

**INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NANDI
AND HER NEIGHBOURS, KENYA, 1884 – 2003**

BY

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my dear wife, Christine Jeptepkeny Ng’etich; lovely children, Ermmah Jemutai, Alexander Kibiwot Ng’etich, Alloysius Kiprop, Kipchumba Ng’etich, Paaschae Jepkemboi, and Jonathan Kiprotich, who filled my life with love, faith, diligence, focus, and joy. Foremost, however, to my late mother, Mrs. Rose Tunyi, and my father, Mr. John Kipng’etich, who enabled me to face this blissful academic process.

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ABSTRACT

The study analysed the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, Kenya, from 1884 to 2003. The main thrust of the study was to unravel the key factors that have defined the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours and investigate the cause of intermittent border conflicts. Five objectives guided the study, namely, to analyse the pre-colonial inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884-1895; to examine the effects of colonial rule and the reconstruction of Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1895-1918; to establish the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1919-1939; to investigate the implications of the Second World War and decolonisation on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1939-1963, and to assess the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations, 1963-2003. The study utilised the Conflict paradigm to describe factors determining ethnic relations and the cause of intermittent border conflicts between Nandi and her neighbours. It adopted the Conflict and Agency theories. The researcher utilised a qualitative approach and a historical research design to link phases of the study. Both primary and secondary sources informed the research. Primary sources involved the use of vast archival materials and oral interviews to provide native views and official colonial and post-colonial government socio-economic positions. Secondary sources were utilised to contextualize respective milestones, identify gaps, and trace the historical relations between Nandi and her neighbours, thus laying down the foundation for the significance of the study. The target population comprised seventy informed Nandi, Luyia and Luo residents drawn from the study area. Purposive and snowballing sampling methods were used to identify and interview seventy informed respondents. The research instrument employed to collect oral data was an open-ended interview schedule. The data was analysed using a qualitative comparative-historical method. It was compiled thematically and documented chronologically using direct quotations and descriptive texts. Seeking permits and authorisations was done before data collection. The study found that the centre of inter-ethnic relations pivoted around cattle raiding, not limited to cows but also women and children, barter trade, and intermarriages during pre-colonial times. The colonial establishment in Nandi greatly obstructed their labour from native economic activities. Land alienation, taxation, forced labour, forced migrations, and the assassination of Koitaleel Samoei had a long-term effect on their inter-ethnic relations. The burning of homes and grain stores destroyed food reserves, causing them to expand their adventure in cattle raiding among the Luo and Luyia. The study further established that the Nandi refused to adopt Western education following a forceful eviction from their Lands in the Nandi South. Pressure from confinement in a reserve was projected to neighbour communities, while others emigrated elsewhere in Uganda and Tanzania. The study concluded that the colonial origin of Kenya and the confinement of the Nandi into a restricted Reserve progressively influenced their post-independence ethnic relations with their neighbours; the concerns that were informed by ethnicity, ethnic animosity, land disputes, economic and political inequality, electoral violence, the creation of arbitrary borders and inept leadership. The study recommends creating an inter-county conflict resolution committee to resolve persistent conflicts, restoring mutual trust and sensitising communities to adopt national integration and cohesion policy as a pillar for inter-ethnic relations. Finally, the study suggests further research to determine to which extent education and religion have influenced the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A. C. C.	Assistant County Commissioner.
A. C. K.	Anglican Church of Kenya.
A. D. C.	African District Council.
A. I.	Artificial Insemination.
ALDEV.	African Land Development Board.
A. R.	Annual Reports.
B. E. A. P.	British East Africa Protectorate
C. M. S.	The Conference of Missionary Societies (in Great Britain and Ireland) - founded in 1912 with over 40 Protestant missionary societies.
D. A. R.	District Annual Reports.
D. C.	District Commissioner.
D. C. C.	Deputy County Commissioner
D. O.	District Officer.
D. P.	Democratic Party.
D. Q. R.	District Quarterly Reports.
D. R. C.	The Democratic Republic of Congo.
E. A. P.	East Africa Protectorate.
E.A.E.P.	East Africa Educational Publishers.
FORD.	Forum for Restoration of Democracy.
FORD-K.	Forum for Restoration of Democracy-Kenya.

FORD-A	Forum for Restoration of Democracy-Asili.
G. A. S.....	Government Approved School.
I. B. E. A. Co.....	Imperial British East Africa Company.
I. C. J.	Kenya Chapter of International Law of Jurists.
K. A. N. U.....	Kenya African National Union.
K. A. D. U.....	Kenya African Democratic Union
K. A. U.	Kenya African Union.
K. A. R.	King's African Rifles.
K. L. B.....	Kenya Literature Bureau.
K. N. A.	Kenya National Archives.
K. N. B. S	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
K. N. C.	Kenya National Congress.
K. S. C	Kenya Social Congress.
L. C. A.	Land Control Act
L. C. B.	Land Control Board.
L. N. C.	Local Native Council.
M. P.	Member of Parliament. (National Assembly).
NACOSTI.....	National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation.
N. A. D	Native Affairs Department.
N. C. C. K.	National Council of Churches of Kenya.
N.I.T.D.....	Native Industrial Training Depot
NZA.....	Nyanza.

O. I.....	Oral Interview.
Group O. I.	Group Oral Interview.
P. A. R.	Provincial Annual Reports.
P. C.	Provincial Commissioner.
R. V. P.....	Rift Valley Province.
T. J. R. C.	Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission.
U.N.E.S.C.O.....	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.
USAID.....	United States Agency for International Development.
W.H.O.....	World Health Organisation.
WW I.....	World War One.
WW II.....	World War Two.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following are key terms used in this study:

- i *Agency:* It is an individual's capacity to act independently and make free choices. It implies the right to influence the social relations in which a person is knotted.
- ii *Bantunized:* It is the process of being assimilated into a Bantu cultural setup.
- iii *Bourgeoisie:* It is a class of business owners and merchants which emerged in the Late Middle Ages, initially as a middle class between peasantry and aristocracy; nonetheless, it has different meanings in different contexts and times. They are traditionally contrasted with the proletariat by their wealth, political power, education, and access to and control of cultural, social and financial capital.
- iv *Comparative methods:* These qualitative methods in the social sciences offer understanding through cross-case comparison. For this, they evaluate the features of various phenomena and highlight their similarities

and differences. In addition, comparative methods are usually used to explore common causes among circumstances. Thus, they remain generally employed in all social sciences.

- v *Comparative-historical analysis:* A protuberant investigative exercise in the social sciences, particularly in history, political science and sociology.
- vi *Comparative-historical methods:* They are a group of techniques used for comparative historical analysis. These combine a diversity of comparative and within-case ways. Comparative-historical methodology essentially associates at least one within-case method and one comparative method.
- vii *Conflict Theory:* This sociology and social psychology concept emphasises a materialist interpretation of history, dialectical method analysis, a critical stance toward current social arrangements, and a political program of insurgency or, at least, reform.
- viii *Culture:* The arts and other indicators of human intellectual achievement are regarded collectively. Cumulative accumulation of knowledge,

experience, values, beliefs, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, spatial relations, perceptions of the universe, and material objects acquired by individuals over generations through individual and group determination.

- ix *Ethnic relations:* Social, cultural, political, and economic associations within ethnicities at all stages of society and the words ‘ethnic’ and ‘ethnicity’ shall be construed accordingly.
- x *Ethnic Group:* This means a group of people defined by colour, race, religion, or national origins. References to a person’s ethnic group denote any ethnic group to which the person belongs.
- xi *Geographic Information System:* A geographic information system is a framework for assembling, managing and analysing data. Deep-rooted in the science of geography, GIS integrates numerous categories of data. It investigates spatial location and organises layers of evidence into visualisations using maps and 3D scenes. With this unique capability, GIS reveals more in-depth insights into data, such as designs,

relationships, and circumstances—helping users make smarter decisions.

- xii *Inter-ethnic Relations:* They encompass processes of social inclusion, referred to under various headings such as incorporation, insertion, acculturation, assimilation, integration and even absorption. In addition, inter-ethnic relations may refer to the rigid preservation of national, cultural and religious boundaries between groups and collectives on the one hand and to processes of cultural development, innovation, and societal transformation understood as concerning failed or successful forms of diversity management. It also includes inter-racial relations and intra-ethnic relationships.
- xiii *Nandi Neighbours:* Nandi neighbours in this context refer to the residents inhabiting the western Nandi County border. These are the Luo and the Luyia, occupying Kakamega, Vihiga, and Kisumu counties.
- xiv *Peasant:* A peasant is an agricultural manual worker or a farmer with limited land ownership, particularly one living in the Middle Ages under feudalism or

small agrarian producers who manufacture primarily for subsistence.

- xv *Policy:* A policy is a deliberate system of guidelines to direct decisions and achieve rational outcomes. It is a declaration of intent implemented as a procedure or protocol.
- xvi *Reconstruction:* It is the action or process of modification, transformation, or being altered.
- xvii *Reserve:* Settlement land was set aside for Africans.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The chapter provides a synopsis of the study, whose main objective was to analyse the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours, Kenya, 1884 – 2003. It roofed the following aspects: the study’s background, the research problem, the research objectives, research questions, justification of the study, the significance of the study, limitations and scope of the study, the study area, historical background and geography of Nandi people and her neighbours, literature review, philosophical paradigm, theoretical framework, research methodology, ethical considerations and the thesis periodisation. The chapter forms an essential research component, forming the groundwork for propagating research.

Africa has faced a growing crisis of ethnic identity.¹ Unhappily, The impact of ethnic conflicts ranging from civil wars to genocide has recurrently challenged Africa as a continent.² From the conflicts between the southern Igbo and the northern Hausa in the Biafra War to the ethnic cleansing in Darfur and Rwanda, Africa has suffered tremendously due to ethnic discord.³ However, the disaster may only be theorized within the current settings and the framework of the colonist reform of pre-colonial ethnic groups.⁴ This study, therefore, attempts to reconstruct and unearth the factors

¹ Berman, Bruce J. “Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa.” *JICA Research Institute – Ethnic Diversity and Economic Instability in Africa: Policies for Harmonious Development*. 22 (2010). 1-36. Web. 28 March 2016.

² Cordell, Karl and Stefan Wolff. *Ethnic Conflict: Causes-Consequences-Responses*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2010. Print.

³ Griffiths, Ieuan. “The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries.” *Geographical Journal* 152.2 (1986): 204-16. Web. 28 March 2016.

⁴ P. Godfrey Okoth, “United States Foreign Policy and Africa, 1945 – 1953.” In P. Godfrey Okoth, ed., *The Americas Before and After Columbus*, Kampala: USIS, 1993 p. 51.

determining the Nandi inter-ethnic relations in the study area. The ongoing communal violence in Nigeria and South Sudan is tied to competition over scarce fertile land.⁵ Africa's current boundaries never existed but were crafted by colonial powers who partitioned the continent into their spheres of influence with little or no regard for the African population's socio-cultural characteristics.⁶

Consequently, partitioning affected the African habitat, particularly the Nandi, with minor conflicts, mainly livestock raids from neighbourhood communities.⁷ A typical African boundary may group many ethnic groups in one state or cut across many ethnic borders of the past, like the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania in East Africa.⁸ Most of these colonial boundaries were inherited by African governments at independence, causing socio-political and economic instability in Africa.⁹ European colonial domination has caused contemporary Africa to shift its perception, causing its scarcity by creating alien boundaries.¹⁰ Indigenous Africans knew no ethnic boundaries.¹¹ In Africa, transitional zones between communities could comfortably communicate in each other's mother tongue.¹²

⁵ Richmond, Matthew (10 May 2011). "Southern Sudan Clashes in Warrap State Kill 72, Army Says". *BusinessWeek*. Retrieved 7 January 2012. See also: Folami, Olakunle Michael; Folami, Adejoke Olubimpe (January 2013). "Climate Change and Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria". *Peace Review*. **25** (1): 104–10.

⁶ Alabi, D. T. (2006) "Emerging Trends and Dimensions of the Rwanda Crisis" *Africa Journal of International Affairs and Development*." : 57. See also, Cammack P., Pool, D., and Tordoff, W. (1988). *Third World Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, London, Macmillan Education Ltd: 13.

⁷ Aremu, Johnson Olaosebikan (2010), *Conflicts in Africa: Meaning, Causes, Impact and Solution*, 549-552. *Africa Research Review*.

⁸ O. I. with Arap Sang' Chililei, male, 80 years, on 10th May, 2022 at Sang'alo, Nandi North.

⁹ FANSO, Verkijika G. "Traditional and Colonial African Boundaries: Concepts and Functions in Inter-Group Relations." *Présence Africaine*, no. 137/138 (1986): 58–75. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24351081>.

¹⁰ Aremu J. O., (2010) *Op. Cit.* 551.

¹¹ Wright, Donald R. "“What Do You Mean There Were No Tribes in Africa?": Thoughts on Boundaries: And Related Matters: In Precolonial Africa." *History in Africa* 26 (1999): 409–26. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3172148>.

¹² O. I. with Edward Birgen, Male, 90 years, on March 10th , 2022 at Kaiboi, Nandi.

Land is becoming a critical aspect of many conflicts in the world.¹³ Clashes between different groups may lead to evictions, displacement and ethnic cleansing. Africa has a history of land disputes and contestations, which have resulted in various inequalities in the distribution of land resources.¹⁴ The land has been a subject of conflict, conquest, appropriation and exploitation, resulting in many African wars. These conflicts have dramatically informed different people's social, economic and political positions.¹⁵ This condition has resulted in numerous land conflicts, and in most African states, the land question and past inequalities remain unresolved. Land and border contestations in Africa have intensified and become more widespread.¹⁶

Land battles that sparked African conflicts include Western Sudan – Darfur in the 1970s when the government eliminated its ‘native’ administration. It rejected indigenous land rights, denying Darfur's pastoralists access to pasturelands. However, the Sudan government never addressed land protests, and in 2003, a rebellious movement revolted against the Sudanese government.¹⁷

The 1994 Rwanda genocide was catalysed much by land scarcity rather than racial pressure.¹⁸ Africa's most densely inhabited country found itself nearly without enough

¹³ Medard Mamdani, (1996), *Citizen and Subjects: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of the late Colonialism*. Princeton, NJ. Princeton University Press.

¹⁴ Boudreaux K, Vhugen D, Walter N (2017) *Community land conflicts: how local land disputes affect private sector investments and development projects*. UK Department of International Development, London.

¹⁵ Kapil, Ravi L. “On the Conflict Potential of Inherited Boundaries in Africa.” *World Politics* 18, no. 4 (1966): 656–73. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2009809>.

¹⁶ Prof. Gbenga Oduntan, (2015), *The Conversation: Africa’s Border Disputes are set to rise – but there are ways to stop them*. University of Canterbury, Ket, UK..

¹⁷ Okoth-Okendo, *The last Colonial Question. An Essay I the pathology of Land administration systems in Africa. A Keynote presentation at a Workshop in Norwegian Land tools relevant to Africa. Oslo, Norway 3-4 May 2007*. Accessed at <http://www.statkart.no>, see also, Eric Worby, *A Redivided land? New Agrarian Conflicts & Question in Zimbabwe*. *Journal of Agrarian change*. Vol. 1 Issue 4 pages 475 – 5009.

¹⁸ Prunier, Gérard (1999). *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (2nd ed.). Kampala: Fountain Publishers Limited. ISBN 978-9970-02-089-8.

land to make farmers trust that they and their children could support themselves. Land grievances in Zimbabwe helped fuel the twelve-year war that led to independence on 18th April 1980. However, recent violence stems from land reform efforts. In economic justice, the government seized white farms and handed them to Africans. During the 1994 transition to democracy in South Africa, the government planned to redistribute thirty per cent of white-owned farms to ‘natives’ within twenty years. However, more than half of them failed, causing racial violence.¹⁹

Kenya only existed after establishing European occupation in Africa, particularly the British dominion.²⁰ Present-day Kenya was a creation of the colonialists.²¹ All the communities living in present Kenya lived harmoniously and respected each other.²² As they fought over territories like the case of Maasai and Nandi, they all knew their parts.²³ Therefore, land contestations in Kenya and colonialism in Africa and Kenya lasted about sixty-eight years.²⁴ Many indigenous communities lost rights to indigenous land when the British privatised landholdings.²⁵ This land scarcity created ethnic land

¹⁹ ANC, Policy Documents, Policy on the Restitution of Land Rights, Available at www.anc.org.za [Accessed 21 January 2014] Bauer, N., (2012). Experts: Zuma's land reform plans need ploughing, from the *Mail & Guardians*, 24 October [online]. Available at www.mg.co.za [Accessed 21 January 2014] |Department of Land Affairs. (1997b). White Paper on South African Land Policy. Available at www.ruraldevelopment.gov.za (Accessed 21 January 2022)

²⁰ Charles Hornsby, (2012), *Kenya: A History Since Independence*. I. B. Tauris & Company Ltd., New York NY 10010: 1-2.

²¹ John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 20, No. 4, White Presence and Power in Africa (1979), pp. 487-505

²² Wright, Donald R. "“What Do You Mean There Were No Tribes in Africa?”: 409–26.

²³ Waller, Richard. “The Maasai and the British 1895–1905 the Origins of an Alliance.” *The Journal of African History* 17, no. 4 (1976): 529–53.

²⁴ Tiyambe, Zeleza, “The Colonial Labour System in Kenya.” In *An Economic History of Kenya*, William Robert Ochieng’ and Robert M. Maxon, eds., p. 171.

²⁵ KNA: Great Britain. 1933. Report of the Kenya Land Commission. Great Britain Parliamentary Paper, Cmnd 4580. Also, *Kenya Land Commission: Evidence and Memoranda* 3 Vols. Colonial Paper no. 91 (1934).

grievances that inspired violence during Kenya's elections since the 1990s and, most recently, after the 2007 presidential elections.²⁶

Before the Imperial government arrived in Nandi, the county was an arena of significant factions, including the Maasai and the Luyia. Furthermore, the new visitors turned this discord a few marks up. The grand declaration that the Crown and not the 'natives' had title deeds to parcels of land in Nandi was numerous and formed the fountain of all the distrust.²⁷ In return, the 'native' Nandi resisted outsiders' intrusion into their land. Consequently, following the eleven-year Nandi Struggle, the penal missions culminated in the 1905 Nandi War and one of the British militaries' fierce campaigns.²⁸

The study area borders five counties: Kericho, Kisumu, Vihiga, Kakamega and Uasin Gishu. Several cross-border disputes erupt almost every year along its edges. For example, in 2018, the month of June, ethnic clashes between Kisumu County residents and Nandi erupted following Nandi County's claims that seven critical towns along the border initially belonged to its side.²⁹ In addition, Chemelil, Muhoroni, Songhor, Miwani, Kibos, Koru, and Kopere are prone to perennial violence hotspots. During this chaos, many lives got lost, and property worth millions of shillings remained destroyed. Thousands of hectares of land and seven key towns are in Kisumu County.³⁰

²⁶ O. I. with Kipsewer Arap Tengwa, Male, 80 years, on 20th March, 2022 at Meteitei.

²⁷ Coldham, Simon. "Colonial Policy and the Highlands of Kenya, 1934–1944." *Journal of African Law* 23, no. 1 (1979): 65–83.

²⁸ Matson A. T. (1982) *Nandi Resistance to British Rule: The Volcano Erupts*, University of Cambridge, African Studies Centre. Cambridge African Monographs 15. See also Nandi County – Elekevu. <https://elekevu.com/counties/nandi-county/>

²⁹ Business Daily, Tuesday May 29, 2018. Economy, Nandi headed for class with Kisumu in boundary review bid.

³⁰ O. I. with Laurence Okech, male, 88 years, 22nd February, 2022 at Muhoroni, Kisumu County. And Nixon Cheres, male, 24 years, on 16th June, 2022 at Meteitei, Nandi County.

However, according to the colonial government's original boundaries, these towns belonged to Nandi County.³¹ Ponjoke, on the other hand, in Aldai along the Nandi-Vihiga border, has been affected by contestations over the years.³² Moreover, the recent case has been the skirmishes staged at Tabolwa-Kataniin village on the edge of Nandi and Kakamega counties, leading to the shooting of two men and five others injured on Friday, 29th May 2020.³³ The dispute gained momentum after two families living in Kataniin village, Nandi North sub-county, on the common border of the two neighbouring counties, disagreed over a piece of land and flared into an ethnic clash.³⁴

The studies reviewed have not examined inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours. However, many existing works focus on general land conflicts and resistance to colonial intrusion. The attendant implications of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations up to the interwar era stand unresolved. Correspondingly, the effects of the Second World War, decolonisation, and post-colonial Nandi ethnic relations remained unexplored until 2003. Therefore, the current study stands anchored on these new or underexplored areas with scope for further research. While examining the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 – 2003, prominence stands on Nandi County and her adjacent borders, Kakamega, Vihiga and Kisumu, which are prone to ethnic clashes.³⁵ The other edges of Kericho-Nandi and Uasin Gishu-Nandi are less susceptible to ethnic conflicts. Nandi and

³¹ O. I. with Charles Mukomari, male, 25 years, on 8th April, 2022, at Vihiga, Kaimosi, and Charles Shirutsi, male, 89 years, on 21st March, 2022 at Serem, Nandi County.

³² O. I. with Arap Sono Raphael, male, 92 years, on 3rd March 2022 at Kaiboi, Nandi North.

³³ Daily Nation, May 30, 2020, Counties: Kakamega.

³⁴ O. I. with Shamala Muchimba, male, 80 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Ikoli, Kakamega, and Philemon Chirchir, male, 26 years, on 20th March, 2022 at Chepnyogoson, and Milka Jelimo Sitienei, female, 30 years, on 20th March, 2022 at Chepnyogoson.

³⁵ O. I. with Arap Sono Raphael, Op. Cit. on 3rd March 2022.

Kipsigis have never raided each other, and there has been intermittent friendliness among them.³⁶

1.2 The Statement of the Problem

Existing works reviewed demonstrate that a limited number of scholars have addressed inter-ethnic relations, ethnic identity and ethnic consciousness in Nandi County. The inter-ethnic relations in Kenya have always been dynamic and complex.³⁷ Kenya has diverse ethnic groups with differing livelihood strategies and divergent social and economic institutions. Therefore, it is affected by the mutability of relations, leading to breaking or building ties at all levels, intra and inter. The Nandi-Kisumu, Nandi-Vihiga, and Nandi-Kakamega borders encompass the sections in Kenya challenged by intermittent inter-ethnic skirmishes over the years. (See Map 1.3, The Study Area: Nandi and her Neighbouring Counties.)

The linguistic evidence indicates a close trade relationship between Nandi and her neighbours dating back to the pre-colonial epoch. Words such as *siro*, *rabuonik*, *kesumet*, *isagek*, *isojek*, *korokoro*, *Kiplem*, *Jebolem*, *Arap Lulei*, and other linguistic evidence suggest a close relationship between Nandi, Luo and Luyia. In this scenario, an apparent deficiency of satisfactory data exists as appertains the cause of intermittent conflicts only along the borderline joining these three communities. This study pursued to investigate the cause of border conflicts between the said communities as they occurred over the years. Moreover, the study seeks to unravel the key factors that have

³⁶ O. I. with Edward Birgen, Op. Cit. 10th March, 2022. See also Huntingford, G. W. B. (1952) Tribal Control in a Pastoral Society, The Nandi of Kenya, Routledge & Gegan Paul Ltd., Broadway House, 68-74, Centre Lane, London, pp. 1-2.

³⁷ Iyer S, Weeks M (2020). Social interactions, ethnicity, religion, and fertility in Kenya. Journal of Demographic Economics 86, 329–365. <https://doi.org/10.1017/dem.2020.6>

determined the inter-ethnic relations, both conflictual and non-conflictual relations, between Nandi and her neighbours, explicitly referencing the Luyia and Luo communities as they occurred in the study period.

1.3.0 Objectives of the Study

The following objectives guided the study: -

1.3.1 General Objective

The study's main objective is to analyse the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours from 1884 to 2003.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

This study endeavoured to pursue the following specific objectives: -

- i) To analyse precolonial inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 – 1895.
- ii) To examine the effects of colonial rule on the reconstruction of Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1895 – 1918.
- iii) To establish the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1919 – 1939.
- iv) To investigate the implications of the Second World War and decolonisation on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1939 – 1963.
- v) To assess the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations, 1963 – 2003.

1.4 Research Questions

The study questions were as follows:

- i) What precolonial inter-ethnic relations existed between the Nandi and her neighbours?
- ii) What colonial rule policies defined ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours until the First World War?
- iii) How did the interwar colonial policies implicate Nandi's inter-ethnic relations with her neighbours?
- iv) How did the Second World War and decolonisation affect Nandi's relations with her neighbours?
- v) Which post-colonial factors influenced the ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours?

1.5. Justifications of the Study

Africa has faced many conflicts, and Kenya is no exception.³⁸ The spectra of new ethnic conflicts raise more fear and apprehension in Kenya than anything else. The wave of inter-ethnic conflicts in the former provinces of Kenya, Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western and some zones of the coastal region has proved intermittent. An initial examination of the current correlated literature scarcely presented slightly comprehensive or fascinating work on the factors influencing Nandi's ethnic relations with their neighbours. In light of the above scenario, this study examines the factors influencing inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours to fill this knowledge gap.

³⁸ Africa Watch, 1993, *Divide and Rule: State -sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya*, Human Rights Watch, New York, Washington, November

However, the available information is scanty. The study area needs to be more adequately explored and has only been generalised. Therefore, this study attempts to contribute to existing historiography by analysing the factors determining the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours. The study also examined Nandi's pre-colonial inter-ethnic ties and how they got influenced during the colonial period and beyond independence. Many ethnic relations readings have not considered the factors defining the relationships between Nandi and her neighbours over time. Instead, these studies have dwelt on conflict dynamics.

Therefore, this study laid its foundation on the existing works to analyse the ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours in the period under review. The conclusions of this study will benefit the government in policy formulation and implementation at the national and county levels on land, national cohesion and integration, politics, peacebuilding and conflict management to sort out the historical inequalities and persistent conflicts that need a national dialogue. Further, the researcher hopes that the study outcomes will contribute to building a Kenyan historiography of ethnic relations and a continental viewpoint, ultimately forming a point of reference and inspiration for scholars.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The particular significance of the study lies in the fact that the research findings will go a long way in attempting to address the factors that have led to ethnic contestations. This study adopted a historical perspective to trace and examine the relations between Nandi and her neighbours regarding trade and cultural exchange in the period under review. Kenya is a multi-ethnic country with diverse ethnic groups.

However, it is prevalent with acts of violence that include intermittent ethnic eruptions of violence in particular sections of the country and continuous cycles of election-related acts of violence, including sexual and gender-based acts of violence. These contestations affect the socio-economic and political progress of the communities concerned. The occurrences of ethnic conflicts in Kenya have increased in the recent past. They are multiple and overlying, affecting the Rift Valley, Nairobi, the marginal pastoralist and the Coastal region. Therefore, as a country destined for progress, Kenya should create a peaceful environment suitable for attaining its national goals.

Further, the primary forces responsible for the rise of intermittent conflicts with her neighbours and how to contain the attendant effects and promote cordial cohesion and integration have been analysed to develop recommendations to curb the situation. The study maintains that a suitable environment must be created for a country to attain optimum growth and robust development. It also posits that the government should formulate policies and adopt national integration and cohesion as a pillar for inter-ethnic relations to achieve this. In addition, the study highlights the need for quick inter-county conflict resolutions addressed by governors of Nandi, Kisumu, Vihiga, and Kakamega counties. This particular action will iron out persistent conflicts within the study area. Further, the study calls for strengthening vital institutions for cohesion and integration, addressing socio-economic inequalities, managing ethnic and socio-cultural diversity, conflict prevention, management, and reconciliation. These include national and county legislative institutions, the judiciary and public service institutions.

The study in question, consequently, is essential as it surveys the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours from 1884 to 2003. The study moves the historiography of ethnic relations forward, documenting these factors and suggesting appropriate measures to curb the situation in the study area and Kenya. The findings of this historical study will deepen the current understanding and stand viewed as a lens and framework for the conceptualization of contemporary ethnic relations in the counties discussed. Additionally, the data on the historical achievements and weaknesses examined in this work gives the government an impetus to formulate appropriate policies for conflict prevention, mainstreaming peace education, encouraging inter-ethnic dialogue, and entrenching positive value systems in all segments of society.

1.7 Limitations and Scope of the Study

The study constitutes a detailed analysis of the factors determining the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours in the period under review. The study was chronologically limited to the period 1884 – 2003. The focus is on relationships between Nandi and her neighbours during the stated period, covering precolonial, colonial and post-colonial epochs ending at the new dispensation. The study makes 1884 a starting point because this was when the Nandi had already settled in the area. The Nandi nation had been born, the Orkoiyot had been born, and his institution had taken shape, which justified the Nandi state.³⁹ This background then sets the ground to start the study.

³⁹ O. I. with Tobensoi Chepyego, Male, 89 years, on May 7th 2022 at Sang'alo-Resiot.

Similarly, the end period stands viewed as an epoch's culmination and another's beginning. The period represents the end of forty years of the KANU era comprising Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya and Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi, who succeeded and became the republic's second president of Kenya, both being KANU party kingpins.⁴⁰ This KANU era is known for a single-party government with a powerful president.⁴¹ The sunset of this era paved the way for the beginning of the second liberation in Kenya.⁴² The constitutional amendment repealing the famous section 2(a) of the constitution of Kenya marked the sunrise of the multiparty politics era.⁴³

The researcher conducted the study in Nandi territory and 'district'⁴⁴ border points touching Kakamega, Vihiga and Kisumu Counties. Nandi 'district' is currently Nandi County since the promulgation of Kenya's new constitution on 27th August 2010 during the reign of the third president of Kenya, H. E. Mwai Kibaki.⁴⁵ The Nandi people of Kenya were among the Africans coerced to contribute to Kenya's colonial capitalism and labour system.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ O. I. with Cheison Kipkalum, 84 years, on March 20th 2022 at Meteitei.

⁴¹ O. I. with Chepkelio Arap Tuig'wan, Male, 90 years, on March 24th 2022 at Kamasai. See also Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Kenya African National Union." Encyclopedia Britannica, March 20, 2023. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Kenya-African-National-Union>.

⁴² Anderson, David M. "Briefing: Kenya's Elections 2002: The Dawning of a New Era?" *African Affairs* 102, no. 407 (2003): 331–42. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518682>.

⁴³ O. I. with Edward Birgen, Male, 90 years, on May 7th, 2022 at Kaiboi. Also see Kenya Law, The Constitution of Kenya, Chapter 1, Republic of Kenya, page 7. Rev. 2009. Constitution of Kenya (Repealed).pdf (kenyalaw.org)

⁴⁴ This is the district that constituted the entire colonial Nandi district which constituted areas of Kaptumo, Kapsabet, Kapchepsir, Aruos, Talai location, Kipkaren excision, Kabiye, Baraton, O'llesos, Cheribo, Chematich. This area has remained to constitute the present Nandi County. There are currently six sub-counties in the original Nandi district.

⁴⁵ "Institutional Reform in the New Constitution of Kenya", International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ). See also Preston Chitere, Ludeki Chweya, Japhet Masya, Arne Tostensen and Kamotho Waiganjo, "Kenya Constitutional Documents: A Comparative Analysis" Chr. Michelsen Institute, 2006, for a chronology of constitutional negotiations.

⁴⁶ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Annual reports 1905 -1920, Report by the Provincial Commissioner for the 12 months ending 31st Mar. 1912.

On the other hand, by 1884, the Luo and Luyia nations had been established and settled in their present area.⁴⁷ In Europe, the pressure to develop colonies increased tremendously, leading to a scramble for and partition of Africa.⁴⁸ The colonialists started to penetrate Africa after the famous Berlin Conference following their scramble for and partition of Africa.⁴⁹ Also, this period gave the researcher a small quantity of Nandi precolonial ethnic relations. Despite this, the historical past was revisited on every occasion necessary to convey additional evidence to reinforce the study's primary objective.

The end period of the study is 2003. This period marks the era of the new multiparty dispensation after forty years of independence.⁵⁰ The study period is well over a century, and thus, many inter-ethnic relations were identified and analysed. Other limitations encountered in the field included financial constraints, time, and area coverage, as Nandi County is a vast area. Also, cross-border interviews posed a language barrier, as all respondents were not well conversant in Swahili or English.

Some respondents failed to respond, citing insecurity issues. To interview elders and ask critical questions correctly, in Vihiga, Kakamega and Kisumu counties, one must have good expertise in the local language in which the proceedings will occur. This communication challenge got the researcher into a dilemma. The use of an interpreter resolved this challenge.⁵¹ However, information was bound to get lost in the

⁴⁷ O. I. with Shamala Muchimba, Male, 80 years, on July 16th 2022, at Ikoli, Kakamega.

⁴⁸ Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912* (1991) ch 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid, Ch. 1.

⁵⁰ Nyadera, I.N., Agwanda, B., Maulani, N. (2020). Evolution of Kenya's Political System and Challenges to Democracy. In: Farazmand, A. (eds) *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-31816-5_3997-1.

⁵¹ John E. Reid and Associates Inc. 800-255-5747 (2006) / www.reid.com.

interpretation process due to the interpreter's integrity.⁵² Good command of the local languages, idiomatic expressions, and colloquialisms maintains consistent language control and guarantees good results in any interrogation.⁵³ The borderline that formed the study area is occupied by many regional dialects requiring skills to obtain data. In some regions, community members treated the researcher with much doubt. However, to sort out this impediment, the aid of village elders became convenient. They took the researcher to diverse villages to interrogate the targeted interviewees. This intervention successfully mitigated the challenge. The study covered four counties; therefore, the findings may not sufficiently represent the status of inter-ethnic relations in the remaining forty-three counties in Kenya.

Travelling along the borderline was challenging due to the terrain of the escarpment along the borders under study. Due to the hilly terrain, the border points along the escarpment were sometimes inaccessible on a motorbike. The researcher overcame this challenge by walking to the desired destinations. The study was limited to the Nandi living in Nandi County, the Luo and the Luyia community members within the study area. The Nandi initially settled in Nandi County before the colonial era, and a few of them migrated to the neighbouring counties relatively after independence.⁵⁴

⁵² Clothilde Goujard, (2018) Overcomming the challenges of using an interpreter during interviews. International Center of Journalists (IJNet) NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20006 USA.

⁵³ O. I. with Cheison Kipkalum, male, 84 years, on 20th March, 2022 at Meteitei.

⁵⁴ A. C. Hollis. *The Nandi: Their Language and Folklore*. Clarendon Press: Oxford 1909, p. 306

1.8.0 The Study Area

The study area covered four counties, namely Vihiga, Kisumu, Nandi and Kakamega, a space where the Nandi can engage with her neighbours, mainly the Luo, Maragoli, Tiriki, Kabras and Tachoni, in terms of intermarriages, commercial exchange and political discourses. Until 1902, the study area was administered as part of the Eastern Province of Uganda, transferred in that year, along with many other territories, to the East Africa Protectorate. This area was part of Western Kenya and became the Colony of Kenya in 1920.⁵⁵ It stands specifically made up of the fertile highlands, where agriculture remained practised while animal husbandry allowed surplus production.⁵⁶ This surplus created trade and facilitated inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours.⁵⁷

The Nandi were able to interact with Luyia of Kakamega and Vihiga at Kaimosi, Serem, Shamakhokho, Chebara, Butali, Lukusi, Kapseng'ere, Kiboswa, Kapkangani, Bonjoke, Chepkumia, Kemeloi, Banja, Turbo, Lugari, Kipkarren River, Malava, Matete, Kimang'eti, Kuvasali, Mukomari and Chepnego.⁵⁸ Also, they interacted with the Luo at Awasi, Muhoroni, Kibos, Miwani, Kibigori, Chemelil, Kisumu town, Ahero, Fort Ternan, Kopere, Aldai and Tinderet.⁵⁹ These places, as illustrated on Map 1.1, Nandi County, 2010, Map 1.2, Nandi County before 2010, Map 1.3. Therefore, the study area-

⁵⁵ Lonsdale, J. M. 1977. *The Politics of Conquest: The British in Western Kenya, 1894 – 1908*. *The Historical Journal*, 20(4), See also *Monitor*, Saturday, November 19, 2016, When Part of Eastern Uganda was transferred to Kenya.

⁵⁶ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1/Annual Reports Vol.1/KISUMU/Report by the Provincial Commissioner for 12 Months ending March 31st, 1912. 1-6; See also, DC/NDI/1/1/1905-1920, Annual Report by Sub Commissioner, Kisumu, January 1st 1905. Nandi.

⁵⁷ KNA/MSS/115/25/24. *Some economic case studies 1962-63*. KNA, Nairobi Kenya.

⁵⁸ O. I. with Lumumba Shimuli, Male, 89 years, on 16th July, 2022, at Ikoli, Kakamega, James Makoha, male, 80 years, on March 21st 2022, at Banja, Kogo Chemelenge, female, 84 years, on 24th July, 2022 at Kamasai and Odhiambo Silas, male, 90 years, on 22nd February, 2022 at Muhoroni, Kisumu County.

⁵⁹ O. I. with Lawrence Okech, Male, 88 years, on 22nd February, 2022, at Muhoroni.

Nandi and her neighbouring counties marked the specific border points on which the study propagates. These border places invited the necessary conditions for markets to develop and prosper.⁶⁰

1.8.1 Historical Background and Geographical Location of the Nandi People

The Nandi people are part of the larger Kalenjin group from the word (kaa-a-lee-chin-in) (meaning I tell you).⁶¹ These are Kipsigis – sometimes named Lumbwa, Nandi – once called Chemng'al,⁶² Tugen – also referred to as Kamasia, Keiyo, Merkweta (Marakwet), Sabaot – subdivided into Bok, Kony, Bongomek, and Sebei in Uganda, Terik (sometimes named as Nyang'ori), Pokot – also known as Suk, Sengwer – also known as Cherang'any, and Ogieek also known as Dorobo.⁶³

The Nandi, the second-largest Kalenjin group and the most populous, reside mainly in the former Rift Valley mountains.⁶⁴ Archaeological evidence attests that the initial Kenyan residents were a community of hunters and gatherers.⁶⁵ Then, the pastoralists associated with the southern Cushites later joined the group. Finally, the Bantu and Nilotic speakers infiltrated the country during the Christian era.⁶⁶ The Nandi people's origin is uncertain, a statement challenged by Dr. Kipkoech in his study on the Kalenjin people's connection to Egypt. This author asserts that the Kalenjin people may have

⁶⁰ O. I. with Magdalena Jesugut, Female, 88 years, on 7th May, 2022, at Kapkangani.

⁶¹ O. I. with Maria Taprandich, Female, 92 years, on 10th May, 2022, at Sang'alo-Resiot. See also, Huntingford, G. W. B., "The Nandi Pororiet" *Journ. Roy. Antrop. Institutie*, 1935, LXV, P. 133.

⁶² A. C. Hollis. *The Nandi: Their Language and Folklore*. Clarendon Press: Oxford 1909: 306

⁶³ O. I. with Kibunja Arap Mosong', Male, 82 years, on 24th July, 2022 at Kamasai. See also KNA: DC/NDI/1/3/Annual Reports 1921-1932, General, Political and Administrative, Native affairs, 1920-1, pp 1-7.

⁶⁴ According to the 2009 Census data, estimated at about 1,000,000.

⁶⁵ Dr. J. G. Peristiany. *The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis*, Pp. xxxiv+288+24 plates. (London : George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1939.) 18s. net

⁶⁶ Ochieng', W. R. (1975). *An outline History of the Rift Valley up to AD 1908*, Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau. P. 1-19.

initially lived in Egypt. However, some myths and tales point to the Nandi people's origin, a sub-community of the larger Kalenjin group.⁶⁷

Nandi County is inhabited majorly by the Nandi-speaking community, although several other ethnic communities have recently moved and settled in the region.⁶⁸ The county is located in the former province of Rift Valley. It edges the following counties: Kericho to the southeast, Uasin Gishu to the North and East, Southerly is Kisumu, Westerly Kakamega, and Vihiga to the South West.⁶⁹ Nandi is also believed to have been derived from Swahili people calling them *Wanandi*.⁷⁰ The Nandi people would rob the Waswahili caravans as they crossed their highlands.⁷¹ The Nandi country mainly covers the highlands of the Great Rift Valley.⁷² They were members of a group of Nilotic communities living in the mountains northeast of Lake Victoria.⁷³ These East African people belong to the so-called Kalenjin cluster, which, together with the Dadog (Tatoga), descends from the 'Highlands' Nilotes, one of three main branches of a parent Nilotic people.⁷⁴

Nandi was first cited by Johann Ludwig Krapf in 1854 and put on a map by H M Stanley in 1878.⁷⁵ Up to 1909, they lived a pastoralist and raiding life. The Orkoiyot was the only chief recognised by the community.⁷⁶ The British undertook punitive expeditions

⁶⁷ Dr. Kipkoech Araap Sambu. *The Misri Legend Explored* (2001).

⁶⁸ O. I. with Kibuson Arap Randich, Male, 89 years, on 18th August, 2022 at Saniak.

⁶⁹ <https://nandicounty.go.ke/about-us/>

⁷⁰ Huntingford, B. W. B., (1950) *Nandi Work and Culture*, Majesty Stationery Office, Colonial Office, Nairobi., p 1-4.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 1.

⁷² O. I. with Kichwen Ng'elechei, Male, 89 years, on 10th May, 2022, at Sang'alo-Resiot.

⁷³ Huntingford, G. W. B., *The peoples of Kenya – No. 11, The Nandi* (1944), p. 1.

⁷⁴ Kipkorir, B. E., with Welbourn, F.B., *The Marakwet of Kenya*, Nairobi, 1973; Oliver, R. & Mather, G., (eds.), *History of East Africa*, Vol. 1, Oxford, 1963, p. 74 – 8.

⁷⁵ Huntingford, G. W. B., *The Southern Nilo-Hamites*, London, 1953, p. 19.

⁷⁶ O. I. with Kipkerebet Arap Kuto, Male, 79 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central, Emgwen.

against them.⁷⁷ It was not until the 1906 expedition that the British pacified the community. Consequently, the colonial masters placed the ethnic group in a restricted reserve, where it has since settled down and rapidly took agriculture as a source of livelihood.⁷⁸

The ‘district’ was divided into two divisions under a paramount chief. These divisions remained subdivided into 30 locations, each under a headman. Each clan had a separate area, but people of the same group resided in different parts of the ‘district’ in many instances.⁷⁹ There may consequently be as many as five locations for the same clan. The male population stood divided into elders, warriors, youths and children. The female population stayed split into married women and uncircumcised girls who cohabited with warriors and children.⁸⁰ The community formally recognised the *Orkoiyot* as a representative of the people (*Kiruogindet*), but this has changed since 1906.⁸¹ Temperatures range from a mean annual minimum of 12° C to a mean maximum of 23°C, with rainfall between 1,200 mm and 2,000 mm per annum.

The Road Network of the area was as follows: Tarmac Surface (155.1 Km), Marram Surface (783.6 Km), and Soil Surface (765.7 Km)⁸². The principal National Monument(s) are Koitalel Arap Samoei Museum, and Bonjoge Game Reserve. As per Kenya Land Commission in 1931, due to the actual headcount, the census was as follows: People - 50,440, Cattle – 215,441, Goats and Sheep – 187,700. These people

⁷⁷ The East African, Magazine, Murder that shaped the future of Kenya, Friday, December, 2008.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ O. I. with Kitur Arap Chemengen, Male, 78 years, on 20th March, 2022 at Meteitei.

⁸⁰ O. I. with Margret Jesilim, female, 80 years, on 7th May 2022 at Kapkangani, Nandi County.

⁸¹ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Nandi district annual reports 1905 – 1920, p. 41.

⁸² Fast Facts: Nandi - Daily Nation. <https://www.nation.co.ke/counties/nandi/3444806-1258788-4nse7z/index.html>.

had no donkeys in this period.⁸³ For additional details, refer to Tables 1.1 and 1.2 below.

⁸³ KNA: Kenya Land Commission, 1932: Report (1932); Evidence, Vol. II (1933).

Table 1.1 Colonial Census Figures for the Nandi Reserve for 1926, 1931, and 1945

Loc.	1926				1931				1945
	Men	Wom-en	Child-ren	Total	Men	Wom-en	Child-Ren	Total	All + or - 1931
1	945	539	649	2133	972	659	1174	2805	2763 - 42
2	461	297	491	1249	490	384	606	1480	1194 - 286
3	435	271	271	977	409	303	506	1218	1178 - 560
4	901	619	758	2278	900	674	1111	2685	2510 - 175
5	532	340	341	1213	502	364	636	1502	1612 - 110
6	676	428	542	1646	860	582	902	2344	1436 - 908
7	1538	1024	1295	3857	1433	1093	1631	4157	3862 - 295
8	1038	720	911	2669	960	728	1153	2841	3607 - 766
9	1593	999	1531	4123	1258	931	1238	3427	3698 - 271
10	308	223	405	936	364	280	435	1079	823 - 256
11	133	104	179	416	Included in Location 8 with Location 8				
12	320	261	460	1041	352	272	512	1136	1032 - 104
13	128	84	164	376					
14	461	345	763	1169	398	314	593	1305	2303 - 998
15	842	619	1291	2762	630	516	888	1305	1651 - 346
16	171	130	238	539	Included in Location 10 with Location 10				
17	612	426	888	1926	450	363	603	1416	1561 - 145
18	612	430	907	1949	392	309	595	1296	992 - 304
19	379	247	472	1098	251	190	391	832	521 - 311
20	396	274	512	1182	376	299	467	1142	1128 - 14
21	239	154	262	659	226	177	312	715	847 - 132
22	332	220	411	963	272	211	370	853	1052 - 199
23	286	175	307	768	241	177	342	760	858 - 98
24	297	154	235	686	223	156	266	645	571 - 74
25	189	124	208	541	214	132	203	549	1332 - 783
26	357	157	184	698	262	257	394	913	1209 - 296
Total	14180	8385	14136	36639	12385	9381	15328	37094	38340
Squat- ters	1134	804	818	2756	4485	3647	5214	13346	About 12000
Total	15314	9189	14954	39395	16870	13028	20542	50440	About 50340

Source: PC/RVP11/1/3: Nandi Works and Culture, Colonial Research Studies No. 4, p. 32

Table 1.2 Cattle Census for 1931 and 1945 per Location

Loc.	1931		1945	
	Cattle	Goats & Sheep	Cattle	Goats & Sheep
1	12066	12558	23689	7013
2	8309	8648	7208	2265
3	6099	6348	10258	2594
4	13898	14467	19673	6106
5	10763	8937	7541	3323
6	14471	12015	4719	1925
7	32129	26676	20837	7956
8	20601	18765	16587	5871
9	19018	19711	16082	7046
10	3469	2013	2187	1459
11	Included in Loc. 8		753	354
12 & 13	4243	2462	3266	1062
14	4315	2504	3585	1234
15	7369	4246	6002	2603
16	Included in Loc. 10		292	127
17	4659	2704	4309	1266
18	4845	2812	4336	988
19	2249	1881	1894	502
20	2810	2349	2614	578
21	1679	1404	1062	457
22	2239	1872	1015	369
23	1776	1485	2071	1150
24	1378	1152	1023	455
25	1367	1143	6321	2082
26	3689	3841	5630	1130
Total	185441	159993	172865	59916
Squatters	30000(1)	28000(1)	36000(1)	100000(1)
Totals	215441	187993	208865	69916

(1) *Estimated.*

Source: KNA: PC/RVP11/1/3: Nandi Works and Culture, Colonial Research Studies No.4., p. 33

The Census of 1909 revealed the following results:

Older men:	1046
Non-disabled men:	4087
Women:	8813
Children:	14712
Total:	28,658

Census for 1910, 1915, 1926, and 1931, both men, children and women were as follows:

1910:	32,130
1915:	44,324
1926:	39,425 ⁽¹⁾
1931:	50,440
1979:	299,000 ⁸⁴
1989:	398,000

1999 Census Report	Male	Female	Total⁸⁵	
	290,003	288,748	578,751	
2019 Census Report	Male	Female	Intersex	Total⁸⁶
	441,259	444,430	22	885,711

Key:

⁽¹⁾ Many squatters were not included in this count.

Before 1905, Nandi had no roads. Despite terms denoting roads ‘oret’, meaning road, and ‘ortinwek’, meaning roads’, they said narrow footpaths result from people's

⁸⁴ KNBS: Statistical Abstract 2009, August, 1999 Kenya Population Census.

