was to restrict the existing privileges of squatters so that they would in fact become labourers instead of a species of tenants. The Native Affairs Department annual report for 1923 clearly stated: The number of natives residing on farms continued during the year to increase somewhat out of proportion to the actual labour requirements.

In 1925, the government passed the Resident Native Labour Ordinance, a measure which tried to put into consideration the interest of the European farmers. It compelled all the male members of the labourers family, sixteen years and older to enter into a contract on their behalf or cease to reside on the farm. The ordinance also provided a series of penalties for offences in relation to work, giving settlers an upper hand in control over their labour.

The period between 1925-1929 was so bad to the squatters. The settlers made the conditions for squatters worse. The deterioration in the squatter's standard of living coincided with increased political activity in the Kikuyu Reserves over the female initiation issues. The discontent of squatters in the settled areas created new avenue for KCA (Kikuyu Central Association) activity. Membership was fairly small but as living conditions for squatters got worse, more and more people joined the party. By late 1928 and early 1929 the Kikuyu Central Association had a considerable base of support in Naivasha, Nakuru, Laikipia and even as far as Kericho. (Furedi, 1960, 189)

Early in 1929 there was a series of unrests on settler farms followed by what Governor Griggs called a "curious conspiracy." The Kikuyu squatters, led by the Kikuyu Central Association, embarked on a campaign for passive resistance. It is not clearly established whether (as the government claimed) it was the Kikuyu Central Association who started the rumours or whether they just used them as a focus for political agitation. Nevertheless, it is evident that the Kikuyu Central Association actively encouraged squatters to refuse to sign agreements and to return to the reserves. In an interview with Njoroge Chege, he said that he remembered that in 1929 about two hundred of them gathered in the evening near Nessuit Forest to discuss what they would do. Later a man from KCA addressed them and told them not to give their thumbprint to the agreement or they would be servants of the Europeans for ever.

Great numbers of Kikuyu squatters went back to their reservations. This unexpected exodus caused the administration great concern. By 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1929 the Chief Native Commissioner C. M. Dobbs felt that something needed to be done, to prevent congestion in reserves. Three days later the provincial commissioner at Nakuru telephoned to Dobbs. He told him that a large number of squatters whose agreement had long expired had refused to enter into a fresh agreement stating that they wished to return to their reservations according to chief Kinyanjui's instructions. He had used all the influence to persuade them but they remained adamant. If they returned to their reserves the labour supply would be seriously dislocated in the busiest farming season. (Furedi 1960, 190)

This withdrawal created a huge shortage of labour. Moreso, the political implication of the protest did not go unnoticed by the Europeans. The Senior Commissioner of the Rift Valley stated that anti-Government propaganda was spreading on the farms in his area and that the farmers were aware of it and showed considerable nervousness as a result.

During this period of 1918-1929 the life of the squatters underwent significant changes. Kikuyu living on European farms in 1930, more often than not had little choice but to squat. Population figures showed that those squatters who could not, returned to the Reservation. By 1929, the Rift Valley Kikuyu community had a distinct identity of its own to distinguish it from its kin in the central province. Most administrative officers pointed at the detribalized Kikuyu living outside the Reserve. This view however, missed the point. The Kikuyu in the Rift valley were developing within the framework of the specific socio-economic structures of the settled areas, but they still remained the traditional Kikuyu community-only living under circumstances different from those in the Reserves. (ibid)

The squatter community was also undergoing internal changes. By 1929 there was sufficient differentiation among the Kikuyu in the Rift Valley to make an impression on many observers. Some squatters were becoming clearly more, wealthy than others. A number of squatters were considered rich by all standards. Kamau Kigera who lived on a farm in Naivasha was one such individual. He had twenty-eight wives and seventy-two children and at least owned six thousand goats. This was according to an interview

with Thuo Kigera. He was among a group of people who were trusted retainers of the settlers. They acted in special capacities as headmen on the farm or as recruiters of labour. This small group was joined by headmilkers, carpenters, butchers and farm clerks. These people came to form the elite of the squatter community. (Furedi, 1960, 191)

There was yet another group of people who were to play a central role among the the Kikuyu in Rift Valley. These were the sons of squatters who were lucky enough to get some education in the missionary schools in the Reserves. Sometimes with the help of the family, sometimes against the wishes of their parents, they left the Rift Valley with new ideas and plenty of ambition. The story of Onesmas Gachoka is typical of the members of this group. In 1918 he decided to go school against the wishes of his parents. He ran away to Kijabe and stayed there for seven years. On completing school in 1922 he became a member of the East African Association and later came back to the Rift Valley to look for a job. He became a farm clerk at Manera farm in Naivasha. (ibid)

At the end of the twenties, squatters were still essentially labour tenants-although compared to their status in 1918 they had become more of labourers than tenants. They were still the most important source of of labour on the white farms. (casual labourers did not become the prevalent mode of labour until in the late forties) Since their status as tenants was becoming less secure squatters were becoming increasingly interested in new opportunities such as trading with the vigorous activities of the KCA, Kikuyu squatters were becoming one of the most politicised sector of Africans in Kenya. This was the beginning of the future waves of African political opposition to the settler hegemony in the Highlands.

The period 1918-1929 brought about significant changes in the life of the kikuyu squatter. In 1918, squatters were at the height of their economic power due to the terms that they were able to extract for their labour power. These fortunes changed for the worse as the settler's labour needs were met. From 1922 there was a continuous deterioration in the squatters' standard of living leading to the protest of 1929. (Furedi,1960, 195)

### **3.2 The impact of the First World War on the growth and development of Nakuru, 1914-1918**

Many European settlers participated in the First World War as soldiers. The consequence of this was a drop in agricultural production which negatively impacted on the growth and development of Nakuru town. However due to their participation in the War, settlers would also acquire a stronger political muscle in the affairs of the colony. In particular, they were promised two posts on the Executive Council, a Soldier Settlement Scheme to boost their numbers and direct election in 1920 to the Legislative Council (Kenyanjui 1992:116).

A period of agricultural profitability had already started by the commencement of the First World War. and this continued throughout the war period despite the difficult conditions and the fact that some farms reverted to bushes as their owners went to war. Writing in 1986 about the First World War period, Overton (1986: 84) notes that:

Despite handicaps of closed markets, transport shortages, congestion, export controls and difficulties in obtaining imports, the over-all pattern of trade in European-produced commodities during the war was not one of contraction. Instead, the export of a number of leading commodities grew so significantly as to more than compensate for the loss of others.

#### **3.2.2 Nakuru in the post - First World War period**

In 1927, Her Excellency the Governor and lady Grigg arrived in Nakuru by rail to lay the foundation stone for the new European School and inspected the Nakuru War memorial hospital and the Native Civil Hospital. Water supply for Nakuru was drawn from Meroroni River. Water drawn from this river was sufficient for the township at the time since the demand was low owing to the low population density of the town (KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/4 Nakuru District Annual Report 1927, p 4). Schools were situated alongside racialized residential locations. The African population of the town had a school run by the Church Missionary Society in the Native location. The Indian population of Nakuru town had their own small school at the back of the Indian Bazaar. The school was too small to cater for the large number of Indian pupils.

By 1931, the growth and development of the town was under the Municipal Board, chaired by the District Commissioner. In 1931, the population of Nakuru Municipality was as shown in the table below:

**Table 1: Population of Nakuru Municipality, 1931.**

Race	Male	Female	Total
Europeans	307	239	546
Indians	759	184	943
Others	616	38	654
Total	1682	461	2143

**Source:** PC/RVP/2/10/9 Nakuru District Annual Report 1931, p 9.

The development of Nakuru before the outbreak of the Second World War depended mainly on the railway. This is because the railway was the main source of revenue accruing to the Municipal Board. This revenue was used in the provision of services to the residents of the town. In 1932 for example, the Municipal Board complained that grave losses of revenue have been met with... Due to economies in the Railway Administration, there was a loss to the board ... for water rates alone (KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/10 Nakuru District Annual Report 1932, p 9).

The development and growth of Nakuru very much depended on the financial position of the Municipal Board. This board needed money with which to finance the various building projects such as the Municipal Board offices and housing schemes for Africans. Other projects were roads and water supply. So, that when finances were available, projects were initiated to completion. The financial position of the Municipal Board was much stronger in 1933. This was despite of the reduction of the government grant. This improved financial position enabled the Board to proceed with the erection of municipal milk and beer shops in the Native location and other capital works” (KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/11 Nakuru District Annual Report 1933).

The population of Africans in Nakuru town kept on Increasing. The overall population of all races of Nakuru town, in 1933, is shown in the table below:

**Table 2: Population of Nakuru Town, 1933.**

<b>Race</b>	<b>Males</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Children</b>	<b>Total</b>
Europeans	140	137	273	550
Asiatics	490	250	500	1240
Africans and Other races	-	-	-	3000

Source: KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/11 Nakuru District Annual Report 1933, p 5

The Municipal Board continued to be the body charged with the responsibility of managing and governing growth and development of the town well into the late 1930s. The District Commissioner, of Nakuru District, was one of the two officials of the Board, the other being the District Engineer, Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours (KNA, DC/NKU/1/3 Nakuru District Annual Report 1938, p11). The Board was, however, not keen on dealing with proper planning, growth and development of Nakuru Town. Indians had been left to promote unsanitary conditions with their residential and commercial areas.

In 1938, for example, the Indian Bazaar was in a sorry state of affairs and in view of the highly unsanitary conditions which had been allowed to arise in certain of the Bazaar premises the Board agreed [in 1938] that supervision had not been strict and instructed that steps be taken without delay to see that all contraventions of the construction and other regulations were dealt with (KNA, DC/NKU/1/3 Nakuru District Annual Report 1938, p 12).

The Municipal Board's, attention at the time, seemed to have been focused on European-centered projects. In 1938, for example, the government agreed to subscribe towards the cost of acquiring and laying out extra land in order to enlarge the Aerodrome, which the Air Ministry experts declared to be one of the best in Kenya (KNA, DC/NKU/1/3). This project, in particular, was going to benefit the European race at the expense of providing housing facilities for Africans and Asians.

Europeans were favoured in Nakuru because they had dominated the Municipal Board as its members. However, towards the late 1930s, Indians began to agitate for representation on the Board since they were also tax payers. This agitation had been going on for years but, in 1938, some changes were made after prolonged negotiations with the Indian Association| and in addition to Mr. Umardina Ibrahim, the only Indian

who had hitherto accepted nomination to the Board, three Indian members were appointed for the period 15<sup>th</sup> October 1938 to 30<sup>th</sup> June 1941 (KNA, DC/NKU/1/3 Nakuru District Annual Report 1938, p 12). The Indian Municipal Board Members were Mr. Umardin Ibrahim, R.R. Sethi and Dr. Shah.

During the same year, 1938, the Municipal Board of came up with a list of plans for implementation. These include acquisition of a plant necessary for the filtration and sedimentation of the Nakuru Water Supply, consideration of erection of a Town Hall and creation of memorials to (a) His Late Majesty King George V and (b) The late Lord Delamere as well as the erection of a Hall for Africans, which could be used for lectures, cinema shows and other forms of indoor recreation (KNA, DC/NKU/1/3 Nakuru District Annual Report 1938, p 13).

It is observed that the First World War caused a drop, in world prices for agricultural exports from Kenya. This, in turn, led to an economic crisis. However, the white settlers increased their exports during this time compared to Africans. Settlers contributed 86 percent of total exports in 1921. Sir Edward Northey, the then Governor of Kenya, gave total support to settler farming in the post-First World War period (Maxon 1992:71).

Nakuru, being a predominantly white settler town cashed in on export earnings. Maxon (1992: 71) notes that with strong support from the colonial state, the settler sector became, by the end of the First World War dominant in the export field. However, this dominance achieved in export production was more as a result of the unusual conditions created by the impact of the war on Kenya's African population than of the strength of European production.

Were it not for an increase in agricultural exports by settlers, the growth and development of Nakuru would have been negatively impacted. This is bearing in mind the fact that the colonial government experienced an economic decline which forced it to cut down expenditure. As from 1922, the government turned its attention to stimulating African farming as a way of addressing government budget deficits (Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, *Department of Agriculture annual report 1920-1921*:16). This strategy was officialy called the Dual policy after 1922. Maxon (1992: 71) notes that:

Faced with the huge budget deficits in these years, for which even drastic cuts in expenditure could not provide a solution, the colonial office, as a result of pressure from British merchants with interests in Kenya, called for the stimulation of African production for export as a primary means of finding a way out of the economic crisis in 1922.

The period between 1923 and 1930 marked the decisive years of European agriculture. The economy, during this period was stable and steady, marked by the expansion of the railway branches (Kenyanjui 1992:116). One such branch of the railway ran from Nakuru to Turbo. Feeder roads to the railway were also developed to facilitate land transportation of European agricultural products (Kenyanjui 1992:116). Thus, the Nakuru-Turbo railway line and accompanying feeder roads linked Nakuru town to rural areas. The consequence of this was smooth transportation of farm products from rural areas to Nakuru. Apart from facilitating transportation of farm produce, the improved transport system served to reduce operating costs incurred by European settlers.

Despite improvements in transport network linking Nakuru to its rural hinterland, the European settlers experienced a number of problems between 1930 and 1939. These problems were occasioned by locust invasion, drought and a slump in world export price which affected, mainly, maize, coffee and sisal. The price of coffee dropped by more than a half while that of maize dropped by over two-thirds. These discouraged the settlers from investing in agriculture and, as a result, many of them were indebted (Kenyanjui 1992:116-117).

The problems experienced by Europeans sensitized politics of racial separation and segregation. The Europeans made it in having the Highlands legalized for their residence and use in 1932. In 1934 the Carter Commission defined the Highlands as Europeans' and stopped further land alienation there for other races (Kenyanjui 1992:117).

A similar economic crisis was occasioned by the global Economic depression in the period between 1930 and 1933. The same strategy of dual policy was applied whereby the colonial government encouraged African agricultural production (Maxon 1992).

### 3.3. Nakuru during the war period, 1939-1945

The outbreak of the Second World War had a devastating impact on the growth and development of town. The Municipal Board was making plans to put up a new, Town Hall when the Second World War broke out in 1939 and in view of the state of war government suggested that the building of a new town hall should be postponed for the time being, and the Board agreed to this course. (JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual report 1939, p 3)

In general, many building projects in the town were halted as a result of the outbreak of the Second World War. However, in spite of the difficulties occasioned by the war, some projects were still carried on by the Municipal Board. For example, a new road to the European School from Nairobi Road was constructed in the same year.

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the town's population had increased from what it was in 1933. In 1939, a population census of the Municipality was conducted by the then District Commissioner and the results are shown in the table below:

**Table 3: Population of Nakuru, 1939.**

Population by race	Number
Europeans	455
Asians	950
Goans	188
African and other races	13351

**Source:** Municipal board of Nakuru Annual Report 1939, p 6 (KNA, JA/16/117)

European population in Nakuru increased since October 1939 by about 200 people following the establishment of an army school of instruction in Nakuru (KNA, JA/16/117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1939). In addition, the other effect of the Second World War on Nakuru was the presence of very large numbers of his Majesty's Forces.... A total 'blackout' in the municipality was ordered, as well as in those townships lying to the north of the Railway line. Later it was extended to certain districts council wards lying generally to the north of Nakuru.

Nakuru, before the Second World War, had been the commercial centre where settler farmers in areas adjoin Nakuru, would purchase farm inputs. The War had slowed down the acquisition of imported farm inputs and this affected commercial ventures within the town. The town became depopulated as Europeans, who were residents of the town, offered to enlist for military service during the Second World War. This affected the productivity of farming activities around Nakuru. It came to bear on the government that it was necessary, in the face of war, to secure the availability of farm machinery as well as to recall from military service certain farmers who were regarded as indispensable if production was to be increased materially (Nakuru District Annual Report 1940, p 1)

Street lighting appears to have suffered as a result of the war. Indeed, the town suffered from a lack of electricity supply and as a result street lighting was inoperative over a considerable period (Nakuru District Annual Report 1940, p 6). In spite of this unfortunate incident to the residents of Nakuru the work of erecting a sedimentation and filtration plant at the waterworks was taken in hand and it was hoped that the new plant would be in full working order before the middle of 1941.