⁸⁵ KNBS: Statistical Abstract 2009, August, 1999 Kenya Population Census.
<https://www.knbs.or.ke/?s=nandi+district+2009+census+>

⁸⁶ KNBS: 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census, Volume I: Population by county and subcounty, November 4, 2019., https://www.knbs.or.ke/?page_id=3142

continuous passage. The Europeans constructed Nandi's first road in 1906 at the close of the Nandi war when the track bisected the forest from Kaimosi to Kapsabet while warriors carried materials to build the collector's house and office at Kapsabet.⁸⁷ Other roads remained constructed from Kaptumo to Kapsabet and from Kapsabet to Kabiyet. These roads were made by women, for the Nandi men would not do such work in those days. Moreover, the construction workers removed the original topsoil and were not more substantial than the ordinary agricultural work women got accustomed to.⁸⁸

In 1910, the government made a new road to Kabiyet and Eldoret. Then, in 1912, they constructed the track from Kabiyet westwards to Tabolwa. By 1914, they made a road from Kapsabet to Ol'lessos. Finally, the colonial government created the first motor road from Eldoret to Kapsabet and Chepsonoi on the Kaimosi border in 1920—1921.⁸⁹

Much of the 'district' is well watered. There are numerous rivers with small tributary streams. The altitude of Nandi ranges from 5500 ft. to 7067 ft., the general average being 6000 ft. and 6500 ft. The total area of the Nandi reserve by 1910 measured 700 square miles. It is a country, in many respects, highly favoured by nature.⁹⁰

According to human geography,⁹¹ Nandi is the territory of Nandi-speaking people surrounded by Luo, Bantu, Europeans, and Indians.⁹² To the West was North

⁸⁷ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Annual reports 1905 – 1920, Quarterly report, Nandi 30th Sept. 1911, p. 3, 1905 – 1920, Report by the Provincial Commissioner for the 12 months ending 31st Mar. 1912.

⁸⁸ KNA/A00/614-615/Nandi Work and Culture, Global Research Studies, No. 4., Chapter 5., page 35, paragraph 90.

⁸⁹ KNA: DC/NDI/1/3 Annual report, Nandi district, 1920-1921

⁹⁰ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Annual reports 1905 – 1920, Nandi district quarterly report 31st Mar. 1909.

⁹¹ KNA: DC/NDI/1/2/Annual Report, Nandi District, 1920-1921, General Political and Administrative., General, p. 7.

⁹² Ibid, O. I. agrees with the archival Nandi district annual report of 1920-1921. Oral Interview with Vibian Mutai, Female, 80 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kapkerer, Terik.

Kavirondo, currently Vihiga and Kakamega counties. The soil, in general, is reddish sandy loam and a red subsoil resting on granite. The typical natural grass in this region is a species of oat grass (the meda triandra). The Political Record Book⁹³ notes that in September 1916, the reserve received heavy rains throughout the ‘district’, consequently swollen rivers that carried away all the essential bridges. In 1917, it got recorded that by May, 28 inches fell before the end of April due to the heavy rain. Maximum and minimum rainfalls were as follows in Table 1.3:

Table 1.3 Maximum and Minimum Rainfalls

High – 70 ++

Stations	1906	1908	1914	1926	1931
Kaptumo	72.55				
Kapsabet		72.35	72.18		76.44
Ain’ap				71.97	
Setan					

Below – 45 –

Stations	1921	1927	1933	1939
Kapsabet	41.91			
Ain’ap		35.00	39.54	
Setan				
Kiboloss				40.54

Source: KNA: PC/RVP11/1/3: Nandi Works and Culture, Colonial Research Studies No.4., p. 26

⁹³

KNA: Nandi Political Record Book Vol. 1 Sect. 1:31.

There is sufficient sunshine during the dry weather and the absence of clouds. As a result, it is warm throughout the day, and though the nights are often cold, it does not begin to get warm till after seven in the morning.⁹⁴ As per the 2009 census, the population of Nandi County was 752,965, with a population density of 261 people per Km². This gave a National Percentage of 2.0 % with an Annual Growth Rate of 2.9%. The age dispersal was as follows: 0-14 years (45.0 %), 15-64 years (51.4 %), and 65+ years (3.6%). The number of households in this population was 154,073. The county had Arable Land, Forest, Livestock, Pasture, Water and Medicinal Plants.⁹⁵ The Tourist Attractions include Bonjoge Game Reserve, *Chepkiit* Waterfalls, King'wal Swamp, and Social (Sports) Tourism. The county also has eight Commercial Banks and seven microfinance institutions for financial services.⁹⁶

The main economic activities include Tea, Coffee, Sugarcane, Pyrethrum, and Dairy Farming.⁹⁷ The county is also rich in agricultural products. The following are some of the county's products: Maize, Beans, Sorghum, Millet, Irish Potatoes and Dairy Products. It has several educational institutions: Primary (744) and Secondary (155). Enrolment in Primary schools was (222,672) and in Secondary was (27,238). There were also over 20 tertiary institutions (Including two Universities (Koitaleel Samoei University College and University of Eastern African Baraton), Several Commercial Colleges and Polytechnics.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Annual reports 1905 – 1920, Nandi district quarterly report 31st Mar. 1909.

⁹⁵ <https://nandi.go.ke/about-us/climate-and-weather/>

⁹⁶ O. I. with Paul Kogo, Male, 28 years, 20th March, 2022 at Chepnyogonson.

⁹⁷ <https://nandicounty.go.ke/about-us/economic-activities/>

⁹⁸ O. I. with David Katam, Male, 22 years, on 16th June, 2022 at Meteitei.

The Nandi people ceased their nomadic way of life a few generations before 1900 and settled for a more agricultural way.⁹⁹ However, Whiteman and civilisation impacted the indigenous setting of culture and households in modernisation, and the Nandi people stood unexempted.¹⁰⁰

1.8.2 Historical Background to Kisumu County

Kisumu is positioned at the end of Winam Gulf on the coastlines of Lake Victoria. The city can link the entire Lake region. Its initial sketch plan was ready in July 1899, encompassing landing places and docks along the northern lakeside near Airport Road. Government structures, malls and retail shops are featured in the plan.¹⁰¹ Some plots were assigned to Indian traders and a few European firms in May 1900. These settlers had toured this city on agreements to construct the famous Uganda Railway. They got categorical to settle at the escalating terminus. Finally, on Friday, 20th December 1901, the railway line touched the Kisumu pier, with the centre assuming a new name, Port Florence.¹⁰²

The port stood open for goods and passenger transportation by February 1902. The city hosted the initial flight in East Africa, including the Central Africa region. Kisumu similarly connected Nairobi and Port Bell.¹⁰³

Twelve thousand acres of land for development, including water, were gazetted and set aside in 1903 as the township reverts to its first name, Kisumu. Dual rows of stalls on

⁹⁹ Ng'ang'a Wanguhu, (2006). Kenya's Ethnic Communities, Foundation of a Nation, 342-3
¹⁰⁰ O. I. with Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo, Male, 84 years, on 21st January, 20th January 2023, Kapchorwa, Nandi East.
¹⁰¹ About Us - Kisumu. <https://www.kisumu.go.ke/about-us/>
¹⁰² O. I. with Laurence Okech, Male, 88 years, on 22nd February, 2022, at Muhoroni
¹⁰³ www.kisumu.go.ke/about-us/

Mumias Road were demolished in 1920 to pave the way for new plots to develop on the current Odera and Ogada streets. However, in the 1960s, the population of Asians among locals was significantly higher. As a result, the town's status got elevated to Municipal Board in 1940 and a Municipal Council later in 1960.¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless, the city's progress declined temporarily in 1977 due to the failure of the East African Community. However, the city was spurred by the improvement of the community in 1996 and its label as a 'city'. In addition, the port has been stimulated by the transformation of international business and trade and the shipments of goods destined for Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.¹⁰⁵

The city's fast growth is influenced by its flourishing sugar and rice irrigation industries, supported by natural resources and as a commercial epicentre in East Africa.¹⁰⁶ Pull factors in the city include Kibuye Market, Hippo Point, the Kisumu Museum, a bird sanctuary, an impala sanctuary, shopping malls and the nearby Kit Mikayi and Ndere Island National Park. Kisumu Museum got established in 1980.¹⁰⁷

The museum's most essential and largest exhibition is the UNESCO-sponsored Ber-gidala. This is a full-scale regeneration of an indigenous Luo homestead.¹⁰⁸ It consists of an imaginary Luo man's home, granaries and livestock corrals, the houses of his three spouses, and his first-born son. The exhibition also explains the heritage of the Luo

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ O. I. with Musa Shamwana, Male, 25 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Vihiga.

¹⁰⁶ O. I. with Omukoto Akunda, Male, 30 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Vihiga.

¹⁰⁷ O. I. with Odhiambo Silas, Male, 90 years, on 22nd February, 2022, at Muhoroni.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, on 22nd February, 2022.

society, their migration to western Kenya, indigenous healing floras, and the process of establishing a new home through signs and taped programs in both Luo and English.¹⁰⁹

Dunga Beach is an exclusive eco-cultural centre and an attraction following its biodiversity, culturally rich and varied papyrus wetland ecosystem, and the local community. Consequently, some of the key focuses in the centre are helping Eco-Cultural Tourism and facilitating the conservation of the Dunga Papyrus Wetland Ecosystem. Impala Park, now a sanctuary, was called Connaught Parade during British rule. It measures 0.4 square miles (one square kilometre), one of Kenya's most miniature flora and fauna sanctuaries. It is a habitat for a herd of impala, hippos, and numerous reptilians and birds.¹¹⁰

Furthermore, numerous leopards and baboons are caged. More than 115 dissimilar classes of birds live there. Hippo Point is 600 acres of observing area on Lake Victoria.¹¹¹ The city houses a camping site and a fishing port.¹¹² The Moi stadium is the city's main stadium.¹¹³

Concerning transport, Kisumu was a landing point before the jet airline era on the British flying boat passenger and mail route from Cape Town to Southampton. In addition, Kisumu linked Nairobi and Port Bell. The city houses an international Airport, with consistent flights to Nairobi and Mombasa. The cargo facility got expanded after

¹⁰⁹ O. I. with Laurence Okech, male, 88 years, on 22nd February, 2022, at Muhoroni, Kisumu County.

¹¹⁰ O. I. with Odhiambo Silas, Male, 90 years, 22nd February, 2022, at Muhoroni.

¹¹¹ Kisumu - Motisha. <https://sites.google.com/site/motishacomfort/home/motisha-travel/incredible-kenya/kisumu>.

¹¹² Kenya. <http://www.kenyabrussels.com/index.php?menu=2&leftmenu=43&page=51>

¹¹³ O. I. with Sheila Tuwei, Female, 26 years, on 16th June, 2022 at Meteitei.

the completion of the passenger terminals. Currently, trade exists due to the recreated East African Community comprising three prime countries: Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya. Lake Victoria ferries have functioned from the port, connecting the railway to Mwanza and Bukoba in Tanzania and Port Bell, Entebbe, and Jinja in Uganda.¹¹⁴

1.8.3. Historical Background to Vihiga County

Vihiga County¹¹⁵ is home to diverse communities migrating from many various parts of this great nation of Kenya. However, the four major native ethnic sub-groups that call Vihiga home County and enhance the rich culture of this grand county are the Maragoli people, Tiriki People, Terik People and the Banyore People. The Tiriki ethnic group is one of the sub-groups of the greater Luyia community that resides in Hamisi, in the West of Vihiga County. They speak the *Ludiriji* language.¹¹⁶ The word Tiriki also refers to their geographical setting.¹¹⁷ Their history shows they migrated from Mt. Elgon, and their lingo-cultural tradition resembles the Bongomek ethnic community. All ethnic communities that came to the area implemented the strict circumcision rituals of the Teriks. Consequently, these communities got named Tiriki. The Tiriki sub-clans include Bhikhava, Bajisinde, Balukhoba, Bahaliero, Baumbo, Bamabi, Bashistungu, Bamiluha, Balukhombe, Badura, Bamuli, Bamayuda, Basamia, Baguga Barimbuli, Basaniaga, Basuba, Banyonji, and Bamoiya.¹¹⁸

Principal among the customs of the Tiriki is the circumcision ceremony, known as *itumii*, denoting a secret, a rite of passage into adulthood for the Tiriki young boys,

¹¹⁴ <https://kisumu.go.ke>

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ O. I. with Charles Shirutsi, male, 89 years, on 21st March 2022 at Vihiga, Kaimosi.

¹¹⁷ O. I. with Shamala Muchimba, Female, 80 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Ikoli.

¹¹⁸ O. I. with James Mukhoba, Male, 80 years, on 21st March, 2022, on Banja.

where the recruits spend a month in the bush being taught by Tiriki elders community values. This ritual is conducted every five years in August. The practice stood borrowed from the Kalenjin and perfected to fit their rite.¹¹⁹ They are famed for this rite because of the decorative masks and body paint. The initiation process commences by picking candidates from their homes and converging at centre stage, where the official launch of Itumii begins. The ceremony starts with dancing, creating an electrifying atmosphere that attracts large crowds.¹²⁰

The initiation occurs in the forest, where the entrants face the knife and are transformed from childhood to adulthood. During this time, the initiates are trained on adult topics like security, praying the indigenous way, caring for their families, and feeding habits. The initiation ceremony was later separated into Vamasero, who wears animal skin, and *Vasomii*, who wears *lesos*.¹²¹ The Tiriki zone is home to both religion and education in Western Kenya. This is where missionaries first settled at the hill of Vision in Kaimosi. The missionaries established many learning facilities during their stay, including Kaimosi Friends Primary School, Kaimosi Theological College, and the GBS - Girls Boarding School. Marriage among the Tiriki is a revered institution and has many indigenous values. For example, the men must pay the bride price in the form of livestock and money. In leadership, the Tirikis brag of respectable mentoring persons like Prof. George Godia, Khaniri, and Johnstone Kavuludi, among others, have made their community known in the county and country.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ O. I. with Omukoto Akunda, Male, 30 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Vihiga.

¹²¹ O. I. with Willington Amakoli, Male, 24 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Vihiga, Kaimosi.

¹²² <https://vihiga.go.ke/>

Like all other Bantu and Luyia people, the Banyore migrated from the Congo Basin between AD 1700 and 1800.¹²³ They lived in the land that resonates with their name – Banyore land. The Idakho people at Kilingili neighboured them, Maragoli to the East, the Luo to the South, and the Abakisa to the West. Currently, they live in two sub-counties and constituencies, Luanda and Emuhaya. They occupy the West of Vihiga County. They claim over 20 clans and occupy two sub-counties of Emuhaya and Luanda. Many Banyore lived in the diaspora and settled in the Lugari scheme.

Other non-Bantu communities living in Vihiga County are the Terik ethnic sub-group of the larger Kalenjin. This community is an agro-pastoralist indigenous minority community of the Kalenjin community resident in what remains of their ancestral lands in Nandi, Kisumu and Vihiga Counties of Kenya. For far too long, this community has stood a quiet victim of the ‘violence of neglect’ ensuing from historical injustices. These inequalities have violated their fundamental Human Rights and marginalized them to the periphery of society from where they earn a living and perilous existence. Therefore, without that concentration of experience that we find in history and proper empathy for their past, Terik people would continue to be the desired and prejudiced, lacking balance and moral integrity.¹²⁴

1.8.4 Historical Background to Kakamega County

The altitudes of Kakamega County¹²⁵ vary between 1,240m to 2,000m above sea level. The county is hilly southerly and comprises rugged granites rising. The Nandi

¹²³ J. Osogo, *History of the Abaluyia*, Oxford University Press, 1966.

¹²⁴ O. I. with Shamala Muchimba, Female, 80 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Ikoli.

¹²⁵ <https://www.kakamega.go.ke/>

Escarpment on the county's eastern border, with its prominent scarp rising from the general advancement of 1,700m to 2,000m. The county has numerous hills.¹²⁶

The county has two critical ecological zones: Upper and Lower Medium. The Upper Medium encompasses the Central and Northern parts of the county, which practise intensive maize, tea, and beans horticultural production mainly on a small scale. Lukuyani and Lugari, where large-scale farming is practised. The second ecological zone, the Lower Medium, enshrines a substantial percentage of the southern part of the county. In this zone, the core economic activity is sugarcane production, with some farmers practising sweet potatoes, cassava, maize, tea, and groundnut production.¹²⁷

The annual precipitation in the county ranges between 1280.1 mm to 2214.1 mm per annum. As a result, the temperatures vary from 18⁰ C to 29⁰ C. January is the hottest, with other months having comparatively comparable temperatures except for July and August, with relatively cold periods. The county has a typical humidity of 67 per cent. Subsequently, in the early 1960s, both minimum (night) and maximum (day) temperatures warmed throughout Kenya. Therefore, current projections indicate temperature increases.¹²⁸ Forthcoming climate change may change the frequency, potentially worsening impacts. Increased average temperatures and annual and seasonal rainfall changes stand felt across vital economic sectors, like agricultural production, health status, water availability, energy, infrastructure, biodiversity, and ecosystem

¹²⁶ O. I. with Lumumba Shimuli, Male, 89 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Kakamega.

¹²⁷ O. I. with Lumumba Shimuli, Male, 89 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Kakamega.

¹²⁸ www.kakamega.go.ke

services. Moreover, impacts will disproportionately affect people experiencing poverty as such groups have scarcer resources to adapt to climatic variation and vulnerability.¹²⁹

Administratively, Kakamega County comprises twelve sub-counties subdivided into sixty wards. The sub-counties are as follows: Likuyani, Lugari, Malava, Navakholo, Lurambi, Ikolomani, Shinyalu, Mumias East, Mumias West, Matungu, Butere and Kwisero. A demographic report on Kakamega shows that the total number of residents in the county is 1,660,651, entailing 797,112 males and 863,539 females¹³⁰. This population in 2012 got anticipated to be 1,789,989.¹³¹

The sum of unemployed residents in the county was 196,938. This figure infers that most people in the workforce are not lucratively employed.¹³²

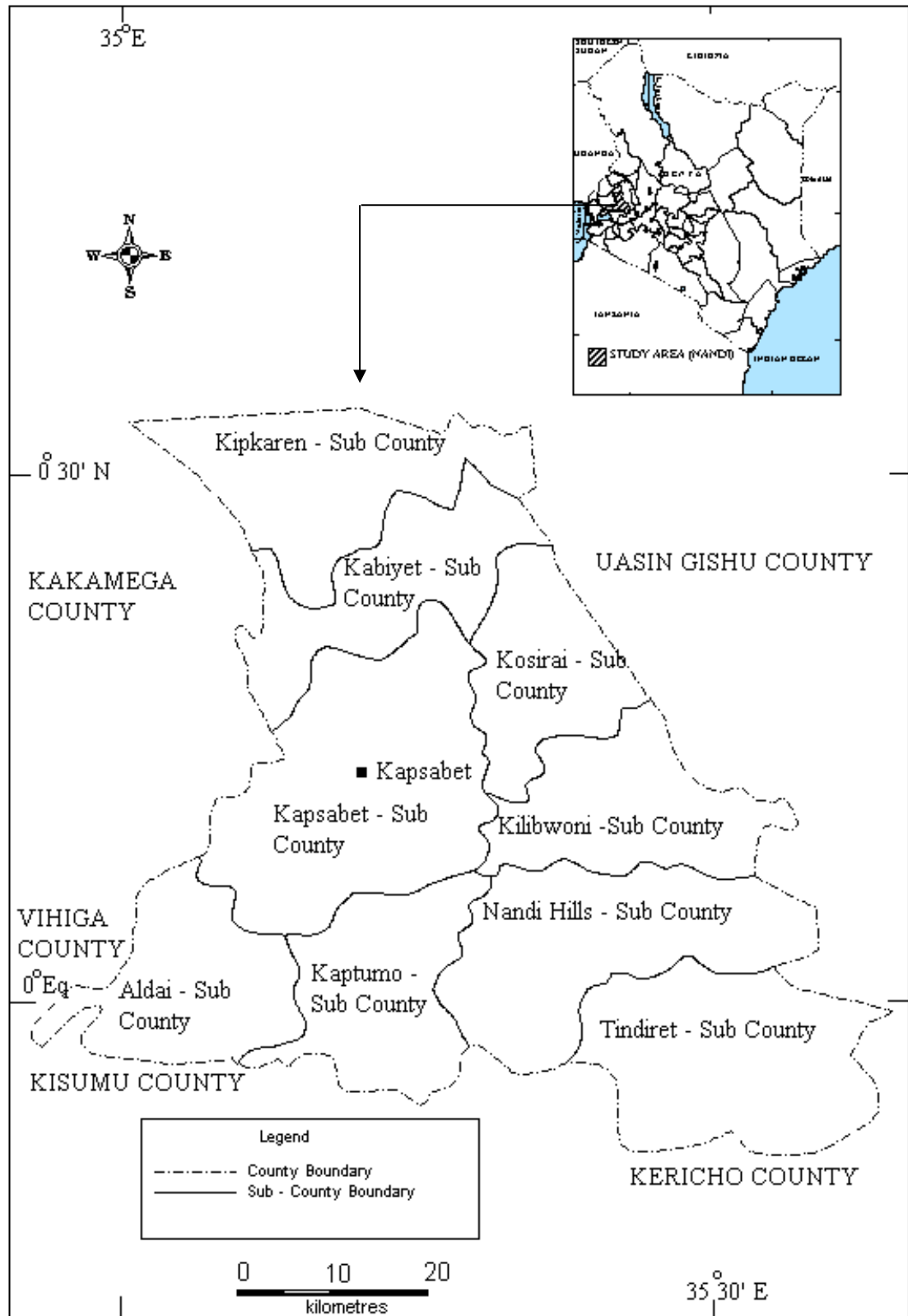
¹²⁹ O. I. with Charles Mukomari, male, 25 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Kaimosi, James Mukhoha, male, 80 years, on 21st March, 2022 at Banja, and Shamala Muchimba, male, 80 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Ikoli, Kakamega.

¹³⁰ Kenya Population and Housing and Census (KPHC), 2009.

¹³¹ O. I. with Shamala Muchimba, Male, 80 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Ikoli, Kakamega.

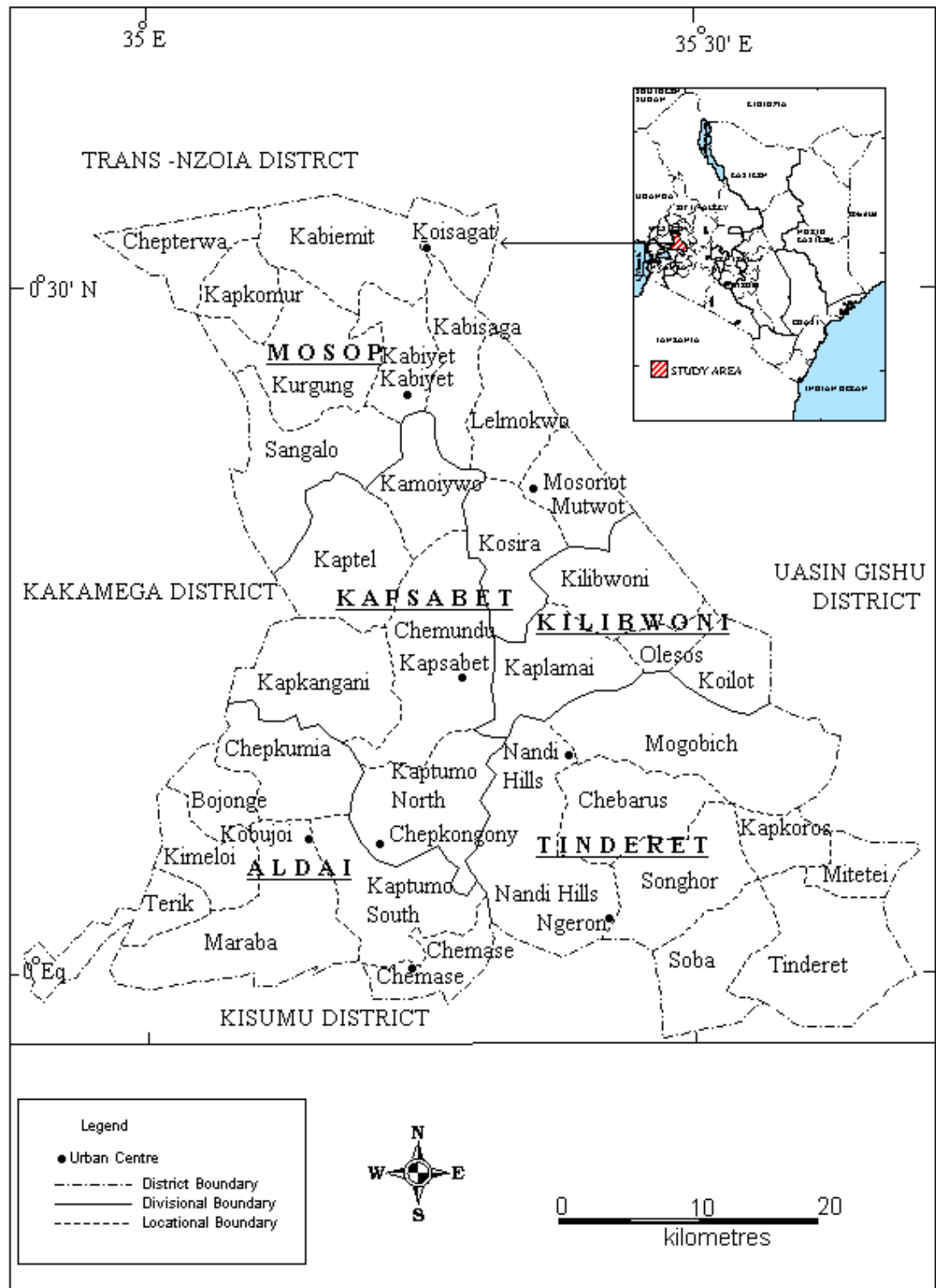
¹³² Population and Housing Census, 2009

Map 1.1 Nandi County Map 2010



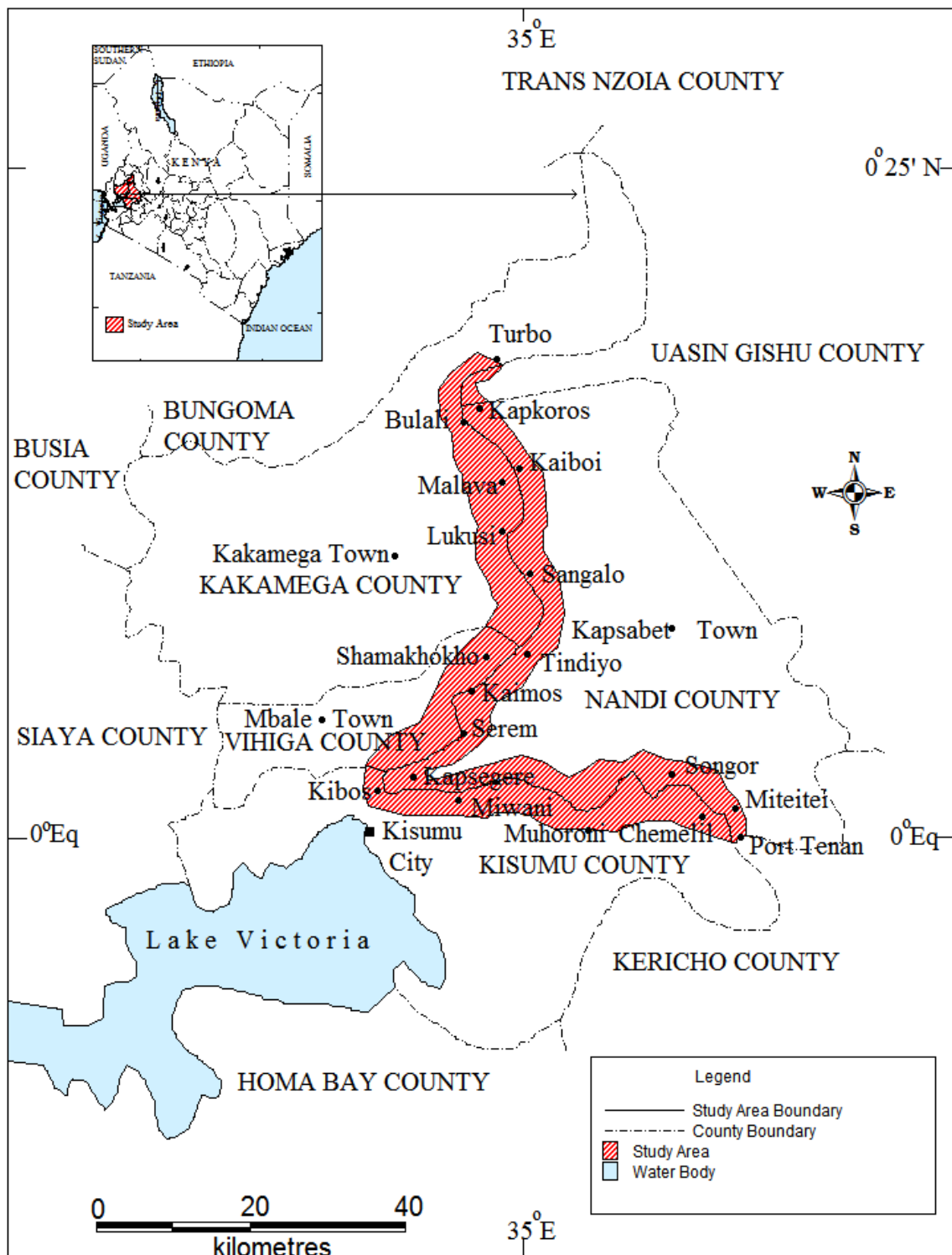
Source: Moi University Geography Department GIS Lab., (2020).

Map 1.2. Nandi County map before the 2010 constitution



Source: Moi University, Geography Department (GIS Lab)

Map 1.3 The Study Area: Nandi and her neighbouring counties



Source: Moi University Geography and Environmental Studies Department GIS Lab, 2021.

1.9.1 Literature Review

This segment presents the literature review of the study. Vast literature focused on inter-ethnic relations was reviewed. The review was arranged to themes that guided the researcher in responding to the fundamental research questions. Therefore, pertinent and related literature was assembled into five segments per the research questions. This section examined books, journals, and indexed publications on a topic, selecting which literature to comprise in the assessment and then summarising the work in a written report.¹³³ The following themes guided the literature review: ethnic relations, precolonial trade, colonial policies and inter-ethnic relations, ethnicity and politics.

The factors determining the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours stood reviewed. The study also analysed the precolonial inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours from 1884 to 1895. Further, the study discussed the implication of the colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations up to the interwar period. Similarly, the study investigated the effects of the second world war and decolonisation. Finally, it assessed the post-colonial ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours to the period ending in 2003. The researcher acknowledged gaps in the existing literature that the investigation pursued to seal.

1.9.2 Precolonial Inter-Ethnic Relations 1884 – 1895

A review of regional ethnic relations during the pre-colonial period shows that Africans did not govern their land centrally. Ethnic groups had their indigenous systems of resource governance.¹³⁴ The Indigenous African communities had the right to access

¹³³ Creswell, John W. *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* / John W. Creswell. — 4th ed.

¹³⁴ Tosh John. (1977). Colonial chiefs in a stateless society: A case study from northern Uganda. *Journal of African History*, 14(3), 473–490.

and use resources; however, the customary law governed the rights of individuals.¹³⁵ There was a constant flux in indigenous African societies.¹³⁶ Furthermore, such cohesive communities appeared and disappeared, blending and breaking off due to human and animal competition for land and pasture. In addition, the need to expand territories for agricultural activities, sandwiched with organised raiding expeditions, created a fluid distribution of population and group loyalties.¹³⁷ As a result, conflicts and fighting occurred among pastoralists, agriculturalists, and groups with a shared social background. For example, the Maa community of Kenya often conflicts over grazing lands.¹³⁸

For many years, the Kenyan communities adjusted themselves to their ecological positions, and as a consequence, communities such as Agikuyu and Miji-Kenda developed agrarian economies.¹³⁹ The plain Nilotes, such as Maasai and Samburu, adjusted themselves to pastoralist forms of production. The Nandi, Luo and Abagusii adapted to crop cultivation and livestock keeping.¹⁴⁰ The Ogiek thrived on hunting and gathering. All forms of production were primarily for subsistence rather than individual

¹³⁵ Little P. D. (1980). *Pastoralism and Strategies: Socio-economic Change on the Pastoral Sector of Baringo District*. Nairobi, University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies.

¹³⁶ Taylor, E.B. 1871. *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*. 2nd ed. London: John Murray.

¹³⁷ GRAY, Mary Sundal, Brandi Wiebusch, Michael A. Little, Paul W. Leslie, and Ivy L. Pike. "Cattle Raiding, Cultural Survival, and Adaptability of East African Pastoralist," *Current Anthropology*, Volume 44, Supplement, December 2003. 1-30.

¹³⁸ Soja, E. M., (1968). *The Geography of Modernization in Kenya*.

¹³⁹ Sheriff, A. M. H. (1985) "Social Formations in Pre-colonial Kenya", Ogot, B.A. (Ed.) *Hadith 8: Kenya in the 19th Century*. Kisumu: Anyange Press (pp.1-31)

¹⁴⁰ Miganda Mark Omondi Odera, Daniel Rotich Kendagor (2019). *Precolonial Luo Land Tenure Systems and Agricultural Practices in Awendo subcounty, Kenya*. *International Journal of Contemporary Applied Research* September 2019: 1-19.

wealth accumulation.¹⁴¹ The kinship system formed the foundation of ownership of factors of production such as land, livestock and labour.¹⁴²

On the other hand, labour was communal, cooperative and manual at the family level.¹⁴³ In the same vein, the agricultural surplus was quantitatively small. Consequently, there existed a thin difference in wealth distribution. Very little impetus for large-scale state formation existed. The ethnic boundaries among the pre-colonial Kenyan communities were fluid, and trade, intermarriages and limited intermittent raids characterised the inter-ethnic relation between communities.¹⁴⁴

Kenya is a vast multi-ethnic country with over 40 different ethnic groups.¹⁴⁵ The Nandi people form a part of a larger group called the Kalenjin, which are Kipsigis, Nandi, Tugen, Keiyo, Merkweta, Pokot, Sabaot, Terik, Sengwer, and Ogieek. The second-largest Kalenjin group and the most famous Nandi reside mainly in the former Rift Valley mountains. In present Kenya, the entire group refers to Kalenjin.¹⁴⁶ Rift Valley is the indigenous home of the Kalenjin, the Turkana, the Samburu and the Pokot. Like the Luyia, the Kalenjin are a mixed group. The conflict is mainly between the Kalenjin and migrant communities such as the Kikuyu, Luyia, Luo, and Gusii.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Prof. Peter O. Ndege, Colonialism and its Legacies in Kenya. A Lecture delivered during Fullbright-Hays Group Project abroad program: July 5th to August 16th 2009 at Moi University, Main Campus: 1-11.

¹⁴² O. I. with Tobensoi Johana, male, 90 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Resiot.

¹⁴³ O. I. with Laurence Okech, male, 88 years, on 22nd February, 2022 at Muhoroni, Kisumu County.

¹⁴⁴ Moindi, K.M. (2023). Kingdoms, Politics, and State Formation in Pre-colonial Kenya. In: Nasong'o, W.S., Amutabi, M.N., Falola, T. (eds) The Palgrave Handbook of Kenyan History. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-09487-3_6

¹⁴⁵ O. I. with James Mukhoha, male, 80 years, on 21st March, 2022 at Banja.

¹⁴⁶ According to the 2009 Census data, estimated at about 1,000,000.

¹⁴⁷ Oucho, J. O. Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflicts in Kenya. Leiden Brill, 2020, p.50.

According to archaeological evidence, the initial inhabitants of Kenya were the hunting and gathering societies.¹⁴⁸ The pastoralist societies allied with the southern Cushites joined them later. Finally, the Bantu and Nilotic speakers infiltrated the country during the Christian era.¹⁴⁹ The linguistic cataloguing classifies the Nandi among the highland Nilotes established in Western Kenya by AD 500.¹⁵⁰ Land and land tenure constitute compulsory subjects in modern Africa and developing countries. Land remains an effective means of production despite the overemphasis on industrialisation. With the rising global population, most African communities' access to the property for subsistence purposes has yet to be guaranteed. Since land does not expand in itself, its availability remains constant.¹⁵¹

Indeed, there needs to be more clarity in describing land tenure in precolonial Africa.¹⁵² Many reasons explain this confusion. Deliberate misrepresentation occurred, for instance, where some Western anthropologists refused to recognise the existence of communal tenure in precolonial Africa since such admission and evidence could conceivably justify socialism and communism. Western scholars treat African history as homogeneous, beginning from contact with Europeans.¹⁵³ That written record does not consciously explore the development of ideas and institutions in precolonial Africa. Among the over 43 ethnic diversities presently inhabiting Kenya, a land tenure

¹⁴⁸ Ogot, B. A. (ed.) (1979). *Hadith 7*. Nairobi, Kenya Literature Bureau.

¹⁴⁹ Ochieng', W. R. (1975). *An outline History of the Rift Valley up to AD 1908*, Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau. P. 1-19.

¹⁵⁰ Prisca J. Tanui (2015). A Gender Analysis of the Influence of Colonial Policies on Access to Land and Agricultural Technology among the Nandi in Kenya, 1895 – 1954. *IJHSS* Vol. 5, No. 9: September 2015, p. 217 - 229.

¹⁵¹ Mwandawiro Mghanga (2009). *Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta*, Land, Elections and conflicts in Kenya's Coast Province: Nairobi, September 2009.

¹⁵² K. Kibwana (1990). *Land Tenure*, in *Themes in Kenyan History*, William R. Ochieng' (1990) Heinemann Kenya Ltd, Nairobi.

¹⁵³ Arowosegbe, Jeremiah O. "AFRICAN SCHOLARS, AFRICAN STUDIES AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION ON AFRICA." *Africa* 86, no. 2 (2016): 324–38. doi: 10.1017/S0001972016000073.

presented a great diversity during the pre-colonial period since a long development period got involved.¹⁵⁴

Diverse economic activity, settlement patterns, and social and political organisation lead to various land use and ownership laws. During the hunting and gathering epochs, the first tenure system was communal. During the late Stone and early Iron Ages, individuals did not have factual claims on portions of land inhabited by an ethnic group. Collective access to land was possible upon immediate settlement of various ethnic groups because it was abundantly available, making it redundant to stake individual land claims.¹⁵⁵ Nature at this time was hostile, and only group effort could produce better productive work results. Among the Nandi and the coastal communities, clan, lineage, and family authorities were responsible for allocating land to family affiliates and general control or land administration. Title to family land was vested in the whole family jointly or corporately, but the use of benefits from or access to land still needs to be completed.

Alongside family land, communal land existed over which grazing, water, fishing, and fire-collecting rights stood equally. During the pre-colonial times in Kenya, land tenure stands best described as community-based. This tenure is so because land authority stood controlled by community elders, be it ethnic, clan, lineage or family.¹⁵⁶ The

¹⁵⁴ Ibid 324-38.

¹⁵⁵ O. I with Kiprono Arap Montagoi, male, 89 years, on 20th March, 2022 at Meteitei.

¹⁵⁶ O. I with Kitur Arap Cheison, male, 80 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi hills, Nandi Central.

concept of private and permanent land tenure never existed among the indigenous Nandi of Keyna.¹⁵⁷ The pre-colonial epoch did not experience any land scarcity.¹⁵⁸

However, the cultivation of lands was subdivided into each village, and a reserved block was left for cattle grazing. The elders were mandated to rule on which parts of the kokwet were developed following their discernment of fertility. In Nandi, fertility was resolute by some plants' presence, for example, *Tebeng'wet* (*Sambucus Africana*). However, the reviewed literature concentrates on agriculture, which forms part of trade relations between Nandi and her neighbours.¹⁵⁹ The regional and inter-ethnic indigenous administrations provided distinguished tenure rights to different social groups.¹⁶⁰ However, much of the above-reviewed works do not adequately examine the factors determining the Nandi precolonial ethnic relations, 1884 - 1895. Therefore, this research attempts to seal this gap.

1.9.3 The Colonial Rule Establishment and the Reconstruction on Nandi Inter-Ethnic Relations, 1895 – 1918

The establishment of colonialism in Africa and Kenya, particularly, has continued to attract vast scholarly attention.¹⁶¹ The attention is because colonialism has had a lasting

¹⁵⁷ Prisca J. Tanui, (2015). A gender Analysis of the Influence of Colonial Policies on Access to Land and Agricultural Technology among the Nandi in Kenya, 1895 – 1954. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 5. No. 9: September 2015, p. 219 -220.)

¹⁵⁸ O. I. Kirongo Arap Kitur, male, 78 years, on 8th may, 2022 at Chepterwai.

¹⁵⁹ Prisca, Op. Cit. 220.

¹⁶⁰ Nelson, Julie. (2004). *A Survey of Traditional Land Tenure in Sub-Saharan Africa*. FAO Document Repository.

¹⁶¹ Mamdani, M. (1996) *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers., Wriggley, C. (1965) "Patterns of Economic Life, 1904-45", Harlow, Vincent and Chilver, E. M. (Eds.) *Oxford History of East Africa*, Volume 2., Wolff, R. (1974) *The Economics of Colonialism: Britain and Kenya, 1879-1930*. Nairobi: Transafrica Press., Young, C. (1986) "Africa's Colonial Legacy", Berg, R. J. and Whitaker, J. S. (Eds.), *Strategies for African Development*, Berkeley: University of California Press., Kitching, G. (1980) *Class and Economic Change in Kenya The Making of an African Petit-Bourgeoisie*, London: Heinemann.

impact on Africa, and its legacy casts a dark shadow over the emergent African state systems.¹⁶² Unfortunately, however, this study cannot comprehensively analyse the influence of colonial rule on the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours without unravelling Kenya's colonial experiences since its intrusion. In some respects, the colonial effect was profound and destined to impact the current course of events; however, in others, it was not.¹⁶³

Colonialism developed from Imperialism and is a synthesis level of Capitalism. These three terms, Colonialism, Imperialism and Capitalism, refer to African people's political, cultural, and economic exploitation. For Kenya's case, as with the rest of Africa, the starting point was the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 and the Anglo-German Agreement and other Inter-European territorial arrangements. This conference demarcated alien boundaries around Kenya and Africa as a whole. Unfortunately, Africa and Kenya, in particular, boundaries, were determined haphazardly, bringing together over forty-three communities previously independent into an alien entity.¹⁶⁴ As a result, marginalized communities like Samburu and Turkana took almost a century to realise they were in Kenya.

For the Kenya case, the Land Titles Act (Cap. 282) radically altered the land ownership concept under customary African tenure governing indigenous coastal communities and created biases in the land adjudication against the indigenous communities.¹⁶⁵ The

¹⁶² Young, C. (1986) "Africa's Colonial Legacy", Berg, R. J. and Whitaker, J. S. (Eds.), *Strategies for African Development*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹⁶³ Akurang-Parry, K. O. In Memoriam: An Appreciation of Professor A. Adu Boahen (1932-2006) <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/artikel.php?ID=105231>

¹⁶⁴ Ogot, B. A. (2000) "Boundary Changes and the Invention of "Tribes", Ogot, B. A. and Ochieng, W. R. (Eds.) (2000) *Kenya: The Making of a Nation*, Maseno: Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies (pp 16-31)

¹⁶⁵ Mwandawiro Mghanga (2009). Usipoziba ufa utajenga ukuta, Land, Elections and conflicts in Kenya's Coast Province: Nairobi, September 2009.

Act's abuse had a tremendous negative impact on land, leading to landless indigenous people. This landlessness manifests in squatters' form on government lands, absentee landlords, tenants-at-will, idle lands, mass evictions, and lack of land access. In addition, the slow land adjudication process and delay in finalising settlement programs have denied the locals secure access to land.¹⁶⁶

Colonialism halted the spontaneous development of indigenous land tenure. The famous Berlin Conference of 1885, where the European powers carved up Africa for themselves and instituted an alien land tenure, was introduced in the British East Africa Protectorate.¹⁶⁷ The colonial masters imposed new land laws inconsistent with African structures. The colonial land policies cancelled clans' or ethnic groups' collective rights to unused land. They only claimed possession of land if they physically established themselves or did some farming activities on it. The alien policies overlooked the indigenous cultivation style or the lavish itinerant lifestyle.¹⁶⁸

McGregor Ross, as a Civil Servant in colonial Kenya for twenty-three years of political and economic developments and as a legislative council member from 1916 to 1922, sketched an outline of Kenya Colony's affairs under the Imperial British East Africa Company, its activities and the various phases through which the land question has passed. He has a graphic picture of the different conflicting elements in the Colony and their irreconcilable interests. He painted his work in the local atmosphere as he saw it.

¹⁶⁶ National Land Policy, articles 184-186. Ministry of Lands, 2007: 39

¹⁶⁷ Byrne, Sean. "The Legacy of Colonialism Among Traditional Peoples: Destructive Outcomes, Healing and Reconciliatory Potentials." *Peace Research* 49, no. 2 (2017): 5–13. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44779904>.

¹⁶⁸ Okoth-Ogendo (2006). Formalizing "informal" Property systems: The problems in Land rights reform in Africa. Nairobi, Kenya.

However, he argues that the colonialists were unfair to Africans and hints at the solution to still unresolved problems.¹⁶⁹

The colonial governments forced natives to migrate from one place to another in their colonies, and boundaries between Africans and colonial jurisdiction were demarcated.¹⁷⁰ For example, in Kenya, the colonial government embarked on Land reforms following the 1954 Swinnerton Plan, which envisioned the abolition of native tenures on land and executed a mandate of English laws whose basis was to privatize land.¹⁷¹ As a result, portions of the country experienced land adjudication, registration and titling processes to improve agricultural productivity, access bank loans, secure property and alleviate conflicts by land individualisation.

Nevertheless, Okoth-Ogendo and Bruce Berman argued that the result of land adjudication, registration and titling processes was different.¹⁷² This process failed because it encouraged speculation in the land by outsiders and displaced ‘natives’, leading to corruption and sham property titling. By extension, it accelerated conflicts and created landlessness by creating land access and rights inequalities, causing family and ethnic conflicts.¹⁷³ Furthermore, this tenure system contradicts the customary ownership of Africans, especially the Nandi, whose focus on land reconstruction paved

¹⁶⁹ McGregor Ross (1927). *Kenya From Within*. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.)

¹⁷⁰ Lentz, C. (2002). *Contested Boundaries: decentralisation and Land Conflicts in Northwestern Ghana*. APAD Conference, Institute für Ethnologie und Afrika Studien, Universität Mainz.

¹⁷¹ KNA: Swinnerton, J. (1954). *A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya Colony and Protectorate of Kenya*. Government of Kenya Printers.

¹⁷² Okoth-Ogendo, W. H. O., (1976). *African Land Tenure Reform. Agricultural Development in Kenya*. J. Heyer, J. K. Maitha and W. M. Senge, Nairobi, Oxford University Press. See also Bratton, Michael. *The American Political Science Review* 89, no. 4 (1995): 1047–48. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2082568>.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 1048.

the way for massive land alienation and ownership.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the reconstructions did not address Nandi's inter-ethnic relations and persistent contestations.

1.9.4 Implication of Colonial Policies on Nandi Inter-ethnic Relations, 1919 – 1939

After constructing the Kenya-Uganda railway, which started on 30th May 1896 and reached Kisumu on 19th December 1901, known initially as Port Florence, entirely from British government funds, 5,244,000 pounds got raised under the Uganda Railway Act of 1896, 1900, and 1902. Interest and sinking fund accrued on the line's capital cost were paid throughout by British taxpayers until 15 November 1925, when payments ceased.¹⁷⁵ The following stage considered the land question in British East Africa, presenting many outstanding features.

Land production is a pivotal factor influencing most ethnic conflicts in Kenya.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, land-associated resources such as water positively affect communities' well-being.¹⁷⁷ The issue of tenure and access to progressively threatened land and related resources has been at the centre of constant rows between Kenyan societies.¹⁷⁸

The works of Odinga Oginga¹⁷⁹ and Jan de Wolf¹⁸⁰ are relevant to this study: Odinga remarks on the presence of ethnic strains between the Abaluyia and the Kalenjin ethnic

¹⁷⁴ O. I. with Kipchumba Arap Chemalan, male, 80 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kibwareng'.
¹⁷⁵ McGregor Ross, W. M. *Kenyan from Within: A short Political History*, (London, Allen, and Unwin, 1927), p. 40.

¹⁷⁶ O. I. with Odhiambo Silas, male, 90 years, on 22nd February, 2022 at Muhoroni.

¹⁷⁷ Leley Johana Kipkemoi (2015). Factors influencing inter-ethnic conflicts in Kuresoi North subcounty; Nakuru County. MA Thesis, University of Nairobi. (p. 17-18).

¹⁷⁸ Thomas S. Jayne, Jordan Chamberlin & Rui Benfica (2018) Africa's Unfolding Economic Transformation, *The Journal of Development Studies*, 54:5,777-787, DOI: 10.1080/00220388.2018.1430774

¹⁷⁹ Odinga, Oginga (1967). *Not Yet Uhuru*. (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.)

¹⁸⁰ Wolf, J., (1977). *Differentiation and Integration in Western Kenya*. (The Hague: Morton and Co. Bv.)

groups in Western and portions of the Rift Valley provinces. Conversely, Wolf contends that Masinde Muliro claimed Trans Nzoia as part of the western province. However, this demand sparked a considerable inter-ethnic conflict between the Kalenjin sub-ethnic and their Abaluyia counterparts. In addition, communities have fought over land over the years. Environmental stresses and population growth have intensified the perception of land as a declining resource, compressing the connection between land and conflict. Nevertheless, the land is a significant factor in public disputes and critical in peacebuilding and economic reconstruction in post-conflict situations.¹⁸¹

Mathieu¹⁸² shares the same view with Fisher¹⁸³ when he brings out the case of Kivu, in which numerous people lost their lives and countless stood homeless. In this case, the deep causes of conflict were intermingled with massive immigration by different ethnic groups seeking land. Competition over scarce land, with a lack of off-farm opportunities, frustration, and lack of hope, may create a context of instability where other trigger factors, like political or ethnic manipulations, may lead to violent conflicts.¹⁸⁴

The populations immigrating into lands and communities with established tenure regimes, increasing people, and diverse cultural backgrounds are sources of grievance.

¹⁸¹ Elvin Nyukuri (2006) *Women, Land and Resource Conflicts*, African Centre for Technology Studies, Nairobi, Kenya.

¹⁸² Mathieu, P., Mugandgu Mataboro, S. & Mafikiri Tsongo, A. 1998. *Enjeux fonciers et violences en Afrique: "In prevention des conflict en se servant du cas dui kivu (1940 – 1994)"*, in Land Reform. FAO. In Issue No. 2. Rome, Italy.

¹⁸³ Fisher, L. (1996) Seeking common cause in the commons: Opportunities and challenges in resolving environmental conflicts. *The common Property digest*. October, 3 -5.

¹⁸⁴ Justin George, Adesoji Adelaja, Titus Awokuse, Olufemi Vaughan, *Terrorist attacks, land resource competition and violent farmer-herder conflicts*, *Land Use Policy*, Volume 102, 2021, 105241, ISSN 0264-8377, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.105241>.

These grievances occur when the immigrant's access to land has no specific time limit or conforms to customary rules.¹⁸⁵ However, the colonial state consolidated their power, elaborated its rule's legal and administrative apparatus, and formalised the alien conditions of land tenure.¹⁸⁶

African land use was controlled by shifting cultivation and nomadic pastoralism. In addition, people were moved into reserves or permanent settlements.¹⁸⁷ They articulate those measures to strengthen colonial governance and protect the environment against primitive African farming methods and practices. Colonial authorities hence prohibited broad land administrative powers.¹⁸⁸ Authorization to occupancy was the most reliable title granted by British Kenya and their African colonies.¹⁸⁹ The Nandi did not centrally dispense land under customary law.¹⁹⁰ In the case of many land disputes in native reserves, chiefs presided over them conclusively. The Indigenous tenure remained the principal landholding system for most African indigenous societies.¹⁹¹

Competition and violent conflicts over land in Africa and developing countries are increasing. This scenario is one of the few points on which most analysts agree.¹⁹² An assortment of factors is driving this trend. The fundamental structural elements include

¹⁸⁵ Ramirez R. (2002) A conceptual map of land conflict management: Organizing the parts of two puzzles. SD Dimensions. FAO. Rome, Italy.

¹⁸⁶ Berry, S. (2002). "Debating the land question in Africa." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44: 638-668.

¹⁸⁷ O. I. with Malakwen A. Rotich Sing'oei, male, 90 years, on 23rd January, 2023 at Kipkorom.

¹⁸⁸ Roberts, R. and K. Mann, (Eds). (1991). *Law in Colonial Africa: Social History of Africa*. Introduction. London, Heinemann Educational Books.

¹⁸⁹ Twaib, F. (1996). *Land Law and Land Ownership in Africa*. Bayreuth, Bayreuth University.

¹⁹⁰ Okoth-Ogendo (2006). *Formalizing "informal" Property systems: The problematique in Land rights reform in Africa*. Nairobi, Kenya.

¹⁹¹ Berry, S. (2002). "Debating the land question in Africa." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44: 638-668.

¹⁹² Okoth-Ogendo (2007). *The last colonial Question. An Essay in the pathology of Land administration systems in Africa*. A keynote presentation at a Workshop on Norwegian Land tools relevant to Africa. Oslo, Norway 3-4, May 2007. Accessed at <http://www.startkart.no>.

swift population advance, sandwiched with slow economic growth. These elements put more pressure on rural and peri-urban farmers, particularly in the public sector, who flop to keep up with inflation; urbanites look to the land to provide security for their retirement, a second income or buy parcels for speculative purposes.¹⁹³

The competition for land is essential as new conservation areas remain demarcated.¹⁹⁴ As long as land remains fundamental to development in Kenya, any expectation of a significant economic recovery, poverty reduction, and restoration of political stability in the region hangs mainly on how and when the government will resolve the land question.¹⁹⁵ Corporate access to minerals, timber, and other natural resources is privileged by governments over local farming or ranching interests. Many post-colonial agrarian countries inherited highly skewed patterns of land distribution, including Kenya.¹⁹⁶ Few agricultural states have succeeded after these land accumulation patterns by the elite and scarcity amongst low-income people. The land has thus stood described as the last colonial question.¹⁹⁷

Nandi 'district' Reports of September 1915¹⁹⁸ posit that the extended resistance was costly. Consequently, many people lost their lives, livestock also got killed, others were taken away, and their land was alienated. They lost ground in the southern Uasin Gishu

¹⁹³ Ibid, 3.

¹⁹⁴ Mark Harvey, Sarah Pilgrim, The new competition for land: Food, energy, and climate change, Food Policy, Volume 36, Supplement 1, 2011, Pages S40-S51, ISSN 0306-9192.

¹⁹⁵ Okoth-Ogendo. H 1976. African land tenure reform, in Agricultural Development in Kenya An Economic Assessment, edited by J. Heyer, J. Maitha and W. Senga. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

¹⁹⁶ C. Huggins, J. Wakhungu, E. Nyukuri (eds), Land Tenure and Violent Conflict in Kenya. Eldis, Jan., 2008.

¹⁹⁷ Okoth-Ogendo, H. W. O., (2007) The Last Colonial Question: An essay in the pathology of land administration systems in Africa. Oslo, 2-12.

¹⁹⁸ KNA: PC/NZA 2/2/, John Ainsworth, P.C. Nandi District Inspection Report, 22nd September, 1915.

plateau, which they considered part of their ancestral land. The Nandi lost this area to European settlement. The land alienated in 1906 also deprived the Nandi in the south of grazing areas and salt licks for their cattle. The Nandi *district's* Annual Report of 1919 – 1920¹⁹⁹ informs that the people who had been moved to reserves and resettled in the northern part found themselves in a marginal climatic area with less rainfall unsuitable for crops formerly grown in the south. The Nandi Political Record Book Volume I²⁰⁰ records that on 1 October 1907, the colonial government gazetted the Nandi reserve boundaries. In November 1907, the colonial government pledged to the Nandi elders that ‘the land they occupied was theirs forever, and this statement was confirmed in 1910 when their boundary was revised. According to the Kenya Land Commission,²⁰¹ the engagement between the British administration and the leaders from Nandi was formal and like a pledge given to the Nandi people. In the same vein, the government overlooked the agreement.

In July 1912, the colonial government approved the appropriation of 17 ½ miles² of land in the Kaimosi area. The colonial government initially included this land in the Nandi Reserve following the 1907 and 1910 agreements.²⁰² However, the government took an additional 16 ½ miles² of land. Nevertheless, the literature reviewed has yet to explicitly address the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1919-1939. Therefore, this study builds on this surveyed literature to fill this gap and establish the consequences of colonial policies on the Nandi inter-ethnic relations in the period under review.

¹⁹⁹ KNA: Nandi District Annual Report, 1919-20 from C. S. Hemsted D. C.

²⁰⁰ KNA: Nandi Political Record Book Vol. 1 Sect. 1, P 31.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² KNA: MSS/10/5/11/Chief Elijah Cheruiyot: A Great Nandi Leader, 30.

1.9.5 Effects of the Second World War and Decolonisation on Ethnic Relations, 1939 – 1963

USAID Office of Conflict Management²⁰³ asserts that government land annexation and resettlement schemes are notorious for triggering conflict and tension related to land use and claim competition. The Kenyan government reverted to a system of settlement fund trustees. Corruption and mismanagement resulted in settling only those politically aligned to the ruling class, leaving the squatters conflicting over their settlement's scarce lands. In addition, land settlement schemes needed to correctly address the question of landlessness.²⁰⁴

Several occasions of violence erupting in the Rift Valley were due to pastoralists and farmers competing over the same land or for vastly different purposes. The warring clans of pastoralists facing resource insufficiency kill each other during cattle raids as they search for productive grazing and arable water sources.²⁰⁵ Privatisation has also occurred on better grazing lands where the government has encouraged Western-style ranching. Grazing lands remain replaced by maize and vegetable plantations. The creation of national parks has further reduced access to indigenous grazing zones. The increased competition for land is also linked to private investors' desire to gain land access for various national or international purposes. Illusions of violence in halting the

²⁰³ USAID, Office of conflict management and mitigation. A toolkit for intervention. Land and Conflict.

²⁰⁴ Boone, Catherine, Lukalo, Fibian, and Sandra F. Joireman. "Promised Land: Settlement Schemes in Kenya, 1962 to 2016." *Political Geography* 89, (2021): 102393. Accessed April 23, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102393>.

²⁰⁵ Berger, R. (2000) Conflict over natural resources among pastoralists in Norther Kenya: 'a look at recent initiatives in conflict resolution.' *Journal of International Development*, 15:2, pp 245-245.

Titanium mining project where the government was to compensate residents in Kenya's Coastal region got reported in the year 2000.²⁰⁶

The Ogiek community in the Sengalo, Serengonik and Chereber in the Mau Forest claim that the settlement scheme interfered with their customary land tenure, allowing communal sharing of land and resources and peaceful coexistence of human needs and environmental protection.²⁰⁷ However, there has been much doubt, suspicion, conflict, rivalry and rivalry between Kenyan communities, leading to the current trend of the Ogiek ancestral land under the guise of settlement.²⁰⁸

Economic development has also changed the relationship between generations, negatively impacting inter-ethnic relations and shaping conflict dynamics, especially in Northern Kenya.²⁰⁹ The shifting of African land tenure to private from communal progressively influenced competition over land. However, privatisation led to an upsurge of landlessness in many parts of Africa.²¹⁰ As a result, some society's susceptible groups, such as women, lost their land rights. In addition, this system caused battles between neighbours and even within and between family members.

While the land claim differs from place to place, inclining on the value of the land, the conflicts in Africa have escalated at all socio-economic levels, among the pastoralists,

²⁰⁶ KNA: Daily Nation (2000). The insights of the Tiomin Project. Wednesday, June 5, Nairobi, Kenya.

²⁰⁷ O. I. with Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo, male, 84 years, on 21st January, 2023 at Kapchorwa.
²⁰⁸ Towett, J. Mau Forest Complex on the Spotlight; Kenya must be told the truth. Nairobi, Kenya. Access at www.ogiek.org/news/news-spotlight.html.

²⁰⁹ Sharamo, R. (2014). The politics of pastoral violence: A case study of Isiolo County, Northern Kenya. (Working Paper 095). Brighton: Future Agricultures. <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/Futureagricultures/FAC Working Paper 095.pdf>.

²¹⁰ Saafo Roba Boye (2007). Land ownership and conflicts in Isiolo District, Kenya. MSc Thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Norway.

pastoralists, farmers and farmers themselves and even between family members.²¹¹ Moreover, land conflicts have been more comprehensive than in regions with acute land scarcity. Nevertheless, many contestations over land in Africa range from sporadic, localised violence to protracted civil and cross-border wars. Moreover, these contestations are connected to preoccupations with the land to contest political power.²¹²

In the more significant sections of Africa, the colonial administration substituted the native structures preexisting with the beginning of colonialism.²¹³ The advance of a leading customary role for chiefs concerning the tenure and apportionment of land was fundamental to the evolution of the indigenous tenure system's paradigms.²¹⁴ In this context, the chiefs had the privilege of holding property with administration and allocation freedom. This freedom's effect is that only politically aligned easily acquired land. Land-related properties such as water and biodiversity are critical to communities' livelihoods.²¹⁵ Given its worth, access to and accessibility to land-based resources is essential to ensuring natural and long-lasting social, economic, and political well-being. It is one of the factors influencing most ethnic conflicts in Kenya.²¹⁶

²¹¹ Andersson, Jens A. (1999). "The politics of Land scarcity: Land disputes in Save Communal Area, Zimbabwe." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25 (4): 553-578.

²¹² Mamdani, Mahmood. (1996). *Citizen and subjects: Contemporary African and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press.

²¹³ Chanok, M. (1991). *Paradigms, Policies, and Property: A review of the Customary Law of Land Tenure*. Law in Colonial Africa: Social History of Africa. K. M. Richard Roberts. London, Heinemann Education Books, Inc.

²¹⁴ O. I. with Odhiambo Silas, male, 90 years, on 22nd February, 2022 at Muhoroni, Kisumu County.

²¹⁵ White C. (1990). Changing Animal Ownership and Access to Land among the Wodaabe (Fulani) of Central Niger, in: Baxter P. T. W. and Hogg R. (Eds) *property, poverty and people: Changing Rights in property and problems of pastoral Development*, Development University of Manchester, Department of Social Anthropology.

²¹⁶ O. I. with Arap Kemei Kipyator, male, 84 years, 8th May, 2022 at Chepterwai, Mosop.

One of the essential aspects mounding early colonial policies towards the Nandi, and the Nandi response to that rule, was how the colonial government was established. The Nandi ‘district’ Quarterly reports²¹⁷ explaining that the military danger of the Nandi, which until 1906 made the European settlement of the Uasin Gishu Plateau uncertain, mounded an initial colonial policy of removing the Nandi into a reserve.²¹⁸ After the final expedition of 1905, Nandi were removed from their ancestral homeland and quarantined in reserve under strict control from the colonial government.²¹⁹ However, the reviewed literature has not sufficiently highlighted the effects of the Second World War and decolonisation on Nandi ethnic relations from 1939 to 1963. Therefore, this study builds on this background to fill this gap and establish the effects of the Second World War and decolonisation on inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours in the period under review.

²¹⁷ KNA: D. O. Kapsabet F. W. Isaac, Nandi District Quarterly Reports, June 1905. 7-12.

²¹⁸ Walter, Bob J., and A. T. Matson. “Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890-1906.” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 6, no. 4 (1973): 705. <https://doi.org/10.2307/217242>.

²¹⁹ MURIUKI, GODFREY. “Nandi Resistance to British Rule, 1890–1906.” *African Affairs* 72, no. 288 (1973): 342–43. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a096398>.

1.9.6 The Post-Colonial Inter-Ethnic Relations in Africa, 1963 – 2003

The process of gaining independence in Africa stood accompanied by intensified colonial liberation movements.²²⁰ The most apparent source of external support demonstrates the character of Africa's foreign relations. African rulers depended on the same colonial powers from which they gained independence.²²¹ The initial relationship with the former colonial masters was only Africa's external relations at autonomy. Moreover, it, therefore, formed a diplomatic umbilical cord. In demarcating their foreign relations with the former metropole, African heads were thus defining their relations with their history.²²² After receiving sovereignty, the African states faced the challenges of building their nations. However, most metropolises continued actively participating in African affairs under the pretext of assisting them in state-building and forming economic and military systems. Therefore, metropolises managed to control the development process subsequently. As a result, a new type of colonialism emerged, characterised by low predictability and foresight. One of the critical challenges of the post-colonial period in Africa is the blurring of borders and, consequently, the rise of ethno-religious problems. Attempts to resolve this kind of threat lead to the intervention of intra-regional non-state actors and external powers.

Kenya was a British Colony beginning in 1895 to 1963.²²³ Furthermore, consequently, they stamped their imperial power through their administration. In addition, they used the divide-and-rule policy to administer boundaries based on ethnic population patterns.

²²⁰ W. M. Kassaye Nigusie & N. V. Ivkina. "Post-Colonial Period in the History of Africa: Development C." *Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development*. Springer, January 1, 1970.

²²¹ Clapham, Christopher. "The Foreign Policies of Post-Colonialism." Chapter. In *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, 77–105. Cambridge Studies in International Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

²²² Ibid, 78-100.

²²³ KNA: "Kenya Annexation Order, Kenya Gazette 7 Sep 1921".

The land policy, which saw people being moved from their native lands so that the British might take the fertile lands for agriculture, cannot be denied.²²⁴ However, after Kenya attained independence in 1963, the post-independence state needed to sufficiently address the attendant impact of the colonial legacy in independent Kenya.²²⁵

The successive regimes of Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Moi should have addressed the issues to avoid potential conflict.²²⁶ Colonial legacy, therefore, laid the foundation of the many intermittent inter-ethnic conflicts that plagued Africa and contemporary Kenya.²²⁷ Land, ethnicity, and governance challenges have brought ethnic conflict in Kenya.²²⁸ From the attendant grievances, long-term unresolved conflicts have emerged, including land, governance, and economic issues.²²⁹

Kiliku Report of 1992²³⁰ posits that the Sabao demand for land significantly impacted their ethnic relations. The post-independence Sabao, as an ethnic community, agitated for their head office or administrative centre to be administered from Bungoma to Trans Nzoia, as most of them reside in Trans Nzoia. Unfortunately, this literature fails to address the various aspects of inter-ethnic relations in the area under study. Nevertheless, the report focuses on the ethnic relations of the 1990s. Hence, gaps have emerged though applicable, constituting the research purpose.

²²⁴ Wolff, R. (1974) *The Economics of Colonialism: Britain and Kenya, 1879-1930*. Nairobi: Transafrica Press.

²²⁵ O. I. with Tamason Chepyego, male, 89 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central.

²²⁶ O. I. Kitur Arap Cheison, male, 80 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central.

²²⁷ Prof. Peter O. Ndege, "Colonialism and Its Legacies in Kenya." *A Lecture delivered during Fulbright – Hays Group project abroad program: July 5th to August 6th 2009 at the Moi University Main Campus*

²²⁸ Elkan, Walter, and Arthur Hazlewood. "The Economy of Kenya: The Kenyatta Era." *The Economic Journal* 90, no. 359 (1980): 630. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2231937>.

²²⁹ Kitching, G. (1980) *Class and Economic Change in Kenya The Making of an African Petit-Bourgeoisie*, London: Heinemann

²³⁰ Kiliku, Joseph Kennedy (1992) Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate clashes in Western and other part of Kenya. (Nairobi: Government Press.)

Ethnic conglomerations have mutual advantages and disadvantages.²³¹ On the merits, the ethnic groups promoted and nurtured the social, economic and political advancement of ethnic groups.²³² However, this work forms the groundwork to discuss Nandi's post-colonial inter-ethnic relations.

1.10.1 Philosophical Paradigm

A paradigm accounts for the world of human behaviour and a description of society.²³³ It is a Greek term meaning pattern.²³⁴ There are four essential elements of research paradigms. These are ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods. Ontology denotes the nature of human beliefs about reality.²³⁵ Epistemology denotes the division of philosophy that studies the nature of knowledge and the course by which knowledge is acquired and authenticated.²³⁶ Finally, the methodology is an articulated, theoretically informed approach to data production.

In contrast, methods are specific means of collecting and analysing data.²³⁷ Paradigms describe the interactions of human beings within any society. A paradigm is how one perceives the world that frames a research topic and influences how researchers think about a subject.²³⁸ They are perspectives that permit social scientists to have a wide

²³¹ Esese, D. P. L., (1984). 'Democracy in Multi-Ethnic Society: The Kenya situation'. Presented in Nairobi Hotel.

²³² Sawe Chepkelio, male, 90 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central.

²³³ Leavy, Patricia (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd edn, Oxford Handbooks (2020; online edn, Oxford Academic, 2 Sept. 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190847388.001.0001>, accessed 14 May 2023.

²³⁴ Kivunja, C. & Kuyini, A.B. (2017). Understanding and Applying Research Paradigms in Educational Contexts. *International Journal of Higher Education*.6 (5).

²³⁵ Grix, J. (2004). The Foundations of Research. *New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan*, p. 59.

²³⁶ Gall, M. D., Gall, J. P., & Borg, W. R. (2003). *Educational research: An introduction (7th ed.)*. Boston, MA: Pearson, p. 13.

²³⁷ Helen M. Walker, Review of Educational Research, Jun., 1856, Vol. 26, No. 3, Twenty-five years of Educational Research, pp. 323-343. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1169365>.

²³⁸ Hughes, P. (2010). Paradigms, methods and knowledge in G. MacNaughton, S. Rolfe and I. Siraj-Blatchford (Eds.), *Doing Early Childhood Research*, (2nd ed.,) Maidenhead: Open University Press: p. 35

range of scientific tools to describe society and then build hypotheses and theories. Finally, they describe and analyse based on their descriptions.²³⁹

In addition, paradigms are sets of beliefs that guide action.²⁴⁰ All social scientists approach their subject through explicit or implicit assumptions around the nature of the social world and how it may stand investigated.²⁴¹ A paradigm undergirds research or is a specific technique of seeing and making sense of the world.²⁴² It is a viewpoint, a perspective, a guiding principle, or a belief system.²⁴³ They cannot be verified or refuted, but they lead to the development of provable theories.²⁴⁴

In this study, the researcher utilised the Conflict paradigm to explain socioeconomic inequality, such as wealth and poverty.²⁴⁵ The Conflict paradigm describes the inequalities that exist in all societies around the globe. This paradigm is particularly interested in the inequalities based on the various aspects of master status—race or ethnicity, sex or gender, age, religion, ability or disability. Every society is overwhelmed by disparity based on social variances among the leading group and all of the other groups in society, based on the Conflict paradigm. Therefore, when analysing any element of ethnic relations in a community from this perspective, the

²³⁹ Fraser, S. & Robinson, C. (2004). Paradigms and philosophy. In S. Fraser, V. Lewis, S. Ding, M. Kellett and C. Robinson (Eds.), *Doing Research with Children and Young People*. London: Sage, p. 59.

²⁴⁰ Guba, E.G. (1990). The alternative paradigm dialog. In E.G. Guba (Eds.), *The paradigm dialog* (pp. 17-30). Newbury Park, CA: Sage. P. 17.

²⁴¹ Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis*. London: Heinemann Educational, p. 1.

²⁴² Mukherji, P. & Albon, D. (2015). Research Methods in Early Childhood. An Introductory Guide (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications, p. 24.

²⁴³ Chilisa, B. & Kawulich, B. (2012). *Selecting a research approach: Paradigm, methodology and methods*.

²⁴⁴ Schwandt, T.A. (2001). *Dictionary of qualitative inquiry* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

²⁴⁵ Lincoln, Y. S., Lynham, S. A., & Guba, E. G. (2011). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited In N. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 97–128). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

description is underpinned by structures of wealth, power, and status and how those structures maintain one group's social, economic, political, and coercive power at the expense of all other groups. Using this paradigm, the researcher conceptualised the factors determining inter-ethnic relations and the cause of persistent border conflicts between Nandi and her neighbours in the study period.

1.10.2 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework assists researchers in situating and contextualising formal theories into their studies as a guide.²⁴⁶ In addition, it provides a shared worldview or lens from which to support one's thinking about the problem and analysis of data.²⁴⁷ This study adopted the ideas and perspectives derived from conflict and Agency theories. Conflicts are prevalent in most societies, and no community is predicated on everlasting consensus, as argued by M. F. Abraham²⁴⁸ and E. M. Aseka.²⁴⁹ Therefore, the theoretical conflict paradigm condenses and brings out ethnic relations precisely. Conflicts enable people to identify their misdeeds in society and define their relations. Conflicts affect ethnic structures within a community. These models, thus, are pertinent to the study.²⁵⁰ These theories are discussed hereunder.

²⁴⁶ Ravitch Sharon. M., & Carl, Nicole Mittenfelner. (2016) *Qualitative Research: Bridging the conceptual, theoretical, and methodological*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

²⁴⁷ Grant and Osanloo (2014), Understanding, Selecting, and Integrating a Theoretical framework in Dissertation Research: Creating the Blueprint for your "House", *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, and Research*, v4 n2 pp 12-26.

²⁴⁸ Abraham, M. F., (1982) *Modern Sociological Theory* (Delhi: Oxford University Press): 125-128.

²⁴⁹ Aseka, Eric Masinde, (1994). 'Re-conceptualizing the Political Economy of Ethnicity in Africa' (Lecture Two of the Think Piece Lecture Series presented at The CODESRIA's 1997 Governance Institute in Dakar), pp. 21.

²⁵⁰ Lowilla, Lorna James E., (1998). 'The Role of Sudanese Women in Conflict Prevention and Resolution' (Presented at the 91h CODESRIA General Assembly held in Dakar between December 13th and 20th 1998)

1.10.3 Conflict Theory

Classical writers from 3 BC founded the Conflict theory with ancient philosophers.²⁵¹ These famous classical philosophers include Ibn Khaldun of the Medieval epoch, Heraclitus, Nicolo Machiavelli of the Renaissance, Polybius, as well as other contemporary thinkers, such as Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, and Gaetano Mosca, jointly contributed to the development of this theory. Other European scholars analysed the conflict with a strong impetus on power relations. Others who further contributed to this theory include classical economists like Adam Smith and Robert Malthus, who put economic competition as their central pillar. Contemporary sociological conflict theory primarily synthesised the two classical traditions. For example, the approach proposed by Karl Marx focuses on the unequal distribution of resources in society. C. Wright Mills, Ralf Dahrendorf and Andre Gunder Frank were renowned contemporary sociology conflict theorists.

As authored by the famous philosopher Karl Marx, the conflict theory asserts that society continuously struggles due to the scramble for limited available resources. The approach generally implies that most societal struggles happen because of conflicts between social classes or groups.²⁵² These groups try to protect their interests, blocking other groups' progress. Marx argues that social order stays sustained by domination and power rather than agreement and conformism. It is rooted in Marxism. It focuses on how inequalities contribute to social differences.²⁵³ The working class and the

²⁵¹ Abraham, M. F., (1982) Op. Cit. 105.

²⁵² Barkan, Steven E. "The Conflict Approach." Chapter. In *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Problems*, edited by A. Javier Treviño, 1:241–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. doi:10.1017/9781108656184.015.

²⁵³ Neesham, C., Dibben, M. Class Conflict and Social Order in Smith and Marx: The Relevance of Social Philosophy to Business Management. *Philosophy of Management* **15**, 121–133 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40926-016-0038-6>

bourgeoisie, the capitalist, are two conflicting types. According to the conflict theory, the owners of wealth and power embrace it by all means possible, chiefly by subduing the poor and powerless, so the end justifies the means.²⁵⁴ An elementary principle of conflict theory is that individuals and groups within society maximise their benefits.²⁵⁵

The approach focuses on the competition between groups within society over limited resources. The social and economic institutions influence the struggle between groups or classes to retain inequality and the ruling class's dominance. Marxist conflict theory sees society divided based on economic class categories between the proletariat and the bourgeois ruling classes.

Most conflicts stand examined using this theory. Most theorists, including Marx, consider that inherent societal conflict drives societal change and development. The conflict theory has stood recycled to explain an extensive chain of social phenomena, such as wars, revolutions, wealth, poverty, discrimination, and domestic violence. It credits most of the fundamental advances in human history, such as civil rights and democracy, to capitalistic efforts to control ordinary people rather than desire social order. The theory revolves around social inequality concepts in resource division and class conflicts.

Marx additionally posits that the worsening conditions exposed the working class and people experiencing poverty; a collective consciousness would bring inequality to light

²⁵⁴ "Karl Marx's Theory of Class Conflict." Study.com. March 21, 2017. <https://study.com/academy/lesson/karl-marxs-theory-of-class-conflict.html>.

²⁵⁵ Conflict Theory Definition. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/conflict-theory.asp>.

and potentially result in an insurgency. The conflict circle would eventually recap if the production owners adjusted the conditions to address the proletariat's apprehensions.²⁵⁶

1.10.4 Assumptions of Conflict Theory

Conflict theory has four vital assumptions worth understanding: revolutions, competitions, structural inequalities, and wars. According to Conflict theorists, competition is a constant and, at times, a critical factor in nearly all social relations. The scarcity of resources influences competition and material resources like property, commodities, and money. Fierce societal competition exists between individuals and groups for intangible resources outside material resources. These resources include leisure time, dominance, social status, and sexual partners. Conflict theory assumes that competition is, by default, the primary key and not cooperation in any social relationship and interaction.

An essential hypothesis of conflict theory is that human relations and social structures experience power inequalities. Therefore, some personalities or groups inherently cultivate additional abilities and rewards than others. Subsequently, those individuals who benefit from a particular social structure skew towards those structures to uphold, enhance, and cling to this power.²⁵⁷

Given that conflict occurs among social classes, one consequence is a revolution. The variation in power dynamics between groups does not happen due to adaptation. Instead, it emanates as a result of disputes sandwiched between individual clusters.

²⁵⁶ Coser, Lewis A. 1977. *Masters of Sociological Thought. Ideas in Historical and Social Context*, 2nd ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

²⁵⁷ Savur, Manorama. "Sociology of Conflict Theory." *Social Scientist* 3, no. 12 (1975): 29–42. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3516428>.

Therefore, variations in power dynamics are often abrupt and significant in scale rather than gradual and evolutionary.²⁵⁸

Conflict theorists see war as a factor that unifies or cleanses society. Conflict theorists believe war results from long-term conflict growth among personalities and groups and between whole communities. Society may become unified somehow in the war framework, but the competition remains between various communities.²⁵⁹ Marx believed these problems would eventually be accomplished through a social and economic revolution.²⁶⁰

Weber held that one specific scenario did not limit conflict over the property. Instead, he believed that numerous layers of conflict existed instantly and in each society.²⁶¹ Weber specified that “these underlie the power of religion and make it an essential ally of the state; that convert classes into status groups and do the same to territorial communities beneath specific conditions, making crucial legitimacy attention for struggles for dominance.”²⁶²

Weber’s beliefs about conflict theory extend past Marx’s. They advocate that some forms of social relations, including conflict, cause feelings and solidarity among individuals and groups within a society. Therefore, in this approach, individuals’

²⁵⁸ Kinseng, R.A. (2020). Class, Conflict, and Fishermans’ Condition in Indonesia. In: Class and Conflict in the Fishers' Community in Indonesia . Springer, Singapore.

²⁵⁹ Broom, Leonard, and Philip Selznick. 1975. *Essentials of Sociology*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

²⁶⁰ Feuer, L. S. and McLellan, . David T. "Karl Marx." Encyclopedia Britannica, March 10, 2023.

²⁶¹ Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology* (Vol. 1). Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press.

²⁶² Weber, M. (2009). *The theory of social and economic organization*. Simon and Schuster.

responses to inequality might differ depending on their allied groups and whether they recognise and legitimise those in power.²⁶³

Conflict philosophers of the 20th and 21st centuries have constantly spread conflict theory beyond Marx's strict economic classes. However, economic relations remain fundamental to the disparity's crosswise groups in several conflict theory branches. This theory is significant in modern and post-modern sexual and racial inequity theories, anti-colonialism, and peace and conflict studies. Moreover, many diversities of identity studies have ascended across Western academia in the past decades.²⁶⁴

Marx and Weber both argue that coercion and not consensus maintain social order. Marx saw a two-tier system of Proletariat and Bourgeoisie struggling to control the means of economic production.²⁶⁵ Weber agreed with the importance of wealth but contended that power and status were equally important. They both saw different groups in a conflict over social scarcities. The theory considers education as maintaining power structures. Change and order are due to dialectical forces. The underpinning assumption is that social networks create imbalances, and these inequalities cause activism.²⁶⁶ Therefore, conflicts arise, leading to change and re-organisation.

²⁶³ Collins, R. (1980). Weber's last theory of capitalism: a systematization. *American Sociological Review*, 925-942.

²⁶⁴ Conflict Theory Definition. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/conflict-theory.asp>.

²⁶⁵ Tonja R. Conerly, Kathleen Holmes, Asha Lal Tamang, June 3, 2021, Introduction to Sociology 3e, Houston, Texas.

²⁶⁶ Hayes, S. (2020). Bourdieu and Teacher Education. In: Peters, M. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Teacher Education*. Springer, Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1179-6_121-1

However, Dahrendorf, on the other hand, argues that underlying all social order are imperatively coordinated associations.²⁶⁷ These are organisational groups based on differential power relations. These organisations set up latent power interests between the haves and the have-nots. These interests manifest when a group meets the organisation's technical, political, and social conditions.²⁶⁸ The conflict generated between interest groups varies by intensity and violence. The power of competition is a negative function of group organisation and social mobility and a positive role of association among the scarce resources within a society. The more intense the conflicts are, the more profound the structural changes.²⁶⁹

The violence of conflict is a negative function of the conditions of group organisation and already derivation.²⁷⁰ The more violent the battle, the quicker structural change occurs. Social change involves shifts in the personnel of imperatively coordinated associations. The personnel impose their hierarchy of status positions, roles, norms, and values, which sets up another group of associations and latent power interests.²⁷¹ Based on this theory, this study examined the factors determining the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours in the reviewed period. Alongside ethnic relations, the study adopted this theory to identify and analyse the primary forces behind the intermittent conflicts along the shared borderline joining the three ethnic communities.

²⁶⁷ Dahrendorf, R. (1958). *Toward a Theory of Social Conflict*. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2(2), 170–183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002200275800200204>

²⁶⁸ Dahrendorf, R. (1959). *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

²⁶⁹ Craib, I. (1992). *Modern Social Theory: From Parsons to Habermas*. New York: St. Martin's Press

²⁷⁰ Ritzer, G. (2011). *Sociological Theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

²⁷¹ Rocher, G. (1972). *A General Introduction to Sociology: A Theoretical Perspective*. Toronto: MacMillan

1.10.5 Agency Theory

Social science defines Agency as individuals' capacity to act independently and make free choices. It implies the right to influence social relations.²⁷² By contrast, the structure is those aspects of influence such as social class, religion, ethnicity, ability, gender and customs that determine or limit agents' choices.²⁷³ Debate surrounds the implications of structure and Agency. A person's Agency is their liberated will. This capability is affected by cognitive belief structure. Dissimilarity in the extent of one's agency often causes conflict between parties, such as parents and children. The innovative means through which native producers employed creatively to improve their lives against the harsh imposed conditions by the capitalist colonial state was their ability to make liberated conclusions.²⁷⁴

The American Journal of Sociology also defined the Agency as a temporally embedded process encompassing three constitutive elements. These elements are iteration, projectivity and practical evaluation.²⁷⁵ In this way, actors have routine activities in reaction to typical circumstances that help them sustain personalities, interactions and establishments over time.²⁷⁶

The inclusive concept of Agency existed during the Enlightenment when there was debate over whether human beings expressed autonomy through instrumental rationality or moral and norm-based action. John Locke based his argument in favour

²⁷² William. H & Sewell, J. "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation". *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 98, No. 1. (1992).

²⁷³ Barker, Chris. 2005. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. London: Sage. ISBN 0-7619-4156-8 p448.

²⁷⁴ Anderson, D. *Eroding the Commons: The Politics of Ecology in Baringo, Kenya; 1890-1963* (Nairobi, 2002).

²⁷⁵ Emirbayer, Mustafa; Mische, Ann (January 1998). "What Is Agency?". *American Journal of Sociology*. 103 (4): 962–1023. DOI:10.1086/231294. ISSN 0002-9602.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 1001

of liberty on egotism.²⁷⁷ His denial of the binding on habit and the concept of the social contract managed to conceive Agency as human beings' ability to shape the circumstances in which they live.²⁷⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau explored an alternative understanding of this freedom by enclosing it as a moral will.²⁷⁹ These definitions of Agency persisted unquestioned primarily until the 19th century when philosophers began arguing that forces beyond their control dictate humans' choices.²⁸⁰ On the other hand, Paul Ricoeur included Freud as a third adherent of the 'school of suspicion' that accounted for human behaviours' unconscious determinants.²⁸¹

Conversational Agency describes Agency as an action that furthers an actor's objectives in the face of localised constraints that can potentially suppress the same effect.²⁸² Obstacles such as speaking, shifting participant participation, and local and relevant restrictions can influence articulating agencies. In psychology, agents are goal-directed entities that can monitor their settings to select and perform significant-end activities that are obtainable in a given situation to attain an intended goal. Agency implies the ability to perceive and change the agent's environment. It also entails intentionality to characterise the goals or state in the future.²⁸³ Therefore, this agency will lead to

²⁷⁷ Ibid, 1020-3.

²⁷⁸ Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, Karen A. (2009). Agency. In S. Littlejohn, & K. Foss (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. (pp. 28–32). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

²⁷⁹ Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, Karen A. (2009). Agency. In S. Littlejohn, & K. Foss (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. (pp. 28–32). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

²⁸⁰ Metcalfe, J., Eich, T. S., & Castel, A. D. (2010). "Metacognition of agency across the lifespan". *Cognition*, 267–282.

²⁸¹ Metcalfe, J., Eich, T. S., & Castel, A. D. (2010). "Metacognition of agency across the lifespan". *Cognition*, 267–282.

²⁸² Hewson, M. (2010). Agency. In A. Mills, G. Durepos, & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of case study research*. (pp. 13-17). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

²⁸³ Dennett, Daniel (1987). *The intentional stance*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. ISBN 978-0262040938. OCLC 15793656.

equifinal variability and attaining the intended objectives with different actions in different contexts.

Furthermore, the rationality of activities concerning their goal is to produce the most efficient response.²⁸⁴ Cognitive scientists and psychologists systematically investigated agency acknowledgement in humans and non-human animals since societal cognitive devices such as communication, social learning, imitation, and theory of mind presuppose the utility to identify agents and differentiate them from inanimate objects. This aptitude has also significantly affected agents' observers' inferential and predictive processes. This ability is because agentic entities perform autonomous behaviours based on their current and previous knowledge and intentions. At the same time, inanimate objects are supposed to react to external physical forces.²⁸⁵

Africans responded creatively to new constraints and opportunities.²⁸⁶ Equally important, Stichter examines the growth and modification of the migrant labour economy, unlike other labour historians who view taxation as a government response to settler labour demands.²⁸⁷ Taxation alone could not force Africans to join wage employment. However, other factors influencing African responses to wage labour included a cash economy pervading African societies by the early 1920s, with the money required for all transactions. Thus, they went to wage labour to get money, not

²⁸⁴ Gergely, György; Nádasdy, Zoltán; Csibra, Gergely; Bíró, Szilvia (1995). "Taking the intentional stance at 12 months of age". *Cognition*. 56 (2): 165–193. doi:10.1016/0010-0277(95)00661-h. ISSN 0010-0277. PMID 7554793.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 170–193.

²⁸⁶ Junne, G. (2018). African Entrepreneurship: Constraints and Improvements. In: Dana, LP., Ratten, V., Honyenuga, B. (eds) African Entrepreneurship. Palgrave Studies of Entrepreneurship in Africa. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73700-3_6

²⁸⁷ Stichter, Sharon. (1975). "The Formation of a Working Class in Kenya", in R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen (Eds). *The Development of an African Working Class: Studies in Class Formation and Action* London: Longman.

only to pay tax but also to obtain material goods.²⁸⁸ Agency theorists study the problems and solutions linked to delegating tasks from principals to agents in conflicting interests between the parties.²⁸⁹

The approach addresses hidden characteristics and covert action problems, beginning from explicit assumptions about rationality, contracting, and informational conditions. In addition, it examines conditions under which various incentive instruments and overseeing preparations stand deployed to minimise welfare loss. Its precise predictions and broad applicability have allowed agency theory to influence social sciences substantially. Nevertheless, it has also attracted substantial criticism. Regardless, this theory is critical in analysing the factors determining the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours in the period under review.

1.11.1 Research Methodology and Design

This study engaged a qualitative methodology to examine the factors determining the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 – 2003. Under this approach, the researcher adopted a historical research design.²⁹⁰ This design is a systematic and impartial gathering, evaluation, and synthesis of data to collect information and draw conclusions regarding historical occurrences. This design was an essential tool for yielding sufficient data for analysis. It extensively utilised primary and secondary sources, and archival sources blended with oral interviews. The study

²⁸⁸ Eckert, Andreas. “Wage Labour.” Chapter. In *General Labour History of Africa: Workers, Employers and Governments, 20th–21st Centuries*, edited by Stefano Bellucci and Andreas Eckert, 17–44. Boydell & Brewer, 2019. doi:10.1017/9781787445550.003.

²⁸⁹ Linder, Stefan, and Nicolai J. Foss. “Agency Theory.” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2255895>.

²⁹⁰ Walliman, Nicholas, and Pam Denicolo. *Designing your research project*, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071885451>.

morphed into four stages: data collection in Kenya National Archives based in Nairobi and its regional branches at Kisumu and Kakamega, data collection in the field (the study area), Library research for the secondary sources, and data analysis process. Finally, data collected remained analysed in a qualitative comparative historical approach to develop a comprehensive report on factors determining the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours and the primary forces behind intermittent conflicts along the shared borderline in the period under review.

1.11.2 Primary Sources

The study utilised primary data based on dual key sources: archival and oral from respondents in Nandi, Kisumu, Vihiga and Kakamega counties that made up the study area. The researcher commenced by collecting archival data prior to said sources. First, the researcher collected data from the Kenya National Archives based in Nairobi and additional data from its branches in Kisumu and Kakamega. Primary data got collected from the archives by reading colonial and post-colonial reports on the study's problem. In the archives, the researcher consulted various documents such as 'district' Annual Reports, 'district' Quarterly Reports, Provincial Annual and Quarterly Reports, Colonial Government Official and Private Correspondence files, Government Circulars, speeches, statistical information on Colonial Labour Migration, Secretarial and Judiciary Reports, Conference Papers, and Research Reports.

In addition, the researcher perused documents relating to Nandi 'district', Nyanza, Western and Rift Valley Province, Central Kavirondo, and North Kavirondo files relevant to the study. The archival sources were primary and supplemented by oral interviews. The archives yielded data on the colonial reconstruction of legislation and

policies. They also gave the official government position on socio-economic status at any given period. These sources helped the researcher establish a historical perspective on the factors determining Nandi inter-ethnic relations in the period under analysis.

In the first breath, the archival data provided a proper perspective on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, and in this study, this lacked representation of indigenous African relations. However, on the other hand, these sources provided both qualitative and quantitative primary data. The gaps behind such documents, like factors and the effects of colonial legislation and policies on Nandi intra and inter-ethnic relations, necessitated fieldwork. Therefore, the fieldwork provided ‘native’ views on inter-ethnic experiences in the colonial reconstruction of ethnic relations within and between Nandi and her neighbours.

1.11.3 Research Instruments, Sampling Techniques, and Sample Size

For fieldwork, the researcher prepared an interview schedule with open-ended questions. These interview schedules enabled the researcher to conduct fieldwork in Nandi County and the adjacent county borders to generate oral sources. Also, the researcher was familiar with the language of most people in Nandi County. Next, the researcher prepared a provisional list of informants with local help based on the purpose and information required. This method is known as purposive sampling, where the researcher picks the informants or respondents because they are informative or possess the necessary characteristics.²⁹¹ This sampling utilises the initiative of the researcher on

²⁹¹ Olive M. Mugenda & Abel G. Mugenda, *Research Methods, qualitative and quantitative approaches*, (Nairobi: Acts Press, 1999), p. 50 – 51.

the judgement in identifying informants of in-depth investigation.²⁹² Finally, the snowball method expanded the list during the interview.

The target population comprised informed Nandi, Luyia and Luo residents drawn from the study area. Former and current government officials were also interviewed. They included village elders, chiefs, Land Board members, and Assistant County Commissioners who have served in the study area. Purposive and snowballing techniques were employed to identify and interview seventy informed respondents in the study area. The respondents interviewed excluded children and persons under twenty years old. This population is considered qualified for data analysis. Therefore, the researcher drew his sample from this group with the desired information to make inferences.

First, the snowball sampling technique identified respondents between 20 and 80. Next, the researcher used purposive sampling to identify initial subjects with the desired characteristics. The few identified informants then named others they knew had required features until the researcher got the number of informants needed.²⁹³ Seventy interviews were conducted, including former and current chiefs, land board members, Assistant County Commissioners, and other male and female respondents aged between 20 and 80. The purposes and nature of the study took precedence over, for instance, avoiding the kind of sampling bias or sampling error that quantitative procedures take into account on differences between quantitative and qualitative sampling.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Neuman, Lawrence. (1994). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Allyn & Bacon, Boston: 198.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Babbie, Earl. (2007) *The practice of social research*. 11th Edition, Thompson Wadsworth, Belmont: 184-7.

Interviewing former chiefs, land board members, and assistant county commissioners formerly referred to as 'district' Officers (D. Os) who were still alive helped the researcher obtain relevant information on the colonial reconstruction of legislation and policies.

On the other hand, interviewing male and female respondents aged between 20 and 80 helped the researcher identify how the ultimate colonial rule impacted ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours. The researcher also recorded the life histories and experiences of carefully chosen individuals and families. Finally, the researcher cross-checked information to corroborate the data by interviewing other household members to verify or refute the statements. All the informants were aged 20 to 80, except for a few above 80 years. These were a group of participants who either participated in or at least were 20 years of age by independence.

1.11.4 Secondary Sources

The researcher consulted secondary sources to supplement the primary sources. They were helpful during the study's introduction and consulted during the fieldwork. The sources included published and unpublished works on Kenya's colonial and socio-economic history, such as scholarly books, journal articles, seminar papers, theses, and dissertations that bear fruit on the study subject. The researcher found the above sources in the Kenya National Libraries and institutional libraries. The main libraries consulted included Moi University - Margret Thatcher Library, Kenya National Library - Eldoret, Kisii University Library, and Egerton University Library. In addition, the researcher perused other valuable data from the online (e-books) library on the internet. Several online journals and books got sought to supplement the limited availability of old books

that bear an impetus on the study. The online sources enriched the literature relative to this study and thus strengthened the primary sources. They principally helped in the comparison and theoretical interpretation of the preliminary data.

1.11.5 Data Analysis and Interpretation

The researcher investigated the data from the study using a qualitative comparative historical approach. It was compiled thematically and documented chronologically using direct quotations and descriptive texts. Data from the interviews was scrutinized and analyzed chronologically and thematically to establish links with the respective research objectives that they address shorter historical epochs. The information from oral interviewees was analyzed based on standard and non-common assertions and clustered according to the themes and periods in question. Secondary data were used to broaden the scope of the explanations and conclusions drawn from the research. The research also made recommendations for further investigation.²⁹⁵

These methods are essential in the social sciences, offering insight through a cross-case comparison.²⁹⁶ Despite the significant contributions of comparative-historical analyses of social transformation, there is very little work on precisely what comparative-historical methods are.

This analysis revealed the known and the particular phenomena to understand the various historical deviations in developing the same aspects over the years or two

²⁹⁵ Mathew Lange: *Comparative Historical Methods*, Sage Publications Inc. 1 Oliver Yard, London, 2013, ISBN 978-1-84920-627-3, pg. 3.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

different but contemporaneous issues.²⁹⁷ The data obtained from this critical analysis helped to unravel the key factors that have defined the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours and investigate the cause of intermittent border conflicts during the study period 1884 – 2003.

1.12 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics got upheld in the research setting and in writing up the research. The initial question of ethics is whether or not the study is worth being conducted at all.²⁹⁸ Research always requires explicit, vital ethical conduct. Ethics can be even more critical in writing about and researching inter-ethnic relations in Rift Valley, the Nandi of Kenya, and her neighbours. Critical ethical questions also ascend during data collection in the field and archives.²⁹⁹ How much data is then stored, analysed, presented and disseminated in the post-research actions?³⁰⁰

The researcher protected the respondents by keeping all the data gathered from them as confidential as possible. Furthermore, the researcher sought authorisation from NACOSTI (National Commission for Science and Technology and Innovation) and other relevant authorities before revealing such information to the general public. NACOSTI is a government institution whose mandate is to issue permits before conducting official research. This permit bestows legitimacy to the researchers each time they visit any place of research interest. Moreover, the respondents' identity was

²⁹⁷ David Marsh and Garry Stoker Eds. (2002) *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. London: MacMillan.

²⁹⁸ Johnson 2015: 12-13; Siegel & de Wildt 2016. The subject of Siegel and de Wildt (2015) is ethics in human trafficking research.

²⁹⁹ Zhang et al. 2016; Bode & Osborne 2015.

³⁰⁰ Grinyer 2009: 52-53; Twohig 2004: 266; Dwyer, Davis & Emerald 2017: 72-73.

protected by not disclosing the respondents' names to the public if the data collected amounts to sensitive matters.

The lone ethical issue concerns the worth of researching factors determining the Nandi inter-ethnic relations, given that such investigation may damage the participants.³⁰¹ The informant is essential to social research to ensure that research does not involve detriment.³⁰² The fear of harm may emanate from various sources. Primarily, informants may narrate chilling accounts of conflicts that may, later on, haunt them or re-traumatise them.³⁰³ The respondents may implicate themselves in the horrors and be forced to go through the legal system if somehow this is revealed and their anonymity is not protected.³⁰⁴ Furthermore, the informants may intentionally or not provide information that could implicate others at risk, or the informants could be overwhelmed through violent acts.³⁰⁵

Minimising risk to oneself is also an ethical obligation for the researcher during the research.³⁰⁶ Taking calculated risks may be unavoidable in fieldwork on conflict and violence-related topics such as this one.³⁰⁷ Those concerns are valid and involve scenarios that should be useful before fieldwork. Everyone got interviewed, and each social group had their sensibilities based on age, gender, class and geographical location, among other things. Scholars have cited a severe argument that informants

³⁰¹ Johnson 2015: 12-13 "No harm tests" listed are: protect the participants from being harmed by the research, guard the confidentiality of the participants, do not coerce people to be participants, and do not deny people benefits to which they are entitled.