Another project carried forward in 1940 was the installation of concrete drains in Section II and XLIX as well as traffic islands which were installed at the end of Donald Avenue (Nakuru District Annual Report 1940,). The new pure water reservoir would hold 88,000 gallons, so that it would be possible to conserve a gross total of 175,000 gallons.

Even though, the water availed by the Nakuru water supply was below the consumption requirements as the average consumption was 200,000 gallons

There appear to have been an influx of African labour into the town. This resulted in an increased African population. It also led to the curtailment in the construction of a Hall for Africans but congestion in the beer canteen became so pronounced that it was decided to build a small hall at the cost of 700 pounds, as an extension to the later (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual report 1940, p 9) The hall was so designed that it could be used as an annex to the beer-shop or, by closing certain doors and opening others, it could be put to other uses entirely distinct from drinking, e.g. sewing classes for women and, dances and many more (Nakuru District Annual Report

1940, p 9). Money which was raised from beer canteens, in profits, was spent on providing essential social amenities for Africans such as clinics. The African Development Fund, which was the main source of revenue with which African housing and other social amenities for Africans were provided in the town, was financed by proceeds from African beer canteens.

In 1940, for example, a clinic financed from proceeds from beer canteens was ready for use in August but unfortunately Dr. Patre, who had been doing such sterling work amongst the African women for years past, was called away on active service, so the modern building and equipment could not be brought into use (Nakuru District Annual Report 1940, p 9). For a long time, the Africans who resided in Nakuru had limited options for recreation. Most of them were sunk in beer-drinking. It was in 1940, that plans were underway to create a stadium for Africans. In the area of education, it was during this period that many European students were evacuated from Nanyuki and Nairobi to attend school in Nakuru district. The then District Commissioner observed that:

Owing to the war and the need to evacuate schools in Nairobi and Nanyuki areas, the district has become a scholastic center... Capt, White, inspector of schools, was posted to Nakuru..... despite the war, the Government European School, Nakuru carried on as usual, with considerable success and happily without such illness. Many extra boys, removed from schools in Nairobi, had to be accommodated there (Nakuru District Annual Report 1940, p 11).

Africans also benefited during this period with regards to health because the Native Civil Hospital in thi town was expanded by the addition of two new wards, for Africans and Asians, thereby providing an additional accommodation for thirty- eight and six beds respectively. Four additional units were added to the African staff quarters and a small kitchen was added to the Asian block.

As a result the authorized number of beds has been raised from seventythree to one hundred and fourteen, but as the daily average number of in-patients was between two hundred and ten and two hundred and twenty, it is obvious that further accommodation was still badly needed (Nakuru District Annual Report 1940, p 16)

The hospital not only served Africans who resided in Nakuru but also to Africans who resided and worked on European farms in the vicinity of the town and further afield.

This was noted by the DC in 1940 when he observed that though there was a marked increase in the number of cases of malaria (with several deaths) the great majority were brought in from outside the town (Nakuru District Annual Report 1940, p 16). Statistics indicate that the Nakuru Native Hospital served many patients. In 1940 for example, over 1200 surgical procedures were carried at the Native Civil Hospital: of these 6 were European, 69 Asian and 1154 Africans... during the year the total number of patients treated in hospital was 6,193 Africans and 37 Asians, showing an increase of over 1,000 over the figure for 1939. The daily average of African in-patients increased from 154 in 1939 to 197 in 1940. 30,000 out-patient cases were attended to during 1940 as compared with 24,000 in 1939 (Nakuru District Annual Report 1940, p 16-17).

The development of Nakuru, from the point of view of trade, showed mixed fortunes during this period because hardware firms were experiencing difficulty in procuring farm implements from Canada, the country that made those which were best suited to Kenya conditions (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1940, p 23). In spite of this, some firms made good business. For example, the garages reported increased business as old cars were being kept in commission much longer than was formerly the rule, owing to the difficulty of obtaining new cars (*Ibid*).

Generally, the Second World War period proved to be a difficult moment for the growth and development of Nakuru. Writing about it, in 1941, the District Commissioner, who was also the chairman of the Municipal Board noted that:

1941 will surely go down in history as one of the momentous of the War... It has not been an easy one for the settler or official... The health of the town was generally good throughout the year, though dust gives rise to sore throat and a form of influenza. Seventeen cases of typhoid Fever occurred with four death (KNA, DC/NKU/1/4 Annual Report, Nakuru, 1941 p 1, 6 and 7)

The Indian association continued to agitate for a direct system of electing Indians to the Municipal Board in 1941 (KNA, JA/16/117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1941, p 7). This agitation had been going on for years past. Africans were still silent over the issue of their proper representation in town matters. This is in spite of the fact that they were the majority town-dwellers. Indeed, the population of Africans in Nakuru had increased tremendously compared to that of the Europeans and Asians.

One of the reasons why Africans were less vocal on town matters was because most of them were not married during this period. The town was a temporary dwelling place for most of them as they had to frequently travel to their rural homes to meet their families. Indeed, Africans were not meant to make towns their places of abode. Housing as well town by-Laws were used as schemes to prevent men from migrating to towns with their wives. Houses which were built were not designed to accommodate families but to accommodate bachelors. The population of married and unmarried Africans residing in Nakuru is shown in the table below:

**Table 4: Married and Unmarried Africans living in Nakuru, 1944**

Married Couples		Unmarried	
Men	1495	Men	1774
Women	1617	Women	341
Children	2631	Children	704
Total	5743	Total	2819

Source: Municipal Board of Nakuru, Annual Report 1944, p 5 (KNA, JA/16/117).

The Second World War negatively affected the role of Europeans in the growth and development of Nakuru. The settlers were moved by the outbreak of war in 1939. Some enlisted in the war, but a large number remained on their farms. The emphasis on agriculture during the war, 1939-1945, was on the cultivation of cereals, such as wheat and maize, to meet the needs of the war. In order to boost agricultural - production the government, through the departments of Agriculture and veterinary laid down guidelines on research and extension services to be offered to white settlers. Unfortunately, the government ran short of funds to implement the guidelines (Kenyanjui, 1992,117).

As from 1942 onwards, the government began to offer credit or loans to settlers. Farmers were also encouraged to embark on mechanized farming in order to increase productivity. The government, on its part, moved in to control prices in a bid to stimulate productivity. The end of this period, however, brought some ray of hope as recovery and growth in European farming was realized.

Town governing authorities were slow in providing housing facilities for Africans and this, consequently, limited African residence in urban centres. It was not until the 1940s that African housing in urban areas began to preoccupy the minds of urban authorities most of whom comprised of Europeans and a few Asians. Writing about Nairobi, Moss (2015:66) observes that:

In Nairobi in particular this created severe housing problems, which were compounded by the Government (Municipalities) ordinance of 1928, which prevented Africans from residing anywhere other than the locations designated to them by the municipal authority.

The attitude towards Africans by those charged with the administration of Nakuru with regard to housing prevented Africans from migrating into Nakuru in large numbers. Even in big towns like Nairobi, it was not until the 1940s that African housing became a serious consideration (Anderson, *corruption at city hall*: 138). Moss (2015:66) notes that:

As migrations to the towns continued in the 1930s, conditions worsened for Africans living in Nairobi, and in other towns [such as Nakuru] Investments in housing projects transformed Nairobi from the 1940s from a ramshackle backwater to a vibrant and fashionable city. The developments were mirrored in Mombasa and other provincial towns. At last, municipal authorities accepted the principle that Africans and their families would be permanent residents in towns.

This shift in housing policy came to encompass a hope that good housing would stabilize workers, promote social stability and eventually ease the transitions to political independence (Harris 2008). But when the issue of African presence in towns was not being taken seriously, Kenya experienced an outbreak of Mau Mau rebellion which again led to yet increased checks on African presence in urban areas. Essentially, Africans did not come to play a significance role in the development of Nakuru until the eve of Kenya's independence.

### **3.4 Nakuru in the post-Second World War period, 1946-1963**

Even though the population of Africans in Nakuru had accumulated over the years, there was less migration to the town by Africans so much so that difficulty [was] experienced in obtaining adequate labour to carry out the Board's programmes, and Board [was] grateful for the supply of prisoners and detainees from the Prison

Authorities to carry out urgent work (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1946, p5).

In spite of the numerous problems occasioned by the war and its impact on the growth and development of Nakuru, hope was once again rekindled in 1946 when the war ended. By this time the town was experiencing an acute shortage housing (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1946, p 2). As a result, the Municipal Board focused its attention on the resolution of this problem. Consequently, the Municipal board floated plots to potential purchasers for both residential and business premises (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1946, p 2). However, the board was faced with one handicap during the year. The frequent changes in the board's membership made it difficult to preserve any continuity, while lack of staff throughout the year handicapped the municipality's activities (Ibid, P 5).

The growth and the development of Nakuru faced one handicap after another. In 1946 the Municipal Board and the town Planning Advisor, moved to revise the lay-out of the African residential area (then referred to as Native Location) and the general consideration of the whole town and fronted certain proposals which were then agreed upon. These included earmarking new sites for government and Railway Housing as well as factory sites. This was done with a view that, by the middle of 1947, total concrete proposals would be available (KNA, JA/16/117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1946, p 6).

In the spirit of initiating improvement of the town, it came to the realization of the Municipal Board that the old native Location was overcrowded even though the conduct of Africans residing therein was satisfactory. What needed to be done in the African residential area was better control of strangers, undesirable characters and prostitutes. War had made it impossible to secure the services of a welfare officer for Africans but there was hope, after WWII, of securing one (KNA, JA/16/117, 1946).

In addition to the above mentioned proposals for improving the face of Nakuru and the welfare of its residents, thoughts of the members of the Municipal Board were directed towards considering the re-siting for Somalis as this race required stock housing, grazing and home, a potential source of danger and infection to the neighbouring labour

lines and housing and, in view of this, it was also realized that the town and the [Somali] Location was becoming worse with the number of illicit hawkers and beggars who drifted into the town without accepting work except as clerks, *askaris* [police] and *neoparas* [supervisors] (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1947).

The full impact of the end of the Second World War on the growth and development of Nakuru was felt in 1947 when a surge in the influx of Africans into townships was commended upon by the District Commissioner of Nakuru District. He noted in his report of 1947 that:

One of what I consider to be a natural, though disturbing, feature of the year has been the desire of the rural population to surge to the townships for the purpose of settlement and trading. Many hundreds of applications for plots in Native Locations have been refused by the District Commissioner on the grounds that all township Locations in the Nakuru District are full to overcrowding. Eventually it became necessary to post up notices at Locations and elsewhere that no plots were available and no further correspondence in connection with applications could be entertained (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947, p 2-3).

Even though the number of Africans migrating to Nakuru was on the rise, the District Commissioner was afraid that this trend would lead to unplanned growth and development of the town since the existing African locations had not been surveyed and the Town Planning officer had deplored the haphazard method of siting and building which had been going on in Nakuru. (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947, p 5).

Unable to provide modern housing and social amenities to the surging African population in Nakuru, the Municipal authority and the colonial administration resorted to invoking and applying the legislation which prevented Africans from migrating to towns. The most applied piece of legislation in this regard was the Vagrancy ordinance. This is the piece of legislation which declared anybody residing in town without gainful employment and housing as a vagrant. Anybody who was regarded as a vagrant within urban spaces was faced deportation back to their areas of origin.

Even as the colonial government was struggling to limit the number of Africans who migrated to Nakuru, it was doing so against all odds. More and more Africans were

becoming literate and their desire and appetite for formal employment was increasing in equal measure. Some of the Africans had served and retired from government service and were not willing to live in rural areas. Apart from that, the lure of the city, with its modern social amenities was increasingly becoming attractive to rural African populations. All these factors colluded to push Africans into Nakuru town. According to the District Commissioner for Nakuru, rising literacy levels among Africans was contributing to the surge in the influx of African to towns. He observed that:

I am not in a position to state how far the Native Reserves absorb their literate population, but from the number of applications retiring from government or private service, and others who have a smattering of education, have one aim in life- to set up shop in a Native location to the extent, that the housing of Africans who live and work in Townships is becoming a problem itself. This shortage of dwelling house accommodation has in turn considerably augmented the cost of living of the wage earner, if industrialization of the native, as some people advocate, is to be the answer to over-population in the Reserves, the quality and quantity of natives seeking residence in the Locations of the future will require careful forethought and planning” (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947, p 3

Thus, the colonial government was racing against time when it tried to limit the number of African town-dwellers. The surging African population in Nakuru town created an acute housing shortage of African housing yet, on the contrary, the Municipal Board directed its housing projects away from Africans. In 1947, for example, some building activities were witnessed with the commencement of the construction of buildings on plots in Section III and Section XXXV. This took place in the commercial area rather than in African areas. Nothing was being realized in the area of African housing. This was an issue of concern to the District Commissioner who noted that:

Housing accommodation continues to be desperately short in Nakuru, and the Municipal Board are making all the efforts they can to make more land available for building and to see that the stipulations as regards building on plots made available are carried out” (KNA, JA/16/117, Muncipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1947, p 9).

While the colonial administration recognized the housing problem for African town-dwellers, they failed to allow Africans to provide housing, of whatever quality, for themselves. Building regulations were a deterring factor. The bureaucratic structure regarding acquisition of town land, and the building standards required was a big

handicap to Africans providing their own houses. However, all was not lost for the Africans residing in Nakuru, because the Municipal Board made some provision of houses for Africans as well as other social and welfare services in 1947. Africans also benefited during 1947 because the board also began to consider the representation of Africans on town planning committees. Efforts to include Africans on the board had begun in 1946 but was thwarted. Writing about it in his report, the District Commissioner noted:

One of the methods adopted by the administration to give Africans an opportunity of lawfully expressing their thought and views in public was the formulation of Advisory Councils in the principal townships, first at Nakuru and later at Gilgil and Naivasha.... With a nucleus of educated Africans nominated to council, the canons of ordinary debate have been duly observed, and many matters dealing with grievances, social welfare etc, were discussed which, had no such facilities been provided, might have grown into seeds of discontent” (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947, p 3-4).

Apart from creating African councils, nominations of two Africans to the Native Affairs Committee, of the board was followed by their full membership of the Board itself... Indeed, for the African of this Township, 1947 [became] a year of unparalleled political growth- an advance which he [had] not been slow to appreciate (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947, p 4).

By including African membership on the Municipal board, the colonial administration duly accepted the reality of African residence in the town. As such a lot of welfare projects were in the offing for Africans after 1947. It is during this year that the Municipal Board approved estimates of expenditure in regard to native welfare which included a cinematograph projector and screen which proved very popular and became a regular source of revenue: a children’s day school and playground fitted with swings and roundabouts: and a sports stadium (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947 p 7).

Still in the area of recreation for Africans, the construction of an African Stadium was commenced towards the end of the year and was expected to be complete by the end of 1948. This stadium was also expected to create revenue for the board as fees charged from entrance fee would be used for providing services to the African population which

resident in the town of Nakuru (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947).

Much progress was also realized in the field of industrialization. A new food factory was built in 1947 and started operations right away. This was a remarkable achievement for the residents of Nakuru as it offered a source of employment for the unemployed Africans as well as revenue to the Municipal Board (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947, p 7).

Also, the question of shortage of African housing began to be addressed by the Municipal Board during 1947 when the Board decided that, in view of the great shortage of housing of Africans in the existing location, it was necessary to build a series of landhis and anciliary buildings such as kitchen, latrines, shops etc on land owned by the Board adjacent to the Municipal Aerodrome. This work progressed satisfactorily and, of the nine ten-roomed landhis already completed, all the rooms were immediately occupied. Unfortunately, the housing problem continued to linger on as there was an unsatisfied demand for houses. Infact there was a long waiting list of Africans who still needed houses. This temporary housing scheme had been erected with financing from a loan which the Board negotiated from the National Bank of India (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1947, p 12).