³⁰² William 2015a: 90; Fortune, James & Miller Jr. 2013: 48

³⁰³ Dwyer, Davis & Emerald 2017: 73; Jaffe et al. 2015: 41; Bell 2001.

³⁰⁴ Kyriakakis, et al. 2015: 260, 262; Grinyer 2009: 50.

³⁰⁵ Stockman, Knop & Oosten (2013: 167) use the concept of negative externality to refer to this possibility.

³⁰⁶ Fawcett & Pocket 2015: 138; Faulkner & Foundation 2004: 18.

³⁰⁷ Gaigals & Leonhardt 2015: 3.

who revisit past events may become traumatised by recounting happenings during a violent period of conflict in the past.³⁰⁸

Remembering and discussing these episodes cannot be justified by citing the benefits of gaining a better or more in-depth understanding of the past, present perceptions, or the conflict setting.³⁰⁹ Instead, learning lessons regarding reconstructing society needs sensitive and un-intrusive ways of collecting such delicate and often painful data.³¹⁰ A related concern is a stance towards archival and other extant texts. Therefore, the researcher took a post-mortem of those texts, including archival ones, contingently constituted, and a critical attitude towards them was required.³¹¹

Regarding the ethics of the post-research actions, the concerns were on how ethical it was to conduct a purely academic exercise around factors determining Nandi inter-ethnic relations concerning narratives of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relations. How can strictly academic research be justified, if not vis-a-vis the future use of such research to address informants' problematic issues and problems?³¹² These ethics ultimately helped explain the study in the first place, ensuring that it could contribute to longer-term positive social transformations in the researched communities. Furthermore, the study, being a thesis, is a public document concerning data storage. The researcher, therefore, followed several studies' advice that research participants should generally be anonymised in the final research document unless they explicitly want their identity revealed.

³⁰⁸ Shackel & Fiske 2016: 15; Jaffe et al. 2015: 51; Dwyer, Davis & Emerald 2017: 73.

³⁰⁹ Pelle & Reber 2016: 33.

³¹⁰ Gray 2009: 69.

³¹¹ Ruth & Mutch 2014: 149; Bode & Osborne 2015.

³¹² Hill 2005: 139.

The researcher also ensured that the research had no physical or psychological harm to the respondents.³¹³ Voluntary consent stands confirmed before the respondents participated in the study. The study's real purpose, the truth, and the intended findings' meaning were guaranteed to ensure the respondents' voluntary consent. Consequently, the data collected in this study stood for this study only. Data from the respondents remain confidential information strictly for the specified purpose.

1.13 Thesis Periodisation

The researcher adopted a periodisation and thematic approach in this study; thus, significant themes and epochs founded the chapter headings. Every chapter was divided into subheadings, beginning with an introduction and ending with a conclusion. The study comprised seven chapters. Chapter one was an introduction that formed a background to the task. Chapter two dealt with Nandi precolonial inter-ethnic relations, 1884 – 1895. Chapter three examined the effects of colonial rule on the reconstruction of Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1895 -1918.

On the other hand, Chapter Four established the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1919 – 1939. Chapter Five documented the implications of the Second World War and decolonisation on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1939 - 1963. Chapter six assessed the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations, 1963 - 2003. Finally, chapter seven summarised and concluded and made recommendations on the study. In conclusion, the chapter suggested areas for further investigations to determine to which extent education and religion have influenced the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours in the period under review.

³¹³ Kail & Cavanaugh 2016: 33; Grinyer 2009: 52-53; Twohig 2004: 266; Bell 2010: 44-45.

1.14 Conclusion

This chapter provided the background against which the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 - 2003, were propagated. A review of diverse literature has established that a few studies have attempted a systematic and chronological analysis of the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours within the study period. The section analyzed the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial relations as envisaged in this study. Therefore, it illustrated a prevailing gap and categorically asserted the significance of research and discussing the Inter-Ethnic Relations between Nandi and her neighbours. In addition, the chapter explained the research methodology and the theoretical concepts employed in this study. Therefore, the next chapter responds to the first research objective, answering the first research question: What pre-colonial inter-ethnic relations existed between Nandi and her neighbours?

CHAPTER TWO

PRE-COLONIAL INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS BETWEEN NANDI AND HER NEIGHBOURS, 1884 – 1895

2.0 Introduction

This section is a synopsis of the precolonial inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 – 1895. It will focus on the geographical setting of what constitutes Nandi, Vihiga, Kisumu and Kakamega counties. The said counties comprise the study area and have had a long-term background of relations with political, social and economic ties. In addition, the study area's physical features, such as the Nandi escarpment, Lake Victoria, rivers, forests, hills, and valleys, impact the distribution of resources and the habitation of the communities and their occupations.

In this case, the conflict theorist Dahrendorf's assumptions count. He asserts that the movers of positive and negative domination control two quasi-groups with differing interests in every imperatively coordinated group. Unless certain empirically variable conditions intervene, the bearers of this dominance organize themselves into groups. For example, territorial features often compel social or ethnic relations.³¹⁴ The difference in resource distribution makes certain places more favourable than others. This uniqueness results in definite social groups being ethnologically different from others in the neighbouring counties.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Mazrui, A. A. (1969a,) *Violence and Thought*, London, Longman, p. 103 – 105.

³¹⁵ Abraham, M. F., 1982, *Modern Sociological Theory*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, p. 108.

2.1 The Pre-colonial Nandi Society

Initial Kenya populaces were the hunters and gatherers, followed by the pastoralists associated with the southern Cushitic-speaking people. The group that followed was the Bantu and Nilotic peoples, who penetrated the country at the onset of the Christian epoch.³¹⁶ Finally, the ancestors of highland nilotes had settled by AD 500 in Western Kenya.³¹⁷ Among these nilotes is the Nandi community, known for their fierce cattle raid among their neighbours, hostilities towards trade caravans, resistance to British rule, and encroachment on their land.³¹⁸ The term Nandi is not Kalenjin by origin. As mentioned in the previous chapter, they were known as Chemng'al by other Kalenjin sub-ethnic groups. However, the name is known to have got derived from Swahili traders whose caravans got attacked as they crossed their territory. These traders termed them Wanandi (plural) or Mnandi (singular), meaning cormorant, a term used to describe a voracious bird that preys on fish. This perception, therefore, justifies the name branded on them.³¹⁹

The Nandi sub-ethnic community belongs to a Nilotic group from the Kalenjin-speaking community.³²⁰ They immigrated from Ethiopia and Sudan and traversed the Nile Valley to the foot of Mt. Elgon. From here, the dispersal took place in parts of western Kenya.³²¹ They are organized into twelve territories (*pororiosiek*), seventeen clans (*oret*) and seven age sets (*ibinuek*). The clans are as follows:

³¹⁶ W. R. Ochieng' (1975), *An Outline History of the Rift Valley up to AD 1908*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 1-19.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Mwanzi H. A. (1977), *A History of the Kipsigis*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 66.

³¹⁹ Oboler, R. (1985) *Women, Power and Economic Change: The Nandi of Kenya*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 18.

³²⁰ G. J. Dimmendaal. "Language shift and morphological convergence in the Nilotic area," *Sprache und Geschichte n Afrika*, 16 (17), 83-124, 2001.

³²¹ W. Ng'ang'a. *Kenya's Ethnic Communities: Foundation of the Nation*, Gatundu Publishers, Nairobi, 2006.

Table 2.1 Nandi clans and totems

#	CLAN	Names used by women only.	ANIMAL (TOTEM)
1	Kamwaike	Kipongoi	Monkey (<i>Cercopithecus albogularis</i>)
2	Kapchemuri		Francolin
3	Kipaa	Koros Kapcher- Mwamweche	Wild Cat
4	Kipamui (Kipamwi)	Kipketoi	Duiker
5	Kipasiso	Kipkoiyo, Kaparakok	Sun, Mole
6	Kipyegen (Kipiengen)	Kipwalei	Baboon
7	Kipkenda	Maiimi Maramgong', Kapibei, Kuchwa.	Bee, Frog
8	Kipoiis	Mende kerus	Jackal, Cockroach
9	Kipkoiiting	Kapongen Kiramgel	Elephant, Chameleon, snake.
10	Kipkokos	Kapsegoi	Buzzard
11	Kipsirgoi	Pale-kut Kapil Malet- kam	Bush Pig
12	Kiptopke	Tuitokoch	Monkey (<i>cercopithecus griseo-virillis</i>)
13	Mooi	Rarewa, Kisapony, Partatukasos	Crested crane, Buffalo.
14	Sokom	Kapyupe	Hawk
15	Talai	Kimapeelameo, Kipyakut, Tule-kut.	Lion
16	Toiyoi	Moriso	Rain, Soldier Ant
17	Tungo	Korapor, Pale-beet.	Hyena

Source: O. I Edward Birgen, interviewed on 19-Mar-2022, Kaiboi, Nandi North.

The generational age-set systems held the Nandi community together. They were determined by initiation and shared identity, maintained close ties, and passed through equivalent stages of age-related status.³²²

For many years, the Nandi adjusted themselves to their ecological niches.³²³ As a consequence, they developed agricultural economies and pastoralist forms of production. The majority adapted to a mixture of crop cultivation and livestock keeping and flourished in hunting and gathering. Production was mainly for collective subsistence rather than separate accumulation.³²⁴ The kinship system was the root of ownership of production factors, including land, labour and livestock. Labour was cooperative within the family and the larger kin group. This kind of labour was manual. The surplus was quantitatively small and imposed limitations on cross-border trade.³²⁵ The rewards of labour got redistributed according to need. There existed slight variances in wealth possession.³²⁶ Reciprocity and the egalitarian ideal ensured that individuals never slid into abject poverty.³²⁷ There was very little impetus for large-scale state formation. Instead, the most significant political unit was the collectivity of a few families related to forming what was known as *Pororiosiek*.³²⁸

The community was left uninterrupted for some time and secluded, living separately and lonely. The Nandi livestock diminished in numbers, failing to attract neighbouring raiders. The group thus succeeded in developing and evolving the elementary features

³²² J. Ruto. *The Nandi Resistance Against the Colonial Rule*, Mohan Publishers, Nairobi, 2010.

³²³ Sheriff, A. M. H. (1985) "Social Formations in Pre-colonial Kenya", Ogot, B.A. (Ed.).

³²⁴ O. I. with Edward Birgen, Male, 90 years, on 10th March, 2022 at Kaiboi.

³²⁵ Ibid., 10th March, 2022.

³²⁶ O. I. with Rtd. Justice B. Tanui, male, 80 years, on 20th May, 2022 at Sarora, Nandi.

³²⁷ O. I. with Vibian Mutai, female, 80 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kapkerer, Terik, Nandi.

³²⁸ O. I. with Sawe Chepkelio, male, 90 years, on 7th May, 2022 and Kapkangani, Nandi Central.

of their society.³²⁹ Nandi clans increased as new immigrants came between the late sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The country was vast, and no limits got defined. The clans in Nandi played a small role in terms of spatial distribution.³³⁰ The consequence is that the Nandi adopted agriculture after settling here, as evidenced by many Luyia loan words denoting Nandi agricultural words for specific livestock-related terms.³³¹

By 1850, the Nandi excelled in crop farming and livestock keeping. As the population bred in the originally settled area, some clans disappeared and lived separately.³³² Communities were highly acephalous or segmented. The ethnic boundaries among the communities were fluid.³³³ Inter-ethnic interactions got characterized by trade, intermarriages, livestock theft, and limited and intermittent warfare. The histories of migrations and settlement were about the continuous waning and waxing of the various ethnicities. Society was anything but static.³³⁴

In considering the distribution and possible migrations of the Nandi in the past, most of the wild hunting communities, the Dorobo, speak a dialect of Nandi. This linguistic evidence indicates that the Dorobo, sometimes known as *Ogiek*, interacted with the Nandi and Maasai. The Nandi maintain a tradition that they were once ejected from their country by the Sirikwa, a community who lived on the Uasin Gishu plateau and

³²⁹ Walter, J. B. (1970). Territorial Expansion of the Nandi of Kenya, 1500-1905. Ohio University Centre for International Studies, Africa Programme, p. 19-20.

³³⁰ O. I. John Kipng'etich, Male, 90 years, 20th February, 2022 at Kapkerer, Terik.

³³¹ Ehret, C. (1985). East African Words and Things: Agricultural Aspects of Economic (Ed.). Kenya in the Nineteenth Century. Nairobi: Bookwise and Anyange Press.

³³² Walter, J. B. (1970). Territorial Expansion of the Nandi of Kenya, 1500-1905. Ohio University Centre for International Studies, Africa Programme Walter, J. B. (1970). Territorial Expansion of the Nandi of Kenya, 1500-1905. Ohio University Centre for International Studies, Africa Programme, p. 19-21.

³³³ Niehaus, Isak. "Ethnicity and the Boundaries of Belonging: Reconfiguring Shangaan Identity in the South African Lowveld." *African Affairs* 101, no. 405 (2002): 557-83. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518467>.

³³⁴ O. I Arap Kimoso Kipsile was interviewed on 20th April 2022 at Maraba.

built stone Kraals. The Maasai drove out of this Sirikwa, which was overwhelmed due to internal quarrels. The Nandi emigrated from the plains and open pasture lands before the Maasai and Turkana but maintained themselves in wooded and mountainous districts. The Nandi have strong ties with the Maasai as indicated by the oral sources that the Nandi medicine men descended from a Maasai clan,³³⁵ and the song sung in the Nandi war dance is in Maasai.³³⁶ To a small extent, they were cultivators, and their conduct regarded recurring warfare and raiding as part of their daily lives.

The ‘Orkoiyot’ was greatly respected and had the power to sanction or forbid raids.³³⁷ However, his authority seems to depend on his supposed ability to predict the result of these expeditions. The civil organization of Nandi country was divided into two administrations, subdivided into districts, each with two administrators and representatives of the ‘Orkoiyot’ and the people, respectively. The Nandi had no villages or towns. The absence of such centres is remarkable because their neighbours, Luo and Abaluyia, construct well-defined villages surrounded by hedges or mud walls. There are no collections of houses in Nandi, but one or two huts may usually stand seen from any given point. The Nandi built their homes in a sparse distribution.³³⁸ The scattering of houses implies that the community had little fear of external invasion or internal robbery and proves that the community had a well-organized and reliable army.³³⁹

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ O. I. Kipchumba Arap Chemalan, 79 years, Cornelius Seroney, 81 years, Bot Kamarei Jepkuto, 90 years, interviewed on 20th February 2022, at Kibwareng’.

³³⁷ O. I. with Kibosio Arap Chemalan, Male, 87 years, on 24th July, 2022.

³³⁸ O. I. with Rtd. Justice B. Tanui, male, 80 years, on 20th May, 2022 at Sarora, Nandi.

³³⁹ O. I. John Kipng’etich, Male, 90 years, 20th February, 2022 at Kapkerer, Terik

2.2 The Institution of Orkoiyot

According to oral sources, the Nandi define and perceive the institution of ‘Orkoiyot’ as follows:

“First, Koitaleel Samoei was Kenya’s first freedom fighter. He was our son, the 5th Nandi ‘Orkoiyot’. Second, ‘Orkoiyot’ is derived from two Nandi words, Or – and Kokuiyo. “Oor” mean the way, foot-path while “Kokuiyo” means understanding. He is believed to have divine powers to see a calamity or a blessing coming from some direction and discern to understand them before communicating back to the community. He sees a vision in his mind known as ‘Kibometio’ because he has an additional understanding above the ordinary one. The community sought his intervention to discern and give a ruling on the community’s way forward in case there was a drought, a disease, a looming raid and chances of winning a raid. He could see a calf developing before its birth and tell the colour of the calf.

Moreover, he is known as Or-koiyot (Keerei ak kokuiyo), meaning he sees, discerns, and understands a situation. As an institution, *Orkoiyot* was a man whose influence was based on his magical powers beyond comprehension by the entire community known as *Orkoinotet*. *Orkoinotet* is a mighty and sacred power vested in the institution or held by *Orkoiyot*. This institution is found only among the *Talai* community of the Nandi. The *Talai* is a clan whose totem is a Lion. The Nandi *Talai* clan stood divided in to two: *Talai-Nandi* and *Talai-Kutwo*. The *Talai* hosting *Orkoiyot* were the *Talai-Kutwo*, having five families. These are Kapsogon, Kapchesang’, Kapturgat, Kapmararsoi and Kapsanet. One of the brothers of Koitaleel Samoei migrated to Kericho to live among the Kipsigis and thus formed the *Talai* of Kipsigis.”³⁴⁰

The Nandi benefited from the institution of *Orkoiyot* in the following ways:

“... he used to foresee and tell people to prepare well in advance. He authorized raids and advised when not to. The community lived by raiding. The Maasai lived among them in Mogobich, Lolduga, Sochoi, Ollessos, Losingiran, and the Nandi needed his guidance. He also advised when the initiation ceremony should occur to mark the end of an age set and begin another. All the Nandi clans acknowledge the divine and supernatural powers of the *Orkoiyot*. The *Orkoiyot* had powers of rainmaking, a result that affected crops as well as cattle. He

³⁴⁰

Group Oral Interview with Eliud Arap Chemosei, aged 60 years, Joseph Kiptoo, aged 48 years, Felix Arap Mwei, aged 58 years at Sirwo-Nandi Hills on 20th January, 2023.

used to bless the age sets the result for which Nandi became an impenetrable country...”³⁴¹

“... the office of Orkoiyot took a social and political setting. He transformed and unified the Nandi community. His political influence included sanctioning projected raids and giving charms to leaders of the warriors. The community believed he used to detach his shadow and let it accompany the warriors to the battlefield. He is, therefore, a spiritual and military leader recognized by the Nandi. As a spiritual leader, a prophet prophesied about a black snake pitting fire that could pass through their country, which they believed was the Railway line heading to Kisumu, Port Florence, and it came to pass. The Talai clan lived alone, isolated from the other clans, so they could not mingle with others, remain clean, and have time to see, discern and understand various phenomena attracting their interpretation. ...”³⁴²

The origin of the term is unidentified, though Huntingford³⁴³ speculates that the word ‘Orkoiyot’ could have been derived from two words ‘oo’ (big) and ‘koot’ (house) hence the big house. The term predates the office it would denote among the Nandi, as revealed by its presence in other Kalenjin communities, for example, Kony (*orkōan*, *orkōandet*) and Pokot (*werkoiyon*). It got initially applied to a class of experts who were perceived to be benevolent and thus tolerated and were different from ‘ponik’, a type of wizard perceived only as evil. He notes that the men-folk of the Kamwaik *oreet* were the indigenous *orkoiik* in Nandi before the Maasai family of Kapuso took the pre-eminence from them. The *Oreet* pl. *Ortinuek* or *Ortinweek* is a kinship set among the Kalenjin society of Kenya, similar to a clan.³⁴⁴ The members of an *oreet* were not essentially related by blood, as demonstrated by the embracing of followers of the Uasin Gishu Maasai by Arap Sutek, the lone Nandi smith at the time. His proteges would later

³⁴¹ Group Oral Interview with Arap Ng’eny Chepchogon, 73 years, Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo 84 years, Kapchorwa on 21st January, 2023.

³⁴² Group Oral Interview with Malakwen Arap Rotich Siong’ei, 90 years, Kenduiywo Arap Butuk, 88 years, Kipkorom-Kapchorwa on 23rd January 2023.

³⁴³ Huntingford, G.W.B (1972). "Nandi Kinship and Clans (Kenya)". *Anthropos*. 67 (5/6): 821.

³⁴⁴ Hollis A. C, *The Nandi - Their Language and Folklore*. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909, p. 49.

be accepted into nearly every other clan utilizing smiths.³⁴⁵ More superbly, the lineage of the *Talai Orkoiik* was adopted by members of the Sigilai Maasai.

The skills that distinguished an ‘Orkoiyot’ were hereditary; thus, the office stood passed on to his son, Arap Kipsegun. However, their dynasty was short-lived and ended with the son.³⁴⁶ The second dynasty was instituted by a woman named Moki chebo Cheplabot, the spouse of a Maasai Laibon who escaped during a war with the Nandi while expectant. She later bore two sons, Barsapotwa and Kopokoi, hiding in caves near Keben in the Mogobich Valley. Moki and her sons, the previous one who would be the original ‘Orkoiyot’ of the second and last dynasty, got captured and adopted into the Talai clan. This clan is widespread among the Kalenjin, and among the Nandi, it is aligned with the Lion Totem.³⁴⁷ (See Fig. 2.1 Genealogy of the Nandi Orkoiyot from Kipsegun to Samoei)

Oral traditions and a comparison of names relating to *orkoiik* among the Nandi and *Oloiboni* among the Maasai give the institution of ‘Orkoiyot’ a Maasai origin.³⁴⁸ However, Mwanzi³⁴⁹ traces the basis of the ‘Orkoiyot’ to the Bantu-speaking people, probably the Gusii, giving his evidence of similar institutions practised among the Gusii. Huntingford³⁵⁰ suggests that the first ‘Orkoiyot’ was Barsabotwo. He argues that

³⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 36.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 50.

³⁴⁷ O. I. with Mandago Joshat, 75 years, at Ketparak on February, 1, 2023.

³⁴⁸ P. K. Magut, “The Rise and Fall of the Nandi Orkoiyot, C. 1850-1957,” In B.G. McIntosh (ed.), *NQANO; Studies in Traditonal and Modern East Africa History* (pp. 95-108), EAPH, Nairobi, 1969.

³⁴⁹ H. A. Mwanzi, *A History of the Kipsigis*, East Africa Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1977.

³⁵⁰ G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Nandi of Kenya-Tribal Control in a Pastoral Society*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1953.

his arrival time is around 1860 based on evidence that this was when there were some upheavals among the Uasin Gishu Maasai.³⁵¹

By 1890, the institution of ‘Orkoiyot’ had certainly flourished in its influence and some political activities and had prepared the ground for further encroachment on personal, ‘Pororiet’ and ethnic liberties. Nevertheless, this gradual advancement towards a unified form of administration in Nandi under the ‘Orkoiyot’ received periodic checks by the murder or eviction of ‘Orkoiik’ who failed to satisfy certain ‘Pororiosiek’ or all of them. This was the instance with the *Orkoiyot* Kimnyole, assassinated by some Nandi ‘Pororiosiek’ in 1890.³⁵² He was murdered because the ‘Pororiosiek’ concerned were enraged by his failure to protect them during a combined raid for cattle.³⁵³ *Orkoiyotet* lasted over fifty years and morphed through dual administration during Kopokoi and Arap Kipsegun until the former got ousted.³⁵⁴ (Refer to Fig. 2.1) The statement mentioned above was also supported by oral sources as follows:

“...Kapuso had two sons, Kopokoi and Kipsokon, who became the initial Orkoiik and founded the families known after them as Kapkopokoi and Kapkipsokon. Until about 1885, there was no rivalry, the heads of both families being joint Orkoiik, but after Turukat and Kinekat, the Kapkopokoi gained political dominance and overthrew the Kapkipsokon. However, he was legitimately installed in 1911 but was still not recognized by the community in 1918. Barserion, who succeeded, brought the rule back to the Kapkopokoi and, like Arap Kinekat, was elected in secret. He was deported in 1923 by the colonial authorities, and his place, the brother of Kipeles, was elected as the endorsed leader, Orkoiyot. However, he resigned in 1927 following his advanced age, and Arap Lein, one of Turukat’s great-grandsons, took over as the official Orkoiyot. These two, Arap Kipeles and Arap Lein, were not the choice of the Talai, who chose their successor to Parserion, whose name was kept hidden, and who ruled secretly as Parserion’s

³⁵¹ KNA: MAC/4342/The Nandi. G. W. B. Huntingford, Nairobi, 1944.

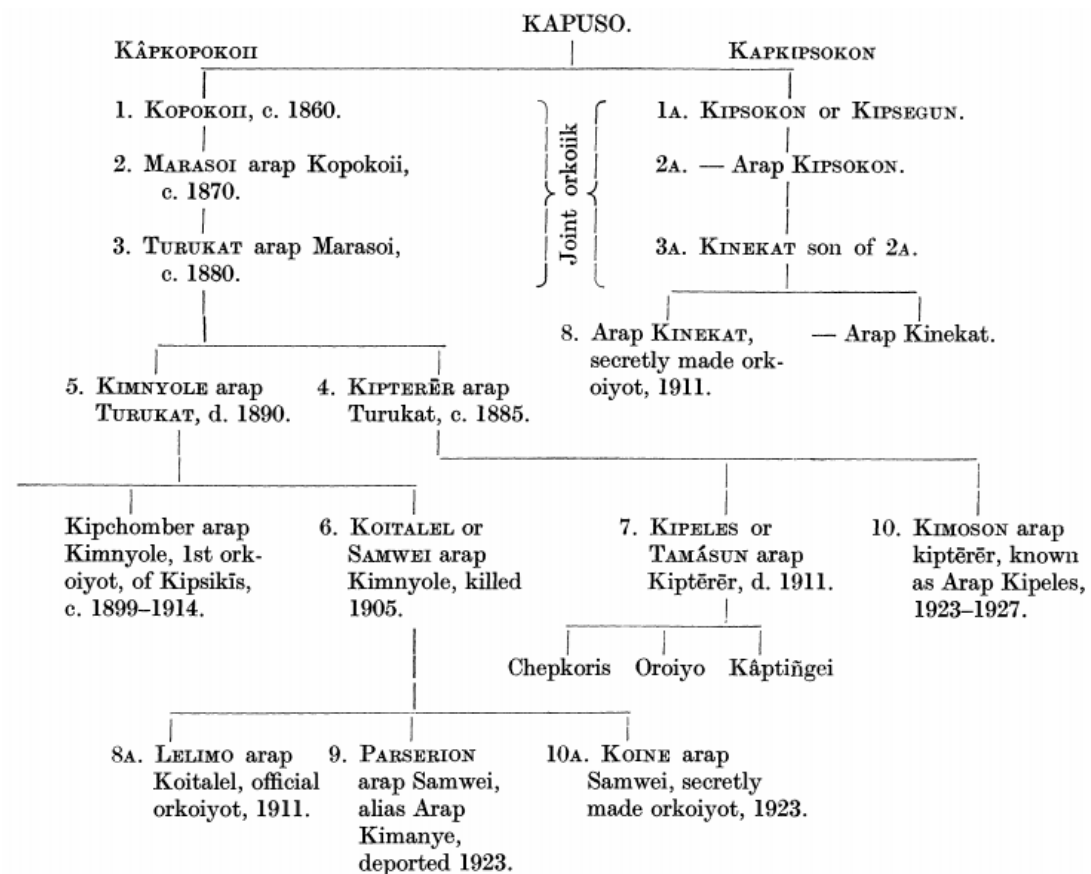
³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ <https://artsandculture.google.com/story/kimnyole-arap-turukat-the-story-of-the-nandi-legend/ggIiIBwnNZd0Jg>.

³⁵⁴ Hollis A. C, *The Nandi - Their Language and Folklore*. The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909, p. 50.

assistant. Kimnyolei was killed by the Nandi in 1890 because they blamed him for several disasters. His successor, Koitaleel Samoei, was Orkoiyot when the British began to administer Nandi and was responsible for the opposition made by the Nandi from 1896 to 1905...”³⁵⁵

Fig. 2.1 Genealogy of the Nandi Orkoik.



Source: Huntingford, G. W. B. “24. The Genealogy of the Orkoik of Nandi.” *Man* 35 (1935): 22–23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2791270>.

³⁵⁵

O. I. with Clementina Boen, female, 80 years, on 4th April, 2022 at Sang’alo, Cornelius Seroney, male, 82 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kibwareng’, and Joseph Kiptoo, male, 48 years, on 20th January, 2023 at Sirwo.

2.3 Precolonial Nandi Economy

As a community, the Nandi are people whose main impetus is cattle. Livestock plays a pivotal role in the community's life. As described in the previous chapter, their homelands contain fertile cultivable land and suitable plateau pastures for grazing.³⁵⁶ The typical economic pattern was for the main population to live in or against the well-watered hills and forest edges where they prepared the fields. The Nandi in the post-colonial, colonial and pre-colonial times way of life has been an agro-pastoral one. This community has a long tradition of cattle keeping and dependence on milk and the meat of their goats and sheep. They also have a long tradition of cultivation, especially of Eleusine millet, sorghum, and other crops. In the twentieth century, maize became the main crop in many areas of the Nandi community.³⁵⁷

Not only do the Nandi own hefty herds of cattle, goats and sheep, nonetheless their lives are centred around their cattle, which form the men's primary occupation, providing the people with an essential part of their diet and are their only stimulus to action. A Nandi with none got regarded as a man of no account. Possession of cattle is critical to full participation in Nandi's social and political life. Nobody could listen to a man without cattle in *kokwet* or a beer-drinking gathering. An initial ambition of a boy among the Nandi is to acquire cattle; consequently, the one with none is deprived of his social prestige as a youth. They exist for their cattle, and because of the adoption of agriculture, they no longer depend entirely on cattle.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁶ O. I. with Kitur Arap Chemengen, Male, 80 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Meteitei.

³⁵⁷ O. I. with Mandago Josphat, 75 years, at Ketparak on February, 1, 2023.

³⁵⁸ O. I. with Clementina Boen, female, 80 years, on 4th April, 2022 at Sang'alo, Cornelius Seroney, male, 82 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kibwareng', and Joseph Kiptoo, male, 48 years, on 48 years, on 20th January, 2023 at Sirwo.

The place of cattle among the Nandi is paramount. Cattle were the direct support of the community in the pre-colonial era. Milk, meat and blood were formally the main foods for the community, especially the warriors. However, cereals were also known for a long time. Cow or cattle to a Nandi is the central stimulus and interest in life. The care, management, and herding provided their serious occupation, the routine diversified by periodical visits to the salt licks attended by warriors, boys, and young girls.³⁵⁹

Several cattle terminology among the Nandi signify their attachment to them. There are personal names denoting cattle. Many people, men and women, bear names connected with cattle. Cattle are the principal wealth source embraced to the present. When a Nandi has money, they turn it into cattle; a man with money but no cattle would not be rich by Nandi standards. Cattle were functional during their marriage, and a man could not marry without cattle to pay for pride price. These animals formed gifts for relatives and, by extension, for identification. The community assessed the value of a man in terms of the cattle he possessed. Therefore, all cattle products were sacred and thus had ritual and social values.³⁶⁰

The Nandi were not renowned for industries or trade during the pre-colonial epoch. Of crafts, expert women and men undertook potting and iron smelting in places with suitable clays and ores. However, most of the pots used by the Nandi remained brought up from the Bantu Kavirondo, the Luyia and the Luo neighbours. There is an indication that the Nandi iron workers belonged to particular clans of *Kitong'ik*. They were important in the fashioning of weapons. Little is known about the salt trade. However,

³⁵⁹ O. I. with Vibian Mutai, female, 80 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kapkerer, Terik, Tobensoi Johana, male, 90 years, 20th March ,2022 at Resiot, and Sawe Chepkelio, male, 90 years on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central.

³⁶⁰ O. I. with Edward Birgen, male, 90 years, on 10th March, 2022 at Kaiboi, Nandi North.

salt licks for cattle were plenty and found along or near the rivers or streams where old hollowed-out cattle tracks converge.³⁶¹

A predominant feature in the Nandi pre-colonial economy was their land tenure system. The Nandi regarded land as the joint possession of the community but with particular emphasis on *pororiet* membership. Within his *pororiet*, they cultivated land without restriction, and cattle were free to graze anywhere within the communal area.³⁶²

When crop supplies ran low, especially in the months immediately before the harvest, food got borrowed under the 'kesumet' system for the family to pay for later. Others bartered the crops from the neighbouring Luyia and Luo.³⁶³

The Nandi economic way of life centred on the well-being and increase of the family herds or 'tuga'. Cattle formed the main occupation of the men. The possession of cattle was, in fact, essential for full participation in the social and political life of the community. Therefore, the aspiration and cattle raiding seed among the Nandi got planted here, germinated, and morphed into social prestige.³⁶⁴

The community obtained livestock salt from the many salt licks scattered around the region.³⁶⁵ Some barter trade was carried on with other Kalenjin relatives and among the

³⁶¹ J. E. G. Sutton. in Kenya Before 1900, B. A. Ogot (ed), East Africa Publishing house, 1976, Nairobi.

³⁶² O. I. with Mandago Josphat, 75 years, at Ketparak on February, 1, 2023.

³⁶³ O. I. with Kirongo Arap Kitur, Male, 78 years, on 8th May, 2022 at Chepterwai.

³⁶⁴ O. I. Eliud Chemosei, male, on 20th January, 2023 at Nandi Hills, Sirwo, and Kibuson Arap Randich, male, 89 years, on 18th August, 2022 at Saniak.

³⁶⁵ Group Oral Interview with Arap Ng'eny Chepchogon, 73 years, Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo 84 years, Kapchorwa-Timobo on 21st January, 2023.

Dorobo and neighbouring communities, mainly by border points during periods of severe famine.³⁶⁶

Most importantly, the Nandi were generally satisfied with their way of life and had no desire to improve it by imitating or trading with their neighbours or acquiring trade goods. That is why they did not embrace wage labour, attend missionary education or conscription to the Carrier Corps.³⁶⁷ However, some military innovations emerged due to the Maasai's conflicts and her neighbouring communities. The Nandi family was self-sufficient in most of the economic activities of daily life.³⁶⁸

2.4.0 Nandi and her neighbours

The Nandi neighbours in this context refer to the Luo and Luyia ethnic communities covering the adjacent borders of Kisumu, Vihiga and Kakamega counties. These counties touch on the western Nandi County border stretching from Lugari, Turbo, Kipkarren, Kapkangani, Nandi hills, Chemase, Malava, Kaimosi, Serem, Kibos, Chemelil, Kibigori, Meteitei, Kopere to Maraba. These are the specific border points where most interactions take place.

2.4.1 Other Kalenjin and Nilotic Peoples

The Kalenjin are related East African people representing one branch of the Highland Nilotes, formerly Southern Nilo-Hamites or Nandi-speaking peoples. This description focuses on the Nandi, who comprise one-third of all Kalenjin. The Kalenjin primarily

³⁶⁶ H. A. Mwanzi, *A History of the Kipsigis*, Publication East Africa Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1977.

³⁶⁷ Group Oral Interview with Arap Ng'eny Chepchogon, 73 years, Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo 84 years, Kapchorwa-Timobo on 21st January, 2023.

³⁶⁸ O. I. with Kipsewer Arap Tengwa, Male, 80 years, on 20th March, 2022 at Meteitei.

reside in the highlands of western Kenya, even though the Pokot and some Sebei inhabit eastern Uganda. Ecological adaptation and physical environment vary throughout Kalenjin country.³⁶⁹ The Kipsigis and Nandi live primarily on high plateaus with good agricultural potential. Many Kalenjin groups live along escarpments in the Rift Valley and the Sabaot on Mount Elgon. The pastoral Pokot, the northmost Kalenjin, live in arid lowlands, while the Ogiek, mountain-forest-dwelling Kalenjin speakers, historically are foragers. Although the Kalenjin regard themselves as a unit based on speaking a common language, numerous dialects exist.³⁷⁰ All of them seem mutually intelligible with practice, although not necessarily immediately. Nandi and Kipsigis distinguish self by slight sound and terminology transformations. Speakers of these dialects cannot proximately understand Pokot, Sabaot, and regional variants of Marakwet. Greenberg classifies Kalenjin as a Southern Nilotic language. Aside from Tatoga, a few tiny people in northern Tanzania, the nearest language to Kalenjin is Maasai.³⁷¹

The oral traditions of all the Nilotic societies of East Africa refer to northern origins.³⁷² There is a consensus among linguists and historians that the Highland and plains Nilotes migrated from an area near the southern border of Sudan and Ethiopia precisely before the foundation of the Christian Era and separated into distinct communities shortly after that. Pre-Kalenjin, who were previously cattle keepers and had age sets, inhabited the western Kenya highlands some 2,000 years ago.³⁷³ These people absorbed other

³⁶⁹ O. I. with Sawe Chepkelio, Male, 90 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central.

³⁷⁰ O. I. with Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo 84 years, Kapchorwa, March 21, 2023.

³⁷¹ Greenberg, Joseph H. (1963). Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, Publication 25. *The Languages of Africa*. The Hague: Mouton.

³⁷² Ng'ang'a, Wanguhu (2006). *Kenya's Ethnic Communities, Foundation of the Nation*. Katundu Publishers, Nairobi.

³⁷³ Ehret, Christopher (1971). *Southern Nilotic History: Linguistic Approaches to the Study of the Past*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

populations already existing in the region. From some period after A.D. 500 to approximately A.D. 1600, there seems to have been a complex migration series eastward and southward from near Mount Elgon.³⁷⁴

The Kipsigis and Nandi, in response to Maasai expansion, borrowed Maasai's traits that distinguish them from other Kalenjin. These traits include the large-scale economic dependence on military organization, herding, centralized religious-political leadership and violent cattle raiding. The family that established the institution of *Orkoiyot* among the Nandi and Kipsigis were 19th-century Maasai immigrants. By A. D. 1800, in cooperation, the Nandi and Kipsigis expanded at the expense of the Maasai. This process was stopped in 1905 by the imposition of British colonial rule.³⁷⁵

The Kalenjin are essentially semi-pastoralists. Cattle herding got perceived to be ancient among them. Although the fundamental economic importance of herding is slight compared to cultivation among many Kalenjin ethnic communities, they almost all display a cultural emphasis and an emotional commitment to pastoralism. Cattle raiding was tremendously influential in the social life of the pastoral Kalenjin.³⁷⁶ The warrior age grade was responsible for defending cattle and acquiring their fortunes in captured cattle. War was not specifically for territory, but the Nandi and the Kipsigis expanded territorially at the Maasai's expense. Whereas the Nandi and the Kipsigis did not raid each other, they did, at times, raid other Kalenjin.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Oboler R.S. (2003) Nandi. In: Ember C.R., Ember M. (eds) Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender. Springer, Boston, MA. https://doi.org/10.1007/0-387-29907-6_73

³⁷⁶ O. I. with Tamason Chepyego, Male, 89 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central.

³⁷⁷ Huntingford, G. W. B. (1953). The Nandi of Kenya: Tribal Control in a Pastoral Society. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

2.4.2 The Luo people

The Luo lived in the central and south of Nyanza province; currently, Siaya, Kisumu, Homabay, and Migori, whereas Kisii and Nyamira counties comprise mainly the Gusii ethnic group astride the equator around Winam Gulf of Lake Victoria. Their migration began between AD 1000 and 1500.³⁷⁸ However, a few aspects provoked their migratory patterns, including the quest for greener pastures for their livestock and water, external pressure from hostile neighbouring communities and the constant internal conflicts within the Luo clans and families.³⁷⁹ These triggered the undertaking and, in turn, led to a southward relocation of the Luo from their ancestral land. They searched for a peaceful settlement and avoided unpredictable famine, diseases, and prolonged drought periods. The resultant outcome was the upsurge in the people of the Luo community, which led to conflict over land between families and the clans, adventure and diseases. Amalgamated factors thus caused the migration of this community.³⁸⁰

From Sudan, the Luo moved through central and southern Busoga in Uganda, the dry grasslands of eastern Uganda, and the humid savannah to the higher Kakamega District and finally into the lower and drier areas near Lake Victoria.³⁸¹ Their migration into Kenya was in trio waves, evolving from eastern Uganda. The Joka-Jok was the initial group on the onset calendar, with Acholi land as their point of origin. They were the first to inhabit Ligala in Samia, where they stayed for about three generations. They were also the initial ones to move into Kenya, and their relocation took place between

³⁷⁸ Ehret, Christopher (1971). *Southern Nilotic History: Linguistic Approaches to the Study of the Past*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

³⁷⁹ Herring, Ralph S. 1979. "The Influence of Climate on the Migrations of Central and Southern Luo." In Bethwell A. Ogot (ed.), *Ecology and History in East Africa: Proceedings of the 1975 Conference of the Historical Association of Kenya*, 1-8. "Hadith" 7. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 7-8.

³⁸¹ Cohen, David William & Elisha S. Atieno Odhiambo. 1989. *Siaya: The Historical Anthropology of an African Landscape*. Nairobi: Heinemann, p. 18.

1500 and 1550. From Ligala, individual people spread to Got Ramogi in Alego and Yimbo.³⁸²

Later, after several differences, the Jokachwanya, a sub-group, moved to South Nyanza, and the others occupied Asembo, Sakwa and Gem.³⁸³ Finally, with the arrival of new occupants in the eighteenth century in Uyoma, some Joka-Jok got forced to escape to Seme, Nyakach and even to South Nyanza and Tanzania due to resource conflict, specifically land. Dahrendorf summarily argues that underlying all social order are imperatively coordinated associations. These are groups based on differential power relations. Therefore, as contended by Dahrendorf, conflict generates between interest groups, leading to breakaways of some groups, and structural change occurs.³⁸⁴

The following significant groups were the amorphous clusters called Omolo and Owiny. The traditions of the Owiny groups showed a strong association with the people of the northern margins and southern margins of Bunyoro, dominated by agricultural communities. The Luo ancestors from northern Uganda trekked along the western flanks of Mount Elgon, passed over Tororo and Mbale and eventually settled in Budama for a while. They moved and settled in Busoga for a few generations before arriving in western Kenya. After moving across Samia, some persisted and finally settled in Alego. These were the ancestors of the Kowil, Kadimo, and Wanyenjra in Yimbo, Karapul, Karuoth, Kanyabol, Kogelo and Agoro in Alego.³⁸⁵ The Jok-Owiny moved from

³⁸² O. I. with Odhiambo Silas, Male, 90 years, on 22nd February, 2022, at Muhoroni.

³⁸³ Ochieng', William Robert. 1974b. *An Outline History of Nyanza up to 1914*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 23-25.

³⁸⁴ Dahrendorf, R. Liberalism. In *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics*; Eatwell, J., Ed.; Macmillan: London, UK, 1991; pp. 385–389.

³⁸⁵ Ochieng', William Robert. 1974b. *An Outline History of Nyanza up to 1914*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 26-27.

Pubungu and settled briefly in Budama before settling in Sigoma Alego in the Nyanza region of western Kenya. AD 1540 and 1600 saw the Omolo group settle at Ibanda for three generations before migrating to Western Kenya. Segments of the Omolo were left in Teso and among the Padhola of Uganda.³⁸⁶

Owing to the threats mounted on them by further in-coming Luo groups, some of the Jok-Omolo migrated to the Gem area in presently Siaya County. Others drifted southwards to Uyoma. This period marked the beginning of sedentary life and changed from largely pastoral to mixed farming with increased emphasis on agriculture. It is here that they developed their identity. Some crossed the lake when the area became crowded and settled in South Nyanza.³⁸⁷

The Omolo group got composed primarily of the Jok-Adet (inhabit Gem), Joka-Nyada, Jok-Ochia (inhabit South Nyanza) and Jo-Unami (inhabit Samia). Alliances were necessary because the Luo did not migrate into empty areas. Instead, they found people of Bantu origin already settled. They owned large herds of cattle, sheep and goats, but they emphasized their crops more than their livestock. Before the entrance of the Luo, the Bantu speakers had major settlements in Samia and Yimbo. Ochieng'³⁸⁸ asserts that the early entry of the Luo was non-violent, and they occupied adjacent areas suitable for farming in the region. As more waves arrived, the Luo became more aggressive, given that the original settlers hated losing their land. The frequent conflicts between

³⁸⁶ Ogot, Bethwell A. 2009. A History of the Luo-Speaking Peoples of Eastern Africa. Kisumu: Anyange Press, p. 518 – 649.

³⁸⁷ Ibid, 27-28.

³⁸⁸ Ochieng', William Robert. 1979. People around the Lake. London, Nairobi: Evans Brothers.

the Bantu and the Luo did not interfere with cultural exchanges or intermarriages. The Luo language triumphed and became the language of those assimilated.³⁸⁹

The Luo migration had political, social and economic ramifications for their settled localities. First, their migration helped shape contemporary society by assimilating other communities, which led to population influx in the East African region and some societies' fragmentation. Second, inter-clan scuffles over land secured a final settlement in Nyanza Province's contemporary Siaya, Kisumu, Migori and Homa Bay counties. Third, their migration led to new crops like sorghum, groundnuts, and simsim as products of economic activity; they got acquainted with nomadic pastoralism in some eastern parts of Uganda. Fourth, their migration bred new cultural practices, customs, and languages. Fifth, the invaded people either fled or got absorbed. Finally, the invasion of the Luo was a possible basis of insecurity in the areas they occupied or passed. There might have been outstanding death tolls due to the wars fought between other groups and the Luo.³⁹⁰

On the other hand, their interactions with these communities contributed to the change. The Luo had inhabited most of central and south Nyanza by the eighteenth century. The Luo had to fight other communities for them to occupy because they were intruders. The peopling of Central Nyanza was almost done by AD 1850. The different clans formed their economic organization and developed normative systems, political constitutions, agencies and mechanisms, and other consequent requirements, which

³⁸⁹ O. I. with Odhiambo Silas, Male, 90 years, on 22nd February, 2022, at Muhoroni.
³⁹⁰ <https://kisumu.go.ke/about-us/>

affected all societies.³⁹¹ As a result, the nineteenth-century economy of the Luo people was able to produce a surplus.

The central part of the production system pitched to food production. Their food economy included agriculture, hunting and gathering, pastoralism and fishing. Earlier in the nineteenth century, the Luo clans that had arrived in Nyanza were largely nomadic pastoralists who kept large herds of cattle; nonetheless, they practised nominal farming. Due to numerous natural catastrophes, which affected their cattle, they enforced changes in the equilibrium point between agriculture and pastoralism. Agriculture was the first food production sector at the onset of the British.³⁹² The late nineteenth century was a busy period for the Luo economy with new agriculture, hunting and trade.³⁹³ Some of the former economic options got cut off by the rinderpest epidemic. There were three significant changes: the shifting balance between agriculture and pastoralism, the growth of markets, and changes in crop technology and trade networks. Many incidences in the 1880s and 1890s combined the decreasing importance of pastoralism within the overall economy of Luo.³⁹⁴

The Luyia could have learnt of the banana and passed it to the Luo and Nandi. The original Luo economy changed significantly after their settlement in Nyanza.³⁹⁵ They

³⁹¹ Anderson John E. 1970. *The Struggle for the School. The Interaction of Missionary, Colonial Government and Nationalist Enterprise in the Development of Formal Education in Kenya*. London: Longman, p. 10.

³⁹² Schiller, Laurence Dana. 1982. *Gem and Kano: A Comparative Study of Two Luo Political Systems Under Stress, C 1880-1914*. PhD thesis, Evanston (IL): Northwestern University, p. 33.

³⁹³ Hay, Margaret Jean. 1975. "Economic Change in the Late Century, Kowe, Western Kenya." In Bethwell A. Ogot (ed.), *Economic and Social History of East Africa: Proceedings of the 1972 Conference of the Historical Association of Kenya*. "Hadith" 5, Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 93

³⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 95.

³⁹⁵ Langlands, Bryan W. 1966. "The Banana in Uganda, 1860–1920." *Uganda Journal* 30 (1): 39-63.

became fishermen and cultivators.³⁹⁶ They specialized in skills like basket makers, blacksmiths, leather workers, harpists, roof thatchers, singers, weavers, indigenous doctors, makers of shields, granary builders, potters and teeth extractors, and bartered goods with other members of the community. These skills often got inherited. Women carried out industries such as various kinds of basket weaving and pottery, including the tasks of grinding millet, carrying water, cooking, and making millet beer belonged to women. These items later became trade items between the Nandi and Luo ethnic groups.³⁹⁷

2.4.3 The Abaluyia

The earliest Bantu families in western Kenya arrived before AD 500.³⁹⁸ The initial arrivals went through Buganda either from Katanga, Bunyoro, or both. They fragmented into two groups; one settled in the Sese Islands before moving to the mainland, the other moved from Busoga to Ibanda before migrating to the Sio and Kuja rivers, and the other inhabited Sese Islands in mainland Nyanza. The Busoga group returned to the mainland, settled at Ibanda and filtered into the valley of the Malaba River. Some ultimately went to Buluyia land and are today denoted by clans such as Abakose and Abatere. Some eventually went southwards and occupied present-day Samia, Basonga, Yimbo and Bunyala. The migrant communities that settled in the general area of Siaya and Busia no longer exist or are traceable. They got absorbed by the more prominent ethnic groups in the region. Many Bantu ethnic groups who came to Goye did not leave but settled and reserved their ethnic identity. However, others

³⁹⁶ Ogotu Gilbert Edwin Meshack. 1975. *An Historical Analysis of the Luo Idea of God C. 1500-1900* M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 13 – 15.

³⁹⁷ Oswald, Felix. 1915. *Alone in the Sleeping Sickness Country*. London: Kegan Paul, p. 27-38.