As plans were underway to improve the welfare of Africans residing in Nakuru, the Municipal Board was also considering the problem of water supply. In 1947, the Board, through its consultant engineer spent considerable time and money in investigating various sites and schemes for a permanent water supply to the municipality (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947, p 8).

As a result, final recommendations of the Municipal Board resulted in an application to the water Board for permission to withdraw up to 4 sources from the Malewa River at a spot some 32 miles from Nakuru (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru district Annual Report 1947, p 8). Unfortunately, violent opposition from Riparian owners of Lake Naivasha was raised as this would have reduced the value of riparian land: and from the farmers on the river itself who complained that they had been allowed to withdraw only the minimum for stock and domestic requirements (*Ibid*).

Another measure, for improving Nakuru which was considered by Nakuru municipal board in 1947, was the issue of installing street lights. This project was occasioned by an increase in crime levels. The increase in crime was occasioned by increased cost of living (as the price of consumer goods increased), a larger number of unemployed (and possibly unemployable) natives who mixed freely with undesirable persons and a general feeling of indiscipline and disrespect for law and order occasioned by the aftermath of the Second World War (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual report 1947, p 16).

The Town Planning Committee prepared a plan for the town. On the first occasion when the plan was exposed for public view in a shop window at Nakuru, no comments were received (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1947). This indicated that the residents of the town, especially Europeans, were less interested in participating in town planning matters and, in an endeavour to encourage the interest of Europeans in town matters.

In 1948, a European Township Association was brought into existence with a view to stimulating and speeding up the Municipal Board to a greater endeavor. Unfortunately, the Association failed to offer constructive criticism (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5, Nakuru District Annual Report 1947).

In the absence of constructive criticisms, the Municipal Board continued to offer poor services to the residents of Nakuru. Indeed, the residents of the town were not happy in 1948. The reason why inhabitants of Nakuru were unhappy lot were well outlined by the then District Commissioner for Nakuru District, who stated that:

The inhabitants of Nakuru as a whole are a pathetic as regards the improvement of their unlovely municipality, the main street of which compares unfavourably with River Road in Nairobi. There are two main causes for this apparent lack of progress, firstly the lack of any scheme of development in the early days of the township and secondly the gross inadequacy of the water supply accompanied by an out of date reticulation system. In addition, the financial resources of the Board are inadequate for the many major undertakings which are required to modernize the town... until the appointment of a Municipal Health officer late in the year the cleanliness and appearance of the municipal area left much to be desired. In fact, had not pressure been applied to compel the temporary

abandonment of other work in hand in favour of extensive cleansing and tidying, the general appearance of Nakuru must have evoked a very considerable degree of adverse criticism when all Kenya gathered there for the Agricultural Show (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1948, page 9).

In spite of the challenges which the Municipal Board faced with regard to the development of infrastructure and social amenities for the residents. The Board worked hard in an endeavor to overcome the handicaps (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual report 1948, p 9). An African stadium and temporary African houses were completed in 1948. Also, the engineering department tarmacked the surfaces of several side street and commenced the reconstruction of the main road on the east of the town (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5, *ibid*). In 1948, the Town Planning Committee of the Municipal Board placed a lot of emphasis on the provision of water supply, followed by a proper system of drainage (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5, 1948).

The housing project of the Municipal Board continued in 1948 when, at the close of the year the building of three hundred and twelve rooms, out of the proposed three hundred and fifty-four, was completed and occupied. In addition, twelve rondavels were built at the municipal depot, to increase housing accommodation for labour employed (KNA, JA/16/117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1948, p 6).

Layouts for residential areas in Section XXXV and Section LVIII were submitted by the Town Planning Advisor and they were approached by the Municipal Board. Accordingly auction of plots for the proposed residential areas was floated. The calm afforded by the end of the Second World War saw an influx of many Africans into the town and with this, there was a corresponding availability of labour. And, with the acquisition of an increased labour force, work on the roads proceeded throughout the year (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru district Annual report 1948, p 7).

Among the roads which were improved was Umardin road which was re-made with the addition of a centre island. Also, Ibrahim Road was almost complete with it's re-making by the end of the year and would have been entirely finished but for the difficulty in obtaining chippings for the final seal coat. The greater portion of the Location Road, running through the African residential area, was almost completely re-surfaced by the

end of the year. Work upon the re-making of Nairobi Road was well underway by the end of 1948 (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1948, p 7).

On 31<sup>st</sup> march 1948, at the 221<sup>st</sup> meeting of the Municipal Board... the Vehicle Parking and Traffic By-Laws Committee was formed, to investigate amendments to the existing By-laws and recommend parking facilities in the Municipality (KNA, JA/16/117). The year also saw the realization, once again, of the poor state of African Housing.

A large proportion of the houses in the old African location had reached a state when they were barely fit for human habitation and, as a result, it was resolved by the Municipal Board that no further building [would] commence in this old African Location (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1948, p 10). Accordingly, the Municipal Board's African Location Planning Sub-Committee duly approved schemes where a fresh area was to be laid out with plots available to Africans and employers of labour for putting up permanent materials on a ninety-nine-year lease, in accordance with plans approved by the Municipal Board. In addition, facilities would be offered to lessees of existing plots in the old location to move to the new area. (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1948, p 10).

The Board also changed its policy of supplying water to the African Location whereby a change was made in 1948 from the old a system of free water, paid for from Native Trust Fund, to that of retailing water at one cent per four gallons, from water kiosks. Three kiosks were opened in September, and functioned satisfactorily, though low water pressure due to a general shortage throughout the municipality, resulted in long periods of waiting at the kiosks (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1948, p 11).

Unlike in the year 1948, there were some improvements in the performance of the Nakuru Municipal Board, in 1949, with regard to provision of essential services and infrastructure in the town. In particular, most of the improvements were occasioned by the appointment of a new Town Engineer (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1949, p 10). As a result, the new town engineer oversaw the reconstruction of a portion of the main trunk road to the east of the town, the introduction of additional

water supplies by means of a pipe from the Praire boreholes and the construction of a somewhat palatial dwelling for the Town Clerk (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5, 1949, p 10).

The provision of additional water supply was of benefit to the European and Asian housing estates. The African population in Nakuru continued to suffer from inadequate supply of water. Also, the majority of African houses remained to be of unhygienic state during the greater part of 1949 (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5, *ibid*). However, this sad state of housing among Africans, and, to some extent, Asians preoccupied the minds of the members of the Municipal Board. Consequently, the Board pressed for the speedy survey and allocation of plots [for building houses] for the lesser income groups and a number were advertised for grant on lease (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5, 1949, *Ibid*)

Once again, the town, in 1949, experienced favourable treatment of Europeans with regard to Housing at the expense of other races (Africans and Asians). The European housing situation in the town was considerably eased by new buildings while the housing of many Asians and Africans in Nakuru town remained deplorable (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1949, p 12). The poor state of Asian housing in Nakuru town resulted in many Asians resorting to the use of “garages, store rooms and servant quarters as living-cum-bedrooms because there were just not enough houses for the population (KNA, JA/16/117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1949, p 12).

As a result, the Municipal Board felt the need for Asian building quarters. But even as the Municipal Board was grappling with the question of Asian housing, African housing situation was not any better. The Municipal Board noted in 1949 that:

African housing is far from satisfactory though crowding, as gauged by the number of persons per room, has been reduced by reason of more rooms having been built on old location plots and also because the railway, government and one private firm have between them provided a considerable amount of good housing in permanent materials for their employees (KNA, JA/16/117, *ibid*).

To resolve the African housing problem, the Municipal Board was of the view that the most obvious immediate way of improving the situation [was] to make housing sites available for African staff quarters to large employers of labour, and it [was] also necessary that new plots should be offered as soon as possible to house owners in the

old [African] Location, whose notices to demolish in five years, [could] only become effective five years after alternative plots [had] been provided (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1949, p 13). Whereas the Nakuru Municipal board recognized the housing problem well and was well aware of the solution to it, the right course of action was rarely taken.

However, and on a general note, the year 1949 witnessed some progress in the area of constructing of Municipal houses whereby three staff houses were completed for the use of European staff, and were occupied by the Municipal African Affairs Officer, the Town Clerk, and the Town Engineer. Likewise, and in view of the new temporary African location, the building of rooms was completed, bringing the total number up to 324. Work was proceeding at the end of the year upon the erection of kitchens and upon the rough-casting of the existing rooms, in order to render them more weatherproof and permanent (KNA, JA/16/117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual report 1949, p 6).

In the same year, 1949, town planning layouts were considered by the Board and approved for the following residential areas, Sections XXXV, XVIII, XIV, XXIII (KNA, JA/16/117, *ibid*). Two roads were completed and tarmacked to standard namely, Ibrahim Road and Location Road. Tarmacking of roads was given preference at the expense of housing. This was in spite of the increasing African population in Nakuru. At this time the population of Nakuru (Municipality) was given as shown in the table below,

**Table 5: Population of Nakuru, 1949**

Race	Male	Female	Children	Total
Europeans	146	206	158	510
Asians	1152	448	900	2500
Africans and others	2072	2615	5313	10000

**Source:** KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual report 1949, p 10.

An examination of population changes in the town indicate that Africans were increasing against an absence of effort to improve the provision of housing facilities proportionately. Other than improving the quality of roads in Nakuru at the expense of African housing, the Municipal Board was more concerned with the idea of beautifying

the town. In fact, in 1949, the board felt the need to make the appearance of the town beautiful, clean and tidy by making good use of parks and open spaces.

In 1949, apart from the arboretum, there was nothing else maintained as a park in the town. This was in spite of the many open spaces. As a result, the Municipal Board, with the assistance of the superintendent of Prisons, undertook to regularly clean and keep the town tidy by using the prison detainees as well as those serving jail terms. (KNA, JA.16.117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1949, p 13).

In addition to this effort the Railway Authorities prohibited the growing of crops on Railway land within the town. This probably targeted a large maize shamba in Club Road opposite the Rift Valley Sports Club grounds and haphazard patches of African cultivation on the municipal waterworks which appeared to make the area look bad besides posing a security threat. (KNA, JA/16/117, *ibid*). Unfortunately, the same prohibition was not extended to government and municipal land on which continued to be experienced crop-growing (KNA, JA/16/117, Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1949, p 13). There was much open space within Nakuru town which was not being put to proper use, especially being used for African housing.

There was, by 1950, representation of all races on the Municipal Board (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual report 1950). And, with this representation, there were signs of a proper town planning of Nakuru which began to be seen in 1950 thanks to the membership of the Town Planning and Development Committee.

This committee has already performed a herculean labour and the results should be apparent within comparatively few years. Amongst developments which have been planned are a sewerage scheme, street lighting scheme, new reticulation and water supply, road system, Asian and African housing which, if loan funds are forthcoming, will involve a capital expenditure well in excess of a half a million pounds over a period of years... A scheme for a new railway station which, when constructed, will alter the appearance of the town received considered attention and is now in its final stages (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1950, p10)

In spite of the new planned schemes to develop Nakuru, the implementation of the said schemes was hampered by lack of finances. To overcome this, the Board quadrupled the charges on services which were offered to the residents while at the same time, coming up with a scheme to address overcrowding in the Asian areas by offering to allocate high density plots in Section 3 and of low - density sites in Section 58 (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1950).

Unfortunately, the plots were not bought by developers because of what the District Commissioner referred to as stringent building conditions (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual Report 1950, p 10). In addition, there was also opposition to the development of Asian Housing in Section 58. The opposition was put up by the owners of Section 35 which was immediately contiguous on grounds that they had been guaranteed an uninterrupted view when their plots were first acquired and that the amenities of their area would be impaired by the proximity of an Asian Housing Scheme (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5 Nakuru District Annual report 1950, p 10).

While Asian housing was under consideration, Africans lost out in 1950 because their housing conditions remained deplorable (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5, 1950, p10). The only slight improvement in African residential areas was the augmentation of the water supply which, however was still inadequate (KNA, DC/NKU/1/5, 1950, p 10).

Indeed, Asian housing problem was at the centre of town planning, in 1950, whereby the Town Planning and Development Committee appointed an Asian Housing Sub-Committee to find out and report back upon the necessity of an Asian Housing Scheme.

At the end of the year, good progress had been made in the preparation of plans. for the installation of an Asian Housing Scheme... to provide approximately 94 residences, varying in type from 3-roomed houses on a tenant purchase basis to 3 and 2 roomed flats (KNA, JA/16/117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1950, p 10).

Plans to have a sewerage scheme for the town came to the table of the Municipal Board in 1950 and by the end of the year a survey for this scheme was progressing (KNA, JA/16/117, *ibid*). The same year also witnessed progress in the area of roads when the last section of the main Nairobi road from the municipal Eastern boundary leading into

town was completed (ibid). The only unfortunate incidence of 1950 was a confirmed report suggesting the appearance of Mau Mau activities in the municipality, but no conclusive evidence was forthcoming in substantiation (KNA, JA/16/117). Even though the total African population of the town was still a matter of speculation, the figure of 15000 was floated by the Municipal Board as being reasonable correct (*Ibid*).

The board continued to apply the same scheme, of resolving the problem of supplying adequate housing to the African population, by limiting the number of Africans who came to the town. Movement of Africans into Nakuru was greatly checked in much the same way that law and order among Africans living in Nakuru was enforced. For example, under the Municipalities Ordinance (Cap.136) the Municipality (control of Persons) By-Laws 1950 stated in section 5 that no person other than a domestic servant or the husband, wife or child of such servant, shall be found or remain by day or by night in or upon any house, tent, warehouse, coach-house, garage, stable outhouse, yard, garden or other premises without the consent of the owner of such house, tent, warehouse, coach-house, garage stable, outhouse, yard, garden or other premises without other lawful excuse.

The By-laws further stated, in section 6, that no person shall lodge by day or by night in any deserted or unoccupied building. The By-laws further clarified, in section 8 that no person shall without lawful excuse be found within the municipality by night having his face disguised or having in his possession any dangerous or offensive weapon, firearm or instrument or any key, picklock, crowbar, jimmy, jack or other implement of housebreaking (KNA, JA/15/55, 1950).

The development and growth of the town was greatly hampered by the failure on the part of the colonial government to allocate adequate funds for the development of towns. A sharp attack on government came from non other than Mr. N. H. Hardy at the monthly meeting of the Municipal Board (KNA, JA/15/163, 1950).

Lack of funding during the post Second World War negatively affected construction and maintenance of roads in Nakuru. Generally, Africans were barred from being present in Nakuru without gainful employment and proper housing. The municipal

council passed these by-laws in order to safeguard the town because unemployed and unhoused people were a danger to others.

Staffing had been a problem confronting the Municipal Board for some time, especially since the war period. In 1951, the board got more staff including the appointments of the following staff: Treasurer, a Medical Officer of Health, and a Health Inspector. By the end of the year, the board's employees were sufficient for the tasks at hand, while their keenness and efficiency were very credible (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 Nakuru District Annual Report 1951, p2). Asians were beneficiaries under the new Asian Housing Scheme which was put into effect in 1951 (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 *ibid*).

Africans residing in Nakuru benefited from the few projects including the maternity welfare clinic and Domiciliary mid-wife services which were established in addition to a new health office (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6).

In 1951, the Municipal Board also laid out the new African Location and an African housing scheme was prepared and submitted to the government for consideration. At the same time, the new African community Centre consisting of an administrative block, cinema shows and recreation room, a large hall for meetings and a library were nearly completed during the year (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 *ibid*). During the same year, the Town Planning and Development Committee were extremely active apart from many routine matters. the western end of Donald Avenue was widened by an average of 6 feet for a distance of 750 yards while Mohanlal Avenue in Section III was constructed to a tarmac standard (KNA, JA/16/117 Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1951, p 9).

There were considerable building activities in the town by private developers in Section XXV and LVIII (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6). However, the outbreak of Mau Mau activities had a negative impact on the activities of the Municipal Board of Nakuru just as much as had been the case during WWII. After a period of calm between 1946 and 1950, there was yet another upheaval in 1951 when signs of Mau Mau rebellion surfaced.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have seen that by the end of the First World War, squatting was an established part of the socio-economic structure of the White Highlands. Squatters were the backbone of the labour supply on the settler farms. Most of the squatters were of Kikuyu origin who freely traded with the Maasai. Labour supply was plenty by 1921 such that the settlers did not have to worry anymore in terms of labour shortage. Living and working conditions for the squatters later changed. The squatters were to work for long hours under poor conditions with very low pay. They were also to carry the Kipande to restrict their movement. This made the squatters unhappy. They started organizing resistances and strikes. Some of them also went back to their reservations. Others, joined the Kikuyu Central Association.

The development of Nakuru was greatly hampered by the failure on the part of the colonial state to allocate adequate funds for its development. This was especially after the Second World War. Construction and maintenance of roads was put to a halt. It was contrary to what the Africans expected. To them once the settlers had arrived and started farming, they expected a lot of development in the town. They expected to have an improved lifestyle. Instead they were subjected to poor working conditions, poor social amenities, poor housing and unemployment. This is what they least expected from the colonial government and the settlers. They became bitter. What followed was the period of nationalism which will be discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DEVELOPMENT OF NAKURU IN THE ERA OF NATIONALISM, 1945-1963.

#### 4.0 Introduction

The Second World War gave a stimulus to nationalist movements in a number of ways. Before the war, Africans thought that, it would be impossible to defeat the militarily superior Europeans by force of arms. Moreso, Asians and Africans became more aware of social and political matters as a result of their involvement in the war. Many Africans who had left their homeland for the first time to fight in the Allied armies were appalled at the contrast between the primitive conditions in Africa and the relatively comfortable conditions they experienced even as members of the armed forces. Moreso, the living conditions that Africans had been subjected to, on the settler farms despite the fact that they were a source of labour on the farms, left them bitter. This gave rise to nationalism and later to independence. This chapter will discuss the outbreak of Mau Mau, how it affected the development of Nakuru and how Africans in Nakuru worked towards urbanization during this period.

#### 4.1 The outbreak of Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya

The outbreak of Mau Mau in Kenya took place at a time when the country's economy was just beginning to get better. There was a rapid increase in mechanization, during this period, among European settlers. In addition, the settler population was boosted by the arrival of new settlers who had participated in the Second World War. The European Agricultural Settlement Board was formed in 1946 to assist the white farmers to settle down and carry out productive farming. The Board offered loans to new arrival of white farmers (Kenyanjui 1992: 117). Restrictions on coffee exports from Kenya were relaxed in 1946 and this boosted the predominantly European coffee sector (Kenyanjui 1992: 118). In spite of these positive development, the same period also characterized by heightened anti-colonial struggles, especially in central region of the colony. Indeed, as Kenyanjui (1992:118) has correctly observed:

The most outstanding characteristic feature in the phase 1945-1960 was agricultural planning. The settlers planned and built irrigation dams, roads, fences and buildings, and formed cooperatives. However, the Emergency of Mau Mau in 1952 interfered with the planned development.

Kenya experienced the third economic crisis akin to the ones experienced between 1919 and 1922 and between 1930 and 1933. While the first two were occasioned by world depression (which led to a drop, in world prices for agricultural products from Kenya), the third crisis was occasioned by internal economic forces in the post Second World War period. It grew out of the twin agrarian crises that emerged in the peasant sector, most notably in what was then Central province, in the late 1940s. (Maxon,1992,72).

The colonial state placed huge obstacles in the way of the African petty bourgeoisie in the rural areas as the latter attempted to play a greater and more integral role in the colonial economy. This was done to protect the settler sector and to keep in check what Governor Sir Phillip Mitchell viewed as the unacceptable social consequences of the more rapid capitalist penetration of rural Africa. At the same time, the colonial state adhered to economic policies that led to the impoverishment and radicalization of large portions of the poor strata of Africans residing in urban and rural areas (Maxon,1992,71) Thus, the end of the Second World War, in 1945, sowed the seeds of anti-colonial struggles. Indeed, the economic crisis was the most important cause of Mau Mau rebellion.

Even though, the colonial government had began thinking about how to develop African areas and Africans in general, the outbreak of Mau Mau led to more drastic measures on the part of government with regard to improving rural African areas.

The White Highlands and Nakuru particularly were regarded as bastions of newly educated and wealthy Kikuyu businessmen who were supporters of the Kenya African Union (KAU) and who firmly opposed Mau Mau and formed a nucleus of the Kikuyu collaborators. Frank Furedi (1973,486-505) further explains that while its undeniable that there were more educated and wealthy Kikuyu who were inclined to political moderation or collaboration in urban centres than on the farms, the towns and townships of the White Highlands were far from homogeneous, either socio-economically or politically.

In Nakuru, Kikuyu politics especially from the 1940's were far from being monopolized by the moderate elite. Clearly there were very many petty traders than the very few wealthy businessmen, the very many displaced and landless Kikuyu ex-squatters than

tribesmen with vested interest in the urban centres. Furedi explains that Mau Mau in Nakuru was made up of groups and leaders who had advocated for the employment of organized violence in pursuit of their political, anti-colonial cause and who had started to organize themselves to that effect prior to the declaration of the state of Emergency in October 1952. Mau Mau leaders in Nakuru were also members of the Kikuyu Central Association and Kenya African Union.

The development of the Kikuyu Central Association in the years after the Second World War was a prelude to the emergence of Mau Mau in Nakuru. The Kikuyu Central Association Nakuru branch was formed as early as 1935 and went underground when the movement was proscribed illegal in 1940. The scope of its activities was much reduced during the war years. The Kikuyu Central Association was a selective and average political organization. Its leaders decided to join the multi-tribal Kenya African Union in 1946 but Kikuyu Central Association did not stop its underground existence. A strict Kikuyu political movement was still acute in those years when Kikuyu problems in both reserves and the White Highlands were approaching their crisis.

The deteriorating conditions for the Kikuyu in the rural areas of the Rift Valley in the immediate post war years were echoed in Nakuru (Rosberg and Nottingham, 1966, 262). It was in those years that the migration of the Kikuyu into Nakuru, mainly from the neighbouring rural districts acquired overwhelming proportions. In those years the Kikuyu entrenched themselves as the largest tribal group in town.

Relatively few of the newly arrived could obtain gainful employment, the Kikuyu forming a small proportion of Nakuru's African labour force. Many tried petty trade but this did not yield much to enable them lead a good living. Others simply lived with their wits. The housing standard was deplorable and the general living conditions were at their worst.

The socio-economic conditions that existed in both Nakuru and its hinterlands promoted widespread bitterness and discontent. This prepared a fertile ground for the development of political militancy and agitation. This led into an increase in the recruitment to the Kikuyu Central Association. An intelligence report in 1948 recorded the oath-taking of squatters in Njoro and Elburgon areas of Nakuru District by "the people

of the three letters”. The same oathing was witnessed in Nakuru. On 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1948 the Director of Intelligence reported that a new movement MauMau believed to be Kikuyu Central Association branch were reported in Naivasha.

In 1950, the administration became stunned by the growing secret activities and illegal swearing in ceremonies in Rift Valley Province. It was all ascribed to the “MauMau Association” and came to surface with a trail in Nakuru magistrates court, where nineteen Africans were charged with participation in an illegal oathing ceremony in the neighbouring Njoro. The original oath of the Kikuyu Central Association performed with the Bible and soil had not been done well. It had extended to “goat oath” The Kikuyu Central Association elders rejected this but the youth were not ready to listen. The elders later gave in.

As from 1951 the radicalization of MauMau in Nakuru was viewed against the background of Kenya African Union’s complete failure to achieve reforms by constitutional means. This supported those who believed that violent struggle was the most and only effective means of achieving political objectives in a settler dominated economy. In Nakuru specifically and directly radicalization was influenced by development among Nairobi kikuyu militants. (Rosberg,1966,26).

According to Furedi the Nairobi based militant Forty Group which was going through a process of intensive radicalization at that time began in 1951 to extend its influence to Central and Rift valley Provinces. However, a recently well researched article disputes this assertion and attributes the direction of the colony -wide Mau Mau movement to militant leaders of Kikuyu Central Association’s Nairobi branch like: Fred Kubai, John Mungai and Bildad Kaggia, claiming that the Forty Group was defunct by 1949. Kaggia in his autobiography supports the above (Kaggia Roots Freedom,108-115)

An analysis of the young militant leadership helps appreciate better the distinct nature of MauMau. Amongst them were ten known leaders at the town, district and provincial level, who were residents of the town. These were: W. Rugi, A. Gunjiri, J. Karuggia, G. Muttumi, K. Wanjohi, K. Mahugo, K. Getwa, A. Ngatia, K. Waihobo and J. Wanyoike. Most of the above were men in their twenties. Seven had come to Nakuru

from their neighbouring districts where they had lived as squatters. Nine of them were self employed, mostly petty traders. The majority had settled in the town in the post war years. They were mainly uneducated and were unaffected by the European Missions. (Tarmakin,248-58)

The leadership of Mau Mau was mainly in the hands of the Kikuyu petty-traders. These leaders had no roots in the town nor in the system as a whole. They had nothing to lose except for their petty trade which barely gave them a living. Being self employed gave these people more freedom of action and movement than their employed townsmen or the squatters on the settler farms. The large number of the dispossessed Kikuyu gave the Mau Mau leaders the most favourable response. They formed an important part of Nakuru proletariat (Furedi,1973)

The Kikuyu Central Association and the Kenya Africans Union leadership had different political responses from the Mau Mau leadership. Most members of these two organizations originated from Kiambu District which was renowned for its political moderation. Kikuyus from this district were the least involved in the subsequent forest fighting. On the contrary most of the Mau Mau leaders had come to Nakuru from among the squatter population of the town's hinterlands. The squatters had been the most suppressed, dispossessed and insecure social group in Kenya, especially in the post war years. Much of their bitterness and hatred towards Europeans and their preparedness to resort to violence must have stemmed from their past experience as squatters. (Rosberg,1966,262)

Its worth noting that the leaders of Mau Mau were younger than those in Kikuyu Central Association. Due to this, they were impatient, eager and militant. This created generational conflict with the other leaders. The Mau Mau leaders were also less affected by the "Western civilization" as compared to the Kenya African Union and the Kikuyu Central Association leaders. (Furedi,497-9)

In March 1952 the Batun age was introduced in Nakuru. The origin of the oath is not clear. (Nottingham,1966,248). Claim is that it originated from the Rift valley squatters. Some Nakuru ex MauMau leaders confirmed this view stating that it started in the Thomson Falls area hence spread to Nakuru District and only then to Central province

and Nairobi. Another ex MauMau claimed that the oath originated in Nairobi and was introduced in Nakuru by Stanley Mathenge. In Nakuru the first Batun oath ceremony was held on Lord Delemare's estate, Soysambu, near Mbaruk station some ten miles from Nakuru on the way to Gilgil. This oath stimulated the growth of the hardcore organization by instilling in the MauMau activists a more pressing sense of purpose.

MauMau far from being a focus of unity brought about division and discord in the nationalist camp in Nakuru. Being an exclusively Kikuyu Organization, it accentuated political divisions among the tribes in the town. Even with the Kikuyu tribe it intensified the divisions between the educated and illiterate, christians and non christians, the poor and the affluent, militants and moderates. Tribal unity was attained by the militants on the eve of the Emergency by intimidation and internal violence. It remained to be seen if unity achieved by force could be maintained in the face of sustained external pressure. (Nottingham,1966,262)

On 20<sup>th</sup> October 1952 the Governor signed the proclamation declaration of the State of Emergency. MauMau had existed in Nakuru, it was distinctively organized, led and increasingly committed to violent struggle. A campaign of internal violence directed largely against government supporters had had been launched before the Emergency. While the declaration of the State of Emergency precipitated the era of forest fighting it certainly did not create it. The idea of fighting was there as was the idea of using the forest. Infact there is evidence that the Nairobi MauMau militants with whom Nakuru MauMau was in contact had sent groups of armed fighters to Mount Kenya forest some months before the emergence as was noted by W. Itote (1967,47)

In July 1953 after most of the local leaders had been arrested in several extensive screening operations MauMau continued to operate effectively, though under increasing amount of pressure. The same committee continued to control the movement in the town and the district it also maintained contact with the movement committee in Nairobi. The oathing campaign continued and the committee maintained tight control over those who had taken the oath through the town platoons under its command. In March 1953 an attempt was made on the life of J. F. Kanyua who had cooperated with the administration. East African Standard, 17<sup>th</sup> March 1953 p 7) In June 1953, two, armed Kikuyu tried to shoot an Asian police reserve officer (E. A. S. 1<sup>st</sup> July 1953 p 7)

Operations to acquire arms also continued. Towards the end of May, 1953 a group of Africans reported to have been Mau Mau members were caught by the police while attempting to break into a local store which had lots of pangas in stock.

After the declaration of the State of Emergency Nakuru developed as a logistic centre supporting the forest revolt. Nakuru was established as a centre of recruitment and supply for the forest forces. Early in 1953 the Mau Mau district committee started sending big groups of recruits to the forest. J. Karuggia a committee member led a group of about four hundred young fighters who joined the forest forces in the Aberdares. Communication was maintained between forest leaders and Nakuru committee mainly by messengers. In order not to hamper Mau Mau leadership in its main function, Nakuru was consciously not made the scene of an urban guerilla campaign (interview G. Muitumi)

The backbone of Mau Mau in Nakuru was broken by July 1953, though this movement was not totally dead. Remnants of the leadership and the hard-core militant continued to operate though on a much smaller scale. Only a few cooperated as the rest remained in the run. They were to operate in pure secrecy, thus reducing their effectiveness. The remaining group greatly operated informally, relying on a small portion of trusted men. Fighters continued to make their way to the Aberdare Forest until as late as November 1953 security forces continued their operation until July 1955 and then Mau Mau was virtually defeated

#### **4.2 Towards urbanizing Africans in Nakuru**

The outbreak of second World War and, thereafter, Mau Mau rebellion brought a mix of fortunes for Africans in both rural and urban areas. These fortunes were contained in what Kenyanjui (1992: 118) called the Dual Policy of the colonial government.

The [Mau Mau) Emergency accelerated the government's implementation of the dual policy, the policy in which both European and Africans interests received similar attention. By the mid-1950s the cultivation of cash crops such as coffee, tea and pyrethrum, was opened to the Africans.

Africans were not just favoured in the realm of agriculture, but also in urban matters. In particular, the post World War period saw the inclusion of African in urban

governance. As Moss (2015:66) has observed: In 1945, Nairobi became the first municipal council to have African nominated members. Nakuru, Eldoret and Kisumu followed suit, two years later.

Prior to this period, interests of Africans in Nakuru town had not been adequately considered because the Nakuru Municipal council had been dominated by Europeans and a few Asians. The council, therefore, placed the interests of Europeans above those of Africans. Even though considerations were underway after the Second World War to include Africans in town affairs, their minimal representation on municipal councils made the whole affair a mockery (KNA, JA/19/224, 1950). As for the case of Nairobi Moss (2015:66) has observed that:

Critically out numbered by elected European and Asian members, African members had little influence on the full council. The business of African affairs was mainly conducted through Advisory Councils, which served as an official link between the council and African areas.

The result was continued marginalization of Africans in towns. The objective of increased representation of Africans on municipal councils in settled areas remained a major demand forwarded by African politicians. Justus ole tipis, in particular, moved a motion in June 1958 to this effect stating:

Sir, sometimes I am entirely at a loss. I fail to reconcile the government policy and attitude. On the one hand they say that there are no qualified Africans who can contribute efficiently to the deliberations on these councils. On the other hand, they go on to nominate people of their own choice and place them in a very awkward position.... I think it is time that we adjusted our attitude or our policies and made the African feel that he is part and parcel of these councils and that his interests are safeguarded by those who have the interests of the African community and interests of their whole country at heart (Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, *Legislative Council Debates*, 12 June 1958, column 1807).