³⁹⁸ Were, Gedeon Saulo, 1967, *A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya*, East African Publishing House, Nairobi.

disseminated to Buluyia land with the approach of the Luo and other Bantu clusters. The Luyia land forms part of the western Kenya Bantu group, endowed with human and natural resources within the East African region. Its varied climate, agriculture, and natural resources provide a viable basis for ethnic relations with neighbouring communities.³⁹⁹

The Luyia community who negotiated Lake Victoria is the descendants of possibly the initial Bantu clusters to have arrived in Kenya and introduced iron smelting and iron tools. They belong to the Bantu-speaking linguistic group from Niger-Congo.⁴⁰⁰ They typically inhabit western Kenya north of Lake Victoria, forming the largest concentration in the former Western Province: Bungoma, Vihiga, Kakamega and Busia Counties.⁴⁰¹ The primary history of Luyia is very multifaceted because there were significant ethnic differences among the early settlers. The Abaluyia are a mixed ethnic group founded by people of varied origins and principles. They came from all directions to inhabit Buluyia.⁴⁰²

Earlier Bantu-speaking communities occupied some southern areas such as Marama, Kisa and Idakho. However, the northern half got first populated by settlers of Kalenjin origin. The earliest immigrants arrived between the 15th and 17th centuries.⁴⁰³

³⁹⁹ William R. Ochieng': Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya. Essays in Memory of G. S. Were., EALB 2002.

⁴⁰⁰ O. I. with Shamala Muchimba, Male, 80 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Kakamega.

⁴⁰¹ Bradley, Candice. 1995. "Luyia." In John Middleton & Amal Rassam (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of World Cultures. Volume IX: Africa and the Middle East: 202–6*. New York: Macmillan Reference. p. 203.

⁴⁰² Were, Gideon S. 1968. "The Western Bantu Peoples from A.D. 1300 to 1800." In Bethwell A. Ogot & J.A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House-Longman Kenya. P. 190.

⁴⁰³ Were, Gideon S. 1967a. *A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya: c. 1500-1930*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House. P. 59.

Communities in western Kenya positioned inhabiting the eastern part of Lake Victoria came from many directions to their present-day habitation. They comprise two linguistic families, the Nilotic and Bantu. These communities came from different directions but borrowed extensively from each other as they interrelated. The Abaluyia sub-groups, which migrated to western Kenya from eastern Uganda, are the possible earliest settlers in the lake region. Therefore, this migration got spearheaded by the Abaluyia and Gusii peoples.⁴⁰⁴ The period between the 15th and 18th marked the consolidation of this region. It became characterized by intense population growth and the clearing of new agricultural lands. Ogot further states that ethnic consciousness was also developing as they interacted. This period marked the commencement of oral traditions, enabling them to narrate their stories of origin despite the extensive interactions over time. Their apprehension was not about ethnic purity but their ability to assimilate and accommodate diverse population elements.⁴⁰⁵

Whereas the Bantu living north of Lake Victoria evolved into the Abaluyia, the change that historians attribute to Luo's expansion. However, anthropologists attest that the ancestors of the Luyia were part of the significant Bantu growth out of western-central Africa about AD 1000. The Luyia history accounts that they drifted into present-day Kenya from North Africa in a territory they call Misri.⁴⁰⁶ From here, the numerous Luyia clans drifted southerly into the highlands north and east of the lake, where they settled. Finally, most of them migrated to eastern Uganda, where they migrated into their present locations between 1598 and 1733.

⁴⁰⁴ Ochieng', William Robert. 1974a. *A Pre-colonial History of the Gusii of Western Kenya: From A.D. 1500 to 1914*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁵ Ogot, Bethwell A. 1967. *A History of the Southern Luo. Volume 1: Migration and Settlement, 1500–1900*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, p. 485.

⁴⁰⁶ O. I. with Laurence Okech, Male, 88 years, on 22nd February, 2022 at Muhoroni.

Additionally, all Luyia sub-ethnic groups and clans came from an interlacustrine area of Uganda. They travelled eastwards along the northern shorelines of Lake Victoria to their present-day regions.⁴⁰⁷ By 1850, migration into Luyia land was essentially complete, and after 1850, only insignificant interior movements took place, probably caused by family quarrels, famine, epidemics, desire for better land and drought. Nevertheless, time, trade contacts, intermarriages, and specialized skills, such as rain medicine, war medicine, and circumcision, shaped the Luyia community into a single cultural and linguistic unit. Because so many had come initially from the Bantu portions of eastern Uganda, a parallel Bantu culture grew in Buluyia. Additionally, since the immigrants came with diverse cultures and languages, it is probable to account for the various dialects and cultures in Buluyia.⁴⁰⁸

About 1598 and 1733, there was considerable migration from the Bantu areas of eastern Uganda, the descendants of most present-day localities such as Bukhayo, Bunyore, Tiriki, Wanga, Samia, Marama, parts of Kabras, Maragoli, Busotso, and Marachi who arrived about this time. This migration was probably due to tsetse flies and a desire for more land. Some migrants moved straight into Luyia, while others migrated southwards to the lake region.⁴⁰⁹

Separately, settlers from eastern Uganda, the Maasai, and those of Kalenjin origin, others from western Uganda and numerous clans of Luo origin traversed western Kenya. The last large-scale immigration from eastern Uganda took place between 1760 and 1841. Eastern Uganda was a corridor through which most Luyia groups passed.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, 59.

⁴⁰⁸ Were, Gideon S. & Derek A. Wilson. 1968. *East Africa through a Thousand Years: A History of the Years A.D. 1000 to the Present Day*. Nairobi: Evans Brothers.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, 190.

However, some of the Kabras clans originated from Nandi.⁴¹⁰ While they retained most of their indigenous practices, such as farming, as they moved on, the Abaluyia acquired some cultural practices from other communities they came across in their final destination area in the Lake Victoria region. For example, following spans of collaboration with the Nilotic groups such as the Maasai and Nandi, they came to exercise male circumcision, a ritual of passage still observed by most sub-ethnic groups but most passionately by the Abatirichi, Ababukusu, Abatachoni, and Abakabras. Inversely, these Nilotic peoples became “bantuised” and acquired new dialectal terms.

In the first quarter of the 16th and the middle of the 17th centuries, these inter-cultural relations increased, causing the settlement of some Maa clans in the northern Luyia zone occupied by the Abakabras and Abatachoni. However, this arrival also led to the expulsion of later members, such as the Abasamia, Abawanga, and Abamarachi, who adopted the Luo language and customs.⁴¹¹

There were small bands of hunter-gatherers in western Kenya, and the area was settled by Bantu speakers who practised a mixed economy initially with prominence on cattle keeping. However, with the upsurge in population, loss of cattle through raids or disease, or pressure from the intensifying Luo by the second half of the 19th century, agriculture became a more critical economic activity. As crop rotations and fallow periods indicated, agricultural techniques were refined and advanced. Different kinds of grains got sown together. Ash was used to fertilize the soil for cultivation. In the

⁴¹⁰ Wekesa Peter Wafula. 2000. *Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya: The Case of The Babukusu of Bungoma District, c. 1894–1963*. M.A. Dissertation, Nairobi: Kenyatta University, p. 36.

⁴¹¹ Were, Gideon S. 1968. “The Western Bantu Peoples from A.D. 1300 to 1800.” In Bethwell A. Ogot & J.A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House-Longman Kenya.

nineteenth century, these people's economies produced a surplus. Land formed the focus of social relations. As an effective means of production, land in the pre-colonial era got owned communally.⁴¹²

It was a general reflection that land belonged to the whole community and controlled its disposal and allocation. Individual community members may have had exclusive land rights relative to their wives, but then again, such rights got restricted to the rights of access and use of that land. The communal land tenure system recognized that specific sectors of land assigned to individuals were open for use by the entire community, such as uncleared forests and grazing fields. The family or community freely grazed their stock in their respective areas. Members of families or clans thus used communal pastures, salt licks and streams of water for animals.

The land was also integral to society's political, social, and economic life, so its organization was vital. A specific elder was in charge of the land at the clan level and determined the clans' access to land. Each clan and sub-clan had their share of land. Once the land was under cultivation, the clan had no control whatsoever. He had charge over uncultivated land, but the clan leader had no control over it once it was under cultivation. Each person gained ground from the communal land, depending on the number of wives. Kinship relationships determine the access of groups and persons to the conditions and sources of production.⁴¹³

⁴¹² O. I. with Charles Shirutsi, Male, 89 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Serem.

⁴¹³ Ogot, Bethwell A., ed. 1985. Kenya in the 19th Century. "Hadith" 8. Nairobi: Anyange Press, p. 14.

Important crafts such as basketry, blacksmithing, pottery, the manufacture of drums, and weaving got practised. Blacksmithing got passed down patrilineally in some clans. The Samia, particularly the Abang'aale family, were famous for mining iron ore and blacksmithing. Manufacture of pottery was frequently a woman's than a man's task, although Bukusu women of childbearing age could not excavate clay.⁴¹⁴ Potware that got traded and owned by women got considered utilitarian. There was little evidence of specialization in manufacturing standard wood tools such as hoe handles, but specialists made stools, drums, lyres, and wood carvings. The Luyia subgroups practised trade among themselves in the pre-colonial era. For example, iron hoes, ivory, and spear points could get traded for grains or animals. Pre-colonial trade enclosed a distance of no more than 72 kilometres. However, there were three pre-colonial markets where the Nandi, Luo, and Abaluyia converged to trade baskets, wooden tools, fish, quail, and various foodstuffs for cattle and tobacco. Hence, despite their sometimes-conflictual relations, they interacted amicably.⁴¹⁵

2.5 Conclusion

The original settlers in the western Kenyan terrain give the impression of Bantu derivation from the available sources. They began this movement in the 11th century, followed by other agriculturist groups. These people ultimately became referred to as the Luyia. In the 16th century, the Nilotic-speaking Luo people moved in from Uganda and hard-pressed the Luyia back eastwards. The Luo people implemented the agricultural practices of the Luyia for a while, but some continued conquering new

⁴¹⁴ O. I. with Omukoto Akunda, Male, 30 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Vihiga.

⁴¹⁵ Wright, Marcia. 1979. "Societies and Economy in Kenya, 1870–1902." In Bethwell A. Ogot (ed.), *Ecology and History in East Africa: Proceedings of the 1975 Conference of the Historical Association of Kenya*, 179–94. "Hadith" 7. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, p. 184.

lands. In the quest for more territory, the Luo came up against the Bantu-speaking Gusii people, who were in the same vein as the Luo, to inflate into that part of the region.

Along with these two groups contesting territory, the Nilotic people resided along the territory's edge to the east.

The territorial manoeuvrings by the three groups were not always peaceful, as a war over the land frequently exploded. However, the inter-ethnic relations between the Bantu and the Nilotes did not confine to confrontation. The Luo, Luyia, Terik, and Nandi shared much. Trade interactions in the form of barter thrived between these neighbouring ethnic communities. The items bartered included pots, baskets, fish, knives, drums, lyres, wood carvings, spearheads, tobacco, millet, and snuff. The economic systems adapted to similar environments and shared words for domestic crops and tools bespeak an intimate interaction between Nandi and her neighbours.

By the half of the 17th century, the Kalenjin-origin Nandi had filled the northern half around Mt. Elgon. They spread south and adapted to the Bantu culture and language. Their descendants became Tachoni and North Kabras. Besides, sandwiched between 1870 and 1900, they had fixed markets where all groups bartered their products in diverse environments. The Luo sought to recruit strangers into their households and production units and became assimilated.⁴¹⁶ These groups did not live in isolation; they had numerous levels of interaction. They practice convergence and conversion. Cultural exchanges existed between the Luyia people and the Terik, part of the Kalenjin subgroups. However, because the Terik practised circumcision after establishing good

⁴¹⁶ Wright, Marcia. 1979. "Societies and Economy in Kenya, 1870–1902." In Bethwell A. Ogot (ed.), *Ecology and History in East Africa: Proceedings of the 1975 Conference of the Historical Association of Kenya*, 179–94. "Hadith" 7. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

relations, the '*Abalukhoba*' and Abaluyia subgroups adopted the circumcision habits of the Terik. Thus, they later came to be known as '*Abatirichi*' with the customs and circumcision rights of the Terik.⁴¹⁷

In qualifying the analysis were Karl Marx and Dahrendorf's theoretical assumptions. The framework demonstrated that most regions' nomenclatures and food names derive mainly from the Kalenjin, while others are from the Luo and Luyia ethnic communities. These names illustrate the inter-ethnic relations that existed over the years. Besides, using the paradigm, it remained pointed out that the differential distribution of land and vegetation, hills, rivers, and natural resources signify areas where communities would prefer and those favoured by the mixed cultivators and pastoralists. However, the chapter has not pointed out which of the four counties had more resources than the others. This conclusion was based on the fact that many factors discussed in the subsequent chapters correspondingly account for why conflict arose, especially along the border that connects the four counties.

This section has provided a synopsis of the precolonial inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 – 1985. Therefore, the next chapter propagates this synopsis to address the effects of colonial rule on the reconstruction of Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1895 – 1918.

⁴¹⁷ Were, G. S. (1967). *Western Kenya Historical Texts*, Kenya Literature Bureau, p. 4.

CHAPTER THREE

EFFECTS OF COLONIAL RULE ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF NANDI INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS, 1895 - 1918

3.0 Introduction

This chapter delivers an overview of the effects of colonial rule on the reconstruction of Nandi inter-ethnic relations from 1895 to 1918. Having analysed the pre-colonial inter-ethnic ties between the Nandi and her neighbours to the period ending 1895, this section covers the early colonial intrusion in Nandi and its implications on the inter-ethnic relations to the period ending after WW I. The chapter further covers early colonial inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, Nandi's resistance to colonial intrusion, colonial land policy and white settlers, World War I, Christian missionaries and Western education and their influence and how inter-ethnic ties were influenced within the reviewed period in the study area.

3.1 Colonial Rule's Influence on the Reconstruction of Nandi Inter-ethnic Relations

The pastoral Nandi ethnic group, up to 1906, thrived principally through raiding activities. Further, the community crowned Orkoiyot as their supreme Chief. They were aggressive and known for attacking trade caravans, including any other stranger who could be seen traversing their beloved country. Thompson strongly warns his fellow visitors to Kenya that they should evade the Nandi country as much as possible as they attempt to traverse this great country in the 1883 report.⁴¹⁸ The Nandi territory was still intact and unexplored in the 19th Century when the explorers from Europe began interior

⁴¹⁸

KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Nandi District Annual reports 1905 -1920, p. 37.

Kenya advancement. As a result, punitive expeditions got undertaken in 1900 – 1903 and 1905 – 1906. It was not till the last-named truce that the community got subdued, after which it got placed in a reserve.⁴¹⁹

The European intrusion and encroachment on African fertile lands in Kenya faced the stiffest resistance among the Nandi. Following this long-term resistance, their defeat was mandatory as the sole enabling condition for the Western Kenya settlerdom between 1890 and 1906.⁴²⁰ (See Map 3.2) The Nandi, notwithstanding their inferior arming capacity, counterattacked, thus resisting their land strongly for over ten years. The community derived their success and intelligence from their Chief leader, the Orkoiyot and his team. Koitaleel's team formed the community's strong network of the Nandi prophets called *maotik*.⁴²¹ This military conflict involved several members of the Nandi between 1890 – 1906 and the British Army. Matson refers to the period towards the end of the AD 19th century as the "pacification period." This is the period in which the natives resisted British intrusion into their lands. The Nandi resistance stood out as the longest and most persistent of these confrontations. Koitaleel Arap Samoei commanded the opposition as the *Orkoiyot* of the Nandi. On the 19-10- 1905, on the grounds of the Nandi Bears Club, Arap Samoei was tricked into meeting Col. Richard Meinertzhagen for a truce. However, it was a massacre of the Nandi chief leader, Koitaleel and his teachers of elders in cold blood.⁴²²

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, p. 40.

⁴²⁰ KNA: DC/NDI/1/2. Annual Reports, 1904-1920.

⁴²¹ Abbott, Peter. British East Africa, Raider Books, Leeds, UK, c1988. Matson, A. T. Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890 - 1906, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, Kenya, c1972.

⁴²² A. T. Matson, Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890 – 1906, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972 p. vii+391.

The intrusion of the British to colonise Kenya caused this resistance by the Nandi. Moreover, the following were some reasons: Rinderpest least affected the Nandi. They were also slightly affected by other epidemics, including the locusts, the Smallpox outbreak and the renowned East Coast fever. This narrow escape from the pandemic placed them in a better position to resist the British conquest strongly.⁴²³ Ultimately, both the resistors and collaborators lost their sovereignty to the colonisers. The Nandi were hostile and repulsed all forms of foreign intrusion till the 1850s when the first coastal caravans attempted to cross their territory but were vulnerable to attacks.⁴²⁴

The Nandi thought they were superior to all other ethnic communities around them; therefore, the arrival of the British got viewed as a threat to their dominance.⁴²⁵ On the other hand, their leader Kimnyole had prophesied that the British would put them under their control and take over their fertile land, saltlicks and pasture. Further, he foresaw the Railway line construction crossing their country as a long snake spitting fire. This was a stark warning the Nandi against the British. This perception led them to resist the railway line construction and any other European activities within their land.

Nevertheless, they lost the battle. The British physical appearance was very different compared to the Nandi. The powerful European weapons sandwiched with their physical appearance made them perceive them as ghosts qualified to be eliminated from their lands.⁴²⁶ This idea made them think the British had come to grab their productive

⁴²³ Lonsdale, J. (1989). *The Conquest State 1895-1906*. In W. R. Ochieng', (Ed.). *A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980*. Nairobi: Evans Brothers, p. 19.

⁴²⁴ Huntingford, G. W. B., (1950). *Nandi Work and Culture*. London: Colonial Office.

⁴²⁵ O. I. with Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo, Male, 84 years, on 21st January, 2023 at Kapchorwa.

⁴²⁶ O. I. with Edward Birgen, aged 90, at Kaiboi, Arap Soi Raphael, 92 years, Nandi North. 10-03-2022.

lands, their only livelihood source. Further, they wanted revenge for killing their leader, the Orkoiyot Koitaleel Samoei.⁴²⁷

Early combats with the British happened in 1895 when a British trader, Peter West, was slain, prompting a punitive expedition led by C. Vandaleur to reprove the Nandi.⁴²⁸ At Kimondi, he met with the Nandi force that exploded into fierce combat.

Nevertheless, Vandaleur unpredictably twisted eastwards and went to Baringo. It was an initial attempt by the British to subdue the Nandi. However, the Nandi stood firm as a severe danger. They focused elsewhere and raided the Bukusu, Kabras and Tiriki in 1897; no action occurred against them because the British were preoccupied with other fields. They also attacked the traders crossing their land in 1899.⁴²⁹ The significant intrusion occurred when the railway line descended the highlands through the escarpment on its final phase to Lake Victoria, Kisumu, in 1900, reaching their territory. The Nandi and their cousins, the Kipsigis, once occupied the Nyando plains. The British expeditions began when they interfered with the construction progress.⁴³⁰

The telegraph lines that crossed their country as the railway line became an asset to the community. They vandalized the telegraph wires and used them to make ornamental and weaponry products. They attacked Fort Ternan and Kitotos in May 1890, killed 6 transport caravan personnel on the 9th day of June, and killed one Italian and fourteen porters after assaulting the Telegraph and Bridge repairers on 14 June. The route

⁴²⁷ O. I. with Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo, male, 84 years, on 21st January, 2023 at Kapchorwa.
⁴²⁸ Matson, A. T. (1972). *Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890-1906*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, p. 145.

⁴²⁹ Ibid, p. 146.

⁴³⁰ O. I. with Laurence Okech, male, 88 years, on 22nd February, 2022 at Muhoroni.

crossing Nandi country at this time was quite dangerous due to recurrent attacks targeting railway construction equipment and personnel. Thus, the AD 1900 disciplinary expeditions became inevitable. However, the Nandi managed to dodge these expeditions due to experiences learnt in the first frontal combat, which got them off-guard; they then opted for guerrilla tactics that suited their hilly geographical terrain in the southern part of the district. The British managed to capture much of their livestock from the community to force them into an open battle, but in vain. For the success of the railway line, there was the need to sign a peace accord with the Nandi. The anticipated peace was only enjoyed for one year. After that, however, the rouse Nandi community executed severe mutilation on the railway line at Kibigori, which led to a punitive expedition. In this attack, the Nandi took some 30 steel plates on which the railway got laid.

Hobbley consequently telegraphed Muhoroni, where the Officer Commanding the King's African Rifles stood, informing him of the incidences. The officer left for Kaptumo, escorted by 110 rifles to trail the Nandi warriors who had taken the steel plates.⁴³¹ He discovered that his counterpart, Captain of the Indian Staff Corps, Capt. G.W. Guy Lindesay had arrived already with 50 Indian soldiers also pursuing another set of 60 sleepers (steel plates) stolen. Hobbley pleaded with the Nandi, saying the railway equipment's theft was indistinguishable from an act of war. He demonstrated how the steel plates were as crucial to the British as valuable cattle were to the Nandi. Consequently, the Nandi returned the stolen sleepers. However, the British were not

⁴³¹ Matson and Sutton, Op. Cit. 176-179.

napping easy with this warlike community, in contradiction to which they had already carried out six largely unsuccessful but costly expeditions from 1895.⁴³²

Later that month, on 25 April 1902, a detachment of 500 Kipsigis warriors attacked an additional railway camp, resulting in the death of one Indian worker. The British separated the Nandi, and the Kipsigis as their collective forces would quickly overpower an initial detachment sent to guard the railway. The British then concentrated the Kipsigis in the Western Mau highlands to clear them from the lowlands, leading to Kericho town's founding in May 1902. The initial deployment of Maj. As the first Administrator of the new Lumbwa district, E. H. Gorges, who had commanded Fort Ternan, got approved.⁴³³

Incidences of railway equipment theft continued between 1903 and 1904. Against this background, to reinforce British troops at Nandi Fort in Kaptumo, Lt. Richard Meinertzhagen was sent. A meeting was convened at Muhoroni by the Commissioner of British East Africa, Sir Donald Stewart, who travelled to Muhoroni in August 1905 and held a meeting with the Nandi. Consequently, he decreed that the nearest Nandi should live not less than 20 miles from the railway. King Edward VII assented to yet another expedition.⁴³⁴ However, it did not deter Nandi.

Nevertheless, the Nandi got determined to uphold their sovereignty by all means. However, the British officers got urged to wipe off the Nandi threat. They fined the

⁴³² Ngeny, S. K. (1972). Nandi Resistance to the Establishment of British Administration 1893-1906. In B. A. Ogot, (Ed.). Historical Association of Kenya, Hadith 2. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

⁴³³ Eliot, Sir C., (1905) East Africa Protectorate.

⁴³⁴ Hobley, C. W., 1903, Anthropological studies in Kavirondo and Nandi, J. R. Anthropol. Inst. P. 325-359.

Nandi an amount equal to 300 heads of cattle, payable within 21 days, in August of the same year, but they did not comply. By September 1905, tension had mounted between the Nandi and the British officers. On 19 October 1905, Meinertzhagen assassinated Koitaleel Samoei, the Nandi Chief, during a “peace” truce. Meinertzhagen weakened the Nandi, who had united behind their leader, Koitaleel. This incident demoralized the community and led to their eviction northwards. Many Nandi were killed, and most of their livestock were captured. In January 1906, Meinertzhagen in January 1906 managed to emigrate the whole community from their lands in the southeastern region to the northern section of the reserve. (See Map 3.1)

Several homesteads, granaries and food crops were burnt during the eviction process. Similarly, the soldiers executing evictions managed to capture and detain several people who were later prosecuted and imprisoned. The torching of homesteads progressively continued for a month till February 26th 1906. By this time, the soldiers managed to forcefully emigrate all the Nandi from their lands in the south. The execution of the Nandi leader, Orkoiyot, Koitaleel Arap Samoei, tragically ended the Nandi resistance to the colonial intrusion, having lost their leader and other essential elders. As a result, they fled the region for some time before they could assemble themselves. Consequently, this heinous act of killing their divine leader weakened their power tremendously.⁴³⁵ Meinertzhagen later drafted a peace accord, which specified terms of the agreement, among others, included the Nandi evacuation from their fertile lands of Kapchepkendi and Kamelilo clans near the railway line to the Kabiyet area over twenty miles away in the northern Nandi.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁵ O. I. with Arap Ng’eny Chepchogon, Male, 73 years, on 21st January, 2023 at Kapchorwa, Nandi hills.

⁴³⁶ Tanui P. J. (1996). Agriculture in Nandi Under Colonial Rule 1895-1963 (M.Phil. Thesis). Moi University, Eldoret.

James B. Ainsworth, the then Central Kavirondo District Commissioner in 1909, held a meeting between the Nandi and the Luo to define the boundary of the two districts. In his wisdom, Ainsworth pushed the Nandi away from the railway line and warranted their border to stand several miles from it.⁴³⁷ In May 1911, Lumbwa (Kericho) DC Hugh B. Partington met with the new DC of Central Kavirondo G.H. Osborne at Muhoroni to demarcate the boundary between the two districts. The border would touch Sondu and ensure Chemelil, Muhoroni, Koru, and its environs remained in Central Kavirondo. Tinderet moved administratively to the Kericho district, while the lowlands to the Kisumu District's administration. The partition of Nandi was now complete. Both Kericho and Kisumu were administratively under the Nyanza Province.⁴³⁸

The lowlands turned out to be an excellent sugar country, and a settler population grew from the Soldier Settlement Scheme, which began in 1919.⁴³⁹ The railway at Muhoroni made the area attractive to European farmers, who began to farm sisal and cane for sugar. The increased demand for the plantations' labour force created an initial migration of the Luo into the area, occupying the former Nandi and Kipsigis countries.⁴⁴⁰ After losing their livestock, food reserves, salt licks, and pastures, the Nandi got forced to abandon their native habitations at Chemelil, Miwani, Muhoroni Kibigori, Kibos, and Kopere, respectively. They got pushed to ascend the highlands led by two collaborating headmen, Taptengelei and Arap Sirtui, who convinced their ancestors would follow them into their new Reserve in Kabiye.⁴⁴¹ However, the loss

⁴³⁷ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Annual reports 1905 -1920, Report by the Provincial Commissioner for the 12 months ending 31st Mar. 1912

⁴³⁸ KNA: DC/NDI/1/2, Annual Reports, 1904 – 1920.

⁴³⁹ KNA: Nandi District Annual Report, 31st Mar. 1919.

⁴⁴⁰ Matson, A. T., (1974), Nandi Campaign against the British 1895 – 1906. Transafrica Publishers, Nairobi.

⁴⁴¹ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Annual reports 1905 – 1920, Report on Nandi situation 30th Jun. 1905.

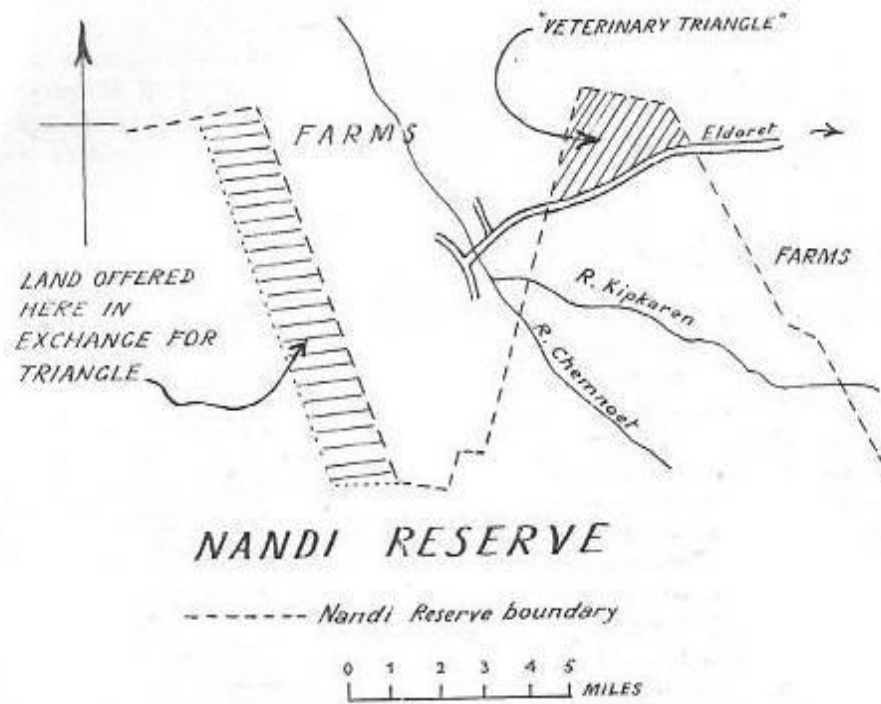
of their lands was the tragedy that haunted the Nandi. However, the forfeiture of their lands became the misfortune that haunts them to date.⁴⁴² All the mentioned towns are currently in Kisumu County. The discord seed got planted when they got pushed to the Northern side, Kabiyet, losing their ancestral lands to sisal and sugarcane plantation owners. These lands later became part of the central Kavirondo (Kisumu) district against their wishes.

In 1909, the Central Kavirondo District Commissioner John B. Ainsworth held a meeting between the Luo and the Nandi to demarcate the border of the two districts. Ainsworth, aware that he needed to keep the Nandi away from the railway, ensured their edge stood several miles away from the railway. In May 1911,⁴⁴³ Lumbwa (Kericho) DC Hugh B. Partington met with the new DC of Central Kavirondo G.H. Osborne at Muhoroni to demarcate the boundary between the two districts. The border would touch Sondu and ensure Chemelil, Muhoroni, Koru, and its environs remained in Central Kavirondo. As a result, the area today known as Tinderet got moved to the administration of Kericho district, while the lowlands got blocked under the administration of Kisumu District. The partition of Nandi was now complete. Both Kericho and Kisumu were administratively under the Nyanza Province.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴² O. I. with Kitur Arap Kili, 92 years, 20-04-2022, Clementina Boen, 80 years, Sang'alo, Nandi North.

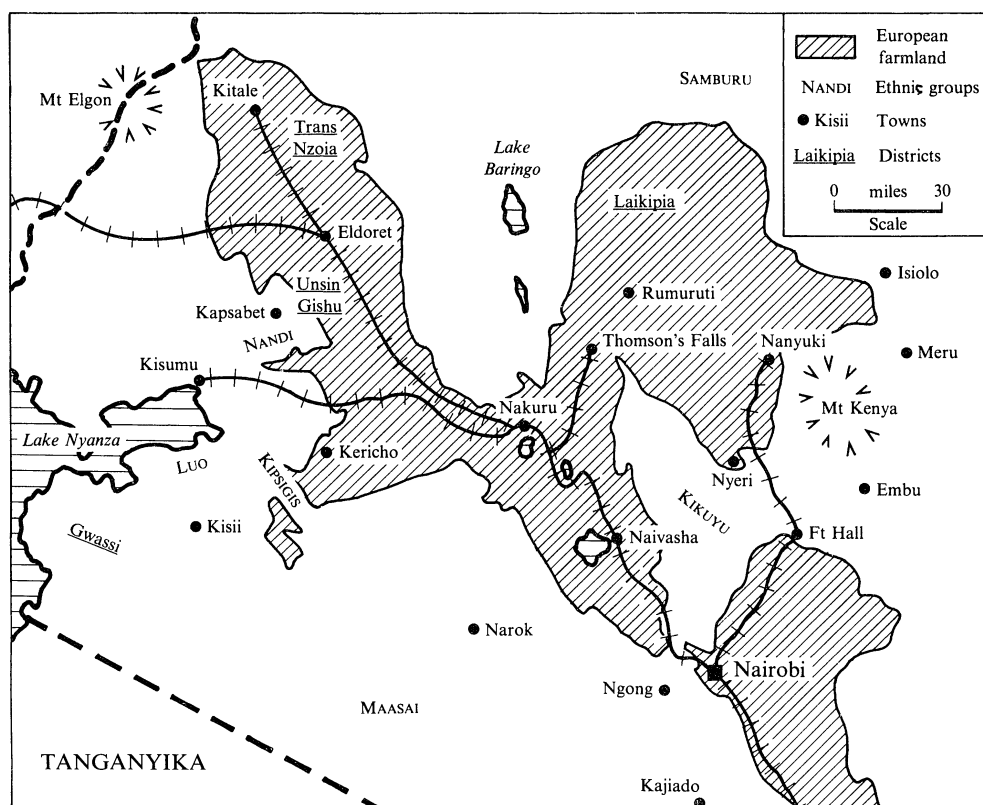
⁴⁴³ KNA: PC/NZA 2/2/, John Ainsworth, P.C. Nandi District Inspection Report, 22nd Sept. 1915.

⁴⁴⁴ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Annual reports 1905 – 1920, Quarterly report, Nandi 30th Sept. 1911, p. 3, 1905 – 1920, Report by the Provincial Commissioner for the 12 months ending 31st Mar. 1912.

Map 3.1 Nandi Reserve at Kipkarren

Source: KNA: Colonial Office, *Nandi Work and Culture*, G. W. B. Huntingford, 1950,

Map 3.2 Western and Central Kenya Settler Farms



Source: The Historical Journal, Dec. 1993, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Dec. 1993), pp. 853

3.2 The Effects of the First World War on the Nandi Inter-ethnic Relations

As an oppressed community, the Nandi got enlisted in the colonial army, the King's African Rifles. They were required to work under hardship, injury and even death. When the survivors returned home, the colonial regime denied them pensions or any other reward from the government. These feelings led them to return to anti-government activities to drive their oppressors, the British. The military training they received equipped them with the necessary skills that got employed in a revolutionary struggle later.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁵

O. I. with Joseph Kiptoo, Male, 48 years, on 20th January, 2023, at Nandi Hills.

Furthermore, Bethwell Ogot draws the same conclusion about these war veterans:

“At the close of the world war, natives and war veterans realized the gaps and heterogeneity of the whites. Alongside this, they cared more for themselves as a distinct racial group and, even more importantly, learnt the treasure of organised resistance”.⁴⁴⁶

Service in the K.A.R. and the Carrier Corps throughout 1914-18, to a greater extent, motivated and armed the Nandi ex-soldiers to become active supporters of independence progressively; they became agents of modernisation and the organizers of political action.⁴⁴⁷ This reasoning led them to try by all means to reclaim their lost country.⁴⁴⁸

Combined with genuine grievances, the perception in question would seem logical that a most conscripted force would be resentful. Moreover, the ex-soldiers and carriers never received the retirement pension the government had promised. Consequently, the government and its policy of Native Reserves and White Highlands removed them from their indigenous land. The observations of European participants and witnesses would appear to confirm these conclusions. For example, Governor Henry Belfield of the East Africa Protectorate responded to a War Office enquiry in 1916: “The enlistment and training of large numbers of native troops... are very much to be deprecated”.

“Moreover, his successor, Acting Governor Charl Bowring, wrote two years later: “Natives will require much closer administration when veterans return. It will be necessary to watch these natives return with new ideas.”⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ Bethwell A. Ogot, 'Kenya Under the British, 1895-1963', in Ogot (ed.), *Zamani: a survey of East African history* (Nairobi, 1973 edn.), p. 265.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 265.

⁴⁴⁸ Eliud Arap Chemosei, Male, 60 years, on 20th January, 2023 at Nandi Hills, Sirwo.

⁴⁴⁹ KNA: Nandi District Quarterly Report, 31 December 1909.

Perhaps the clearest, although the most racist, statement on this issue came from John Ainsworth, the Chief Native Commissioner:

“It is tough to say what will be the ultimate effect on the minds of thousands of natives who have remained demobilized and returned to their homelands. The native mind works slowly; the seed rarely sowed fruits in the first season; after the homecoming, the native sits down to a comparative life of ease and awakens to a life of action and thought. So far in 1919, nothing has happened to provoke one to the idea that the native has been through anything other than a normal state of survival; at the same time, we know that he has gone through understandings such as no native has gone through before. The cooperate result of all this will become evident in another year, probably by which time all the numerous points that have made an impression on his mind or have influenced him will take shape”.⁴⁵⁰

The Nandi got heavily recruited to KAR during and after World War I, where they earned themselves a reputation for being a fierce army enough to combat the British troops for a period. For this reason, they managed to earn a more significant share than any other community in the colony. They roughly occupied 10% of KAR officers recruited during the First World War period, 1914 – 1918.⁴⁵¹ The influence of military service among the Nandi men was quickly noticed because the European contact with a civilian population was limited to elsewhere in Kenya, where the civilians felt the colonial influence. The British could conscript all the Nandi veterans from the *Nyongi* age set to serve in WW I. The community’s cultural setup facilitated this. The Nandi’s political setup supports identifying the boys old enough to have served in the First World War. An age set among the Nandi revolves around a fourteen-year circle, enabling the British to recruit a single age set at least above 14 years.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ KNA: C.O. 533/196/Acting Governor Bowring to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, June 1918.

⁴⁵¹ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1 Annual reports 1905 1920, Nandi district quarterly report 31st Mar. 1918.

⁴⁵² A. C. Hollis, *The Jandi: their language and folklore* (London 1909); G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Nandi of Kenya* (New York, 1953); G. S. Snell, *Customary Law* (London, 1954); and A. T. Matson, *Nandi Resistance to British Rule*, (Nairobi, 1972).

This group of young men, *Nyongi*, at the onset of the war, were at least 18 years and above because they had been initiated within the four years before the First World War. Consequently, the conscription got all of them unmarried, making them return home after the war. The veterans got a warm reception and integrated themselves into society with less difficulty. They embraced their fellow men who had avoided conscription to the KAR and extended their gratitude to the entire community for taking their positions and taking good care of their property, which was entirely made up of cattle they had acquired through raiding as warriors. All veterans regressed to their old ways of life in the community, including those promoted to sergeants in KAR.⁴⁵³ Despite their years of involvement, they did not lastingly implement a European mode of dressing. Most of them enjoyed their official KAR uniforms, especially the woollen topcoat, till they wore out.

However, they were not concerned with replacing worn-out with other alternatives. Elders and warriors had begun to abandon the animal skin and adopt the blankets that had progressively begun to replace animal skins. The top coat was a valuable auxiliary instead of the blanket. As the blanket swapped the animal skin and the principal clothing, the soldiers failed to adopt other basic training they were offered while in KAR. They were offered some elementary training on sanitation. However, this training was not appealing to them.

The missionaries further prove the behaviour of ex-soldiers in the society by stating that it was tough to distinguish a former soldier from that of another indigenous Nandi.

⁴⁵³ O. I. with Malakwen A. Rotich Siong'ei, Male, 90 years, on 21st January, 2023, at Kipkorom.

The KAR, recruited voluntarily until 1917 by the colonial office, thought they could get punished if they declined to volunteer.⁴⁵⁴ Earlier, a few Nandi had found the outlook of wage labour satisfactorily attractive to migrate out of the village in search of such opportunities. An estimated number of employed Nandi men outside the reserve stood at 100 by 1914, deduced from an approximate populace of forty-five thousand as they failed to take up neighbourhood jobs. The district quarterly reports of 1909 noted that the Nandi were unwilling to take up wage labour from within their environs.⁴⁵⁵ However, there was an upsurge in employment out of the Nandi district between 1915 and 1916 to 352, whereas, in 1916 and 1917, a rise was recorded as 612 persons and a drop to 185 in 1919.

The Nandi could not move without their animals, thus inhibiting their employment outside the district. However, military service attracted the Nandi young men more than any other work in the white highlands. In 1922, the district commissioner of Nandi noted that the only job attractive enough to have the warrior group move outside without their cattle was military service, which correlated with their warrior traditions after the war and at the time when the colonial government halted their regular raids against the Luo and the Luyia cattle.⁴⁵⁶ The other non-military service available for them was to become squatters on European farms around Eldoret in Uasin Gishu and Kitale in Trans Nzoia.

However, they got some guarantee of grazing, building and cultivating on European farms with a limited number of cattle as stipulated in the famous 1925 Ordinance on

⁴⁵⁴ KNA: Nandi District Annual Report 31 December 1914.

⁴⁵⁵ KNA: Nandi District Quarterly Report, 31 December 1909.

⁴⁵⁶ KNA: Nandi District Annual Report, 31 March 1919.

condition that they laboured therein for 180 days. Nevertheless, a small wage got received as they worked therein. It is estimated from a report by Huntingford in 1933 that 12,000 Nandi were happily squatting on White farms since they wondered with their animals accessing new grazing lands mainly in Trans Nzoia, Nandi and Uasin Gishu districts.⁴⁵⁷

World War I did not equip veterans with the necessary knowledge to unite and execute any insurgence. Furthermore, as a result, utmost veterans had no desire or competencies to contribute to actively participate in the new Kenya. Only a few European civilians and government officials were taught of the occurrence of any insurgence from the veterans. However, only a few isolated cases were reported in the local dailies in October 1919.⁴⁵⁸

However, a significant insurgence failed to occur not until after WW II. The veterans did not seek political intervention following grievances charted by the Ex-soldiers. Their failed pension and compensation scheme did not compel them to form any organized and articulate group. Only between 1920 and 1921 did a few veterans attempt to pool up their resources to finance one of their own to follow up their retirement grievances to Nairobi without success.⁴⁵⁹ Their lack of organization is because most veterans reverted to indigenous responsibilities, their age group, and their *korotinwet*.⁴⁶⁰ This retreat culminated in the greatest fears of the British that their coveted prestige had been lost before Africans.

⁴⁵⁷ G. W. B. Huntingford, *Nandi Work and Culture* (London, 1950), p. 73

⁴⁵⁸ KNA: *The Mombasa Times and East Coast Herald* (Mombasa), 24 October 1919.

⁴⁵⁹ KNA: *Nandi District Annual Report*, 31 March 1922.

⁴⁶⁰ Okete J. Shiroya, 'The Impact of World War II on Kenya: the role of ex-servicemen in Kenyan nationalism', PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1968, pp. 197-8

The Africans witnessed other Europeans killing one another in broad daylight in cold blood. Consequently, the colonial administration feared the attendant effects of the War. They contemplated that Africans may soon replicate the same on them. Shiroya argues that military service diminished Europeans' awe pride as the veterans had witnessed the whites die and that the modern weaponry added advantage to the British, without which they were not superior. The veterans discovered that whites and blacks were equal and none was superior to the other. The challenge was that modern weapons were supplied to Europeans and not Africans for longer.⁴⁶¹ Soldiers in the First World War had little exposure to modern military weapons. However, Europeans dominated the use of modern technology. In contrast, in WW II, African soldiers interacted with modern military technology in detail to some extent.⁴⁶² Thus, African veterans contributed to socio-political activities individually, not as a collective responsibility.⁴⁶³

From the oral sources, it is argued that the war veterans must have acquired some organizational competencies that propelled the ex-soldiers political activities.⁴⁶⁴ However, this was not the case in Nandi District. The primary influence contributed by the ex-soldiers of World War II to the nationalist cause in Kenya was the individual dissemination of ideas abroad, including some Gandhian principles encountered while serving with Indian troops and the notion that non-Europeans could wage an excellent and successful fight against Europeans.⁴⁶⁵ However, in the case of Nandi, these organisational skills influenced the inter-ethnic relations with their neighbours. The

⁴⁶¹ Ibid, 207.

⁴⁶² Ibid, 208.

⁴⁶³ O. I. with Malakwen A. Rotich Siong'ei, x-soldier, 90 years, on 23rd January, 2023 at Kipkorom.

⁴⁶⁴ Group Interview with Arap Nge'ny Chepchogon, 84 years, Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo, 84 years, on 21st January, 2023 at Kapchorwa.

⁴⁶⁵ Shiroya, 208.

raiding skills improved, and thus, many cattle theft cases flourished between the Nandi, Luo and Luyia.⁴⁶⁶

3.3 Nandi's Relations with the Luyia

The Nandi had previously inhabited the present parts of the country by the mid-seventeenth century. In the intervening period to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Nandi would appear to have augmented in numbers, stretched their settlements, and embarked on more prevalent and distant raiding activities. This flourishing was because Nandi country and Nandi reserve were among the earliest to be drawn by the British to Kenya because of their resistance to colonial intrusion.⁴⁶⁷ Consequently, this colonial move saw them evacuated from their original land in the southern part to the northern part of their territory. (See Maps 3.3 and 3.4) They extended their raiding tradition to the Luyia, the practice that affected the Luo before their forceful eviction to Kibiyet over a hundred kilometres away.⁴⁶⁸

Therefore, the country of western Kenya, the west of the Nandi escarpment, became exposed to the institutionalized raiding activities of the Nandi and their attendant hash relations, loss of life, cattle and property. Acting independently and always at cross purposes, the Nandi scourged western Kenya and adjoining parts of eastern Uganda in subsequent years. However, in these early years, the raids seem to have got executed on a small scale.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ KNA: PC/NZA 3/18/5/1, Stock Thefts, Nandi District, See the evidence gathered in 'Cattle in Forests', 1918 – 1929, ARC(FOR) 7/2/641.

⁴⁶⁷ Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890–1906. By A. T. Matson. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972. Pp. vii+391

⁴⁶⁸ O. I. Kirongo Arap Kitur, Chepterwai, 78 Yrs.

⁴⁶⁹ Were, G. S. 1967: A History of the Abaluyia of western Kenya (1000-1930). Nairobi: East African Publishing House, p. 137.

The researcher took the border points between the Tiriki, Kabras, Banyala and Tachoni further to exemplify the inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and Luyia. They belong to Bantu-speaking Abaluyia sub-ethnic groups and the Nilotic-speaking Kalenjin peoples, the Nandi and Terik. Again, the Abaluyia clans of Tiriki lived together within Nyang'ori and Tiriki locations. The original families of the current Tiriki people came from various Abaluyia clans from Busoga in eastern Uganda.⁴⁷⁰ Some Abatirichi clans came from Asembo in Luo land, where they got joined by the Nilotic-speaking Kalenjin group, the Terik, whose ethnonym they took. After having undergone mutual ethnic intermingling, they evolved into a distinct ethnic group.⁴⁷¹ Although most of those inhabiting Tiriki and Nyang'ori locations are the Tiriki, the Terik were the original inhabitants.

However, as the Abaluyia clans migrated in large numbers into the area, the Terik traversed to Rift Valley from Western Province to settle within the land of the Nandi, a Kalenjin sub-group.⁴⁷² The ethnic relations within the common border of the neighbouring communities, Abatirichi and Terik and that of Abakabarasi on the northern border did not differ from those between the Luo and Nandi border, where political, cultural and economic factors characterised the interactions between the groups.

In Kapkerer and Kapseng'ere sub-locations of the border points, the Terik clans still live in intermixture with the Abaluyia clans. Terik language, similar to the Nandi,

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid, 74.

⁴⁷¹ Sangree, W. N. (1966): *Age, prayer and politics in Tiriki*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. xxix.

⁴⁷² Cattell, M.G. (2003). Abaluyia. In: Ember, C.R., Ember, M. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender*. Springer, Boston, MA. https://doi.org/10.1007/0-387-29907-6_24.

initiation system, funerary rites, and marriage practices predominates over the Abaluyia. However, the Abaluyia clans are the majority.⁴⁷³ The Terik dominance of almost an entire Abaluyia clan's social life is based principally on the ancient adoption by the Abaluyia community, Abatirichi of the Nandi age-set and abandoning the ancient Abaluyia heritage in this domain. Kalenjin age grades affect, directly or indirectly, most of the major kinds of social activity in Tiriki, Kabras and Tachoni social groupings, rankings, statuses and roles.⁴⁷⁴ Age-grade institutions transformed from the most significant ethnic and clan activities into intra-familial relationships. Most indigenous judicial, military and ritual actions and territorial clan groupings were closely related to Nandi and Terik.⁴⁷⁵

Furthermore, rituals related to different customs and the internal structure, inter-clan relations, and land ownership were all influenced by the Terik and Nandi. Hence, socio-cultural traits borrowed affected the whole social life of the Bantu Tiriki, Kabras and Tachoni people.⁴⁷⁶ Accordingly, the lives of the Abaluyia Tiriki were thoroughly modified in favour of Nilotic Kalenjin culture, specifically the Nandi and Terik.⁴⁷⁷ For the inhabitants of Buluyia, the rise of the Nandi was fraught with ominous implications. In Luyia, it meant that in addition to the ravages of the Uasin Gishu Maasai refugees and other Maasai raiding bands, the Laikipia and Naivasha Maasai, the Luyia community had to defend herself against the Nandi raiders who were now venturing further afield.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷³ O. I. with Tobensoi Chepyego, Male, 89 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central.

⁴⁷⁴ O. I. with Vibian Mutai, Female, 80 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kapkerer, Terik Ward.

⁴⁷⁵ O. I. with James Mukhoba, Male, 80 years, on 21st March, 2022 at Banja.

⁴⁷⁶ O. I. with Charles Shirutsi, Serem, 89 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Serem, Vihiga County.

⁴⁷⁷ O. I. with James Mukhoba, Banja, 80 years.

⁴⁷⁸ O. I. with Lumumba Shimuli, Male, 89 years, on 16th July, 2022 at Kakamega.