Even those who lived and worked in towns like Nakuru did so under appalling confusion. This and many other reasons galvanized anti European and anti-government feelings among Africans which culminated in mau mau rebellion.

### **4.3 Mau Mau rebellion and its impact on the development of Nakuru**

The preoccupation of colonial government in matters of development among Africans was cut short with the outbreak of Mau Mau in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The outbreak of the Mau Mau uprising led the government to shift attention away from development and back to closer administration of the Africans.

People in the town became preoccupied with Mau Mau war rather than development. The provincial administration and the municipal government were less interested in carrying out development activities as compared to instituting security measures to curb the spread and activities of Mau Mau operatives in and around the town. Moss (2015) and Berman (1976) have observed that the outbreak of Mau Mau made the colonial government to concentrate more on administration than development.

The declaration of State of Emergency in 1952 however, allowed for restoration in the position of the administration. Administrators blamed incidences of “Mau Mau violence on “loss of contact between them and those they were governing. They claimed that the bureaucratization of government had prevented them from pursuing reliable methods of administration based on direct personal contact with the “natives”. This analysis led to the policy of closer administration: the size of the administration more than doubled between 1951 and 1962, and the supremacy of administrators in the field was reaffirmed. During the Emergency, the provincial administration proved itself to be a highly effective structure for guaranteeing central government control of the grassroots. The rapid expansion of this system left a lasting mark on the state’s institutional landscape, which remained profoundly unbalanced long after independence (Moss 2015:65).

The other impact of Mau Mau war was controlled movement of Africans in and around the town. African movement into the town was carried out via passbook regulations which prevented the Kikuyu from entering the town without permission (KNA, JA/1/611, Nakuru Municipal Council Annual Report for 1958). As a result of the passbook regulations, Moss (2015:65) has observed that:

Despite its central location in the White Highlands Nakuru town did not experience much violence during the Emergency.

From a demographic, racial and ethnic point of view, Nakuru was composed of few Africans of Kikuyu descent. In addition, the size of African population in town diminished during the Mau mau rebellion. Thus, the town comprised of more Europeans and Asians. The size of security personnel also increased in town. Passbook regulations which controlled settlement of Africans in Nakuru were lifted at the end of 1959, at which point there was an estimated African population of 23,000. The result of the lifting passbook regulations was an exponential increase in the number of Africans in the town. This increase in population size of the town presented a number of challenges to town authorities (Nakuru Municipal Council).

Members of the council responded to this influx, and rise of unemployment and destitution that this created by introducing programmes reminiscent to local authorities at home. The joint committee for the relief of Distress in Nakuru Town was formed which opened a soup kitchen in 1961 for women and children (Moss 2015:65).

The rapid increase in the town's population also led to severe housing shortages ((Moss 2015:65). The issue of whether housing should be provided for Africans in towns, and if so in what form and provided by whom, had been a vital debate within the [Nakuru] municipal councils deliberations in the post war period. There had been a broad consensus, ever since the inception of boards responsible for urban management that Africans did not belong in the towns except as migrant labour (Werlin, 1966,187) Consequently, their welfare was considered the responsibility of their employers, rather than the municipal boards.

A dark cloud begun to hang over Nakuru, in 1951, due to increased activities of the Mau Mau rebellion as the number of Mau Mau adherents was rapidly increasing either as a result of coercion, the urge for adventure, or not unnatural inclination to be a partisan of the winning side in view of the apparent inadequacy of government ability to combat the movement (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 Nakuru District Annual report 1951, p 3). Even though much of the Mau Mau activities were mainly centered in areas surrounding Nakuru, such activities remained quietly underground in the town. This was mainly attributable to the fact that numerically the Kikuyu were in a minority and would have received short shrift from the other tribes if open violence was attempted.

In spite of the dark cloud which Mau Mau activities had bestowed over the town in 1952, the body governing and managing the growth and development of Nakuru was elevated from a municipal Board to a Municipal Council status. The New Municipal Council approved extensions to the residential area in Section XXXV and a considerable number of houses were built by private individuals and by business firms for their employees. Staff houses were built for the following European staff of the Municipal Board: Municipal Treasurer, Chief health Inspector, works Superintendent, and Assistant Town Clerk. In addition, 35 houses on the Shah Estate and 8 blocks of flats on the Upadhyaya estate were completed for Asian tenancy” (KNA, JA/1/611, the Municipal Board of Nakuru Annual Report 1952).

Like in 1952-1953 was marked by continued activities of the Municipal Council. Most of the Council’s activities were directed towards the provision of health services with little building activities taking place. For example, the council continued with its normal public health services including yellow fever inoculations and smallpox vaccinations which had been taken over from the colonial government in 1952. The domiciliary midwifery and child welfare scheme continued to function... on a slightly increased scale... an African housing scheme containing 936 bedspaces was completed and brought into use during the year (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 Nakuru District Annual Report 1953, p 13).

With the acquisition of the necessary plant and equipment towards the end of 1952, the council embarked on road construction programme. Just over 3 miles of tarmac road were constructed (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 Nakuru District Annual report 1953, p 13). This was in addition to the laying out of a new Railway Station and the construction of stone pitched drains. During the year, materials started coming forward for the new Malewa Water Scheme. This was in addition to drilling and bringing into effect two new boreholes. This was meant to improve water supply to the residents of the town. A sewerage scheme was also approved during the same year and so were plans for street lighting (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 Nakuru District Annual Report 1953, p 14).

In 1953, the population of Nakuru was as shown in the table below:

**Table 6: Population Nakuru, 1953**

<b>Race</b>	<b>Population</b>
Europeans	1,159
Asians	5,000
Africans	15,000

Source: KNA, JA/1/674, Report of the medical officer of health, Nakuru municipality, 1953, p 1

In spite of a relatively small population, the Municipal Council was not able to provide essential services to all the residents in the municipality due to financial constraints. In the absence of adequate finances, the Municipal Council always resorted to cheap and, sometimes, poor quality options. For example, according to the annual report by the Medical Officer of Health of the municipality, for the year 1953, water supply was supplemented by additional boreholes and this has led to the water supplied to consumers having a higher fluorine content than that considered desirable for young children (KNA, JA/1/674, 1953, p 5).

Housing was yet another social amenity which was not supplied adequately with the few houses that were constructed being of lower quality. All this was because of the poor financial status of the Municipal Council. The Medical Officer of Health in his report of 1953 noted that little comment can be made on the quality of European housing from the public health angle excepting that there were a few houses of low standard which in a period of housing plenty could perhaps be recommended for demolition. The serious aspect of the European housing position is the shortage of houses necessitating families living in hotel rooms and trying to carry on a family life in such conditions (KNA, JA/1/674, 1953, p 8).

The same problem of housing also affected Asians resident of this town in 1953. The incidence of overcrowding in certain Asian residential areas was reflected in the practice of using kitchens, servant quarters, store rooms, garages, etc. as dwellings by Asian families (KNA, JA/1/674, 1953, p 8). This problem had been noted by the District Commissioner in the 1940s. The problem of Asian housing, in the 1950s, had been

occasioned by the stoppage of building during the War period. The Municipal Council had now resorted, in a bid to address shortage of Asian housing, to building multi-roomed houses on large plots. With the acute shortage this brought about the subdivision of these buildings into multi-dwellings and, as the ancillaries were insufficient, this led to the common use of such facilities (KNA, JA/1/674, 1953, p 8).

The Municipal Council came up with a new way of solving the Asian housing problem in the 1950s. This time it began to think of building small flats and small housing units of 2-3 rooms each with their own ancillaries (KNA, JA/16/117). In spite of the shortage of housing and the adaptative character of Asians to that shortage, certain owners of dwellings were prosecuted in connection with the use of their buildings in contravention of the council by-laws (KNA, JA/16/11/7

Instead of resolving the Housing problem, the Municipal Council resorted to punishing those who the council was supposed to help. While the Second World War had drastically dealt a blow to the housing sector in general, the emergence of Mau Mau rebellion brought to a halt few efforts which were being implemented to address the housing shortage in the aftermath of the war. Reporting on the situation of African housing in 1953, the Medical Officer of Health noted in his report that the position with regard to African housing improved to the extent that the Council completed the first phase of its housing programme. This consisted of 312 rooms with 936 bed spaces. The scheme consisted of single storey buildings with communal sanitation of water-house type (KNA, JA/1/674, 1953, p 8)

Towards the end of 1953, the Municipal Council had moved to second phase of the programme which was a repetition of the first phase. The programme also included 12 tent purchase houses. As this was going on, the Council initiated preliminary action to secure the demolition of the then Bondeni Location which consisted of houses which were unfit for human habitation. The occupants were given twelve- month notices of the cancellation of their temporary occupation licences (KNA, JA/1/674, 1953, pp 8-9). During the same period, the principal 'sanitary Fitting' in use in the town continued to be the bucket latrine (*ibid*).

The Malewa water supply scheme which had been begun in 1953 progressed in 1954 (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 Nakuru District Annual Report 1954, p 21). The African Affairs Department continued to provide entertainment and useful amenities for the African population (KNA, DC/NKU/1/6 *ibid*). Generally, the Town Council continued to execute a number of development projects which contributed to the growth of Nakuru.

The Municipal Council was also a beneficiary of the building projects. It completed several extensions to its offices in 1954. Also, staff houses were built by contract for the Deputy Municipal Treasurer and the senior Asian Accounts Clerk. The Mayor's parlour and a two-roomed extension to the Town Engineer's temporary block was also completed. An African women's welfare centre, was erected by contract and a maternity ward completed with labour room, kitchen, bathroom, stores and sanitary block was provided by converting an old building designed and used previously as a butcher's shop and eating house to this new purpose. Other improvements at the community centre included the close fencing of the plot and providing ceilings to the dispensary of the venereal disease clinic and to the games room in Menengai Hall (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal council of Nakuru Annual report 1954, p 9-10).

In addition, twenty additional rondavels (African houses) were constructed at the municipal depot for workers of the Housing Works Department. An African housing scheme consisting of 312 three-bedspace rooms each with a fireplace and with communal water-borne latrines, showers, clothes and pot washing facilities, was completed by contract in 1954. A second scheme, practically identical in design and size but including in addition some electric light point in each room, was started towards the end of the year. A contract was signed for the construction of 12 semi-detached tenant purchase African houses and work was about to commence at the close of the year. (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal council of Nakuru Annual Report 1954, p 9-10).

As 1955 kicked off, there were a number of African housing schemes in place. Indeed, the year witnessed some minor development in the growth of Nakuru town. Work was continuing on Malewa water supply scheme. In addition, the main drainage scheme was completed in December 1955 and the Municipal Council were taking steps to connect individual properties to the public sewers (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual report 1947, p 11).

Africans, too, were remembered during the same year because the second African Housing Scheme, consisting of 312 rooms, was completed and occupied. Loan funds were made available and No. 3 African Housing Scheme, comprising 294 houses was started late in 1955 (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7, 1955, p 11). The year also witnessed the construction of a new municipal market intended to serve the residents in 1956 (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1955, p 14).

In 1956, the Municipal Board constructed 272 rooms with sanitation and washing blocks for each group of two rooms were built. This was in addition to the erection of 22 semi-detached houses and a shopping centre in Bondeni which consisted of 16 shops-cum- dwelling houses with market stalls in front of the shops (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual Report 1956).

There was a general improvement in the security situation of the town in 1957 due to the calming down of Mau Mau insurgency. This enabled the city authorities in Nakuru to focus their minds towards development matters. However, the unfortunate situation was that Indian members of the Municipal Council opposed a resolution to increase fees charged on town services offered by the Board. The council had hoped to increase fees so as to improve its financial. Improved revenue collections would, in turn, enable the council to improve the status of the town.

Those who were opposed to increased charges were of the view that the Council had embarked on spending money on white elephant projects. One of them was the motor track which was not generating more revenue commensurate with the money invested therein.

Those opposed to increases in charges were of the view that the Council was overstaffed with expensive European officers (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual Report 1957, p 11). Criticisms by Asian members of the council as well as members of the Indian Association and their refusal to increased charges bore fruits because the municipal council agreed to an investigation into the council's finances requested by the Indian Association and the rate was reduced (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual Report 1957, p 11).

Generally, 1957 was not a good year regarding the growth and development of Nakuru because the hope for industrialization in the town was thwarted when it was decided by the council, after very careful and lengthy consideration that a new industrial area in Dawsonville was not an economic proposition and it was abandoned. However, the provision of further industrial plots was under consideration by the Railway Administration at the close of the year (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1957, p 15).

Asians living in the town continued to show opposition towards increased charges on town services by the Municipal Board in 1958. In spite of the opposition, there was, yet again, a need to increase water charges because the council's water undertakings again ran at a loss and it was found necessary to increase the price of water within the Municipality and these also aroused strong opposition from Asian members of the Council (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual Report 1958, p 8).

During 1958 uncertainty about the political future was a dominant thought in the minds of a majority of the Europeans in Nakuru (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual Report 1958, p 1). On the contrary the Asian community appeared chiefly concerned with the economic future, rather than with the political changes which had resulted from the Lennox Boyd constitution. These changes, however, increased the political awareness of a growing number of Africans particularly in the towns (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual Report 1958, p1).

In spite of the uncertainties and mixed feelings about the unfolding political and economic fortunes, the year 1958 witnessed tremendous development of Nakuru from a town planning point of view whereby most of the allocated plots in the area north of Donald Avenue were developed and the buildings were occupied.

This was done alongside the development of roads and drains. So was the completion of the first phase of the car park thereby easing the parking problem of the town (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1958, p 13).

It was resolved, during the same year, to demolish Somali Location in Bondeni because it was the area with the worst over-crowding in the municipality (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual Report 1958, p 8). Somali Location had 28 plots on which sat 523 unfit dwellings with a total population of 1523 people. Of these 1361 were African tenants for whom alternative accommodation was made available in the Council's No. 4 African housing scheme (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council Annual Report 1958, p 13). Africans were lucky, in 1958, because the Council began the construction of a fourth housing scheme and obtained approval for the fifth scheme Progress which was achieved in 1958 by the Municipal Council with regard to the growth and development of Nakuru were slowed down in 1959 by the general sense of insecurity among Europeans as it was reported that there was some concern particularly amongst Europeans that the security situation was worsening (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual Report 1959, p 1).

This greatly hampered the growth and development of Nakuru which, from a governance and planning point of view, depended on the European race. In spite of the insecurity, a few minor projects were initiated in Nakuru. For example, one new road was constructed in 1959 to a first-class bituminous standard and this was the extension of Court Road from Blakett Road to Princess Margaret Way (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1959, p 6).

During the same year, Tenant Purchase Houses scheme were erected in the Somali location. Also, the No. 4 and the No. 5 housing schemes were completed and occupied while the No. 6 housing scheme was still at the planning stage, a site having been agreed upon (KNA, JA/1/611). The No. 5 Housing scheme comprised of 200 houses while 35 tent purchase houses were constructed in a new location for the Somalis, whose previous buildings in the old Location, with the exception of one property, were all demolished on grounds of public health (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7 Nakuru District Annual report 1959, p 8).

Some dilapidated buildings were demolished... in Bondeni but the African owners there in contrast to the Somalis gladly accepted a tenant purchase scheme and no legal proceedings were necessary to compel their eviction (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7, 1959, *ibid*).

The same year witnessed plans to erect a new stadium on the site of the previous one, with a running track up to international standard, and with greatly extended seating accommodation (KNA, DC/NKU/1/7, *Ibid*).