Moreover, the Nandi raided by night and aimed to capture cattle.⁴⁷⁹ Several accounts of Nandi raids and the houses burnt during the operations all over Luyia land. However, the nature of these accounts indicates that though the relations with the Nandi were destructive, the Luyia seldom witnessed daytime battles except in Maragoli and Tiriki and some parts of Kabras and Ndivisi adjacent to the Nandi country and the escarpment. Moreover, since the motive of the Nandi raids was cattle, they undertook night expeditions so they were never caught in the act. This evasion was because they returned by night, so they went unnoticed, inhibiting the probability of an exposed encounter. As revealed from oral sources, if the Nandi missed cattle during raids, they could go with children to be raised and assimilated into the community.

“... I was still a young man when my village was raided at night. Meanwhile, my only cow was tight on a rope inside our house as we sought refuge in the nearby bush. They never saw any animal; one entered the kitchen where my only child and wife hid and escaped with the wife and the young one to date. I never forgot it more than 60 years ago. My children in our village got lost and were never traced....”⁴⁸⁰

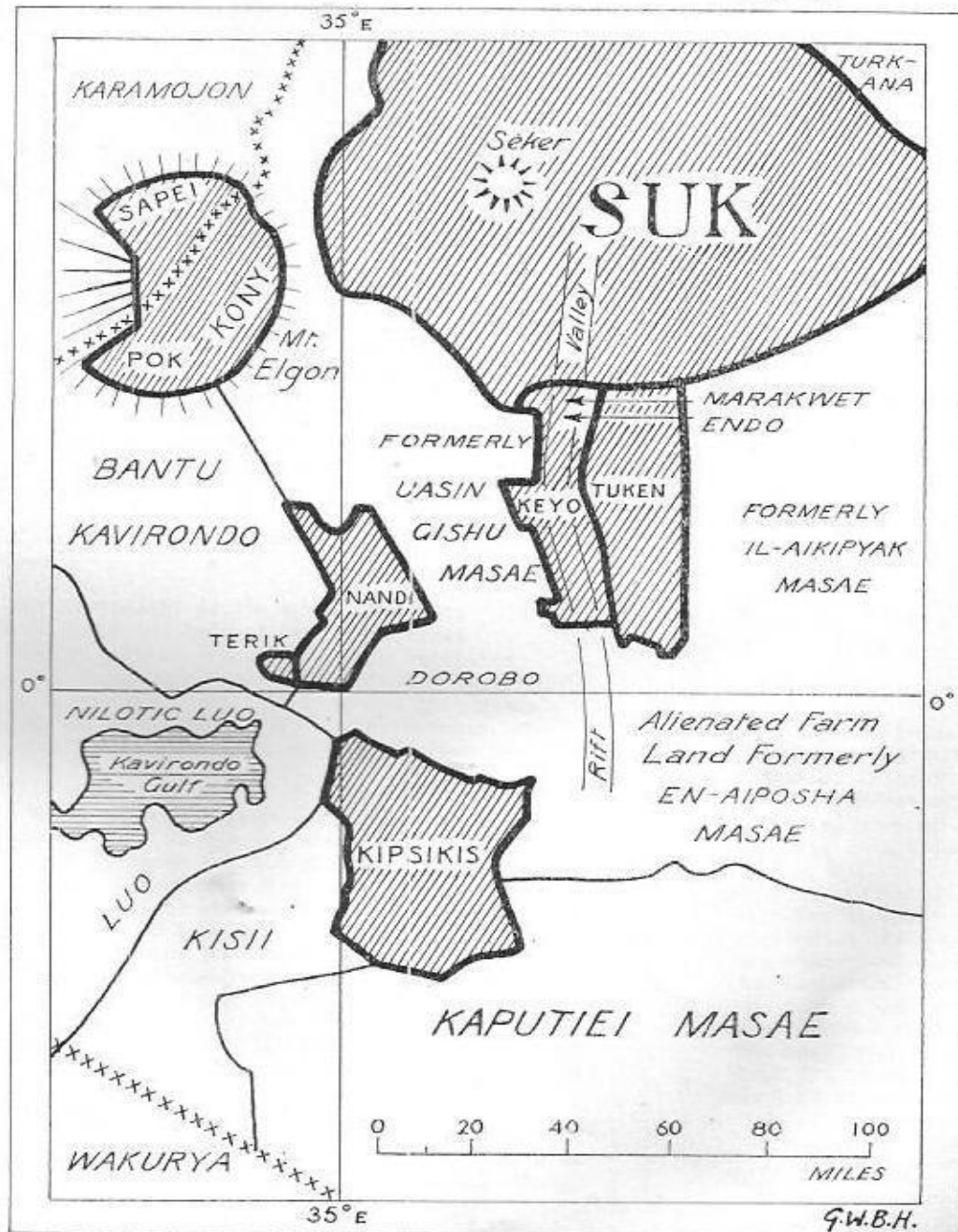
Against this background, only the raids and thefts of cattle got remembered. However, not all the inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and the Luyia always got sour; at other times, they related well. They engaged in socio-economic activities like barter trade, intermarriage, and material and cultural exchange, such as the Nilotic initiation rite adopted by the Abatirichi.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ Low, D. A., In *History of East Africa*, pp. 305 – 310; J. Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 414 – 417, 450 – 453, 463 – 470; F. Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 199 – 200; H. H. Johnston, *op. cit.*, 796 – 800.


⁴⁸⁰ O. I. with Shikanga Charles, male, 90 years, on 18th June, 2022 at Namakara, Kakamega County.

⁴⁸¹ O. I. with Lumumba Shimuli, 89 years, on 16th July, 2022.

Map 3.4 The Nandi Speaking Group



THE NANDI-SPEAKING GROUP

Nandi-speakers shaded 

Source: KNA: Colonial Office, Nandi Work and Culture, G. W. B. Huntingford, 1950, p. 3

3.4 Conclusion

The preceding shows that the colonial establishment in Nandi greatly affected their way of life. It abstracted their labour from native economic activities. During the resistance period, cattle raids and land tilling got halted after their forceful eviction to the northern part of the territory. As a result, the inter-ethnic relations between them and the Luo halted. Contacts got interfered with within the Central and Southern. Land tilling was greatly affected due to the fight with the British forces that consumed most of their time. Apart from the diversion of labour, many lives got lost, and other warriors were captured alive, prosecuted and imprisoned, causing a long-term impact on inter-ethnic ties with the Luo and Luyia neighbours.

The burning of homes and grain stores destroyed the food reserves for the rest of the year. Furthermore, the emigration of the entire community from the southern part of the reserve inhibited their routine farm activities in the new lands in the north. The attendant impact was that they progressively resisted all forms of European political economy. They also resisted the schooling of their children and thus sought adventure in cattle raids among the Luyia neighbours. They failed to adopt the new Western education from Christian missionaries. They saw education as a way of submitting to British control, something they were not ready to accept following their forceful eviction from their lands in the south.

Furthermore, they were not enthusiastic about adopting the new British agricultural techniques. The pressure of consolidation into a native reserve got projected to neighbouring communities, while others emigrated elsewhere seeking empty lands. However, as discussed above, not all the inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and

the Luyia always got sour; at other times, they related well. They engaged in socio-economic activities like barter trade, intermarriage, and material and cultural exchange, such as the Nilotic initiation rite adopted by the Abatirichi.

Therefore, the next chapter will respond to the third research objective, answering the third research question: How did the interwar colonial policies implicate Nandi's inter-ethnic relations with her neighbours?

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSEQUENCES OF COLONIAL POLICIES ON NANDI

INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS, 1919 – 1939

4.0 Introduction

This chapter picks up after the preceding one adjourned and illuminated light on the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1919 – 1939. The study examined colonial processes such as the appropriation of land, forced labour, and taxation. In addition, the dual policy, great depression, migration of Nandi outside the Reserve, ex-soldiers, settler agriculture, trade, and policy contradictions in relations with the Nandi and her neighbours.

4.1 Prelude to British Exploitation in Kenya

The first settlers to Kenya came from diverse races and nationalities from different countries; various motives stirred up their advent to Kenya.⁴⁸² However, some immigrants came to improve their living conditions in the region. However, other pull factors included the intention of siphoning the minerals hoped to be abundant in Kenya. The colonial government absorbed most elites to official appointments such as Governors, DCs and Sub-Governors, while others were recruited at the junior management level as clerks. The European settlement in Kenya resulted from British intrusion propelled by economic factors. Other factors included strategic advantages and prestige backed by settlers characterizing Imperial colonial policy.⁴⁸³ Irrespective

⁴⁸² McCormack, Robert (April 1984). "The Giriama and Colonial Resistance in Kenya. 1800–1920. by Cynthia BrantleyThe Giriama and Colonial Resistance in Kenya. 1800–1920. University of California Press, 1981. xiii. 196 pp. \$30.00". *Canadian Journal of History*. 19 (1): 147–148.

⁴⁸³ Ogot, Bethwell A., *History of the Southern Luo: Volume I, Migration and Settlement, 1500–1900*, (Series: *Peoples of East Africa*), East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967.

of the purposes pursued outside the settlement, the latter remained authoritatively influenced by British colonial officials. Consequently, more Indians and Europeans were invited to implement the colonial agenda to exploit the economic potential therein.⁴⁸⁴

The main aspect of colonial policy was to secure a steady financial subsidy for the Protectorate. A well-planned white settlement in Kenya represented this. The policy was aimed at generating enough revenue to propel its agenda. The British Special Commissioner to Uganda, Sir Johnston Henry Hamilton, was responsible for contemplating that Kenya had a vast arable land in the highlands suitable for British occupation. He was stunned and fascinated by the agricultural potential as he crossed Kenya on his way to Uganda. This idea was seconded by Sir Charles Eliot, a British Commissioner in Kenya who was also excited by Kenya's agricultural potential and got convinced to call for its occupation by white settlers. He claimed that East Africa was the best place for their settlement, particularly Kenya, following the railway line construction from coastal Kenya to the arable interior lands. Therefore, Sir Eliot, the commissioner, championed opening new economic prospects in the new East Africa Protectorate.⁴⁸⁵

Moreover, this successful project could pay enormous sums to the British treasury. Accordingly, they legislated the East Africa Land Orders Council published and enforced in 1895, 1897, and 1901. This economic idea got Lansdowne, representing Sir Charles Eliot and his counterpart Sir Chamberlain, secretary in the colonial, to view the

⁴⁸⁴ Berman B, Lonsdale J (1992). *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa*. Vol. 2. USA: Ohio University Press.

⁴⁸⁵ Maxon, R. M., 1922, Op. Cit.

settlers divergently.⁴⁸⁶ However, Chamberlain preferred while the Foreign Office preferred Fins.⁴⁸⁷

Accordingly, Eliot issued the Crown Land Ordinance in 1902 to prepare an adequate atmosphere for Jewish settlement. The Ordinance stated that all unoccupied land belonged to the Crown, not the natives.⁴⁸⁸

The Land Regulation Act of 1897 allowed land to be leased for 21 years. However, the Land Ordinance of 1902 encouraged the white settlers to directly and cheaply buy land in Kenya or lease it for 99 years. The Crown Land Ordinance gave the colonial government all powers to maintain the rights to lease and sell land in Kenya.⁴⁸⁹

4.2 The Power Transfer from the Foreign Office

The East Africa Protectorate was relocated from the Foreign Office in London to the Colonial Office in Nairobi on 1 April 1905.⁴⁹⁰ This transfer saw the nomination of significant characters, such as Henry Campbell Bannerman, appointed to head the Colonial Office. The Earl of Elgin was its secretary; however, Sir Winston Churchill and Sir Victor Alexander Bruce were Undersecretaries. However, they faced inherent challenges in the foreign office, such as the labour deficit representing the most acute and severe challenge on one side and considering the white settlers and Natives'

⁴⁸⁶ Eliot C (1905). *The East Africa Protectorate*. E. Arnold. OL 13518463M

⁴⁸⁷ G. H. Mungeam, p. 63

⁴⁸⁸ Eliot C., Op. Cit.

⁴⁸⁹ Anna Kajumba, Tibajuka, Land information Service in Kenya, United Nations Centre for Human Settlement Habitat, Kenya, Nairobi, 2001, p. 07.

⁴⁹⁰ Berman, Bruce., (1990). *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya. The Dialectic of Domination*. London, James Currey, p. 52-55.

interests on the other hand.⁴⁹¹

As the East Africa Protectorate Commissioner, Stewart was not a renowned Governor, and his expectations under the Colonial Office failed. His service was cut short by demise as he succumbed to pneumonia while on his punitive expeditions against the Nandi. The expeditions were meant to pacify the Nandi, as they were rebellious and could not allow British intrusion on their territory. These pacifications got the attention of the colonialists to quickly use the opportunity to estrange additional arable lands for the whites. Stewart conducted punitive expeditions against the Sotik people, related to the Kipsigis ethnic group who had raided the Maasai. As a captain, he enforced substantial measures to inhibit the Sotik attacks.⁴⁹² However, he pointed out the need to use the alienated Sotik lands for settlement. Stewart further opined that;

“There was a large area of most arable lands between Njoro and Sotik to get opened up to Europeans. After the Sotik has stood brought to purpose, I hope the Kisii will give no trouble. Opening up this part of the Protectorate is imperative, which is sweetly for settler farming. However, some Kisii are friendly and want us to create a government post in their country. However, a large portion of this community is inimical and will likely cause trouble. I have great hopes that the punishment of the Sotik may bring them to reason.”⁴⁹³

One of the critical phases introduced by this captain was executing a reserve scheme that got claimed by his former equals, such as Sir Eliot, who wanted to take Maasai and confine them into a Reserve. However, he failed to execute his plan for their fear of their reactions. The same thing happened to the Nandi, who were later pacified and

⁴⁹¹ G. H. Mungeam, *Kenya: A Political History: The Colonial Period*, London, Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 153.

⁴⁹² *Nandi Resistance to British Rule 1890–1906*. By A. T. Matson. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972. Pp. vii+39

⁴⁹³ G. H. Mungeam, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

forced to a reserve.⁴⁹⁴ The colonial government made no difference between Africans, the Maa community or the Nandi; all were treated similarly. All were contained in isolated native reserves and dispossessed of their lands.

4.3 Land Alienations and Reserves Under the Colonial Office

The quarantine of the Africans into reserves started to take shape after the British pacified them. The colonial government established many reserves to isolate the whites from the natives. A critical question in Kenya under British occupation was the conflict over land ownership between native Africans such as Maasai, Nandi and Gikuyu and white settlers. Under colonial legislation, land became private property reserved for Settlers, as they forced Africans to become local squatters.⁴⁹⁵ Natives' isolation from Europeans represented divergent views. As previously stated, Africans got secluded from the whites through purposive confinement into restricted reserves to inhibit their movement and interaction with other whites.

Furthermore, through the Chiefs Act, the reserves facilitated the control of the labour supply. The African chiefs were tasked with conscription of workers from the reserves.⁴⁹⁶ Second, the colonial masters utilized the confinement of natives in reserve as a monitoring tool and a means to save time and effort in regulating the movement of Africans. Similarly, the reserves were detrimental to settlers who required human resources to facilitate the colonial agenda, as their confinement locked them far away from the settler farms. On the other hand, the native chiefs responded to colonial authorities' instructions as they controlled Africans indirectly.⁴⁹⁷ The settlers could not

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

⁴⁹⁵ KNA: Report of the Kenya Land Commission, 1933.

⁴⁹⁶ O. I. with Tamason Chepyego, male, 89 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Nandi Central Kapkangani.

⁴⁹⁷ O. I. with Vibian Mutai, female, 80 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kapkerer, Terik.

compel the chiefs to stream them with the required human resources.⁴⁹⁸ The Nandi could not access their indigenous salt licks and pastures as they had been seized when moved to the reserves' northern past. The reserves restricted the movement of any kind, including grazing in the highlands. Their grazing lands had become a no-go zone.

The creation of the Reserves negatively impacted the Nandi's economic growth. They could not sell their animals for a living, so trade gains were halted. Cattle increased tremendously in the restricted reserve, but the Nandi could not retrieve its worth from the actioning of livestock. An artificial economic stagnation got created following these detrimental measures put in place by the colonial authorities. Nandi's livestock got reduced to useless stock. All Africans, regardless of location and ethnic affiliation, suffered economic stagnation.

Consequently, Africans progressively became poor. Moreover, the pasture lands for their cattle were inadequate to sustain the herds in the reserves. This challenge prompted the Nandi to project their pressure outside their Reserve to the neighbourhood. This action intern affected the previous inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours.

The settlers used the reserves to defraud the already disadvantaged and confined Africans. They inhibited their agronomic potential. Lord Delamere, a renowned settler, declared,

“If the Africans had enough land, and therefore cattle and farm produce, they would not be indebted to labour for others”.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁸ M. R. Dille, *The British Colonial Policy in Kenya Colony*, 2nd ed, New York, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1992, p. 251.

⁴⁹⁹ Roxanne Lynn Doty, *Imperial Encounters, The Politics of Representations in South West Relations*, The University of Minnesota Press, 1996, p. 54.

As a result, the colonial administration was petitioned by the white settlers to further reduce African reserves as a means to compel them to seek wage labour in the white highlands. The government was called to reduce the reserve boundaries drastically, leading to the condensation of tilled African farms and thus forcing them to search for occupations on European farms.⁵⁰⁰ This was because the challenge in the highlands was the human resource deficit.

4.4 The Reaction of Settlers to Labour Deficit

Labour deficit was the primary challenge at the onset of the Colonial Office's business in 1905. It took over governance at the peak of the labour shortage in East Africa. Its core mandate, therefore, was to identify appropriate resolutions to a multitude of challenges the foreign office had been overwhelmed with. At the top of the many challenges faced by the Foreign Office was the Labour shortage. The Foreign Office had attempted to resolve the challenge, but it was overwhelmed.

Moreover, as new as it was, the Colonial Office was to prove itself and justify its existence and efficiency over the Foreign Office as its precursor. This new office was to manage the British Colonies. Nevertheless, the human resources in the new office were to trail a particular trajectory in seeking the appropriate solutions for labour recruitment. Among the most outstanding personalities in the colony was Campbell Bannerman as the officer in charge; however, Winston Churchill was the Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office.⁵⁰¹

⁵⁰⁰ Regina Smith Oboler, *Women, Power, and Economic Change: The Nandi of Kenya*, California, Stanford University Press, 1985, p. 141.

⁵⁰¹ Clayton, A, & Savage, DC, 1975. *Government and Labour in Kenya, 1895–1963*. Routledge, London.

Many variations were witnessed after 1905. As the colonial office took over the administration of East Africa, the white settlers aired their discontent over the inadequate labour supply. The administration was requested to assist the settlers in guaranteeing them a steady human resource supply. The settlers questioned how the colonial office accentuated their labour demands. They questioned how the colonial office reacted towards their claim. Among the claims was examining how Africans responded to the negative impact of colonial policies.⁵⁰² The challenges and hitches pertinent to labour, land and those dealing with the dominant region's health were dealt with differently by Lord Alexander Bruce, the Colonial Office's Secretary. He moved closer to the conditions and had to send Winston Churchill to find out the situation in East Africa. Churchill was the then Under Secretary tasked with examining the hitches and promptly intervening in the labour deficit.

On the same note 1907, Churchill arrived in East Africa at Mombasa and immediately delved into the protectorate's affairs. The preeminent hitch at the top of the list was the labour system in East Africa. From the Native Affairs Office was his alarm on the labour system, which he efficiently echoed from NAD. This departmental office was mandated mainly to sort out the labour challenge by investigating the conditions under which Africans are subjected and developing a means to regulate the labour supply.⁵⁰³ To facilitate the above agenda, a Colonist Association committee drafted and submitted some regulations, which came to be termed the Master and Servants Ordinance (M&SO). The committee unanimously accepted this draft without any alterations and submitted it to London for approval. The 1893 Gold Coast M&SO informed the Master

⁵⁰² G. H. Mungeam, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

and Servants Ordinance 1906 read together the 1880 South African Transvaal M&SO. To streamline the provisions of a steady human resource supply, the Land Committee Report tasked the colonial government to encourage natives to work on contracts in the settler farms.⁵⁰⁴

However, there were some dissenting views up to 1907 regarding how labour conscription should be enhanced. The Colonial Office got torn asunder regarding labour policy formulation and implementation process. The central challenge nerve-wracking the Colonial Office was the question of forced labour and the contradictions surrounding its implementation. It managed to worry the entire colonial office.⁵⁰⁵

On this account, Sadler, E A P Commissioner, recommended two propositions to Crewe, the Colonial Office Secretary. First,

“That the Africans living on the uplands of Kenya should get constrained to work through a slow imposition of the Poll Tax upon non-disabled men. Furthermore, second, that remission should be given to the Africans who worked for one month on white farms.”

The shortcomings in Crewe’s notion were that Sadlers’ proposals and remittances differed from forced labour and subsequently moderated its attendant consequence. Crewe settled on the opinion of remission on condition that the work prearranged got done, regardless of race and status. However, when the South African Boers arrived in Kenya, many hitches were provoked that remained not only associated with labour but similarly dealt with the conditions and process of granting land. The Indians, on the other hand, were denied land in the highlands by the white settlers Committee.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 191.

⁵⁰⁵ David M. Anderson, “Master and Servants in Colonial Kenya”, the Journal of African History, Vol. 41, No. 3, (2000), pp. 459-485.

According to this committee, the appropriation of land in the highlands was solely reserved for the British. To enforce this order and secure a lasting human resource supply for the immigrants, the Colonial Office ratified a set of regulations. Three types of legislation existed: compulsory labour regulation, resident labour or “squatter” regulation, registration certificate, or “pass law” legislation.⁵⁰⁶

4.5 The Master and Servants Ordinance as a Means of Labour Coercion, 1906-1910

Following a high demand for African labourers by 1905, the settlers developed regulations to control and coerce Africans. More than 600 white settlers had already registered a labour deficit.⁵⁰⁷ The purpose of these regulations was to strengthen the privileges of settlers. They, moreover, termed the enacted regulations as Master and Servant Ordinance in 1906. In addition, the Master and Servant Ordinance in 1906 was implemented with the East Africa statute book and remained in force until the 1950s. However, the existence of regulations questioned the resultant effectiveness on settlers and the attendant influence on natives.⁵⁰⁸ The 1906 Master and Servant Ordinance was a tool to control labour recruitment in colonial Kenya and a weapon to subjugate African workers. In addition, it was a measure to regulate the labour supply in colonial Kenya. The regulation of labourers' relations with their masters got achieved through written and unwritten contracts.

⁵⁰⁶ G. H. Mungeam, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

⁵⁰⁷ David M. Anderson, *The Journal of African History*, 2000, Vol. 41, No. 3 (2000), pp. 459-485.

⁵⁰⁸ Douglas Hay and Paul Graven (eds), *Masters and Servants and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955*. The University of N. Carolina Press (2004), pg. 501.

An annual report for the year ending 31 December 1909 categorically states why Nandi labourers did not accept to work for White farmers.

“...A considerable number of Nandi are employed outside the Reserve chiefly as herdsmen. They will not, however, work within their district for traders. This perception is primarily because if a man was seen working, the young men and girls stand by and jeer. Therefore, Nandi labour is practically unobtainable within the district. However, Kavirondo from Kakamega or Kabras is usually obtainable at a few days’ notice for not less than one month. The average rate of pay is Rupees 5/- per month, and the rations value is Rupees 1/50.”⁵⁰⁹

As confirmed from the oral sources, the Nandi men were proud and well-off when the whites came to their country.

“...we were well off and satisfied with our lifestyle. The Nandi needed nothing from the white man who had invaded our land and chased us away. We cannot follow and work for him after our salt licks and pasture have been grabbed by force. Our fertile lands are no more. The same white people killed our leaders. For the warriors, offering labour to a foreigner was a sign of cowardice and betrayal of the community, which suffered at the hands of a Whiteman. Alongside this, we had many cattle that would provide food to the community through milk and meat. The region's fertile soils and heavy rainfall provided us with pumper harvest, and by extension, we could trade with our neighbours down here, Luyia and Luo...”⁵¹⁰

Under this Ordinance of 1906, the Master and the Servants Ordinance, the colonial administration implemented verbal contracts to establish master and servant labour relationships. The oral agreements lasted for only thirty days. However, if the workers stayed beyond the thirty-day limit, this agreement would automatically get renewed. Labourers, mostly from Nandi, breached these contracts because of mistreatment from their masters or, at times, they wanted to move elsewhere to seek new pastures for their cattle. They permanently moved with their cattle. At times, the Nandi would seek new

⁵⁰⁹ KNA: DC/NDI/1/1/ Annual Report 1905 – 1920, Report for the year ending 31/12/1909: H(1) Labour, p. 37.

⁵¹⁰ Group Interview with Arap Nge’ny Chepchogon, 84 years, Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo, 84 years, on 21st January, 2023 at Kapchorwa.

employment elsewhere on other European farms in search of better pay than those paid by their former employers.⁵¹¹

Punishments varied from one labourer to another depending on the category and seriousness of offences cited in the Master and Servant Ordinance and the classification of crimes into minor and major. Desertion of duty, deliberate action to break duty, and animal injury were categorized as 'serious' and involved penalties such as imprisonment of up to two months or an acceptable equivalent to two months' pay. Desertion of duty, deliberate action to break duty, and animal injury were among the offences categorized as 'serious' and involved penalties such as imprisonment of up to two months or an acceptable equivalent to two months' pay. However, minor violations attracted a one-month pay cut. Offences under this category included using vulgar language on the master or his representative, truancy, drunkenness, absenteeism, inconsiderate work and failure to perform duty.⁵¹²

The situation in the settler farms and the entire colony attracted Churchill's attention profoundly. He was fascinated to write a minute to his counterpart in the colony, Sadler, who was the then Commissioner in the East Africa Protectorate. He emphasized the need to control labour conscription in all settler farms and safeguard the natives' interests. He convened a summit for natives' welfare and all contradictions arising from the conscription of labourers. In attendance were Saddler and Hollis, where Churchill maintained that Africans were to be heard and their challenges addressed. He suggested to task some D. Os to represent the interests of natives.

⁵¹¹ David. M. Anderson, op. cit., p. 462.

⁵¹² Ibid.

Consequently, a circular for binding all chiefs and headmen from using force in recruiting natives was issued.⁵¹³ Correspondingly, Hollis also articulated on improving the natives' welfare. Consequently, he championed the immediate withdrawal nation of the policy on direct coercion.

Nevertheless, the consequences of the policy got the settlers off-guard. They were for the contrary opinion and waged 1908 a dissent against the colonial Office and demanded the resignation of the Protectorate's Governor, Sir Hayes Sadler. The attendant effects of mass action saw the immediate suspension of Sir Delamere and Baillie, who were LegCo members at the time.⁵¹⁴

The Colonial Office witnessed new changes in 1907. Thus, Churchill was replaced and in his place was Colonel J. B. Seely as the new Under-Secretary while Robert Crewe replaced Elgin as the secretary to the Colonial Office—the specified offers held divergent opinions regarding the labour policy that was to get ratified in the Protectorate. Consequently, Poll Tax was gradually imposed on all Natives as a means to press them to seek wage labour. On the other hand.⁵¹⁵

Until the beginning of the outbreak of WWI, a significant issue to be eliminated in the East Africa Protectorate was the human resource deficit. On the one hand was the squatting issue on European farms, and the other was the military labour conscription deficit occasioned by the need for porters to convey military weaponries to the battlegrounds.

⁵¹³ G. H. Mungeam, *op. cit.*, p. 192-194.

⁵¹⁴ Bruce Berman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 64.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid*, 192-196.

4.6 The Native Registration Ordinance on Nandi inter-ethnic Relations

By 1920, the colonial administration made it compulsory for all males aged fifteen to be registered and a fingerprint certificate issued. This certificate was a means to restrict the movement of Africans as well as a means to control them. However, the Nandi continued their way of life occasioned by regular migration with their cattle in search of new pastures. When confronted with land deficiencies. The settlers backed the colonial government on the introduction of this Ordinance. Many Nandi emigrated to new areas as far as Western Kenya and Pokot and outside Kenya to Tanganyika and Uganda in reply to harsh conditions in their Reserve.⁵¹⁶ They were moving in groups of families one after another to a new place to evade the registration exercise. These migrations initiated by families and individuals began long before the colonial era.⁵¹⁷ *Kipande* caused much resentment to Nandi as it was mandatory for all males aged 15 years and over to wear it at all times around their necks.⁵¹⁸

The initial reaction of the Nandi throughout this historical moment was triggered by their resistance to colonial intrusion and subsequent land alienation. In this respect, the colonial administration disrespected African rights to land. As discussed in previous chapters, the 1902 Crown Land Ordinance gave absolute powers to the commissioner of the Protectorate to declare that “all land in the East African Protectorate was subject to the king’s control in the United Kingdom, to European immigrants.”⁵¹⁹ These alienations led to a deep distrust of Europeans. As a result, due to harsh conditions, the

⁵¹⁶ KNA: DC/NDI/5/3, Notes on Resident Labour Problems (n.d).

⁵¹⁷ Shunguhiya, M. S. (2015) Population, Tradition and Environmental Control in Colonial Kenya, University of Rochester Press, USA, p. 210.

⁵¹⁸ David Anderson (2000), "Master and Servant in Colonial Kenya", *Journal of African History*, 41:459-485.

⁵¹⁹ Lonsdale J. (1989) “The Conquest State 1895-1906” in Ochieng W. R. (ed) A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980, Evans Brothers, Nairobi, p. 19.

Nandi emigrated elsewhere.

Many Nandi emigrated to various neighbouring communities, including countries. These places included Uganda, Nyanza, Western, Tugen, Kipsigis, and Mount Elgon.⁵²⁰ Some early dispersals got traced among the Lembus of Tugen in the Southern Baringo. Most of the Lembus of Baringo has managed to maintain ties with the Nandi over time to the present. However, the colonial government continued to alienate more land in Nandi. As a result, the Kipkarren and Kaimosi zones occupied by the Nandi got alienated during the interwar period.⁵²¹ To add salt to a wound, an excision of 180 km² of Nandi land got annexed irrespective of existing reserve boundaries. This action further reduced an already overpopulated reserve.⁵²² In addition, this annexation interfered with the inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours. As a result, the Kaimosi and Kipkarren areas have never been occupied by Nandi, leaving traces of their names.⁵²³

In 1920, the District Commissioner, Nandi District, C. S. Hemsted, tried to justify the Nandi lands' alienations. He roguery reported on Nandi lands that "...the Nandi did not beneficially occupy the alienated land from the reserve".⁵²⁴ The K. L. C. claimed the legitimacy of the annexations as stood dully effected after signing a treaty with the Nandi chiefs.⁵²⁵ However, land alienation in the Nandi reserve was a means by which the colonial government used to mitigate the labour shortages in their settler farms in

⁵²⁰ Ibid, 29.

⁵²¹ Leo C. Land and Class in Kenya, University of Toronto Press, 1984, p. 40.

⁵²² Youe Christopher P. "Settler Capital and the Assault on the Squatter Peasantry in Kenya's Uasin Gishu District, 1942-63, African Affairs, Vol. 87, No. 348 (Jul. ,1988, pp. 400, Oxford University Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/722440> accessed on 26/6/2022.

⁵²³ O. I. Arap Kemei Kipyator, 84 Yrs, Chepterwai, 8-May-2022.

⁵²⁴ KNA: DC/NDI/1/2, Annual Reports, 1904 - 1920.

⁵²⁵ Leo C. Land and Class in Kenya, University of Toronto Press, 1984, p. 40.

the white highlands.

The interwar period saw an upsurge in Nandi migrating to the white highlands to squat owing to land shortages.⁵²⁶ They turned into squatters on settler farms in various districts, including Kisumu, Uasin Gishu, Londiani, and Trans Nzoia, following an acute shortage of grazing pastures. They went with their cattle, which were their prime economic assets. Squatting was not their way of life, but they had limited choices. This kind of life paved the way for a second uprising, the Nandi protest in 1923. This protest led to the deportation of their leader, Araap Manyei, Barserion, a son of Koitaleel Araap Samoei, to Meru District, where he remained in exile until 1961.⁵²⁷ The challenges caused by confinement in restricted reserves and land scarcities forced the Nandi to search for paid labour in the neighbouring settler farms as squatters in massive figures. In contrast, others engaged in cattle raids in the settler farms and neighbouring communities. These raids affected the ethnic relations before the British annexed their communal land.

4.7 Native Reserves and the Registration System

The principal business of the colonial parliament in Kenya was to legislate laws, ordinances and statutes that could be used to control and regulate the mobility and availability of African human resources. The labourers' mobility and availability were lawfully managed. The colonial government achieved this control by enacting new ordinances and reinforcing old regulations with new ones. The colonial authorities used two primary devices: forming native reserves and establishing a registration system.

⁵²⁶ Youe C., 1988, 400.

⁵²⁷ Ellis D. "The Nandi Protest of 1923 in Context of African Resistance to Colonial Rule in Kenya" *Journal of African History*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1976), pp. 40, Cambridge University Press, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/180739>, accessed on 26 June 2022.

Progressively, the Africans found themselves landless as the British alienated their arable lands. The Africans became squatters with no land to inhabit in their country, and so was the case of Nandi squatters in British settler farms. Therefore, they created African reserves that, up to 1915, were administered by the famous Crown Land Ordinance. The Africans were only allowed to dwell in those designated areas. However, the governor had absolute powers to revoke or later boundaries in the areas used by African communities and cancel land boundaries deemed to exceed the community's needs. By 1926, the colonial government gazetted 24 ethnic reserves. This area covered approximately 46838 square miles, out of which 14600 square miles got inhabited by the Maa community.⁵²⁸

The *Kipande* system was introduced in 1915 as a system of registration of natives in the Registration of Natives Ordinance parallel to the Crown Land Ordinance by the colonial authorities.⁵²⁹ The *Kipande* system passed in 1915 and was effected in 1919-1920. It was mandatory that all males aged fifteen years be issued with a fingerprint certificate identity. This document was vital and was issued by an admonitive officer. The bearer was always required to carry it everywhere, kept in a metal case hanging around his neck. The contents of the fingerprint certificate included vital conscripted labourers' vital information, such as biodata. Owing to the *Kipande system*, even settlers as employers were equally legally responsible for penalties if they failed to release workers at the contract expiry.⁵³⁰

To the settlers, the *Kipande* proved further valuable in regulating and controlling

⁵²⁸ Bruce Berman, *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya*, op. cit., p. 150.

⁵²⁹ Bruce Berman, op. cit., p. 147.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

labourers' mobility. The colonial authorities faked the perception that the Kipande aimed to protect the Africans' rights. Likewise, John Ainsworth stated that the *Kipande* would defend the natives by guaranteeing superior work safety and minimizing the chances for settlers to swindle them of their dues.⁵³¹ To the Nandi, the impact of its acceptance was radically inhibiting their mobility. The intended outcome of the policy, supposedly, was to keep track of the labour pool efficiently. However, Kipande caused much resentment as all Nandi men were compulsory to wear it at all times around their necks.⁵³² This document featured basic personal details and contained the wearer's ethnic affiliation, strengths and weaknesses, and a previous employment report on his competence, influencing a person's wage. Since Nandi was always *kipande* mandatory, they were worried whenever this document was missing and lived in misery until they got a replacement. They reacted by running away unnoticed to other places with their animals.⁵³³

Furthermore, it monitored workers' movements and minimized the chances of escape. Because employers had the power to arrest their workers, be fined, or imprison them, the Nandi reacted violently or moved outside the settler farms. Indeed, it is one of the reasons why some of the Nandi migrated to other places such as Musoma, Tarime, Bukombe and Mwanza regions of Tanzania.⁵³⁴ It also empowered the police to stop an African anywhere and demand the production of *Kipande*. For the Nandi, the Kipande was like a badge of slavery and sparked bitter protests. Some settlers who were not

⁵³¹ David. M. Anderson, op. cit., p. 147.

⁵³² O. I. with Kitur Arap Kili, male, 88 years, on 20th April, 2022 at Sang'alo.

⁵³³ O. I. with Malakwen Arap Rotich Siong'ei, male, 90 years, on 23rd January 2023, at Kipkorom.

⁵³⁴ KNA: KAPT/1/1/94, Administration: Interpenetration and Infiltration on Native Land Units.

satisfied with their workers' dismissal also made it challenging for them to secure jobs elsewhere.⁵³⁵

Fig. 4.1 The Colonial Kipande Containers (Carrier) with the Chain



Source: Kenya National Archives, Nairobi.

The *Kipande* was an effective instrument in thwarting work absconding of truant native workers and keeping them controlled. Besides this, African monthly wages remained at the minimal levels possible as their bargaining power over new occupations was checked from the previous records documented therein. Due to the Registration of the

⁵³⁵

O. I. with Tobensoi Johana, male, 90 years, on 10th May 2022 at Resiot.

Natives Ordinance, the inflow of convicted labourers decreased. Furthermore, the Registration of Natives Ordinance was tailored to favour the employers who could abuse its usage contrary to their workers. This document demonstrated disgrace for most natives harassed by the administrators, as they got reported in their papers. However, this embarrassment that the *Kipande* had caused the natives did not keep them unbiased towards the commercial manipulation, social discrimination, and coercion wielded by the British authority and the White settlers. Subsequently, the Nandi responded hotly against the colonial exploitation and abuses through dissents and protests.

4.8 Settlers' Influence on Settlement and the Northey Forced Labour Crisis, 1920 – 1921

In 1920, forced labour in colonial Kenya exploded into a civic controversy among various humanitarian groups in London. Kenya was more challenging than any other British colony in Africa due to the contradictory goals of settler and indigenous peasant production.⁵³⁶ As a settler colony, Kenya characterized a trial case of the British-guided rule contrasted with the realities of colonist control. Only two out of the initial six first six governors of Kenya completed their terms, and the settler constituency was highly aggressive in pushing their agenda in Nairobi and London. This aggression was due to a circular issued in 1919 by the governor of East Africa Protectorate, Sir Edward Northey.⁵³⁷ The infamous circular compelled government officials to induce non-

⁵³⁶ Bruce Berman, *Control and Crisis in Kenya: The Dialectic of Domination* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990), 79-80.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

disabled male natives into labour. As a result, the Protectorate was named Kenya Colony in 1920.⁵³⁸

Despite this apparent end, the forced labour debate resulted in a weakening of forced labour. It did not end all coercive labour practices. The State continued to extract communal forced labour from African labourers. This forced labour became well-defined as an extension of indigenous duties that Africans typically owe to their chiefs.⁵³⁹ According to Berman, the colonial State in Kenya established legality through its ability to create and appear as an impartial institution that channelled or co-opted the social relations of society.⁵⁴⁰ It characterized one of the myriad contradictions of colonial rule in Kenya. The Northey circular crisis also disclosed that the order of command from the Colonial Office to the administration was multi-faceted and evolved, representing differing visions of African development.⁵⁴¹

The State in Kenya embodied many contradictions as it tried to shepherd the articulation of capitalism with pre-capitalist social foundations. The State acted as a moderator between bimodal productions, settlers and peasants. The State was sandwiched between settlers and natives. It found itself at a crossroads, not in favour of metropolitan interests, not European settlers. As Frederick Cooper has mentioned,

“...the strength of the concept of contradiction, as it applies to an analysis of the colonial State in Kenya, is that this approach emphasizes the ebb and flow of colonial attempts to redefine the colonial mission in the face of episodic problems...”⁵⁴²

⁵³⁸ MacGregor Ross, *Kenya from Within: A Short Political History* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), 104.

⁵³⁹ KNA: Minute by Harcourt, 15 June 1914, CO 533/1148, PRO, London.

⁵⁴⁰ Berman, *Control and Crisis*, 27.

⁵⁴¹ John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, "Coping with Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya 1895-1914," in John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa*, Book One (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1992), 77-101.

⁵⁴² Frederick Cooper and Anne Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 20.

Stichter underlines that in the service of peripheral capitalism, forced labour resembled pre-capitalist labour requirements, which societies would typically give to a conquering nation, the so-called tributary work.⁵⁴³

The Nandi, however, owned the means of production, land. Consequently, they did not need to enter the labour market or at least define the terms of their engagement.⁵⁴⁴ However, as a final arbiter, the colonial State would force Africans to work through laws and penal sanctions. The colonial State, therefore, acted as an instrument of accumulation on behalf of the settlers and for the State. The State extracted surplus from Africans by appropriating land, livestock, taxation, unequal transporting, marketing of produce, and forced labour.⁵⁴⁵ The preceding did not spare the Nandi.

On the contrary, their land got alienated, their cattle got taken away under the destocking regulations, and their young, non-disabled people stood forced to work and were taken to KAR forcefully.⁵⁴⁶ They projected their anger elsewhere to their neighbours to sustain the contradictions. The two primary laws that governed legal coercion were the Native Authority Ordinance of 1912 and the amendment to this Ordinance in 1920. Section 7(h) of the 1912 Native Authority Ordinance empowered the colonial chiefs to enforce forced labour policy camouflaged in the supposed “communal labour”. Under this Section of the Ordinance, the colonial government roughly called out all strong men from the community to offer free labour for six days

⁵⁴³ Stichter, *Migrant Labour*, 37.

⁵⁴⁴ KNA: DC/NDI/1/3 Annual report, Nandi district, 1920-1921.

⁵⁴⁵ Paul Zeleza, "Dependent Capitalism and the Making of the Kenyan Working-Class During Colonialism" (PhD thesis, Dalhousie University, 1982). 66.

⁵⁴⁶ KNA: DC/NDI/10/1 General Nandi, 1910 – 1915.

a quarter or twenty-four days a year. In addition, they laboured in the construction and maintenance of watercourses as well as other works such as building minor irrigation schemes, light dams, and bridges that got deemed part of the indigenous obligations of an ethnic group.⁵⁴⁷

The missionary reaction towards the Northey circular was, at best, ambivalent. Missionaries stood viewed as the natives' advocates. Even though, as one missionary stated,

“...educated natives were entirely aware of the effects of the Northey circular and complained that it would lead to a breakdown of ethnic life. They had to voice these complaints to missionaries instead of the Colonial Office. Consequently, the missionary's role as intermediaries remained paramount despite their role as the ambivalence of the Bishop's Memorandum was not an anomaly. Although some individual missionaries such as Handley Hooper Archdeacon Walter Owen of the CMS unequivocally denounced the policy behind the Northey circular, as a group, missionaries were fearful in their public denunciations of forced labour...”⁵⁴⁸

The discourse surrounding the forced labour issue represented a concept of the contradictions of Kenya's political economy. Nevertheless, the ambivalent Colonial Office's response to the forced labour disagreement and the humanitarian lobby's reaction exposed some fundamental inconsistencies of the colonial state. Benevolent pressure against forced labour represented the moral fabric construction of evolving colonialism that adopted the ideals of trusteeship but rested upon the manipulation of natives as economic resources.

⁵⁴⁷ Van Zwanenberg, *Colonial Capitalism and Labor in Kenya*, 126.

⁵⁴⁸ KNA: CO. Handley Hooper to John Oldham, 22 June 1920, IMC/CBMS, Box 247, File: Missionaries in the Field, H. D. Hooper, SOAS, London. Hooper referred to the policy behind the imperialism”.

The Northey circular caused a critical reaction from humanitarian groups. They emphasized the recognition of African land rights but then again saw a trace of slavery in the Sir Edward Northey labour policy. However, humanitarians like Oldham of the C. M. S. emphasized trusteeship. Forcing African labour through encouragement remained a tool for African labour extracting. Colonial officials like Ainsworth supported the idea of “encouragement,” mainly for African growth to foster a strong labour ethic within the reserves through segregation. Eventually, the Northey labour circular got rejected by the State and in its place was the exploitation of native labour. Communal labour, therefore, served another more crucial economic purpose. It was accumulation for the State in colonial Kenya in the most vulgar way. Low wages ensured European profitability, while no wages ensured government fiscal stability.

4.9 Native Followers’ Recruitment Ordinance 1915

The Native Followers Recruitment Ordinance 1915, introduced as a wartime exigency, provided the monthly conscription of 3,000 labourers. Only those already employed by Europeans were exempted, so recruitment of farm workers increased during the war, with more workers accepting extended contracts. The Registration of Natives Ordinance (1915) introduced what was, in effect, a set of pass Controls for African males of working age. Instituted in 1920, the Act required the registration of all males aged fifteen and above years before their local administrative officer for the issuance of a fingerprinted identity certificate. The *kipande* document provided basic personal details and acted as an employment record.⁵⁴⁹

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KNA: DC/NDI/1/2, Annual Reports, 1904 - 1920

A central registry stood established, and in 1931, nearly two million *Kipande* had been issued. John Ainsworth argued that this control tool was in the best interest of Africans by creating better job security. He added that it would guarantee a zero-fraud working environment for the natives. The settlers would find it hard to defraud their workers. This Ordinance was indeed the case, but in effect, the law restricted the worker's freedom of mobility to a far greater degree than had any provision under the Master and Servant Ordinance. Any labourer leaving employment without being formally signed off got considered desertion of duty. The pass system then allowed such individuals to get traced. Any inspection of the *Kipande* by an official or a prospective employer could reveal a discrepancy in the record that might result in prosecution if reported. Unsurprisingly, native registration was highly popular among settlers but deeply unpopular among Africans.⁵⁵⁰ The Nandi who defaulted the orders migrated to other parts with their cattle for fear of prosecution. Some Nandi went as far as Tanganyika and Uganda. The registration certificate was a means to regulate the Labour supply, which continued until 1939.

4.10 The Carrier Corps Recruitment in British East Africa and Kenya, 1914-1918

The First World War attracted many African youths who remained recruited into the British Army. This African-British Army contested under the British Army against the Germans in Africa. The said fight, therefore, would pose a question of its influence on the natives. It further interrogates the approaches employed by the British administration in conscription, colonial labour policy, and, therefore, the attendant

⁵⁵⁰ Anthony Clayton and Donald C. Savage, *Government and Labour in Kenya, 1895-1963* (London, 1974), 183-9.

native's response.

As its appellation indicates, the Carrier Corps intended to exploit men to transport weaponries to the front line and not practice armaments. The Chief Secretary was tasked to compile a record of all essential strong men to be conscripted as carrier corps. He wrote a letter to the Provincial Commissioner to evaluate and vet the number of persons existing in their provinces and from which they could supply labourers. Correspondingly, the colonial administration applied the diverse rouge method to conscript human resources. The conscripted labour force constituted the Carrier Corps, who later enjoyed an improved salary scale than their counterparts who remained recruited in the settler farms. These rouge methods led to labour migration from settler farms to military service. Moreover, it skews African labour towards military service, triggering an acute labour shortage in European farms.⁵⁵¹

Africans were conscripted into military service by force whenever peaceful means did not meet the targeted figures of African workers. So, Africans were recruited by force to offer their service to the military corps. Africans who violated the ordinances were convicted and made to serve their sentences in the military as carrier corps.⁵⁵² Other Africans were tricked into joining the Carrier Corps. However, other employers declined to let their workers serve their sentences in the Carrier Corps, as in the case of Kericho D. C. Miss Baxton, who failed to let her servant serve in the military carrier corps for the theft of only Rs 100. Other areas where trickery was used included the Kisii District of Nyanza, where the natives were invited to the European station to cut

⁵⁵¹ Donald C. Savage and J. Forbes Munro, "Carrier Corps Recruitment in the British East Africa Protectorate," *The Journal African History*, Vol. 7, No. 02, 1962, p. 315.

⁵⁵² Donald C. Savage and J. Forbes Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 316-17.

some grass but were later captured and forced to enrol in the Carrier Corps.

Governing the natives within the labour framework at the onset of WW1 was one of the main problems the colonial authorities faced, primarily when that problem was related to the Carrier Corps. The 1915 Native Followers Ordinance was used as a means to crack that problem. The ordinance empowered the colonial administration to recruit natives by force into the Carrier Corps. Following this Ordinance, Whites grabbed these opportunities for selfish interests by forcing Africans to work on their farms. However, the severity and horror accounts of World War 1 discouraged many Africans from joining military service labour. However, most of the natives opted to seek jobs on European farms and public services. In contrast, some natives remained recruited against their will.

For the above reasons, most natives left military service. They projected their labour elsewhere as others retreated to their villages while others hid with friends and relatives, in the bush, or joined missionaries. The Carrier Corps service deprived the natives of their male labour force, and European settler farmers were no exception. John Ainsworth's policy to substitute the non-disabled men with the wounded service members was not welcome by the Africans. They declined to work for another white man, having been injured and rejected in the military. The European Administration took radical measures to seal any gap in the conscripting structure to resolve the labour shortage. However, the labour force deteriorated progressively such that the period 1918 to 1918 experienced a high labour deficit in the Carrier Corps. Following the creation of the Native Affairs Department (NAD), lobbied by Wilson Maclellan William in March 1918, the attendant impact was the depletion of labour from the

native reserves and the settler farms. It can get concluded from what preceded that the First World War had negatively affected the socio-economic status of the Nandi progressively.

The Nandi had limited choices left for them. They later found themselves under British control despite their fierce resistance and consequently became European targets for the Carrier Corps and KAR. The British government recruited Africans by force through the introduction of some specific protocols to curb the situation. These protocols included the famous Native Followers' Ordinance of 1915, which empowered the British to compel natives to conscription to the Carrier Corps. The natives' inflow from public service, characterized by the employment of the Africans for the settler farms, and their conscription into the military stimulated the antagonism of the immigrants, who responded disgracefully against the British government that exhausted the labour market from the native labour. The settlers' anger was curbed on 8th August 1918 by the passing of Circular No. 55, which halted the enforcement of forced conscription into the Military Carrier Corps. Enactment of ordinances to coerce conscription or halt it was a typical character that symbolized the British administration in Kenya.

Simultaneously, many native labourers were left without masters following the massive recruitment of both natives and white settlers into WW1. The attendant vacuum created by the leaving masters was filled by African masters who took over the settler farms, becoming the de facto masters. At the same time, others occupied the white highlands as the later left for the war front line. This new labour system significantly absorbed human resources and sustained the African economy significantly beyond the war.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵³ Tabita Kanogo, *Squatters & the Roots of the Mau-Mau*, London, James Currey, 1987, p. 15.

4.11 Settlers and the Squatter Labour System

The squatters' system incorporated an interdependent relationship between masters and servants. The latter would lease their labour, which consisted of the tilling of farms, to the European masters, who would permit the natives to utilize sections of engaged lands while keeping and nurturing the settlers' products. The association between European landowners and Africans became materialized through a tacit settlers' agreement, and the Africans remained deprived of the involvement of the colonial established order. Squatting was neither obligatory nor official; nonetheless, it was approved by the colonial government to reinforce the settlers' economy. Under-capitalized settlers practised squatting with insufficient funds to advance their farms during the first few years of the colonial era.⁵⁵⁴ Squatters had enabled many underprivileged immigrants with weak means of production to retain their farms.

While Africans practised squatting on settler farms, they progressively gained power as they became large-scale commodity producers. Settlers were amazed at the rate at which Africans were successful in the agrarian economy. They saw this as a jeopardy towards the colonial government. This success spurred officials, for example, the D. C., Naivasha, to report in 1917 "...that agriculture had made slight progress except at the hands of native squatters..."⁵⁵⁵ Colonial officials considered squatting a possible looming danger more than an alternative that could become seized by the impoverished settlers who struggled to have enough money sufficient enough to finance their agricultural projects. They could not pay remunerations to hired workers. As observed by the colonial government, this fearful situation had urged the latter to tighten

⁵⁵⁴ David M. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

⁵⁵⁵ Bruce Berman & John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflicts in Africa (Book one: State and Classes)*, *op. cit.*, 1997, p. 109.

regulations to the detriment of African squatters. So was the primary motive behind the Resident Native Ordinance, which aimed to regulate squatters. Africans in the settler farms were termed “Labour tenant” and were obliged to pay cash rent to their masters. Apart from the requirement to pay rent, they got obliged to become employed on settler farms for a limited term not exceeding 180 days annually under the settler agreements. This agreement was cascaded to all African male adults exceeding the age of sixteen. The 1918 Resident Labour Ordinance encouraged reduced squatters in settlers from tenants to servants. As much as the ordinance encouraged squatting, it also controlled them by disregarding their rights.⁵⁵⁶

4.12 Nandi Emigrations

The demarcation of the squatter-settler relations was fixed by the Resident Native Ordinance of 1918. (See Map 4.1, 4.2, 4.3) However, the effects of this Ordinance were least felt by the Nandi compared to other communities in Central Kenya. On the one hand, the settler filled the labour deficit, while on the other hand, the Nandi enjoyed earlier deprived pasture for their cattle. The Nandi enjoyed moving with their animals and grazing them in settler farms as their home pasture lands, and the Kaptich got preserved. They grazed in the highlands for a while, then returned to the reserve. This system reduced pressure in the already congested reserve. In addition, the famous culture of cattle loaning to relatives and friends thrived as they loaned out extra cattle in white highlands. They also got a chance to steal stock from the white highland and loaned them out as they hid them in reserve.⁵⁵⁷ The practice provides food security contrary to epidemics. It reinforces relations between the Nandi in the reserve and those

⁵⁵⁶ Bruce Berman & John Lonsdale, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵⁵⁷ Youe C., 1988, 401.

in the white highlands, thus increasing the number of livestock each Nandi squatter owned. However, loaning cattle to friends and relatives did not involve Luo and Luyia. The oral sources confirmed that the custom solely involved the Nandi community. It was a secret known to Nandi men alone and represented a means of wealth accumulation among the community members.⁵⁵⁸

Large numbers of Nandi cattle in the settler farms became a problem during the post-depression years when the cereal prices got low, prompting the change, and for the first time, a crackdown on squatter cattle began in western Kenya. In 1932, settlers' organizations in Kenya and the Convention of Association were authorized by the colonial administration to forbid the grazing of squatter stock in the settler farms. So, the District Councils and Local Authorities restricted in their areas of jurisdiction the movement and grazing of native livestock in the settler farms through legislation of rouse ordinances. Therefore, removing all native livestock from the white highlands began with some settlers implementing the first phase in 1933. Consequently, the Nandi reserve received its first batch of 12,000 squatter stock in 1934 following a directive from the Provincial Commissioner, Rift Valley.⁵⁵⁹

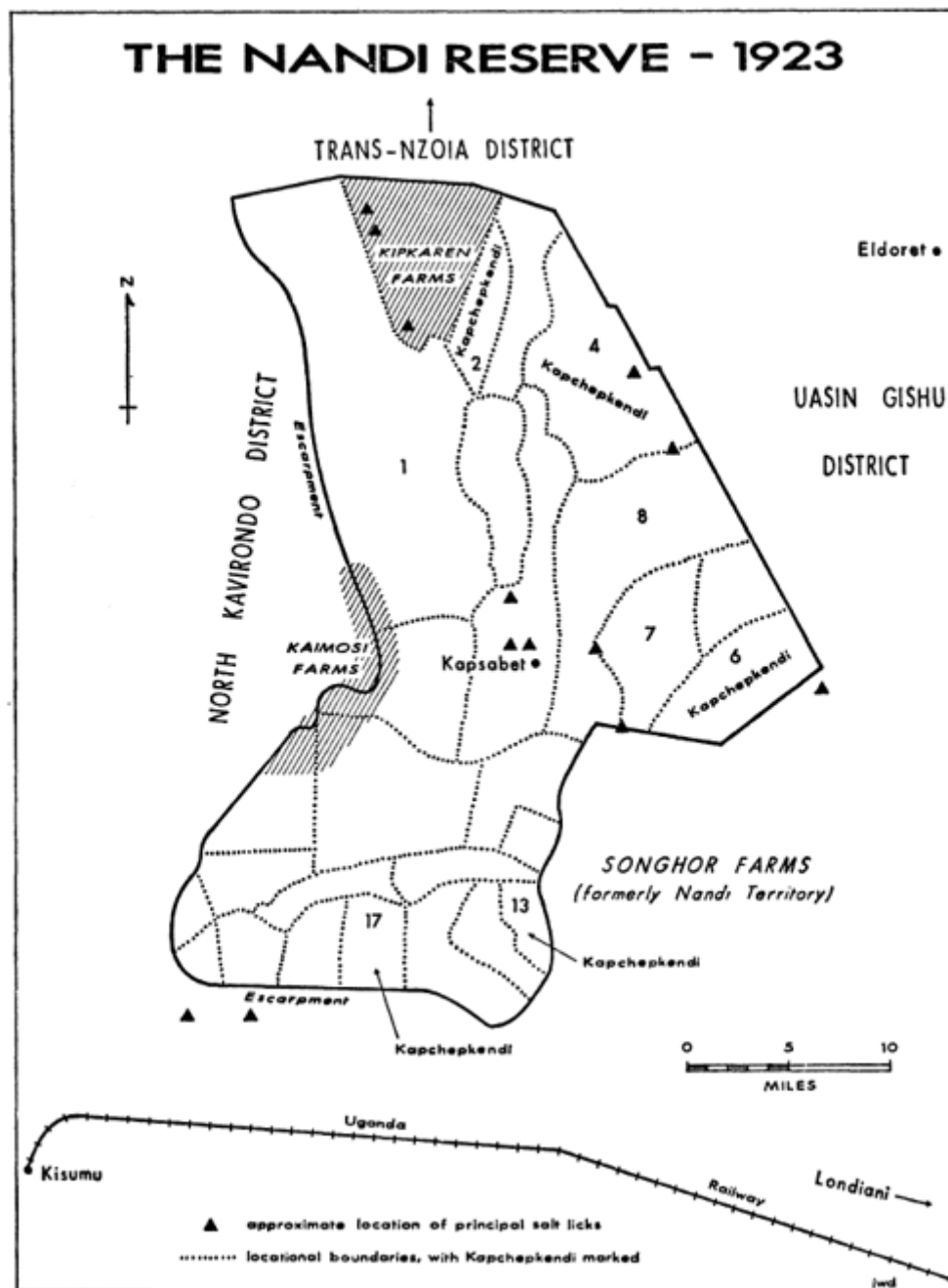
However, the Nandi reserve already experienced a packed population and could not reabsorb the incoming squatters with their livestock, leading to migrations in search of alternative pastures outside the Reserve. As a result, squatters and a limited number of Nandi from the Reserve drifted to Luyia lands. Areas they migrated to in the 1930s include Bukusu and also as far as Samburu and Pokot, Sebei. They extended to Maasai

⁵⁵⁸ Group Interview with Kibosio Arap Chemalan, Male, 87 years, Kibunja Arap Mosong', Male, 82 years, on 24th July, 2022 at Kamasai, Nandi North.

⁵⁵⁹ East African Royal Commission, 1953, p. 165.

and across the Kenyan border to Tanganyika.⁵⁶⁰ This exodus of the Nandi squatters from the white highlands led to an acute shortage of much-needed labour in 1936.

Map. 4.1 The Nandi Reserve – 1923.



Source: Diana Ellis. The Nandi Protest (1923), in the Context of African Resistance to Colonial Rule, Kenya, in the J. A. H., XVII (1976) pp. 559.

⁵⁶⁰

KNA: MSS/10/5/6, Matson, Nandi Political Consciousness.

The above experiences forced the white settlers to withdraw the order and reallow back the squatter stock in their farms to reclaim the diminishing labour.⁵⁶¹ It was difficult to drive out cattle and leave behind the Nandi. They were cattle people who consistently followed their cattle to the bitter end. However, other squatters did not manage to return after migrating to other regions, especially those who crossed to Uganda. In Uganda, they lived with their brothers in the Sebei community and got assimilated.⁵⁶²

The Nandi assimilation was triggered by similarity in cultural activities in the Sebei community. There were some commonalities in their culture and language. This commonality got the Nandi assimilated with ease. Nandi squatters' exodus to Uganda began in the 1930s, as shown by the colonial reports:

“...the Police Superintendent in charge of Eldoret reported on 25/6/1937 to the Nandi District Commissioner that “...he had received evidence that several families of Nandi anticipate going to Sebei with intent to settle there...”

He also articulated his distress that cattle theft would thrive.⁵⁶³ This report suggests that the migration of more Nandi to Uganda began in 1933 after the onslaught on squatter stock in the western highlands. The colonial administrators feared the spread of cattle theft to Uganda, Sebei, as the Nandi had not declined the raiding culture. Some of the Nandi interviewed by the researcher still trace their relatives to Kapchorua in Uganda.⁵⁶⁴

The number of Nandi who migrated to Uganda was very high.⁵⁶⁵ The records available

⁵⁶¹ KNA: PC/RV/2/8//10, Uasin Gishu Annual Report, 1936.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ KNA: DC/KAPT/1/1/53, Nandi Movement 1936-59.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ KNA: PC/RV/2/8//10, 1936, Op. Cit.

show the letter written by the District Commissioner at Eldoret to the Colonial Secretary on 30 August 1937, updating him of the ongoing affairs thus:

“...serious state of affairs instigated by the relocation of Nandi from the colony to the Sebei areas in Uganda, Bagishu district...”

He also indicated that:

“...squatters' movement across the Kenya-Uganda border was difficult to stop. Consequently, the Colonial Secretary wrote to the District Commissioners of Eldoret and Kitale on 30 December 1937, instructing them to report to the District Commissioner of Kachorwa in Uganda of any other movement across the boundary...”⁵⁶⁶

Following the annual correspondence above, it is evident that both Nandi intra and inter-ethnic relations got interfered with in many ways. Some of the Nandi families got separated as the squatters emigrated to Uganda and failed to return to Kenya for fear of being imprisoned for breaking the squatter's rules.⁵⁶⁷ In contrast, others enjoyed the new freedom in the neighbouring country and could not trace back their relatives. The loaning of cattle to friends also did not continue as most cattle were far away in Uganda. The raiding expeditions declined between the Nandi-Luo and Luyia common boundary for some time. The Nandi who went to Kitosh similarly acknowledged as the Bukusu, a sub-ethnic group of the Luyia, got Bantunised.⁵⁶⁸ The barter trade between the Luo and Nandi declined during this period. The Reserve began to overpopulate after reducing Kaimosi and Kipkarren, diminishing food production.

The fear of compulsory stock reduction influenced movement outside the Reserve and the settler farms, where some had gone as squatters with their cattle. Some informants

⁵⁶⁶ KNA: PC/RV/2/8//10, 1936, Op. Cit.

⁵⁶⁷ O. I. with Sawe Chepkelio, Male, 90 years, on 7th May 2022 at Nandi Central.

⁵⁶⁸ O. I. with Maria Taprandich, female, 92 years, on 10th May 2022 at Sang'alo-Resiot.

pointed out that,

“...Nandi's political economy, culture and life are centred on a cow. A cow is everything: milk, skin, horns, dung, dowry, waist belts, cosmetic skin products, transport, marriage ceremony, initiation, tilling, food, meat, blood, indigenous hats and attire, among other products. No ceremony in Nandi is successful without a product from their cattle. So, we value and respect a cow. Consequently, no Nandi remains respected without a cow, either his or loaned; a cow and a man are one...”⁵⁶⁹

It is unclear why most chose Uganda, although some went to Tanganyika. Accessible records report that the communities in Uganda welcomed them. A report by the D. C., Nandi, to the P. C., Rift Valley, on 23 April 1938 read in part;

“...as Uganda is concerned, the influx of Kitosh (Bukusu) and Nandi is viewed with complete indifference. The fact that the Kitosh and Nandi immigrants have broken veterinary guidelines does not render them undesirable. Although thirteen got convicted of illegal cattle movement before the Nandi court, the fines equal to ten per cent of the cattle involved had demonstrated no deterrent...”⁵⁷⁰

Following the above report, it is evident that the movement to Uganda involved diverse ethnic groups and not solely the Nandi. The Bukusu also moved to Uganda. This scenario shows that the number of Nandi who migrated to Uganda during this period was high. The D. C. Nandi, reported that:

“... many Nandi who immigrated to Uganda had escaped prosecution. The local headmen on the Sebei were illiterate and unable to read the passes issued to the Nandi squatters to return their cattle to the Reserve. They assumed the passes permitted them to move to Uganda...”

⁵⁶⁹ Group Interview Kiprono Arap Montagoi, 89 Yrs, Cheison Kipkalum, 84 Yrs, Kipsewer Arap Tengwa, 80 Yrs, Kitur Arap Chemengen 78 Yrs, 20th March, 2022, Meteitei.

⁵⁷⁰ KNA: DC/KAPT/1/1/53, 1936-59, Op. Cit.

The District Commissioner concluded that;

“...Ugandan authorities were unable either to return to Kenya natives now in Uganda or effectively discourage further immigration...”⁵⁷¹

The colonial government celebrated the Nandi for resolving an unstable situation since the arrival of massive stock from previous squatters to the already congested Nandi reserve would cause adverse challenges. The Nandi Squatters allotted with permits to the Nandi reserve had probabilities of such a situation morphing in to an insurgence due to land shortage. However, in 1936, they declined the offer, although the white settlers withdrew the regulations limiting squatter stock following the labour deterioration. Finally, their spaces became occupied as they became dispossessed. As a result, there was congestion in the Nandi reserve and the colonial government's introduction of cash crops during the Great Depression in the 1930s. This action further reduced the land size, leading to a shortage of land in a congested reserve. The Nandi coped with the land shortage situation by migrating elsewhere within the country and as far as Uganda and Tanzania.⁵⁷²

4.13 Cash Crop Production in the Nandi Reserve

From the attendant influence of the economic depression in the early 1930s, the Reserve devoted more land to maize cultivation. This crisis informed the campaign to cultivate more cash crops in the African reserves to cushion the soring economic situation. At this time, the colony was experiencing a very low agricultural export index occasioned by low commodity prices due to the economic depression. As a result,

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² KNA/DC/KAPT/1/1/53, Nandi Movement 1936-59. See also KNA/PC/RV/2/8//10, Uasin Gishu Annual Report, 1936.

maize production got encouraged in African reserves.⁵⁷³ (See Maps 4.2 - 4.5)

Similarly, squatter stock increased faster than before, exceeding reserve ones. Consequently, the Nandi positively responded to native food production to curb the food shortage during the war period. They embraced maize production in the reserve and remained the main cash crop grown in the Reserve. This production led to land competition for grazing and maize production. Subsequently, the Nandi had to take their livestock with them to the white highland, to the farms where they had been hired so as to get sufficient arable agricultural farms for maize production in the Reserve.⁵⁷⁴

At this point in time, individual land ownership started in the Nandi reserve. Official encouragement played a significant role in changing land tenure in the Nandi reserve. The then District Commissioner, H. R. Carver, motivated individual male land enclosure in Mosop, the northern part of the Reserve, from 1943 to 1945. He contended that land enclosure would improve farming and be the basis of orderly land development in Mosop. Moreover, it forestalls the disaster occasioned by permitting squatters' livestock to return to the Reserve.⁵⁷⁵ However, the advances in the Nandi Reserve caused more squatters to become dependent on settler farms. This situation explains the pull factors behind the many young Nandi men who joined the King's Army Rifles voluntarily.⁵⁷⁶

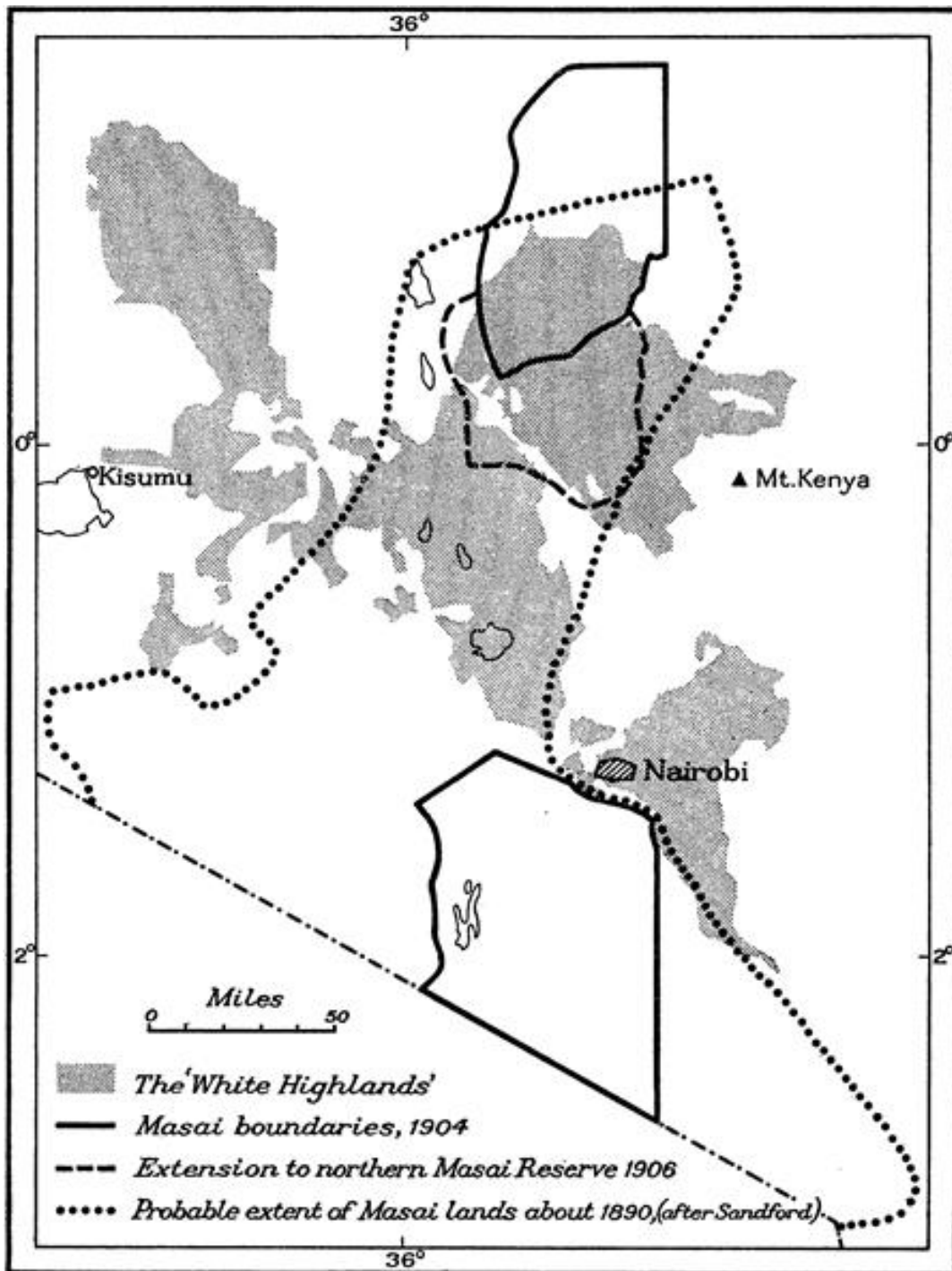
⁵⁷³ Oboler R. *Women, Power and Economic Changes: The Nandi of Kenya*, Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1989, p. 167-170.

⁵⁷⁴ Youe C. "Settler Capital and the Assault on the Squatter Peasantry in Kenya's Uasin Gishu District, 1942-63, *African Affairs*, Vol. 87, No. 348, Jul. 1988, pp. 393-418, Oxford University Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/722440> accessed on 26/6/2022.

⁵⁷⁵ KNA: PC/NKU/3/13/15/Alienated land, 1931-1957.

⁵⁷⁶ KNA: DC/NDI/5/3, Notes on Resident Labour Problems (n.d).

Map. 4.2 Maasai lands after the first Maasai Treaty.



Source: W. T. W. Morgan, *The White Highlands of Kenya*, p. 145

Map. 4.3 Regions of the White Highlands



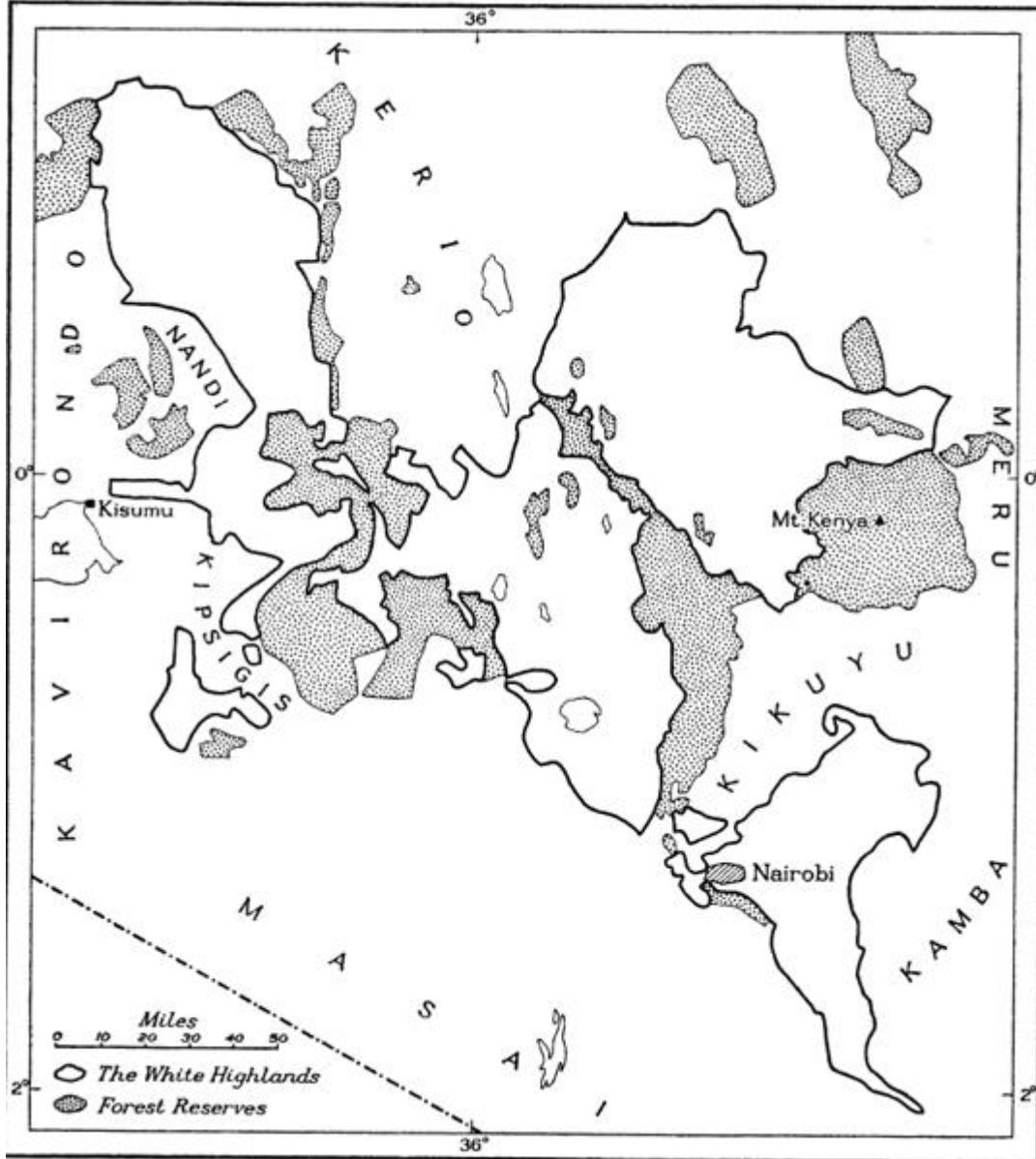
Source: W. T. W. Morgan, *The White Highlands of Kenya*, p. 148

Map. 4.4 White Highlands Areas defined in the 7th Schedule to the Crown Lands Ordinance



Source: W. T. W. Morgan, *The White Highlands of Kenya*, p. 142

Map. 4.5 The White Highlands: The heavy line encloses the 'Scheduled Areas' plus the area of Asian farming



Source: W. T. W. Morgan, *The White Highlands of Kenya*, p. 143

4.14 Conclusion

The migration of the Nandi out of their Reserve got influenced by the colonial rule establishment and subsequent land alienation. However, the Nandi as a community was a group of Agro-pastoralists whose land usage in the Reserve, after alienation, failed to accommodate intensive agrarian and commercial activities. These earliest migrations happened in 1906 following the powerful drive of the Nandi to Kabiyeet, a new area to the Reserve's northern part, forfeiture of their cattle and cereal foods in granaries and grazing and indigenous habitat. As a result, some movement of the squatters away from settler farms occurred; many crossed the border for the first time during colonial rule to settle in Uganda. However, the last migration of the Nandi to Uganda and Tanganyika occurred between the 1940s and 1950s.

The out-migration of the Nandi got influenced by the land shortage and destocking policy in the reserves. These migrations illustrate a peaceful intra and inter-ethnic between the Nandi and her neighbours in the pre-colonial era, whereby somebody could emigrate and settle down among a neighbouring community and were warmly received, so long as they respected the hosting community's culture. Such people ultimately got integrated. Those who lived among the Luyia got Bantuised, while those in Uganda became part of the Sebei of Uganda. The migration of the Nandi to new regions stood welcomed by the colonial government. This move morphed into a solution alternate to executing the destocking policy on European farms. It eased the population pressure in the already congested Nandi reserve, which could easily lead to an insurgency.

Both Nandi intra and inter-ethnic relations got interfered with in many ways. Some of

the Nandi families got separated as the squatters emigrated outside Kenya and failed to come back from Uganda and Tanganyika for fear of being imprisoned for breaking the squatter's rules. In contrast, others enjoyed the new freedom in the neighbouring country and could not trace back their relatives. The loaning of cattle to friends also did not continue as most cattle were far away in Uganda. The raiding expeditions declined between the Nandi-Luo and Luyia common boundary for some time. The barter trade between the Luo and Nandi declined during this period. The Reserve began to overpopulate after reducing Kaimosi and Kipkarren, diminishing food production.

Having analyzed and established the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations with their neighbours during the interwar period, the subsequent chapter investigates the implications of the Second World War and the decolonization process on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1930 – 1963. Moreover, thus, answer the research question: How did the Second World War and decolonization affect Nandi's relations with her neighbours?

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND DECOLONIZATION ON NANDI INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS, 1939 – 1963

5.0 Introduction

As the preceding paragraph of the chapter mentioned above suggested, the current section focuses on the implications of the Second World War and decolonisation on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, especially the interactions between 1939 and 1963. The definition of the limits was amorphous to the scope that, where essential, some interactions that occurred earlier than the stated period got critically examined to illustrate that Nandi interacted with her neighbours, not only within the specifics of the chapter. Similarly, the chapter demonstrates that the relations were complex and subtle. Struggles, in addition to collaboration, occurred in all borders. The influence of the colonial economy on inter-ethnic relations, Nandi and the Second World War, economic change by the former soldiers, and conflicts got discussed. Nandi and national politics: post-war politics in Nandi 1945-1957, financial plan: Swynnerton plan and title deeds, Nandi politics in 1957 – independence, movement of Nandi to western Kenya (Isukha location 1952 - 1959), emigration of Nandi to Teso county and Tanganyika got analysed. This work employed the conflict theory to analyse interaction within the study area. The theory is perceived by Simmel as a system of association prevalent in any human contact.⁵⁷⁷ Suspicion, opposition, hostility, and curiosity in such inter-ethnic interactions are possible. However, these relations do not always lead

⁵⁷⁷ Abraham, M. F., (1982). *Modern Sociological Theory* (Delhi: Oxford University Press). p. 109.

to adverse consequences. On the contrary, they sometimes lead to united and strengthened group interaction and inter-ethnic relations.

5.1 The Second World War and Postwar Policies on Nandi Inter-ethnic Relations

The First World War deeply affected the manner in which the colonial powers set world policies. The war influenced how they governed their nations and colonies worldwide. The advent of establishments like the League of Nations was the resultant effect of the havoc and disaster inflicted by WW1 on world powers. The mandate of the League of Nations was to advocate for a peaceful co-existence and welfare of developing countries between all Nations. Moreover, the promotion of the welfare of the developing and under colonial rule was one of the central forces influencing world superpowers such as Great Britain during the 1929 Great Depression as well as the 1940s.⁵⁷⁸

Following the call for peace and welfare of the colonized nations, Britain tried to implement a welfare policy in African colonies and Kenya to maintain its colonial influence and stability. Britain's colonial rule and stability in Kenya had other economic calamities like the 1929 Great Depression, whose impact was felt up to the 1930s.

However, throughout that period, the Africans throughout the continent were exposed to diverse, biased colonial policies that enclosed economic, social or political arenas of their lives. The biased treatment of the natives by British rule terminated in the eruption

⁵⁷⁸ Allain, Jean, *The Slavery Conventions: The Travaux Préparatoires of the 1926 League of Nations Convention and the 1956 United Nations Conventions*, Koninklijke, Netherland, Brill NV, Leiden, 2008, p. 12.

of demonstrations and protests. This demonstration began overseas in the West Indies as early as the 1930s and later reached East Africa. In Kenya, the demonstrations stroked after the events and catastrophes of WWII throughout the 1940s.⁵⁷⁹

In Kenya, the British implemented a welfare policy covering vital economic infrastructure such as agriculture, public health, transport and communication, land reclamation, fishery, forestry, surveys, irrigation, electricity, water projects, and additional critical industries. The above development was captured and spearheaded by the 1929 Colonial Development Act. Accordingly, large sums of money were spent on development projects in all African British colonies. In 1940, there was an upsurge in grants in budgets allotted to various departments. The health sector went up by 30%, from 10 to 40%, whereas Agriculture rose by 4%, from 14 to 18%, in the same period, 1939-1940.⁵⁸⁰

Comparable to World War I, World War II disenfranchised Kenya's colony and numerous countries worldwide. The understanding the colonial government learned in Kenya throughout WWI was advantageous since it taught it in what manner to manage disasters, particularly those connected to the war. Throughout that period, the British administration applied a dual policy that was contradictory in its objective.

However, it intended to promote the Africans' welfare by promoting native agriculture to overcome the cash shortage produced throughout the war. Alternatively, the said

⁵⁷⁹ Allain, Jean, 1965-The slavery conventions: the travaux preparations of the 1926 League of Nations convention and the 1956 United Nations conventions/ by Jean Allain. ISBN 978-90-04-15861-0.

⁵⁸⁰ D. J. Morgan, Colonial Development, England, London, the Overseas Development Institute Ltd, 1964, p. 14.

controversial policy only favoured the white settlers. This agricultural policy deprived the natives of their rights concerning the ridiculous commodity prices as it favoured the settlers. Africans sold their produce at a much lower price compared to settler prices that the government granted them for the same products. The African peasantry remained deprived of its labour as the colonial state compelled the African labourers to be conscripted into Military work as infrastructure maintenance officers to facilitate the existence of the colonial state in Kenya.

WWII characterizes a significant milestone in the history of colonist Kenya. The unrestrained fiscal situation that was predominant throughout the war had caused pressing needs in the war emergencies. The latter balanced on two essential goals: on the one hand, it was to maintain Kenya's import and export economy internationally, and on the other hand, to retain a steady food supply for local consumption as well as meet the food demand for the war troops. Therefore, good planning was mandatory for the achievement of such fundamental objectives. Moreover, as such, the colonial government countered the wartime food scarcity by implementing a wartime policy for the supply of goods and services. Consequently, the colonial administration deliberated a dual policy to meet the colonial state's requirements as well as necessary agricultural products.

The second objective of the policy was to stream back to Great Britain with agricultural goods produced in Kenya.⁵⁸¹ For the success of wartime policy, G. J. C. Burton, the then Deputy Director of Agriculture, toured the white highlands in Kenya

⁵⁸¹ Nicholas Ekuu Makana, *Changing Patterns of Traditional Economic Systems: Agrarian Change and Rural Transformation in Bungoma District 1930-1960*. 2006, p. 131.

to survey and gather necessary data for analysis. The needed data was to analyse factors that inhibit the improvement of agricultural production and improve production in Kenya. Ultimately, Burton concluded that:

“...the most prevalent agricultural product cultivated in large quantities during the 1930s was pyrethrum. Simultaneously, mixed farming, crop cultivation and stock breeding, on which the colony hinged on supplying food, were still recuperating from the adverse effects of the Depression...”

On the other hand, Burton also testified: “...that maize cultivation was affected by indebtedness and low prices...” Relying on Britain’s report, the interim director of agriculture, H. Wolfe, publicly declared the colony’s wartime agricultural policy on September 23 1939.⁵⁸² Throughout that period, the British Administration acknowledged that all efforts should stand focused on putting into effect a plan dedicated to meeting the requirements of the war. In this background, the colonial administration said:

“...government is keen on introducing a planned agricultural policy for the colony of Kenya so that the country's agricultural development may be fostered as far as possible during wartime and its resources may remain employed to the best advantage of the colony of the empire under war conditions...”⁵⁸³

The white settlers attempted to manage the thrilling war conditions to mitigate their export capacity by 1940. Nevertheless, their demands exceeded their possible supply due to insufficient space in the ships to adequately ferry the enormous consignments produced in the colony. On the other hand, Africa improved economically by producing cash crops and food staffs essential for wartime. They fully supported the

⁵⁸² Ibid, p. 132

⁵⁸³ Nicholas Ekuu. Makana, “Increased Agricultural Production in the Midst of Escalating Ecological Distress: Bungoma District in the 1930s & 1940s”, *African Economic History*, No. 35 (2007), p. 106.

colonial economy by responding to the government's policy. However, despite their efforts to plant maize and enhance agricultural production, they were maltreated. The prices given to Africans were too low compared to the settler prices for similar goods produced.

Nevertheless, despite the lower prices given to the Africans for their products, they realized profits by managing large tracts of land following the colonial government's support facilities. Such facilities included hybrid seeds, ploughs, and guaranteed prices accessible to native farmers for cash crop cultivation.⁵⁸⁴ The colonial administration implemented a scheme to enhance production by making it mandatory to deliver the financial means to cultivate large tracts of land. Accordingly, the Legislative Council debated a bill on April 15th 1942, that aimed at providing funds for growing maize and cereals. However, the Financial Secretary, L. Tester, maintained that Kenya's role in producing grains was the colony whose physical position empowered it to be an appropriate foodstuff supplier for the Middle East. Nevertheless, without deploying an adequate mass labour force, Kenya could not play its leading role in underpinning the imperial economies.

For the implementation of labour policy, the colonial administration supplied labourers who desired to work in the agricultural sector.⁵⁸⁵ Consequently, implementing the labour policy affected the native labour in the reserves. The non-disabled men who stood conscripted caused a huge labour deficiency in the Nandi reserve.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 114.

⁵⁸⁵ Nicholas Ekutu Makana, Op. Cit., p. 136.

During WWII, military conscription took centre stage and overtook any civil conscription and by 1941, military service was advantaged and trailed to disadvantage the settlers' demands. Consequently, there was an acute labour deficit, and on 23rd May 1941, the shortage got noticed. However, it was a challenge to conscript natives who already were demanding better pay. In response to the labour deficit, the settlers petitioned the colonial government to take immediate action to crack and sort out the labour challenges in their farms.

The Colonial Office began recruiting labourers for the settler farmers to solve the labour shortage for civil needs during wartime. The colonial administration moved swiftly to declare the nomination of a committee. The duty of the committee, under the direction of Walter Harrigan, was tasked to enact conscription regulations. This report was ready by February 1942, and it detailed that the conscription of labourers to civil service was to continue to curb the labour deficit. Harrigan further advised and made several suggestions that midwived the famous 'Essential Undertakings Board', which outlined sectors to take advantage of the labour force as prevailing priorities in the Kenya economy.⁵⁸⁶ Although the colonial government implemented conscripted labour, only ten per cent of native labourers were recruited, and many human resources were hired on immigrant farms.

⁵⁸⁶

Ibid, p. 145 – 149.

The strategy espoused by the colonial administration was more convenient for the immigrants than for the natives. This policy presented lesser value to natives for their farm produce, such as meat and maize. However, the natives owned the most significant number of cattle, representing 95% of the whole cattle of colonial Kenya.⁵⁸⁷ In addition, the natives in the reserves received substantial cash from their work besides the savings on the settler farms, from conscription into the armed forces and exporting their cultivated harvest in their reserves. Nevertheless, this labour did not improve their living standards for the reason that taxes overburdened them.

Moreover, famine and abandonment of soil conservation methods caused a food shortage in 1943. Overcultivation of maize and soil erosion further contributed to food shortage. As a result, the development in the reserves was overlooked, and as a result, all efforts were projected to the urgency of the war. Philip Mitchell, the Governor of Kenya, formulated much importance and willingness to develop reserves, but his efforts were slow.⁵⁸⁸ He got appointed a Kenyan Governor in 1944. However, he advocated for African trusteeship and passionately opposed African politicians. Mitchell thought Africans would take a long time to claim their independence. However, the British should foster Africans' political maturity by aiding and tracking them. For this purpose, Mitchell adopted his racial tolerance and cooperation policy.

⁵⁸⁷ Ian Spencer, "Settler Dominance, Agricultural Production and the Second World War in Kenya", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 21. No.4 (1980), p. 504 - 509.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 511 – 513.

Nevertheless, Mitchell's strategy was inconsistent, too, since it had as a target the constraint of native farming under the pretext of conserving soil from erosion and desertification. The settlers favoured this strategy since their envious attitudes toward the Africans nourished it. Their ever-increasing differences in agriculture date back to the Great Depression era when the British administration compelled and fortified African farm produce to counter the expensive products cultivated by the settlers.

Moreover, the white farmers got afraid of the development of the native peasantry and its dominion over agriculture and the export sector. Likewise, they got prepared to deter the growth of Africa and primarily squatter agriculture by raising false influences about squatters causing soil erosion due to excessive cultivation. During the Second World War, Governor Mitchell set on instigating his policy of agrarian welfare. The policy created a multiracial society based on tolerance, enhanced productivity, and soil erosion prevention.

On the other hand, the settlers turned into influential contestants of the British administration following the 1937 Resident Labour Ordinance. The latter had marked a transfer of power from the colonial powers to the District Councils controlled by settlers, which recorded settler political success. The councils empowered the settlers and allowed them to eradicate squatter stock on their farm while controlling the mobility of squatters. The settlers further limited the squatter-cultivated lands to diminish their economic strength. However, the settlers' ambition was never fully implemented in the 1930s but was muted by WWII. At this time, the settlers put more effort into foodstuff production to meet the war demands as requested by the colonial administration.

The African squatters at this time represented a potential threat to the settlers in the manner in which their stock increased and the amount of food production that was realized in the reserves. The settler-only poked this African success after the war when the District Councils began to act on their mandate to restrict the African activities in the settler farms. These farms represented the most arable lands with moderate climatic conditions suitable for crop propagation.⁵⁸⁹ The Colonial Office was guided by Sir Mitchell, the then governor in Kenya, that the squatters' petitions were not to be heard under any circumstance but to remain muted and disregarded. They were not allowed to occupy any space in the white highlands or use it without the approval of the settlers. Their occupancy in the settler farms was met with severe punishments. The settlers feared for a looming economic threat from the squatter shortly.⁵⁹⁰

Following the outbreak of WWII, the foundation of African political liberty and agitation for independence was marked. The war became a powerful reagent following the experiences of African soldiers. African nationalism was rooted in the war, culminating in an agitation for their freedom from the colonial masters. Both Africa and Europe were affected by the effects of the Second World War. The war directly led to Africa's decolonisation by distressing Europe and Africa regarding military experiences, psychologically, politically, and economically.⁵⁹¹ In WWI and II, millions of Africans were conscripted to fight a foreign war. They fought a war in contradiction to German imperialism and allied troops. They fought for the freedom of European countries when they could not contemplate their freedom. The satire did not vanish on Africans' minds everywhere. "...those who had alleged to be civilising Africans once

⁵⁸⁹ David Anderson and David Throup, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

⁵⁹⁰ Tabitha Kanogo, *Squatters & the Roots of the Mau-Mau*, London, James Currey, 1987, p. 103.

⁵⁹¹ Basil Davidson, "The Second World War, 1939-1945," *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History*, (1994): 61-65.

more seemed to have failed to civilise themselves...”. While some claimed that WWII was not a war for Africa, they equally struggled regardless. Africa’s participation in WWII helped shape the African mind, without which many techniques and skills would have gotten lost. The war gave Africans the required military knowledge and management skills to fight for independence.⁵⁹² This amalgamation reinforced African patriotism. The bigger a group is, the extra likely they could get their voices listened to. African nationalism champions ensured their voices echoed and remained heard worldwide, culminating in Africa’s decolonisation and the end of the European empire in Africa.

African agitations were significantly elevated in protest when European soldiers and personnel were awarded and distinguished for their bravery in the war. At the same time, Africans received nought but a pat on the back and a permitted home. The lack of acknowledgement and gratitude for Africans who worked in the war and these European men enraged African people. This anger drove the enthusiasm that had been fiery for centuries in the cores of Africans, making them even more committed to becoming independent from European regulations. When millions share a mutual resentment toward the same people, it bands them together. The rage that African people traversed bonded them and contributed to other motives behind the amalgamation of Africans. WWII executed emotional changes that aided in the decolonisation of Africa. War changes how people view everyday life, themselves, and those around them. This warfare changed and fashioned the way Africans regarded Europeans.

⁵⁹² Vincent Khapoya, “African Nationalism and the Struggle for Freedom,” *The African Experience*, (2013): 149.

“...the Africans observed that, in war, the white man bled, wept, was frightened, and, when shot, died just like anybody else. It dawned on the African that there was no difference between him and the European beneath the skin...”

For eras, the idea of white superiority had occurred in the minds of Africans. Society supposed that Europeans were undefeatable and impossible to be conquered.⁵⁹³

Africans resisted European rule for centuries, resulting in few positive consequences. One could not fault Africans for the perception that Europeans gave the impression that they were almost undefeatable. Africans had many experiences that whites defeated, degraded, and minimised to zero. It is expected that one's mind would conclude that the British were more significant than the natives' conception was precisely the Europeans' objective. After WWII, this white preeminence attitude got threatened, and Africans developed honest hope that freedom was not imaginary. Hope always exists when the possibility of the want is obtainable. Africans saw probable independence from European countries for the first time in centuries.⁵⁹⁴ There was not only a mental transformation in Africans and Europeans.

“...One major consequence of the Second World War for Africans and elsewhere was that it ruined France's and Britain's deep-rooted confidence that there would be no serious peripheral challenge to their imperial authority...”⁵⁹⁵

At the same time, Africans could perceive Europeans as not invincible and impenetrable. This conception liberated Africans, while it stuck fear in the hearts of

⁵⁹³ Vincent Khapoya, “African Nationalism and the Struggle for Freedom,” *The African Experience*, (2013): 150.

⁵⁹⁴ R. S. Downie, “Hope,” *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, (1963): 248.

⁵⁹⁵ Cheikh Babou, “Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, (2010): 42.

Europeans.

Regrettably, Britain and other European countries that occupied Africa failed to manage Africa's nationalist movements. They only secured the victory but had to contest their triumph to the last man and coinage. They hailed from the war much poorer than formerly. The war traversed Europe and left wrecks as much as it brutally dented Africa's economy, particularly Kenya and Nandi. Community people were involuntarily conscripted into an enormous labour production to upsurge the creation of export raw materials. In reconsideration, Europe's commercial influence in Africa augmented throughout the war period, but this power had other unforeseen effects. Countryside households struggled, and many acceded to deficiency. Life in the reserves was unbearable.

There was a high coemption of resources in the Nandi reserve. Pasture, salt licks, and land for maize and other subsistence crops were inadequate. The returning squatter stock did not fit in the existing pressured Nandi reserve.⁵⁹⁶ This compression formed social hitches that colonial governments stood unequipped to tolerate. Europe was also distracted by the war to offer much of a hand. In due course, this led to deteriorated colonial structures.⁵⁹⁷

The African soldiers saw persistence in the manner in which Allied troops fought for the defeat of Germany and its discriminatory regimes. Europe managed to oust an autocrat and freed several Jews from camps. However, their colonial rule still existed.

⁵⁹⁶ O. I. with Arap Chepyoset Kimase, 88 yrs., Kibwareng', Arap Makaa Kibosio, 80 years, Kichwen Nge'elechei, 90 years, 2nd August, 2022.

⁵⁹⁷ Basil Davidson, "The Second World War, 1939-1945," *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History*, (1994): 63-64.

Africans were not free and remained continually ensnared under colonial powers' statutes. Many critical questions got asked about the ex-soldiers and the world. Questions like: "...if Germans were wrong to rule the French, why was it okay for European countries to rule African and Asian countries...?" The African freedom and independence contest was a stretched and tedious skirmish, but Africa and its people triumphed. Basil Davidson proclaimed that:

"...the Second World War commenced as a conflict between Europeans. However, it developed into more than that: it became, at least to some extent, an anti-colonial and anti-racist war. Some good came out of the evil..."⁵⁹⁸

Africa was not only influenced by the Second World War but by the world as well. Everyone was affected psychologically, economically, and politically.⁵⁹⁹ In retrospect, WW II, as blood-stained and damaging as it was, contributed equally to helping Africans advance their political liberty and independence. European colonialism could have continued for ages if this war had not occurred. The "War for Freedom" appropriated numerous forms depending on who got involved.

Nevertheless, the war was a framework under which decolonisation and the ultimate African freedom propagated.⁶⁰⁰ From the above discussion, it can remain deduced that in Kenya and Nandi in particular, a collective experience in the war lies as the source of their first tryouts in an organised political activity. whether from participating in minute figures with regular military units or huge figures as porters in the Carrier

⁵⁹⁸ Basil Davidson, "The Second World War, 1939-1945," *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History*, (1994): 66.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ Jeffrey Ahlman, "Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa," *Kronos*, (2011): 25.

Corps. In the war aftermath, nationalism began to up effective options to the spear.⁶⁰¹

A sizeable Italian army and air force deployed in Ethiopia and Somalia caused alarm in Kenya at the onset of WW II in Europe; in this respect, Kenya was not invaded. British colonial authorities feared a quick Italian strike could cut off Kenya's communications, Railway, and harbours and shut down the colony as a food basket for allies. A King's African Rifles contingent was locally recruited and deployed throughout the northern areas to prevent this move. Troops reinforced Kenya's garrisons from Europe, South Africa, Nigeria, Rhodesia north and Gold Coast. Though Kenya never got invaded, some Italian air reconnaissance missions and occasional shooting did occur over its territory.