With African membership on the Municipal Board, and in view of the decolonization processes then underway, some members of the Municipal Council started pushing for quality housing for Africans. However, some members of the Board were opposed to this citing lack of money as the main reason why the Council was desirous of continuing with poor quality housing for Africans. For example, in 1959, and in view of the scarcity of money allocated by the colonial government for the construction of African Houses, the Divisional Engineer of the Municipal Council pushed the view, though opposed by other members of the Municipality, that wherever possible, the intend was to build a rondavel type of African house. He went further to state that these houses would be built in permanent materials, i.e. concrete block walling, with steel windows, properly made doors and roofs (KNA, JA/1/457, minutes of the tenth meeting of the development committee of the municipal Council of Nakuru held on 22<sup>nd</sup> may 1959, p 5). His proposal was opposed on grounds that continuing with such type of houses would reduce standards. In view of this opposition, the council unanimously rejected the continued construction of rondavel type of houses (KNA, JA/1/457, *Ibid*).

Solving the problem of African housing seemed to be far from over since there was no money for building good quality houses. Worse still, the population of Africans streaming into the town seemed to increase because the ordinance restricting movement of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribes was lifted in early 1960 and as a result countless people flocked into the town in search of employment. Some were merely returning to their homes from which they had been expelled during the period of Mau Mau rebellion (KNA, DC/NKU/1/8 Nakuru District Annual Report 1960, p 1).

Indeed, the African population in Nakuru surged to the roof. The effect of this was increased poverty and destitution, especially among the people from Central Province who moved to Nakuru in large numbers (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council Annual Report 1960, p 15). The Municipal Council responded by building more houses towards the end of 1960 and a new estate aiming at the lowest possible rent structure was commenced the same year (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*).

In spite of this, the council's finances were spread to other projects, thereby taking away money which could have been used for building more houses. The other projects included the tarmacking of Kahawa Road (in Bondeni area) as well as tarmacking a short length of road south of the market to serve new shops and a service station (KNA, DC/NKU/1/8 Nakuru District Annual Report 1960, p6). During the same year, a housing scheme No. 6... was more than half completed. Movements and extensions to the slaughter House, to the maternity ward, Bondeni (including its laundry), and to the women's hostel at the Bondeni Community centre were affected (Ibid). Sixty extra street lights were provided thus increasing the number in the town to 404.

It should be noted that the development of Nakuru had been the interest of the European race which held sway over matters of town planning and development. European interest in the town planning began to show a downward trend. This was as a result of the progress made with regard to granting Africans their independence. Most Europeans who were residents of this town began thinking of selling their property and leaving the country. This was well captured by the District Commissioner in his report thus:

The year 1961 was one of the most doleful in the history of Nakuru. The political scene became more and more confused and unstable; the economic position gradually got worse and worse with very few farmers and traders showing interest in long-term development and many only concerned with attempting to release assets and quit the country. In consequence the mixed farmers, upon whom town and country rely for their living, were in poor heart at the end of the year (KNA, DC/NKU/1/9 Nakuru District Annual Report 1961, p 1).

Nakuru was deemed to have been home to about 40,000 people in 1961 (KNA, DC/NKU/1/9, 1961, p 11). This shows a marked increase in the town's population. During the same year, the town got a face-lift when many of its roads got tarmacked. Roads which were tarmacked during the year were: extension of Ridge Road to join Coronation Avenue, Patel Road, School Lane, road to Bus park, Landhies Road, widening of part of Bondeni road and the widening of Bondeni/Kalewa Road junction (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal council of Nakuru Annual Report 1961, p 8). In addition to the roads, a new and attractive covered market was erected on the site of the old one. It was opened on 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1961. The new market, besides providing trading

facilities under clean and sanitary conditions also improved that particular area of the town considerably (*Ibid*)

Another area which got a facelift was that of African housing whereby an extensive staff housing scheme [to] provide accommodation for staff in accordance with their grades [was] in the course of construction and [would have been] in use early in 1962. Also, the No. 6 housing scheme was completed and occupied, thereby increasing the council's accommodation available for renting to the African population to 2,586 rooms. This excluded the additional housing provided by the Tenant Purchase Schemes and the staff housing (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1961, p 13).

In spite of these, housing projects, the efforts were a drop in the ocean because a great housing shortage still existed, particularly in view of the considerable influx of Africans during 1961 (*Ibid*). In view of this, the Municipal Council embarked on another large housing scheme- Bondeni No.7 which was deemed to accommodate about another 1,000 families (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1961, P 13).

With increasing population, against a biting housing and employment shortage, a larger population of Nakuru was thrown into a state of destitution. Writing about the condition of the town in 1961, the District Commissioner lamented the lack of noticeable improvement, during the year (KNA, JA/1/611). This led to the formation of a destitution sub-committee within the municipality. The destitution sub-Committee formed by the Municipal Council in 1961 continued its activities of interviewing applicants and making recommendations for assistance and as a result, a considerable number of destitute families were being assisted by the supply of food, or by the payment of their rent, or in some cases both (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1962, p 15).

According to the District Commissioner, destitution in Nakuru was created by the flooding of work-seekers. It was estimated, in 1962, that 10,000 adults were out of work or seeking employment. The result of this was that destitution, poverty, petty crime, prostitution and all the other evils abounded KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1962, p16). This influx of Africans into town created an acute

housing shortage. Worse still, even some of those who had houses were not able to pay rent. By the close of 1962, a low income housing scheme No. 7, comprising 1,056 rooms with aqua-privy sanitation was completed and occupied. This estate was designed and built to provide employment in the town, and also to house the lower income group of tenants (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1962, p 14). This was not the only housing project realized during the year as a further Tenant Purchase Scheme comprising of six houses, situated immediately south of Section LVIII, was completed and occupied (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*).

These houses were of higher standard and had been designed to allow for further addition of rooms if the need arose. An agreement was reached during the same year, and a site in section XXIII, adjacent to the Nakuru Athletic Club, for the erection of a future housing scheme of twenty better class houses (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*).

During the same year, the Municipal Council felt the need to erect a mortuary in Nakuru. This was in view of the urgent need for a public mortuary (KNA, JA/1/611. Indeed, the Council applied for and received from the necessary loan sanction, and the mortuary was erected and equipped in accordance with the advice received the government pathologist. This mortuary s sited south of the St. Christopher's Church. An attractive garden was planted around the mortuary building (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*).

The Municipal Council was reconstituted by the local government (Municipality of Nakuru) Order of 1963 (KNA, JA/1/61, Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual report 1963, p 1). Revenue collection of the Municipality improved during the same period owing to the improved collection recovery of water, sewerage and conservancy charges in comparison with previous years... attributable to the effect of the council's decision to require a realistic deposit before providing these services, and also to the difficulty in instituting proceedings where the consumer absconds and his or her whereabouts cannot be traced (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*, p7).

The same year, witnessed the allocation of a plot for the erection of a petrol station (Agip Limited, Kenya Division). Another plot of land in Bondeni was allocated to the church of God Mission for the erection of a church and a pastor's house (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*, p 14). In addition, part of the new prison was completed and occupied. The remainder was still under construction.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

The spirit of nationalism in Nakuru was occasioned by the fact that the town and its neighbourhood were home to a number of European settlers who were targeted by the Mau Mau insurgents. Moreso, the settler farms which lay adjacent to the town hosted many Kikuyu labourers and squatters. This posed a great danger to the European population. The outbreak of Mau Mau came at a time when the country's economy was just getting better. More settlers had also come in after the Second World War.

Mau Mau in Nakuru was mainly made up of groups and leaders who had advocated for the employment of organized violence in pursuit of their political goals. The leaders were mainly from the Kikuyu Central Association and Kenya African Union. Kikuyu Central Association mainly addressed the problems of the Kikuyu people in both reserves and in the White Highlands.

The socio-economic condition that existed in both Nakuru and its hinterlands introduced widespread bitterness and discontent. This served as a fertile ground for the development of political militancy and agitation. Much of their bitterness and hatred towards Europeans and their readiness to resort to violence stemmed from their past encounter and experience as squatters. The squatters had been the most suppressed, dispossessed and insecure social group in Kenya.

Some Mau Mau leaders confirmed that oathing started in the Thompson Falls area then spread to Nakuru. Others claim that oathing originated from Nairobi and was introduced in Nakuru by Stanley Mathenge, on Lord Delemare's estate.

This oathing stimulated the growth of the hardcore organization by instilling in the Mau Mau activists a more hard pressing sense of purpose. After the declaration of The State of Emergence, Nakuru developed as a logistic centre supporting the forest revolt. It was also a centre for recruitment and supply for the forest forces.

The outbreak of Mau Mau made the government to shift attention from development to closer administration of the Africans. The provincial administration and the municipal government were less interested in carrying out development activities as compared to instituting security measures to curb the spread and activities of Mau Mau operations

in and around Nakuru. African movement in and out of town was only carried out via passbook regulations.

By 1957, the security situation was improving due to the calming down of the Mau Mau insurgency. This enabled the town authorities to focus on development. The development of Nakuru had been the interest of the European race which held sway over the matter of town planning and development. However, by 1961 the European interest in the town planning began to show a downward trend. This was due to the progress that had been made with regards to granting Africans their independence. Most Europeans who resided in Nakuru started thinking of selling their property and leaving the country. The development of Nakuru after the period of nationalism will be discussed in the next chapter



## CHAPTER FIVE

### DEVELOPMENT OF NAKURU DURING THE POST COLONIAL PERIOD, 1963-1997

#### 5.0 Introduction

The development of Nakuru depended majorly on the settlers and administrators who had settled in the white highlands that surrounded the town. During the Mau Mau struggle and finally the attainment of independence, most of these settlers relocated to their motherland. This had a great impact on the development of Nakuru. In this chapter the development of Nakuru town during the Kenyatta administration and the Nyayo era will be looked at at length.

#### 5.1. Development of Nakuru under the Kenyatta administration

Town planning in major urban areas was the responsibility of municipal councils. This practice had been started by the colonial government. The council:

Offers both social and physical infrastructure to Nakuru municipality. Through use of service charges and other levies, the council provides water, street lighting, roads, health centers, schools (both primary and secondary) sewerage and drainage systems (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1994-1996: 25).

As a result of improved collection of revenue resulting from charges on Council services, the Municipality was able to make some improvements with regard to buildings, for example, one new building was completed during the year, 1963, this being the Rent collections office in Kenyatta Avenue (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*, 1963, p 8). This building was owned by the Municipal Council. Some building extensions were also realized such as extensions to the second-hand clothes stalls at the Bondeni trading centre, and... an extension to the Housing and Estates Department office, Bondeni (*Ibid*). Roads also got a face-lift when the following roads were constructed to a tarmac standard: Flamingo Road, Community centre, Bondeni Internal Road, Shuleni Road, Holey street, and road serving six tenant purchase Houses in Section LVIII (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*, 1963, p 8).

Yet again the Municipality embarked on upgrading its water supply to the residents. During 1963, the demand of water was 370 million gallons and this represented nine million more than in 1962. During the year, the number of water connections rose from 2, 437 to 2,473 (KNA, JA/1/611, *ibid*, 1963, p 10). About 44 percent of the water was supplied by boreholes (*Ibid*).

The most striking feature of 1963 is that, upon attainment of self-rule, Nakuru was open to an influx of Africans. This followed the loosening of colonial rules which prevented people from migrating into urban centres without assurance of employment and accommodation. This situation was also occasioned by the lifting of the restrictions on the movements of members of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru after the cessation of Mau Mau rebellion. In my interview with Joram Njoroge, a former employee of the municipal council, who is now retired and lives in Bondeni, I established that it is during this time that his seven cousins joined them in Nakuru.

They had to host them in their tinny house where he (Njoroge) was residing with his late parents, until they secured jobs. Those who were unlucky and failed to secure jobs went back to Kiambu and proceeded with farming. The same sentiments were shared with William Oganda a former employee of the municipal council but currently lives in Shabab. He said that a group of five young men arrived from Kisii (Keroka). They came to search for white collar jobs. He lost touch with them. He couldn't explain whether they succeeded in securing the job. Similar information was captured in the Municipal Council annual report (KNA, JA/1/611 Municipal Council of Nakuru Annual Report 1963, p 15).

As a result, the influx of work-seekers into Nakuru continued and it was estimated, in 1963, that the number of people in the town exceeded 40,000, of whom many adults were out of work or seeking employment (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal council of Nakuru Annual Report, 1963, p 15). This situation resulted in destitution, crime and petty crime than had hitherto been experienced. It can be deduced that independence contributed to rapid urbanization of Nakuru accompanied by a surge in misery among the town dwellers. During the same time the virtual cessation of building development, except by the Municipal Council, had also had a severe effect on the overall picture of

unemployment and distress and as a result of this situation illegal brewing of liquor and illegal trading became more apparent towards the close of the year (KNA, JA/1/611, Municipal council of Nakuru Annual report 1963, p 16). After attaining independence, the government of Kenya adopted a five-year development period as its basis of projecting development in the country. The first development period was 1964-1969.

The attainment of independence in 1963 set in motion legal and policy changes which had a profound impact on the development of Nakuru. First, there was the freeing of migration of Africans into towns which the colonial government had frozen for decades. Before Kenya attained her independence, Africans were allowed in towns for as long as they were able to secure employment and housing.

In 1964, in view of the increased demand for houses amid biting shortage, some of the plot owners in Nakuru were constructing buildings without Council approval. In 1964 for example, it was noted, by the Development and Town Planning Committee of the Municipal Council, that there were unauthorized buildings in Lake View Estate. Flouting of Council building rules was well captured by the Town Engineer [who] reported that he and the Acting Chief Health Officer had carried out an inspection... and this revealed that nine rooms comprising the unauthorized structures were now occupied.

The Town Clerk informed the committee that the owners had not submitted building plans for consideration by the Council and they had apparently broken their promises not to carry out any more work until building plans had been approved (KNA, JA/1/458, minutes of the town planning committee meeting held on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1964.

As the clock ticked towards 1965, Nakuru District, as a whole, encountered virtually no development because the only new buildings in the district [were] the county council shops at Njoro and a few other self-help shops at Mau Narok. As for Nakuru, the DC noted, in 1965, that the Municipality has hardly seen any major capital development during the year. The building industry is virtually at a standstill and a few shops along the Kenyatta Avenue are closed. The council itself has had another period of what may be called a training period for councilors. Debates, particularly when concerning appointments, or staff generally, generate a lot of tribal feelings thereby making the

work of the council unnecessarily tedious and time wasting. By and large the tribal differences are also reflected in local politics which means that it is only on rare occasions that the council does its business in a concerted effort. Towards the end of the year, the clerk of the council was Africanized. It is hoped that the councilors will refrain from interfering in the executive work thereby giving its new clerk a chance to carry out his work impartially (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1965, pp 7-8).

In the same year, the municipal Council encountered yet another problem when the president announced that out-patients are to be treated free. Following this announcement out-patient attendance in all government and municipal clinics rose by leaps and bounds. Indeed, the local authorities had found it difficult to provide for the rising requirements of medicine. They all looked upon government to provide a grant for the added responsibility (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1965, pp 11- 12).

Just as was the case in 1965 the building and construction industry reported to have been booming in Nairobi [had] not spread to Nakuru yet. No new buildings appeared to have come up during the year. Meanwhile, residential houses became difficult to get. Government officers, unable to get government owned or rented houses, found it equally difficult to get private houses for renting (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1966, p 8). While this was the case, the Nakuru Municipal council, the body mandated to plan for housing within the town, was busy fanning tribal feelings and engaging in debates that were generally considered to be of low standard (*ibid*).

Nakuru began to experience some development in 1967 even though, there were no major changes during the period some light was seen at the end of the tunnel when, in the building and construction industry, the boom in Nairobi spread slowly into Nakuru. The town was chosen as the site for a new Battery Factory (torch cells) by an American company known as Union Carbide. The factory was opened towards the end of the year. This was confirmed by Phylis Ng'endo who left her job at the Municipal Council and secured a better one in this company. In addition, the Municipal Council approved plans for the construction of a new administrative block. This was also the time when the

Council finances were in good order. The budget topped a record 760,000 sterling pounds (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1967, p 5-6).

The year 1968 witnessed a surge in housing schemes within Nakuru. The funds were provided by the central government. As noted by the District Commissioner, the central government through its various agencies provided the necessary funds to the Municipal Council to carry out housing schemes in the township the cost of which amounted to approximately 120,000 pounds (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1968, p 3). The details of the housing schemes which were completed in 1968 are shown in the table below:

**Table 7: Completed Housing Schemes, 1968**

Housing type	Number completed	Locality	Cost in pounds	Financed by government loan	How built
Higher income group housing for renting	20	Section XXIII	22,440	Yes	By contract
Semi-detached two and three roomed self-contained staff houses	20	Ojuka estate Bondeni	218,097	Yes	By contract
Semi-detached two and three roomed self-contained staff houses	26	22 in Section LVIII and 4 in ojuka estate Bondeni	20,431	Yes	By contract

Source: Nakuru District Annual Report 1968, appendix

The number of housing schemes which were under construction in 1968 are shown in the table below:

**Table 8: Number of Housing Schemes Under Construction, 1968**

Housing type	Number completed	Locality	Cost in pounds	Financed by government loan	How built
Rental flats 28 three-roomed and 24 two roomed	None completed. Construction of 52 flats. 46 percent completed	Partly in Section XLVIII and partly in Section XLI	Final coat 76,508	Yes	By contract
Site and service scheme, lavatory and ablution block	22 blocks to serve 84 plots	Nakuru park (Langa Langa)	13,000. 2,000 is yet to be spent on roads	Yes	By contract
Roofing loan site and service scheme	2628	Langa Langa	Loans issued	Yes	By contract

Source: Nakuru District Annual Report 1968, appendix F

The growth and development of Nakuru took a new turn in 1969. The government of Kenya introduced the Africanization policy whereby Africans were encouraged to take over the commercial mantle from non-citizens. Africanization policy also applied to the civil service whereby expatriate civil servants were to be gradually replaced with citizens. The policy changed the face of the commercial/trading areas of Nakuru as non-citizens were to sell their businesses to Africans.

It was reported in 1969 that in the period March/April, citizens of African origin started moving into the main trading areas of Naivasha, Gilgil, Nakuru and Molo. The issue of quit notices to non-citizen businesses went through a difficult period particularly

because a fairly large number of Asian traders did not indicate their status clearly on their applications for trade licenses and also because of the fact that some of them obtained citizenship papers during the period of their notices (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1969, p 6).

Independence itself witnessed the lifting of restrictions which the colonial government had placed in the way of Africans migrating into towns. As a result, many job-seekers continued to flock into Nakuru during this period. Unfortunately, many were job-seekers who lacked the requisite academic skills to secure jobs. The District Commissioner observed, in 1969, that:

There was an influx of work seekers in the month of February but many employers were reported to have been seeking personnel in possession of high academic qualifications and some knowledge of commercial subjects... at the same time, only 63 vacancies were reported. These figures showed that the amount of paid employment available in the area fell far too short of the demand. At the close of the year, several school leavers registered themselves as work seekers. This new registration had to swell the already large number of the unemployed people in the registers (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1969, p 20).

Another potential for the development of Nakuru, at independence, lay in the changed land ownership policy.

Since legislation affecting land ownership and cropping was rescinded after independence, the pattern of agricultural development in the [Nakuru] district has been subject of considerable change. Large areas of largescale farmland have been purchased by government or societies and divided into small scale settlement holdings growing other subsistence and labour intensive cash crops (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78:4)

Agricultural activities in the neighborhood of Nakuru had a profound impact on the industrial development of the town. Whereas most of the agricultural produce from areas adjacent to Nakuru were exported during the colonial period, the same were fed into industries which development in the town during independence. This is because, unlike European farmers, African farmers owned small pieces of land on which they could not grow crops for export. Again, the independent government started to promote local industries which could absorb the ever increasing labour force. Indeed, most of

industrial ventures which developed in Nakuru were linked to agricultural activities in the rural neighbourhood.

Most of the industries in the [Nakuru] district are mainly food processing industries using local farm produce as raw materials (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1979-1983: 9)

As agricultural-based industries increased in Nakuru, so did the population expansion. Population expansion called for increase in the provision of social services and infrastructure. This ultimately contributed to urban growth and development of Nakuru. By 1966, the population of Nakuru was expanding rapidly. This saw the establishment of a prefabricated wood housing plant (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78:3). Indeed, the expanding demand for prefabricated housing units also created a lot of demand for wood related products.

By 1974, a chipboard factory was under construction at Nakuru (Government of Kenya, Nakuru district development Plan 1974-78:6). While this contributed to the growth and development of Nakuru, it had a devastating effect on neighboring forests. On one hand, there was an increase in demand for building materials to meet urban demand while on the other hand, the rising urban population created a demand for charcoal (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78:6).

There was also the potential of tourist development in Nakuru which contributed to the development of the town by way of tourist hotels. Thus, for the development of the town, there was an important link between urban and rural development. The rural neighborhoods of Nakuru the formerly landless people were given land in Nakuru following the exit of European farmers who owned large tracts of land in Nakuru district (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78). One such beneficiary was Hannington Mwangi's father, Mr Joram Ngure who was given a piece of land that he later sold and settled at Kabazi. He felt that Kabazi was more secure and private.

Another factor which favoured the development of the town was its siting along the main International trunk road A 104/109 between Mombasa, Nairobi and Kampala (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78:7). The town

experienced rapid growth of motor traffic which gave a big impetus to the development of tourist hotels and transport services in the town (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78:7).

Demographic characteristics within the business sector in Nakuru showed a remarkable transformation in 1971. This is because the government's Africanization policy, in the town, almost reached its peak, because in the business sector, the wananchi (citizens) replaced several non-citizen traders in the town. While writing about this, the District Commissioner noted in 1971 that:

It is encouraging to report here that other than in Nakuru, business in all other areas of the district were 100% in the hands of the wanainchi... in the town, a number of business were taken over from non-citizens by prospective African businessmen... (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1971, p 1).

In 1972, Nakuru, the capital of Rift Valley Province as well as Nakuru district, continued to expand progressively, towards achieving more improved conditions and facilities to keep abreast with the ever-increasing population. In particular, the Municipal Council worked tirelessly to maintain better housing conditions, better sewerage systems, better roads, and schools in this rapidly growing town (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1972).

The post-colonial government embarked on measures to increase small-hold agricultural production in Nakuru District. By 1970, these measures had begun to bear fruit. With regard to pyrethrum farming, the yield ranged from 500-1000 Kg of dried flowers per an acre by 1970. This offered good returns to the farmers. The increase in pyrethrum yield saw the establishment of a pyrethrum processing factory at Nakuru. According to Evans Atika, this pyrethrum factory was already functional by 1972 since he was hired as a casual labourer in this factory during that year. The establishment of this factory was also captured in the government's district development plan. (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78:5).

With regard to maize and wheat farming, it was noted in 1970 that, maize and wheat flour mills existed in Nakuru which made local processing possible. Wheat, maize and barley were grown around Molo and Mau Narok areas in large quantities. Factors

which encouraged the rise in production included favourable prices. Farmers also received credit and stable market as well as other inputs such as fertilizers, seeds and machinery which boosted production. (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78; 5).

Another crop which contributed to industrial growth and development of Nakuru was sunflower. This crop became popular in Nakuru in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Its popularity and subsequent mass production witnessed the establishment of an oil extracting factory at Nakuru (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78; 5).

Agricultural activities in Nakuru district were mostly organized on a cooperative society basis. These cooperative societies were headquartered at Nakuru.

There is one cooperative union headquartered at Nakuru with branches at Naivasha and Molo. Some 50 cooperative societies are affiliated to the union which gives them services on commission (preparation of trial balances, budgets and loan applications) (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78; 6).

There was an expansion of the Lake Nakuru National Park in the 1970-1974 development period. This was accompanied by an improved road access from [Nakuru] town in order to increase the tourist potential of the park (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78;7). This is bearing in mind that most of the tourist hotels were developed in Nakuru town.

The period between 1974 and 1978 witnessed an expansion of water supply for the town (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78). In addition, there was a re-siting and extension of Nakuru Sewerage... in 1974 (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78:2). This was done to meet the ever-expanding urban population of Nakuru.

The town also became a strategic location for marketing agricultural produce during the 1974-1978 period. As a result, a need was felt of improving on road infrastructure linking the town and adjacent rural neighborhoods.

Due to its strategic position in agricultural production, the district is relatively well served by a road network... with the recent introduction of intensive methods of agricultural land use, emphasis should now be placed on the improvements of access roads to facilitate marketing of agricultural produce and provision of government and other services to the expanding population (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-1978:2).

The period also experienced a completion of an industrial estate in Nakuru (Nakuru District development Plan 1974-78).

The government embarked on an industrialization programme which was aimed at stimulating agricultural production in rural areas and generating employment in urban centres. About 10 percent of the population in Nakuru district was engaged in wage employment, a majority of whom were based in Nakuru. This situation was noted in the Nakuru district development plan 1989-1993 thus:

In 1979 the district labour force comprised 46% out of a population of 5,227,098. About 10% of the district's population is engaged in wage employment, a majority of whom are centered in the main urban centers of Nakuru, Gilgil, Naivasha, Molo and Elburgon. This is due to the concentration of industries in these centers with Nakuru town, the district's capital, generating 30% of the total wage employment in the district Nakuru District Development Plan 1989-1993:35).

By 1974, youthful population of Nakuru was on the increase. Nakuru municipality had, by this time, 9 secondary schools of which 3 were government aided and the rest privately owned (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78: 8). The town also acted as the centre for training the much-needed medical staff to run health facilities most of which were headquartered in the town. By 1974, a medical assistant training centre and the Nakuru Nurses school were nearing completion (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1974-78:8).

Furthermore, Nakuru town continued, in 1974, to experience business as well as population boom during the year because of the frequent visits of His excellency the President Jomo Kenyatta in Nakuru during the year ... and because of this Nakuru ... continued to thrive and make tremendous progress (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1974, p 1). The DC noted in 1974 that:

When the president visits Nakuru during his busy tour of Rift Valley province, he attracts a lot of visitors to the town, as well as the many delegations that come to see him. This boosts business in the town. The municipal Council of Nakuru, which is charged with the heavy responsibility of providing services to the residents of the town did its best to provide facilities such as residential houses, water, schools, roads and other social and recreational facilities needed by the town residents, despite its bad financial position. Above all, the municipal council strived to keep the town clean throughout the year, despite its bad financial position (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1974, p2). .... Industrially, Nakuru became home to yet another new factory when a big oil processing industry, the Elianto Kenya Limited, was established in Nakuru's Industrial Area and was officially opened by His Excellency the President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 1974. This industry greatly helped in alleviating the unemployment situation not only in Nakuru but in Kenya as a whole. Its success was also likely to contribute greatly towards the saving of the much-needed foreign exchange (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1974, p31)

In trade, the government continued to extend loans to African businessmen and business women. A total of 31 traders were awarded loans in 1974 (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1974, p 31). This was done in order to provide the much-needed capital to Africans in order to capitalize on the Africanization policy of the government. As a result, many small-scale businesses in Nakuru continued to thrive and this also created jobs to some of the unemployed within the town.

Nakuru town witnessed a rapid rate of urbanization in the post-colonial period. The town had, by 1975, become the largest in the Province with an area of 32 square kilometres with a population of about 50,000. During the same year, the Municipal Council completed the construction of 312 houses at Kaloleni 'C' which cost about 5.4 million shillings. This project was financed by the National Housing Corporation (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual report 1975, p 61-62).

The rate of urbanization within Nakuru however, was higher than the rate of industrialization and this created a myriad of challenges for both the municipal council and its residents. Levels of crime shot to the rooftop as unemployment surged among the residents of the town. Reporting on police and policing services in Nakuru, the District Commissioner noted in 1976 that manpower continued to be inadequate. The population and crime both in municipality and Rural areas have doubled (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual report 1976, p 62).

Most of the victims of crime in Nakuru were tourists, for example, on the 28<sup>th</sup> May, 1976, Mr. Nuenayier Helmut Walter a German tourist from Munich parked his Landrover KPX 248 outside Kenya Commercial Bank Nakuru at about 10.30 a.m. and went to the bank. He came back after 30 minutes and found property worth Kshs. 2,920/- stolen and made a report to the police. Yet again on 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1976 a gang of three men stole a camera and some other valuables from a tourist vehicle, (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Annual Report 1976, p 65).

This attests to the fact that Nakuru was gaining popularity with regard to attracting tourists even though crime was the greatest threat to the development of the industry.

## **5.2 Nakuru under the Nyayo Era**

Nakuru town was by 1979 touted as one of the most commercialized centre in the country because of its agricultural and industrial potential (Nakuru District Development plan 1989-1993: 35). The introduction of Nyayo sheds to cater for small scale traders boosted the commercial viability of the town. In terms of road infrastructure, the town was also well linked to other trading urban centres. The development of Nakuru depended on the agricultural production in adjacent rural areas. Even though factories developed in Nakuru over the years, these factories operated at their lowest capacity because of shortage of agricultural produce. It was noted in 1979, for example, that due to lack of sufficient farm produce these factories run at under capacity (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1979-1983:9). As a result of factories running at below capacity, coupled with rising urban population, the town experienced higher levels of unemployment in the late 1970s.

By 1978, many people in Nakuru were either small wage earners or those engaged in the informal sector. This cadre included tea kiosk owners/operators, shoe shine boys, matatu turn boys, newspaper hawkers among others (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1979-1983:13). Most of them were residing in poor housing facilities (*ibid*, p 12). In most cases, urban authorities viewed informal sector operators as a menace to urban life since most of them engaged in criminal activities.

Shoe shine boys and matatu turnboys, are another difficult group. Many of them are school dropouts from the low- class squatter workers or runaway kids from

home) who want to be independent and earn their own livelihood.... Some of these boys when they grow up become proud owners of food kiosks or some learn how to drive and become drivers and others get some kind of employment in other sectors but some inevitably fall to crime (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1979-1983: 13).

The population of Nakuru district in general and the town in particular had, by 1989, risen exponentially. The table below indicates the projected rate of urban population growth in Nakuru District between 1979 and 1993.

**Table 9: Projected urban population in Nakuru District, 1979-1993**

Urban center	1979	1988	1993
Nakuru	94,981	174,619	239,243
Molo	5,643	11,262	15,796
Njoro	6,111	12,215	17,133
Naivasha	12,102	26,289	38,620

**Source:** Government of Kenya, Nakuru district development plan 1989-1993: 19

This exponential growth in the population of Nakuru District and the town was attributed to high rate of rural-urban migration as noted in the 1989-1993 Nakuru District Development Plan thus:

Migration into and within Nakuru has been an extremely important element in its recent history and current situation. Like many former white settled areas in Kenya, Nakuru district has been an area of substantial immigration since independence. Many former European farms have been bought by either cooperatives, by farm buying companies or subdivided and distributed to settlement fund trustees to small holdings and distributed to smallholders who have moved into the district from neighboring districts with land pressures problems. There has also been a significant growth in the district's urban centers particularly Nakuru municipality. This has attracted a large number of immigrants in search of employment. The result has been an extremely rapid rate of population increase over the last two decades (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1989-1993: 19).

A greater percentage of the population of the town comprised of males. This was attributed to the high rate of immigration into these towns (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1989-1993: 18). This is bearing in mind that those who migrated mostly to urban centers in search of employment were men who mostly left their female forks to take care of their rural homes, including child rearing and

subsistence farming. The table below compares the number of male and female urban dwellers in Nakuru between 1969 and 1979.

**Table 10: Male and Female Migration to Nakuru Town, 1969-1979**

	1969			1979			Percentage increase
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
<b>Nakuru town</b>	26,116	21,035	47,151	51,301	41,550	92,851	97

**Source:** Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1989-1993: 21

Over half of the population in Nakuru in 1979 was born elsewhere (Nakuru District Development Plan 1989-1993). This, further stresses the fact that Nakuru urban dwellers were mostly migrants. The greatest number of migrants into Nakuru district came from central province and a substantial proportion came from parts of Rift-Valley and Western Province.

Nakuru town experienced a surge in population size between 1979 and 1996 as shown in the table below:

**Table 11: Projected urban population in Nakuru town, 1979-1993**

Urban centre	1979	1993	1994	1996
Nakuru	92,880	183,896	193,091	212,883

**Source:** Nakuru District Development Plan 1994-1996: 14

By 1996, the municipal council had failed in many areas of service provision and town planning except in a few areas.

The major achievements of the council has been provision of water from the greater Nakuru water supply, rehabilitation of town roads and preparation of Nakuru Water Master Plan (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1994-1996: 25).

Non-governmental organizations had come into play by 1996 to augment government efforts in providing essential services to the residents of Nakuru town.

Several NGOs operate in the district and include inter Aid Kenya, World Vision International, catholic diocese of Nakuru, Rotary club, maendeleo ya Wanawake organization, Kengo and Family Planning Association of Kenya. Most of these agencies are in the field of education, health, water, agro-forestry and women group activities. The activities of these NGOs are integrated into the district planning machinery through their interaction with various ministries. In some instances, task forces have been formed to streamline NGOs operating with those of the coordinating department (Government of Kenya, Nakuru District Development Plan 1994-1996: 26).

In the field of education, NGOs were involved in child sponsorship, supply of school stationary, construction and renovation of buildings as well as the supply of text books, furniture and workshop equipment. In the field of health, NGOs were involved in mobile clinic services (prevention and curative), nutrition (feeding centers) school health services, construction and renovation of health facilities. On matters of water, NGOs were mainly focused on roof water harvesting in sponsored schools. NGOs also helped women and youth groups to start income generating activities including assisting physically challenged persons (Nakuru District Development Plan 1994-1996: 26).

On the same note, the then president Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi also developed interest in the education sector. Apart from making Nakuru his home he also established learning institutions at Kabarak: a private primary school, secondary school and a university. Egerton University was also established during this era.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have argued that the Africanization policy of 1968 greatly developed Nakuru. The commercial sector and the civil service were put in the hands of the Africans. By 1969, Naivasha, Gilgil, Nakuru and Molo trading areas had been occupied by Africans. Traders were also given loans to boost their businesses. In terms of land ownership, we find that, the Land Ownership Policy was changed. Most agricultural produce which were being exported during the colonial period were now being fed into industries that had developed after independence. Most of the factories that developed in Nakuru were agricultural- based. The position of Nakuru along the main International trunk road A/104/109 made the town experience rapid growth of motor

traffic, transport services and tourism. By 1971, there was a remarkable transformation within the business sector.

Small-hold agricultural production increased. The increase in pyrethrum yield saw the establishment of a pyrethrum factory in Nakuru. Maize, wheat and barley were grown around, Molo and Mau Narok in large quantities making local processing possible. Farmers were also given credit facilities, machinery and a stable market to boost production. Similarly, sunflower farming encouraged the establishment of an Oil extracting factory. Lake Nakuru National Park was expanded in 1974 in order to boost tourism. Tourist hotels were also established with roads being improved as well. During the Nyayo era, Nyayo sheds were introduced to cater for small scale traders and boost the commercial viability of the town. In terms of road infrastructure, the town was well linked to other urban trading centres. The population continued expanding.

Moreover, the Non- Governmental Organizations also played a role in developing Nakuru. This was mainly in Education and health. They also helped the youth and women to start income generating projects.

The late president Daniel Arap Moi had great passion for Nakuru. He established his residence on the outskirts of Nakuru town and also an education complex next to his home in Kabarak. (primary and secondary school, then a university.) He also established another public university in Njoro on the outskirts of Nakuru. All these promoted the development of Nakuru

## CHAPTER SIX

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this study, we have been able to re-examine the history of the urban development of Nakuru in the colonial as well as post-period era. Although Nakuru was a colonial construct with lasting negative repercussions, the African population's impact on its history and development is often overlooked. This study shows how Africans took an active part in making use of the city and creating it, and how they were far from being subjects in the development of a European colonial city.

This re-interpretation of Nakuru's history suggests that the post-colonial city is the result of more than unjust and segregative colonial planning. Merging historical documentation with extensive contemporary urban theory, this study provides in-depth knowledge of the key historical roles played by locals in the development of their city. It argues that the idea of agency, a popular inroad to urban development today, is not a current phenomenon but one that has always existed with its many social, spatial, and physical ramifications.

This study tends to broach interdisciplinary themes important to urban planners, social scientists, historians, and those working with popular settlements in cities across the world. The urban history of Nakuru is as ancient, varied, and as complex as that of other continents, and the study of this history shares many of the theoretical, conceptual, and methodological challenges of urban history generally. Our knowledge of Nakuru's historic cities is based on archaeological investigation, analysis of historic documents, linguistics, and ethnographic field methods.

The historiography of cities in Africa has debated what constitutes a city, how urbanization can be apprehended in the archaeological record and in documentary sources, why cities emerged, and how historic cities have related to states. Religion, trade, and the concentration of power were major factors in the rise of cities across the continent. The largest and most well-studied cities were often the capitals of important states.

This study thus examined the origins and development of Nakuru between 1895 and 2002 with particular focus on: the origins of the town before the First World War; the role of settlers in the growth and development of Nakuru, between 1915 and 1945, the

development of Nakuru during the era of nationalism (between 1945 and 1963 and the development of Nakuru during the post colonial struggle (between 1963 and 2002).

The pace of development of Nakuru was very slow in the period leading up to the First World War because of lack of proper planning. In the absence of well surveyed plot within Nakuru during this period meant that no development would take place. European settlers played pivotal role in the development of Nakuru because they are the ones who were in charge of town planning and development. They dominated government offices in Nakuru as well as the the Municipal board/Council, the body charged with town planning and development matters. In fact, the presence of the European race in Nakuru was reason enough to plan and develop the town along racial lines.

Mau Mau struggle, just like the First and Second World War, slowed down the tempo of the town development as a lot of effort was taken away from town planning and development matters. The uprising also created fear and animosity among town dwellers and this was not healthy for the development of the town. The period after colonial rule witnessed changes, especially regarding government policies, which affected the growth and development of Nakuru. The lifting of colonial sanctions against rural-urban migration was key. It led to rapid urbanization of Nakuru as massive populations of Africans surged into the town. The policies such as Africanization of commerce witnessed a reduction of Indians in Nakuru as businesses and commercial ventures were taken up by Africans.

The place where Nakuru town stands was originally a grazing area for the Maasai community. As a result, the name Nakuru is traced to the Maasai. The siting of Nakuru as an urban area was a colonial undertaking. Its origins as a town are, therefore, related to the imperialist adventure of the British. First, the town started as an administrative centre and railway station. Administratively, Nakuru served the interests of the settler farmers, most of whom bought land in the area surrounding the town.

As a district and provincial headquarters, Nakuru was home to the District Commissioner (Nakuru District) and the Provincial Commissioner (Rift Valley Province). Government officers were stationed in Nakuru. These officers included

agricultural officers, health officers, veterinary officers, government engineers concerned with road construction and maintenance, among others.

As an administrative headquarters, Nakuru also became the home of Africans and Indians. Africans were tolerated in Nakuru in so far as they were ready to provide the much needed casual and temporary labour while Indians were confined largely within the commercial activities of the town. Indians supplied much of the food items which the residents of Nairobi subsisted on. The presence of Africans and Indians necessitated the need for town planning since the colonial government promoted racial segregation in urban areas. Town planning was done along racial lines. Africans were allocated their own residential zones as well as Indians.

Since the policy of racial segregation was a European/government idea and policy, only the Europeans would implement it. In fact, the policy was meant to advantage the European minority against other races. Africans and Indians did not tolerate racial segregation because it disadvantaged them. As such, it was the only the Europeans who would have implemented it (racial segregation). This explains why, in the initial years of the development of Nakuru, the Municipal Board (the body charged with administrative and governance issues of the town) was dominated by members of the European race. Indian and African representation on this board was an afterthought.

Lacking representation on the Municipal Board (and later the Municipal Council of Nakuru), Indians and Africans received a raw deal in matters of town planning and provision of essential amenities such as housing. The European race in the town only got involved in regulating and providing housing for Indians and Africans because of fear of disease epidemic which would originate from Indian and African residential areas and spread to European areas.

The fear of disease epidemics originating from African and Indian areas witnessed the provision of “better” houses as well as other measures that would improve sanitation and hygiene in the town. Hospitals were put up for Africans as well as proper drainage. The provision of these amenities and services in Nakuru gradually transformed the image of the town while, at the same time, leading to the growth and development of the town. Another fear which led to improvement of the town was crime. Without

secure and adequate employment opportunities, the urban population of Nakuru, Especially Africans, were feared because they would engage in crime as a source of employment. This fear led to the installation of street lights.

The end of the colonial period led to even greater problems during the development of Nakuru. While the colonial government had put in place sanctions against massive migration of populations to Nakuru, the reverse was the true after the period of colonization. Sanctions on rural-ruban migration were lifted and this witnessed increased rate of urbanization in the town. This compounded earlier problems of housing, water supply and employment. The rate of industrialization was lower compared to the rate of urbanization and this, in turn, created a myriad of urban problems.

Some government policies were friendly to the growth of Nakuru while others were retrospective. The Government policy of impromptu substitution led to the installation of industries in the town. This policy spurred economic growth in Nakuru by creating jobs. However, this policy was dealt a blow when the government allowed importation of second- hand goods. Importation of these goods killed many factories in Nakuru and created unemployment.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM

I am Rose Ombugheh, a post graduate student at Mount Kenya University and carrying out a study on A Historical Development of Nakuru Town, 1895-2002. You have been selected to participate in this study. If you consent to answering the questionnaire or giving an interview, your response will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will be used for academic purposes only. Your participation in this study is highly appreciated as it will contribute to the creation of knowledge in my field of study. You are free to ask any question, before, during and after filling the questionnaire or interview. You are also at liberty not to respond to questions you do not feel comfortable answering.

Thank you for accepting to participate in this study.

Thank you.

Rose Ombugheh

Phone number 0726888223

Email: ombugerose 2012@gmail. com



Mount Kenya University

## APPENDIX II: SAMPLE QUESTIONS

This research is meant for academic purpose only. It is intended to find out the historical development of Nakuru town from a socio-cultural, economic and political point of view. The following items will be used to guide the researcher during the interview process.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Sex \_\_\_\_\_

Year of Birth \_\_\_\_\_

Place of Birth \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status \_\_\_\_\_

Racial group \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Date of interview \_\_\_\_\_

### **Knowledge about the origins of Nakuru town.**

1. Have you ever lived or worked in Nakuru town?.....
2. If you lived or worked in Nakuru town, which years were those?.....
3. If you worked and lived in Nakuru Town where did you work and where did you live?...
4. Do you know how Nakuru town started?.....
5. If you know how Nakuru town started how did you know/source of information?

### **Nakuru Town during the colonial period**

6. Can you describe Nakuru town when you lived/worked there?.....
7. What contributed to its development during the colonial period?.....
8. Who were the inhabitants of Nakuru town?
9. Who was the main employer in Nakuru town when you lived/worked there?
10. Describe the nature of politics in Nakuru town when you lived there?
11. What did you like about Nakuru town? And why?
12. What did you hate about Nakuru town? And why?

### **Nakuru town after independence**

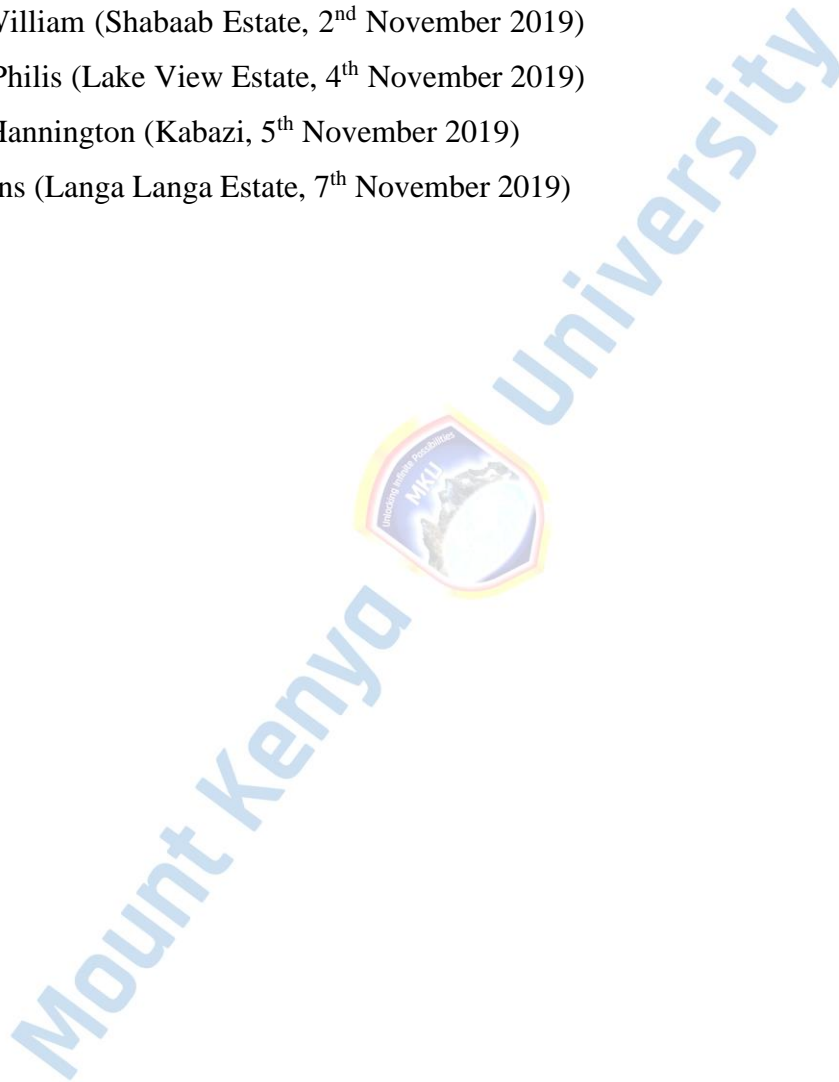
13. How did Nakuru town change under the Kenyatta administration in terms of politics/policies, economic/industrialization, human settlement etc.?
14. How did Nakuru town change during the Moi administration in terms of politics/policies, economic/industrialization, human settlement etc.



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### APPENDIX III: LIST OF RESPONDENTS

- 1: Boiyo Musa Richard (London estate, 28<sup>th</sup> October 2019)
- 2: Njihia Muirari (Elburgon, October 2019)
- 3: Njoroge Chege
- 4: Muituma G
- 5: Njoroge Joram (Bondeni Estate, 29<sup>th</sup> October 2019)
- 6: Oganda William (Shabaab Estate, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2019)
- 7: Ng'endo Philis (Lake View Estate, 4<sup>th</sup> November 2019)
- 8: Mwangi Hannington (Kabazi, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2019)
- 9: Atika Evans (Langa Langa Estate, 7<sup>th</sup> November 2019)



#### APPENDIX IV: WORK PLAN

ACTIVITY	PERIOD
PROPOSAL WRITING	August 2016
PROPOSAL DEFENCE	September 2016
DATA COLLECTION	October 2019
DATA ANALYSIS & THESIS WRITING	November- December 2019
SUBMISSION OF THESIS	January 2020
GRADUATION	2020



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## APPENDIX V: THE BUDGET

ACTIVITY	ITEMS/PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL COST
Consolidation of literature	Library search  Travelling expenses 100per day x 30days	3000
Designing and developing research instruments	Typing and photocopying of research instruments.	4000
Finalizing of research instruments (typing and photocopying)	Three interview schedules in each division	600
Main field Data collection (2 weeks)	Transport and accommodation	45,000
Data processing, analysis and report writing.		21,000
Purchases	Audio recorder	3000
10% contingency and institutional costs		8,200
Total		84,800

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