Nevertheless, the colony's food proved essential to the war effort, and troops from Kenya, both African and European soldiers, were later deployed in the Burma campaign in the long struggle against the Japanese. Land questions remained at the heart of Kenyan politics during the war. White farmers who remained pressed into producing food for the war effort argued that they needed more land and labour. As their demands chanced for the war effort, many liberals in Kenya and Britain criticised the colonial government for allowing African interests to get overruled.⁶⁰² However, Kenya was a very different political society when World War II ended. Greater diversity was apparent in the European community not only to a small liberal wing of the settler society but also to a new influx of missionaries, business people, and colonial

⁶⁰¹ Carl G. Rosberg and John Nottingham, *The Myth of Mau-Mau: nationalism in Kenya* (Nairobi, 1966), pp. 26 – 7.

⁶⁰² George Bennett, "Settlers and Politics in Kenya," in Harlow, Chilver, and Smith, *History of East Africa*, P. 330. See also George Bennett, *Kenya, A Political History: The Colonial Period* (London: Oxford, 1963).

administrators, and a unique view on how they should get treated in the post-war era. In addition, Africans had seen European soldiers killed by non-Europeans, the Japanese, in Burma. The experience and those of World War I veterans ended any white supremacy myths indefinitely. (Refer to Table 5.1)

5.2 The Post-War Political Economy

Stimulated initially by a wartime demand for food to feed allied troops, African entrepreneurs branched into several activities soon after World War II ended. One avenue was to work as traders in remote areas where communications were underprivileged and Asian merchants had not penetrated. Selling rural foodstuffs to Nairobi hotels, buying Tugen sheep at Lake Baringo for resale in highland towns, selling vegetables to workers on settler farms, or undercutting Asian traders in maize and millet sales were all profitable endeavours. Others set up small shops, tea, hotels, maize mills, sugar pressers, alcohol distilleries, and truck transport firms. Other forms of entrepreneurship revolved around the informal artisan activities of carvers, carpenters, thatchers, tinsmiths, rope makers, and others outside the regulated, licensed economy. This informal sector had characteristics of a hidden economy and occasionally illicit activity by small, unlicensed entrepreneurs who had other permanent employment but mixed it with moonlighting jobs. Other entrepreneurs worked in small industries, serving as traders, agents, suppliers, and sales assistants. This informal economic activity grew in the next few decades not only because it was outside government regulations but also because it was low-cost and adaptive, filling a need for inexpressive indigenous goods.

Looking back over the interwar and post-World War II political economy, 1920 – 1960, African entrepreneurial activity heavily depended on fundamental legislative changes, particularly concerning land laws. The crucial development was the Devonshire Declaration of 1923 -1924, which restated the colonial policy denying Africans land titles. The Carter Commission did the first land surveys and provided some land for Africans in 1932; the creation of settlement projects under the Commission 1954 – 1955, legislative events scurried and opened further possibilities for African entrepreneurs.

Table 5.1 Major Legislative Developments on Land Issues, 1920 – 1960

Year	Event	Summary of Results
1923 - 1924	Devonshire White Paper	Restatement of land policy sets up local Native Councils and gives Asians the right to own land.
1927 – 1928	District Councils	Seven non-African councils got organised for local government.
1932	Kenya Land Commission	Carter Commission retains Land Reserve System; first in-depth survey of land use.
1944	Legislative Council	The first African Member was elected.
1946	African Land Development Organization (ALDEV).	ALDEV stood established for multiple African land functions, including reallocation, restoration of titles, conservation, range, and extension.
1948	African District Councils	Representative local government.
1954	Lyttleton Constitution.	African participation in the government got established.
1954 – 1955	Swynnerton Plan	Based on the Royal Commission, the new plan provides major land reforms in land consolidation, farm planning, and conservation.
1958	Lennox-Boyd Constitution	African membership in the National Legislative Council increased to fourteen.
1959	Purchase Plan for European Land	Reservation of land for whites only ended; a plan for selling white highland farms got established.
1960	MacLeod Constitution	Africans gained the right to sixty-five seats on the Legislative Council; plans for internal self-government got established; the agricultural ordinance was amended.

Source: Ng’etich B. K., 2016, The Impact of Migrant Labor among the Nandi of Kenya, 1908 – 1963.

5.3 Influence of Colonial Economy on Nandi Inter-ethnic Relations

The then D. C. of Nandi, C. S. Hemsted 1920, attempted to validate the alienation of Nandi arable lands by reporting that.

“...the alienated land from the reserve was not beneficially occupied or required by the Nandi...”.⁶⁰³

Notwithstanding the small inhabitants, land scarcity in Nandi became a sensitive affair. Land alienation led to land shortages, affecting the pre-colonial inter-ethnic relationship between the Nandi and her neighbours. The Nandi got turned into agrarian peasants.⁶⁰⁴ Therefore, land alienation is vital to conceptualizing inter-ethnic relations in the study area. Owing to the deficiency of pasture lands, some of the Nandi emigrated to become squatters in the settler farms. Eventually, those Nandi who managed to emigrate to the settler farms accumulated large herds of cattle and were always in need of cattle pasture lands for their cattle.⁶⁰⁵

The alienated lands in Nandi correspondingly influenced the accomplishment of settler farms in obtaining the required human resources. The European farmers required that additional farms stay formed and the size of the current Reserves be condensed, not because they required more lands for agriculture but for the reason that they anticipated forcing more Africans into wage labour.⁶⁰⁶ The authorities stood persuaded that the disposal of adequate lands in the Reserve was accountable for the low labour numbers. However, by alienating more lands, natives would be obliged to pursue employment on settler farms. This clue came out from the Nandi District

⁶⁰³ KNA: DC/NDI/1/2. Annual District Reports, 1904-1920.

⁶⁰⁴ Lonsdale, J. (1989). *The Conquest State 1895-1906*. In W. R. Ochieng', (Ed.). *A Modern History of Kenya 1895- 1980*. Nairobi: Evans Brothers, p. 45.

⁶⁰⁵ Tanui P. J. (1996). *Agriculture in Nandi Under Colonial Rule 1895-1963* (M.Phil. Thesis). Moi University, Eldoret, 90.

⁶⁰⁶ Wrigley, C. C. (1982). “Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life, 1902-1946”, Harlow V. and Chiver, E. M. (eds) *History of East Africa Vol. 11*. Nairobi, Oxford University Press, p. 230.

Commissioner's account. This alienation was directly proportional to the increasing numbers of Africans searching for fresh pasture for their animals in settler plantations on the ground that the latter did not now contain sufficient grazing for their herds.

(Refer to Maps 5.1 and 5.2)

Land shortages in Nandi led to squatting and turned more people to crop farming. The

D. C. reported in 1908 that;

“...in 1906, after the famous three punitive expeditions, they subdued the community and forced it to a reserve where they have since settled and are swiftly taking on agricultural activities...”⁶⁰⁷

Land alienation caused a marked escalation of residents' pressure upon threatened lands in the Reserve. African resentment grew, and petitions demanded the return of alienated lands. This pressure culminated in the Kenya Land Commission of 1932 - 1934. The Nandi who attested before the Carter Commission expressed dissatisfaction in losing their ground. Chief Elijah Cheruiyot stated to the Commission at Kapsabet on October 6 1932, that;

“...the Entire salt licks given to the Nandi after fighting have since got alienated. Why should we pay for that which used to belong to us? Do you consider us friends or enemies still? Besides, the land has remained reduced so much that all the growing men have gone to the shamba...”⁶⁰⁸

The Carter Commission formalised the existing land situation instead of solving the persistent problems. However, towards the end of the 1920s to the initial 1930s, the global economic Depression deteriorated the condition. The British administration responded to the crisis by inspiring the natives to strengthen their farming activities,

⁶⁰⁷ KNA: DC/NDI/1/2. Annual District report, 1919-1920.
⁶⁰⁸ Carter Land Commission, 1934, p. 2077.

such as the production of maize. This strategy aimed to seal the deficit left by the deterioration of settler output caused by lowered prices. Increased African production could keep up the colony's export index.⁶⁰⁹ However, overstocking in the African reserves became a significant alarm in late 1930.

The eruption of WWII temporarily shelved the soil degradation challenge in native Reserves. Instead, like settlers, Africans were motivated to fully utilize all the accessible land under the cultivation of crops.⁶¹⁰ The Kenyan case culminated in the agitation for the return of alienated lands, which was never noted by the colonial powers, concluding in the Mau-Mau insurgence in Central Province.⁶¹¹ After the War, the colonial administration faced severe commercial and dogmatic hitches in the native reserves. Thus, in the reserves, the land got depleted following the acute congestion, upsurge in population, and lack of soil conservation measures following the over-cultivation. Additionally, the reserves did not employ fertility-enhancing methods, as well as overstocking caused the destruction of vegetation cover. In the native reserves, following the above economic and social challenges, the colonial political economy faced a looming crisis challenging its foundations in Kenya.

Moreover, this contributes to the stagnation of agriculture in native reserves.⁶¹² As a result, more land in the Nandi reserve was alienated. As a result, the colonial government established various development mechanisms to curb the situation. The

⁶⁰⁹ Oboler, R. (1985). *Women, Power and Economic Change: The Nandi of Kenya*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 146.

⁶¹⁰ Kitching, G. (1980). *Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petit Bourgeoisie, 1905- 1970*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, p. 102.

⁶¹¹ Migot-Adholla, S. E., Place, F., & Oluoch-Korura, W. (1994). *Security of Tenure and Land Productivity in Kenya*. In J. Bruce, et al. *Searching for Land Tenure Security in Africa*. Iowa, USA: Hunt Publishing Company, p. 119.

⁶¹² Berman, B (1990) *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya; The Dialectic of Domination*, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, pp. 274.

British argued that the problem facing native Reserves was not overpopulation but mismanagement of soil. They dealt with the situation by developing the Worthington Plan enacted in 1946. In this Plan, African Land Development (ALDEV) got passed. This plan strived to regulate the quantity of cattle and farms in the reserves for cash crop production. Finances got focused on soil-preserving projects. Such projects included terracing, clearing, bush application of manure, systematic culling, strip cropping, and destruction of extra stock in congested parts. Demonstration plots were set aside in some of the districts. In the Nandi reserve, some of these farms got found at Ndalat, located in the northern parts of the Nandi Reserve. Only the Nandi who managed to acquire the demonstrated skills at Ndalat were authorised to claim, occupy, and fence land.

However, D. C. Nandi supported the idea of individual land enclosures in the reserve to prevent the disaster, which would get caused by the squatter stock drifting back to the Reserve. In this case, the Reserve was already signalling soil fertility decline. The Nandi formed a higher percentage of all Resident labourers who kept vast herds of cattle in the Reserve. Arrangements existed to expel all the squatters' surplus livestock to the Reserve.⁶¹³ The Nandi Reserve experienced an acute land scarcity, leading to a severe economic question. The situation in the Nandi reserve worsened and culminated in an agitation for returning all alienated land. This land scarcity was common in all native reserves in Kenya. Paul Boit, a member of the Nandi Local Native Council, advocated for the Nandi request in 1948 by inquiring about

“...what the government had done about the long-standing request the Nandi had made for the return of Kipkarren and Kaimosi farms...”⁶¹⁴

⁶¹³ KNA: DC/NDI/5/2. Notes on the Resident Labour Problems, n.d.

⁶¹⁴ KNA: AN/32/54. Native Agriculture, Nandi 1945-1948.

Kipkarren and Kaimosi lands were surrendered to the Nandi in response to the agitations by the natives. The District Officer chaired the Nandi District Land Tenure Committee the same year. The Committee got tasked with encouraging soil preservation in the reserve.

Consequently, in 1952, the Committee approved an agenda that denied Nandi employment. However, the Nandi families, who succeeded in moving with their cattle to the White Highlands as squatters, could not acquire land in the Reserve. Soil conservation remained emphasised between 1946 and 1952, but the programme did not solve the land crisis in African reserves. Therefore, it turned out to the colonial government that the concerns surrounding the land had escalated to a high magnitude that could no longer be discounted. This magnitude led to the introduction the 1954 Swynnerton Plan to unravel the predicament. It advocated for individual ownership of land. As a result, the Nandi only subsistence crop surpluses, while the plan preserved indigenous forms of land tenure and economic cooperation. This plan affected Nandi's socio-economic relations with her neighbours, especially the destocking policy limiting the number of cattle one could keep. Therefore, the Nandi as a community on the cattle issue is inseparable:

“... the cattle they are telling us to reduce are ours. It is them to reduce their business, ...they are aliens to us. They fail to know we acquired these animals through a violent raid (*Luget*). They have robbed us of our pastures and salt licks and forcefully sent us away; now that they are taking our cows... we better move to some other places with our cattle...”⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁵ Group Oral interview with: Arap Chebose, 88 years, Chepkelio Arap Tuing'wan, 90 years, Kibunja Arap Mosong' 82 years, Kogo Chemelenge 84 years, Kibosio Arap Chemalan, 87 years, 24-July, 2022, Kamasai.

From the preceding statement, the Nandi who got affected emigrated to different places, including western Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. In the early 1940s, Nandi moved and lived among their neighbours, the Luyia in the North Nyanza. Kakamega Annual District reports described that;

“... 8/12/1947, Chiefs from North Nyanza and those of Nandi met to discuss the Nandi living in North Kavirondo, and it became noted that 75 Nandi had relocated to North Kavirondo by 1948...”⁶¹⁶

The figures for the Nandi in the North Kavirondo varied depending on the location as the D. C., North Nyanza Osborne P. S wrote in his report on 2/8/1951 that:

“... I have received the names of 16 Nandi who have recently moved to Isukha. In utmost cases, they have joined Nandi residents of some period and have not acknowledged permission to enter the district.” Acceptance by the Isukha made the Nandi relocate without seeking permission from the government. Their numbers in Isukha gradually grew; by 11/11/ 1954, the Chief of Khayega submitted a list of 105 Nandi living in the Isukha location...⁶¹⁷

The Nandi similarly migrated between 1940 and 1954 to Kabras. Available records indicate that on 30/1/1954, the chief of the Kabras location reporting to District Commissioner Nyanza remarked on the list of Nandi families who had relocated to his place.⁶¹⁸ Commissioner Nambale Division, on November 27 1954, submitted a list of Nandi in Nambale Division to D. C. North Nyanza to be 43 and 15 in Bukhayo. On the same note, the Nandi migrated to as far as Teso lands. Further, the Chief of Amukura, Alexander Seme of Amukura, tabled a record of 28 Nandi who migrated to the Teso community between 1944 and 1954 to Assistant District Commissioner Nyanza.⁶¹⁹ The

⁶¹⁶ KNA: DC/KMGA/1/1/5, Annual Reports, 1947-1952.

⁶¹⁷ KNA: DC/KMGA/1/1/6, Annual Reports, 1952-1959.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

Luyia and Teso provided a lasting solution to some Nandi whose land got lost in British settler farms. The colonial administration was not concerned about their return; nevertheless, the British requested North Nyanza chiefs to report any Nandi who had settled amongst them. As a result, most assimilated into Nyanza, Teso and Luyia communities.

Meanwhile, the colonial government directed more money towards terracing, strip-cropping, and manuring to enhance soil conservation. Similarly, they destroyed extra animals in areas with excess livestock. Nevertheless, agricultural activities following what became considered an ideal soil conservation method failed to unravel the delinquent. As a result, the agitations by Africans for the return of alienated native lands remained constant.

In 1951, attention shifted to land tenure in African reserves. Thus, Governor Sir Philip Mitchell formed the 1953-1955 East African Royal Commission, tasked with scrutinizing and coming up with a comprehensive report on the economic status of native reserves. The Commission anticipated making commendations on how to deal with the tenacious and acute challenges teething in African Reserves and preserve land resulting in high yields above subsistence.⁶²⁰ Instead, the Commission argued in favour of the colonial government that indigenous tenure forms the basis of constriction to improved venture and agronomic output. Consequently, the government anticipated the

⁶²⁰ Harberson, J. W. (1973) *Nation Building in Kenya; The Role of Land Reform*, Evanston: Northwest University Press, pp 28.

alterations to the native land tenure through individuation and registration, known as the Land Title Deed.⁶²¹ The 1964 Swynnerton Plan detailed the application of this strategy. Nevertheless, it became specified that the primary goal line of this plan was strengthening agronomy in native reserves. This strategy intended to defeat the native demands to return alienated lands to the settler farmers. The socio-economic adversities faced by natives in their reserves had worsened. The situation of affairs protracted into African protest movements such as *Dini ya Msambwa* and the Mau-Mau movements. The *Dini ya Msambwa* movement got formed in the 1940s.⁶²² This movement got illegalized in 1948; its members were arraigned and charged in court. The agitations required the return of the alienated lands, but this fell on a deaf colonial ear. In the same vein, the Mau-Mau movement led to anarchy. However, the then governor, Sir Evelyn Barring, in October 1952 declared a state of emergency.

The government derived ways in which agrarian growth in native reserves could make a class of property owners comprising politically satisfied countryside citizens with a strong interest in maintaining the prevailing status quo. Therefore, Swynnerton noted that:

“...energetic or well-off Africans will be able to obtain more land, and the bad or less fortunate farmers acquire less, creating a landed and landless class. This plan is a normal step in the evolution of a country...”⁶²³

⁶²¹ Kibwana, K. (1990) “Land Tenure” in Ochieng R. W., Themes in Kenyan History, Nairobi: Heinemann, p. 236; Ndege, P. O. (2000) Decline of the Economy, 1974-1995. In B. A. Ogot B. A., & Ochieng’ W. R.(Eds.), Kenya: The Making of a Nation. Maseno: IRPS, p. 107.

⁶²² Aseka, E.M. (1989). Political Economy of Buluyia 1900-1964(Ph.D. Dissertation). History Department, Kenyatta University, Nairobi, p. 366-7.

⁶²³ Swynnerton R, (1954) A plan to intensify the Development of African Agriculture in Kenya, Nairobi: Government Printers, p. 10.

The Plan majored in the allocation and registration of private plots in highlands covering the whole of Central Province, Embu, Meru, Nyanza Province, Kericho, Nandi, Elgeyo West Pokot and Taita Hills. Individual land enclosure began in the 1940s and spread to all parts of Nandi in the 1950s.⁶²⁴ The attendant influence of this plan was the many land disputes in the reserves, such as the Nandi Reserve. This move caused many land disputes in the Reserve. Many land cases heard and determined up to the end of the first half of 1952 were considered boundary disputes of plots in the Reserve. Many of these disputes got informally settled by the village elders. However, in 1951, an upsurge of cases ended in the African courts. As a result, many Nandi got left out of the allotment process. In addition, the former squatters in the 1940s got affected. Land allocations and titling processes got started between 1954 and 1958 and covered Ndalat, Mutwot and Cheptil.⁶²⁵

This section of the reserve was not much arable than Kapsabet, Aldai and Kapkangani, favouring tea, coffee and sugarcane. By the 1950s, there was a severe land shortage in the reserve as it had reached its population saturation point. It could no longer absorb more squatters' animals from Uasin Gishu and elsewhere. The deficit in Reserve was already showing the effects of soil erosion.⁶²⁶ Therefore, many former squatters experienced challenges in finding land for settlement within the Reserve.

Moreover, on 15/01/ 1956, the district committee locked the Nandi border to sojourn the arrival of squatters and their livestock from the Highlands.⁶²⁷ In 1956, there were

⁶²⁴ Van Zwanenberg and King A. (1975) *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1900- 1970*, Kampala: East Africa Publishing House, p. 47- 48.

⁶²⁵ Snell, G. S. (1954) *Nandi Customary Law*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, p. 113.

⁶²⁶ KNA: DC/NDI/5/1, *Information on Marketing of Stock form Rift Valley Province, 1955-1956*.

⁶²⁷ KNA: DC/NDI/5/3, *Notes on the Return of Excess Squatter Stock, 1954-1957*.

around 60,000 landless Nandi men in the Reserve. The state echoed a severe scarcity of land in the Nandi reserve.⁶²⁸ The then African LegCo representative for this region was Hon. Daniel Toroitich Moi. He similarly agitated a land shortage in the Nandi reserve in November 1957. He demanded that the Secretary of State return all the unoccupied sections of the Tindiret region, which comprised vast tracts of the alienated Nandi community land. Nevertheless, the appeal was rejected. The chairperson in charge of the Settlers Agricultural Settlement Board argued that whites in Tindiret had since gotten settled and that there was only one underdeveloped farm.⁶²⁹

After the preceding, it is indistinct that land individual and population growth had instigated land deficits in Nandi, thus locking out some 60,000 Nandi men without land. However, the British administration was unwilling to provide additional expansion space. The colonialists were instead concerned with the implementation of the Swynnerton Plan in the northern part of the Nandi reserve to forestall the squatter stock problem. The demarcation of boundaries in Ndalat and Mutwot occurred between 1954 and 1955; the boundary survey began in 1956. Ndalat and Mutwot in the northern part of Nandi turned out to be the first areas where registration of land titles became complete in 1958.⁶³⁰ However, the Nandi failed to embrace the Land registration process, which degenerated the political character of the society. To some, title deeds equated to Christian marriage certificates and therefore termed the exercise “marrying land.” They perceived it as one of the mechanisms used to alienate their land and resisted the land registration exercise, which was the core of this politics. Land registration similarly went hand in hand with skeletal planning for soil conservation.

⁶²⁸ KNA: PC/NKU/3/2/16, African Land Development Schemes in Nandi, 1956-1961.

⁶²⁹ KNA: BV/3/24/ Nandi District Betterment and Settlement Schemes, 1954-1957.

⁶³⁰ KNA: AN/42/29, Annual Reports Department of Agriculture, 1954-1955.

Moreover, after many persuasions, they gradually accepted this land registration process by 1960.⁶³¹ Finally, towards the end of 1962, land registration in Nandi had turned out to be expected. Hon. Jean Marie Seroney, the Nandi member of the LegCo, took a concentration in the land titling process. His backing was accountable for the attitudinal transformation of the Nandi. The other aspect is using land registration certificates for agricultural credit. By September 1962, some 42 Nandi had already purchased farms in Uasin Gishu through bank loans.

The Nandi, who could take large loans, acquired large farms; however, the Native Land rules enacted in 1956 empowered private land holdings to receive registration in the names of male heads of households.⁶³² These laws manifested the commencement of a stage that progressed into the post-colonial period. The land allocations measured between 10 to 20 acres. In a meeting held in 1961, all the DCs from Rift Valley approved a determination that stipulated a minimum economic acreage in Nandi. It became resolved that all arable lands suitable for growing cash crops such as coffee, tea or pyrethrum were tagged at 10 acres, and 20 acres in those of average rainfall while 75 acres in lands suitable for ranches. Nevertheless, oral data designate that individuals who had previously enclosed large tracts of land got permitted to register their land.⁶³³

In the period between 1954 and 1963, the colonial policies that pointed at escalating production led to swift economic growth in African areas that comprised cash crop growing, and the Nandi reserve was not an exception. Crop production intensified

⁶³¹ KNA: PC/NKU/2/16/32, Native Tenure in Reserves 1959-1960.

⁶³² KNA: AN/42/37, Annual Reports Department of Agriculture, 1962-1963.

⁶³³ KNA: PC/NKU/2/16/34, Native Tenure in Reserves 1960-1961.

mainly due to certified seeds and fertilizers. Agro-pesticides and technological innovations were utilized during this period.⁶³⁴ Several new crops got introduced in to Nandi reserve. However, maize became Nandi's staple food during this period. The people consumed most of what got produced, and the period between 1955 and 1960 witnessed an increase in maize surplus occasioned by the use of farm yard manure and the expansion of land acreage. Maize was both a subsistence and a cash crop for men. Crops introduced in the Nandi reserve include coffee, pyrethrum, sugarcane and tea. As well as the introduction of grade cattle with much enthusiasm.

By 1956, the Nandi who had initially worked in the settler farms were allowed to import grade cattle from the white highlands. By December of the same year, milk supplies were exceeding demand, and the district veterinary officer advocated for ghee production to utilise the surplus milk production. These new breeds influenced the inter-ethnic relationship between the Nandi, Luo and Luyia communities. The Nandi reduced raiding expeditions due to the new high-yielding breed, and their need for indigenous cattle was reduced within the border points.

5.4 Influence of Agricultural Technology on Nandi Ethnic Relations

For the colony to realize its full-blown potential, it needed to incorporate agricultural technology such as farm implements, tools and processes. This technology was necessary to facilitate production simultaneously, minimise the use of human resources and production labour time, and thus alleviate food and material uncertainty.⁶³⁵ Therefore, the Nandi reserve saw its first ox-plough in 1925 following the introduction

⁶³⁴ Ndege, P. O. (2000) Decline of the Economy, 1974-1995. In Ogot B.A., & Ochieng', W. R. (eds.), Kenya: The Making of a Nation. Maseno: IRPS.

⁶³⁵ Stamp P. (1989). Technology, Gender and Power in Africa. Canada: International Development Research Centre, Ohawa, p. 49.

of technology in the reserve. The chiefs were the first to be issued with the ox-plough by the colonial administration following the campaign to increase food production among the collaborators, and all the colonial chiefs were in this category. On the other hand, the ox-plough was not happily received in the reserve by the Nandi. The chiefs, being the first members to receive the ox ploughs, had already cultivated large tracts of land and consequently cleared land that could have been livestock pasture. The cleared tracts of land were prepared for specifically maize plantations, bringing much cash into the reserve. These initial farmers promptly paid all the stipulated taxes and bought imported products. Apart from the chiefs who were the first to receive the ox ploughs were the Nandi in the white highlands. While promoting the ox plough in the highlands, these men extended the same technology to the Reserve. This transfer of technology to the reserve yielded tremendous results.⁶³⁶ It was the role of the Local Native Council to distribute the ox-ploughs. The Council had implemented a policy of supplying a free ox plough in the reserve to any Nandi who yielded three pairs of trained oxen. This policy saw the council in 1934 spending at least shs 1,000 in gifting ploughs to the owners of any three pairs of trained oxen such that by the close of this year, the reserve owned 51 ploughs in total.⁶³⁷

Nevertheless, those who had embraced Western education, Christianity and colonial chiefs included the first cohort to receive the ox-plough and not everyone in reserve. The Nandi had the perception of not growing more than they could consume; they were subsistence farmers, and thus the distribution was not universal. Nevertheless, this new ox-plough technology significantly expanded maize mono-cropping in Nandi during

⁶³⁶ Tanui P. J. (1996). *Agriculture in Nandi Under Colonial Rule 1895-1963* (M.Phil. Thesis). Moi University, Eldoret, p. 124.

⁶³⁷ KNA: DC/DNI/1/4, Annual Report, 1934.

the Second World War.⁶³⁸

The use of farmyard manure on ploughed lands turned out to be highlighted throughout this time. It was mandatory by 1955 that all district agricultural staff operate a night *boma (piut)* as lead personnel to the community. During the dry season, all night bomas were to be maintained as a rule passed by the African District Council that made the bomas compulsory. This idea popularized manure among the Nandi.⁶³⁹ By 1956, the Nandi constructed many *bomas* to be used during the dry season, and every cattle owner in the reserve got expected to have one. The bomas yielded tremendous farm produce, and the challenge of soil degradation got sorted out through a manure usage campaign. From 1952, there were preparations to introduce fertilizers in African peasant farming. African Explosive and Chemical industries supplied the fertilizers. Demonstrations on the use of fertilizer got carried out solely in maize production. Fertilizer inputs were accessible to progressive farmers, encouraging the community to adopt the new technology. Maize farms in the reserves utilised up to 400 bags by 1956 in the northern areas, including the Cheptarit and Kosirai areas, and the results were tremendous. The yields in the period were relatively high.⁶⁴⁰

From the past discussion, it is apparent that the application of fertilizers was meant for cash crop farmers, which pre-occupied all non-disabled males. The new technology in the region reshaped the ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours. Artificial Insemination technology got presented to Nandi, and by 1959, A.I. got debated. The

⁶³⁸ Kitching, G. (1980). *Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petit Bourgeoisie, 1905- 1970*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, p. 102.

⁶³⁹ KNA: AN/42/30, Annual Reports, Department of Agriculture, 1955-1956.

⁶⁴⁰ KNA: AN/42/21, Annual Reports – African Areas, Development of Agriculture, 1956-1957.

debate on introducing the A.I. services in Nandi began in 1957.⁶⁴¹ Finally, the Agricultural Department started the A.I. scheme in Kabiyet. However, its achievement was negligible in 1960.

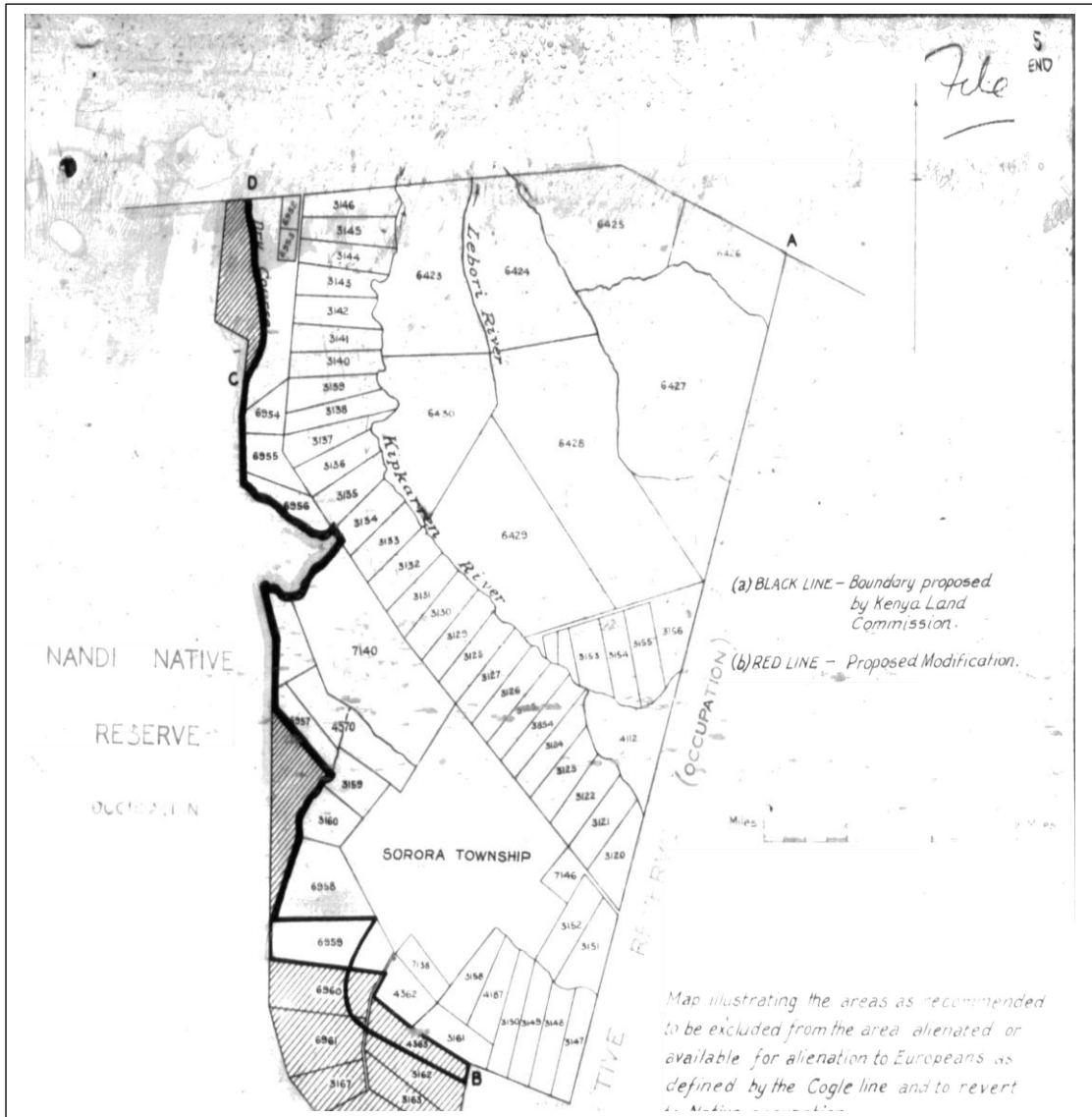
However, a team of mobile AI officers traversed daily through the northern reserve division from February 1962, administering A.I. services where essential.⁶⁴² Apart from A.I., the Nandi farmers embraced the introduced grade cattle, followed by compulsory cattle dipping in the reserve by 1962. The dipping exercise resulted in the construction of many dips in reserve to facilitate the dipping of many grade cattle kept by men in wage labour in the white highlands. However, the grade cattle needed intensive management compared to the indigenous cattle.⁶⁴³ Most of the above technologies introduced in Nandi occupied most members who had gone for wage labour and embraced the new technologies on their return. These methodologies influenced their relations with their neighbours by abandoning some cultural activities, like raiding. On the contrary, land shortage for cultivation and pastures was in higher demand. Response to this situation, as discussed earlier, led to the migration of affected Nandis to Luyia land as a coping strategy.

⁶⁴¹ KNA: AN/42/33, Annual Reports, Department of Agriculture, 1960-1961.

⁶⁴² KNA: DC/KAPT/1/7/13, Labour Officers Monthly Reports, 1949-1967.

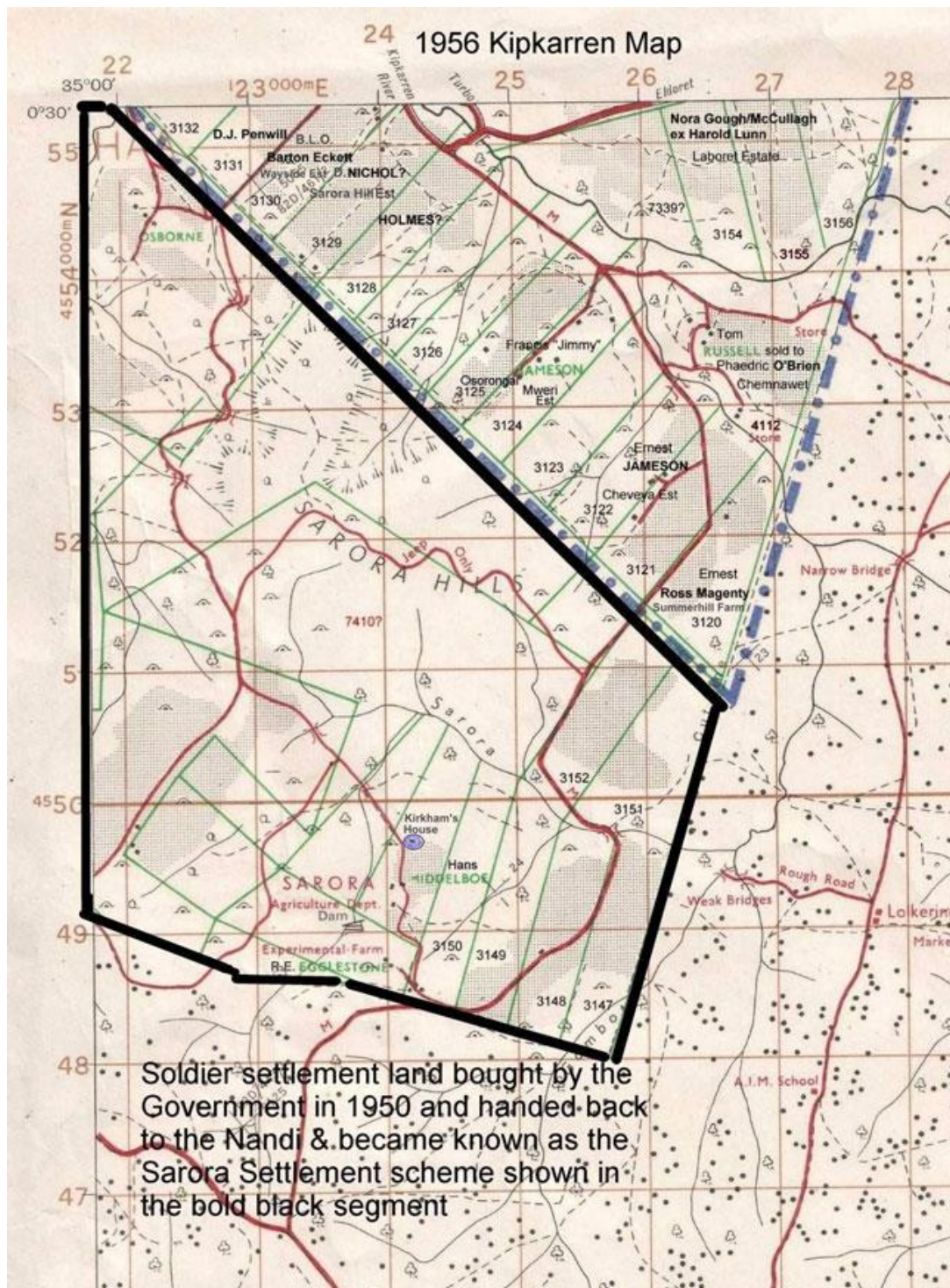
⁶⁴³ KNA: AN/42/88, Quarterly and Annual Reports, Baraton, Department of Agriculture 1954-1957

Map 5.1 Nandi Native Reserve, 1937



Source: KNA/CO533/476 Nandi Native Reserve Boundary, Land Commission Report 1937.

Map 5.2 Land alienated and later given to Ex-soldiers at Kipkarren in 1956



Source: Ng'etich, B. K. (2016) *The Impact of Migrant Labor on Marital relationships among the Nandi of Kenya, 1908 – 1963*, p. 31.

5.5 Influence of Colonial Education on Inter-ethnic Relations

In 1920, therefore, Western education got established in Kenya. Christian missionaries were almost responsible for that education. The government's role was chiefly administrative through the education department, which got established in 1911. The government and missionaries cooperated in developing education for Africans. The bulk of that education was elementary. Religious and industrial education still predominated in the African school curriculum. Colonial schools chiefly founded their curriculum on the needs of metropole investors, traders and culture. Schools stood used to develop indigenous elites who served as intermediaries between metropole, merchants and plantation labour. They remained used to incorporate indigenous peoples into producing goods necessary for metropole markets. They got used to helping change social structures to fit in with European concepts of work and interpersonal relationships and to fit disenfranchised majorities into economic and social roles defined by the dominant capitalist class.⁶⁴⁴ This statement applies to education given to all peoples colonized by Europeans in Africa, and Kenya was not left out. At the outset, Carnoy's comment is apt to the aims and practice of education for Africans in colonial Kenya. Kenyans got educated not to meet their needs but those of colonial ideology, culture and leadership. Part of that ideology was to propagate white supremacy in all walks of life, to make the African feel small and to show him how to keep his place as the hewer of wood and drawer of water. Education was a significant part of that process.

⁶⁴⁴ Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*, New York: David McKay Company Inc. 1974, p. 16.

All European colonial agents- administrators, settlers and missionaries- were united on this theme. As with the case of the colonial laws on land, politics, labour and taxation, education in Kenya remained to develop European culture and leadership and promote an enclave economy rather than serve the interests of Africans. For instance, missionary education's primary purpose was evangelising and inducting Africans into Christian and Western civilizations. Europeans taught Africans the rudiments of the 3 R's to enable the converts to help evangelize their people.

Next to religious education, missionaries also emphasized technical education as a vehicle for developing Christian homes, for making missions self-going concerns, and because they believed in the affinity between the 'gospel of work' and the 'Gospel of Salvation. They justified the suitability of technical education for Africans because the latter formed the lower stratum of society. Africans remained taught the industry's dignity of labour and habits to disdain their alleged idleness and helplessness and to discipline and inculcate humility.⁶⁴⁵

Missionaries believed Africans were to get groomed to work for the white man. Hence, there was a need for Africans to understand the needs of Europeans and acquire competencies and training to fill some place in the economy where they lived and act as helping hands in the colonial administration, the missionary establishments and settler farms.⁶⁴⁶ Writing about educating the people of Nyanza, one Anglican missionary in 1906 made the important statement that unless these people got taught to work and to work in a way that would make them useful citizens, they were bound to

⁶⁴⁵ KNA: DC/KSI/3/2/(1912), J. D. Baker to DC Kisii, Dated April 12, 1912. Kenya National Archives. p. 191.

⁶⁴⁶ KNA: PC/ NZA/3/6/77(1931), H. A. W. Chapman, Principal, GAS Kakamega on the role of the school. p. 26.

go to the wall before this influx of foreigners.

“If, before the settler comes, we can prove that the Wa-Kavirondo can be made into helpful farm servants and train many of whom we could send out for these settlers, we should confer an inestimable benefit on both the settlers and the natives.”⁶⁴⁷

Such plans did not protect African interests as the early colonial schools produced semi-literate labourers who mainly boosted European settlement and the attendant capitalism. It is little wonder that Saville was not interested in developing African reserves and giving comprehensive education that could have enabled Africans to wrestle with all aspects of life. Consequently, literary and technical education remained elementary, resulting in many mission school products being neither fit for employment in the lower cadres of government departments nor sufficiently trained as artisans. The District Commissioner, R.W.C. Baker-Beall, of South Nyeri, summarized this argument in 1934: Education was the jam on the pill of religion and the temptations to spread a thin varnish of jam on it in numerous pills. However, unfortunately, this appears to have proved irresistible. If one is to judge by the letters which reach this office, then this education system is no deep stream but a shallow and muddy pool.”⁶⁴⁸

Correspondingly, Councilor Joshua Ngari of Murang’a Local Native Council told the Director of Education at a council meeting in 1929 that he and Councilor Petro Kigundu had become teachers when they had only a smattering of education. In addition, they had never had time to acquire any fundamental knowledge. The gist is that many missionaries neither believed in Africans becoming clerks nor favoured teaching them English as it is allegedly spoiled and made them swollen-headed. Therefore, the best

⁶⁴⁷ KNA: DC/ NYI/1/3 (1934), R. W. Baker-Beall, DC South Nyeri. South Nyeri District Annual Report, 1934. p. 42.

⁶⁴⁸ KNA: DC/ NYI/1/3 (1934), R. W. Baker-Beall, DC South Nyeri. South Nyeri District Annual Report, 1934. p. 42.

African pupils were prematurely pulled out of class and sent out as evangelists-cum-teachers to establish bush schools.⁶⁴⁹ Africans were also not as competent as Asians or whites for technical jobs. In Nyanza, for example, as late as 1935, there were many openings for African artisans. However, the demand exceeded the supply, and even those available were generally capable only of work of a rough nature.⁶⁵⁰ This perception was a clear indictment of the technical work done over three decades by the various missionary bodies in Nyanza. However, technical education promoted missionary enterprise, enabling mission stations to raise enough food and cash for their use and to produce necessary bricks and furniture for their buildings.

Culturally, too, missionary education negated the African experience by ignoring the physical world and actions around the school. It created a barrier separating the old and the young, making the latter 'homeless' in mind and spirit. It also made Africans lose continuity, aim and force in their culture and society. In many ways, missionary education was complementary rather than opposed to settler and colonial policy for Kenya. European settlers opposed giving Africans the type of education that would enable them to seek equality with whites. They rejected any idea of developing African reserves, seeing this as 'merely depriving Africans of the economic incentive for wage labour. They harped on the seeming incompatibility of providing a trained and disciplined class of Africans to work on European farms and making African areas economically viable.⁶⁵¹ The same argument got used to overtax Africans and block increases in African land and wages. Lord Delamere, the Trojan of white settlerdom in Kenya, contented that only taxation could compel Africans to work for whites. He said

⁶⁴⁹ KNA: Minute 25/29. "Minutes of Fort Hall LNC Meeting, 20-21 February, 1929", p. 13.

⁶⁵⁰ KNA: DC/CN. 1/1/1 (1935), S. H. Fazan, Ag. PC (Nyanza Province). Annual Report for 1935. p. 32.

⁶⁵¹ J. M. Lonsdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

increasing wages would diminish the labour supply, as a few workers would raise taxes for their relatives. European establishments would be doomed to lack labourers if every African got established on his land.

Nonetheless, it is clear that both settlers and missionaries aimed at uprooting Africans from their socio-economic environment, thereby making them baseless and consequently easy to rule. The white settlers and missionaries sought representation on district and provincial committees that decided on African socio-economic and educational policies; they thereby influenced the kind of education given to Africans. They also pressed for and succeeded in getting their representation at the territorial level. With Lord Delamere as their representative in the Central Advisory Committee on African Education in Nairobi, they helped perpetuate industrial education for their wards and, more importantly, for settlerdom in Kenya.⁶⁵² The colonial government also endorsed the above policy.

The government argued that African intellect was undeveloped and that African education should proceed by training the eye, ear and mind. However, thought must evolve by utilizing oral or written composition and expression of form and number out of work created by his efforts. This pedagogy would lead to the development of the brain's motor centres. Administrators only differed from the missionaries on religious education, which comprised more than one-third of the mission school's syllabus.

⁶⁵² KNA: PC/NZA. 3/10/1/1 (1925-1926). Agenda Item 2. Central Advisory Committee on African Education "Proceedings of meeting held on November 18th, 1925", Native Education.

Nevertheless, it did not satisfy African needs for literary education, and the government needed to find suitable Africans to recruit as junior personnel in their colonial machinery. Colonial administrators might have wanted Christianity to form the moral base of Africans, but they did not advocate the preponderance of religion in the school syllabus.⁶⁵³ Since 1911, when the government began to formulate its policy on African education, technical education got emphasized to adapt Africans to their environment. Thus, all the first government schools for Africans, such as Kitui in 1909, Machakos in 1914, Narok in 1918, Kajiado in 1925, Kericho in 1924, Kapsabet in 1925, Tambach in 1926 and Kapenguria in 1929, got established in areas where missions had the most negligible influence. Consequently, they taught industrial education and the 3 R's got as preparation for technical education. Two central institutions, the Native Industrial Training Depot (NITD), Kabete, and the Jeanes School, Kabete, were established in 1924 and 1925 to promote this kind of education. This training was an implementation of the education policy laid down in the report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund Commission of 1922-1924 and 'The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa'. Both Thomas Jesse Jones and Lord Frederick Lugard stressed education for adapting Africans to the conditions in which the African production as a worker to promote colonial transport, trade, economy, agriculture and taxation remained underscored.⁶⁵⁴

Hence, all three categories of foreign controllers supported the idea of promoting a practical programme of education for Africans: the missionary and the settler doing so on the philosophy of the dignity of labour, and the government on other psychological

⁶⁵³ KNA: EDAR (1924), pp. 19-20,28-30., see also, Annual Report for South Nyanza District, 1916/1917. DC/KSI/1/2, p. 214.

⁶⁵⁴ Frederick J.D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1965, pp. 230-302, 425-535; Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in East Africa*, London: Edinburgh House Press, 1925, pp. 22-43,114-141, 385-387.

grounds, namely that the Africans, whose mentality and thought were said to be undeveloped, could only evolve the sense of reasoning from the practical works of his hands. The colonial administrators, therefore, ensured that the schools they established for Africans in Kenya promoted certain aspects of colonialism. Schools such as Machakos and Kabianga got built mainly to produce technicians. There were those for ghee producers, of which Narok and Kajiado were the best examples. Finally, there were schools which specialized in the production of agriculturalists. This training is the category into which Kapenguria and Tambach fell. However, to varying degrees, these schools practised all the other aspects of technical education.

Was this education for developing Africans, or was it for their subjugation? One can make a case for either of these points. However, the argument for subjection is more significant than that for development. The G.A.S. Kapenguria introduced new methods of modern agriculture and widened the scope of that industry to the West Suk with tangible results, especially as manifested in the various demonstration plots in Reserve. Machakos School also spread the gospel of masonry and tailoring far and wide among the Akamba of the Machakos district. The fruits of the G.A.S. Machakos were conspicuous in the sprawling administrative, school and medical buildings and the furniture made by its pupils. However good the above argument is, it appears to have been overshadowed by the point that the ulterior motive of education was the subjugation of Africans. Could it have been justifiable on educational grounds for a whole ethnic group to remain consigned to agriculture, another to the ghee industry and yet another to masonry-carpentry-tailoring?

The idea seems to have restricted Africans to areas for easy administration, enhancing colonialism. Therefore, African education in Kenya was an instrument of discrimination and suppression as the African got earmarked to earn his living by manual labour. Education was supposed to make him a better labourer than an uneducated one.⁶⁵⁵ To accomplish these aims, Africans were ‘technically’ introduced to the habits of industry and made to uphold the dignity of labour to make them humble and faithful followers or executors rather than questioners and givers of instructions. At least, this seems to be the gist of the message that many witnesses, largely missionaries, administrators, settlers and other employers in Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Lumbwa, Londiani, Eldoret, and Kapsabet gave before the Education Commission of 1919.

Some witnesses expressed the fear that if an African child is literary educated, the child gets ruined and looks forward to clerkships and similar careers rather than entering into the labour field. Also, the repeated stress by the Department of Education that what was necessary for Africans was not what one knew, said, wrote or read but what one could do with one’s hands should be viewed in the same vein.⁶⁵⁶

The colonialists opposed academic education because it would enable Africans to question their servile state and streamline African leadership. Such teaching was not in the interest of colonialism. The view of Thomas Jesse Jones and Lord Lugard that for British African Colonies, schooling in industrial trades should serve to control unrest in the colonies seemed to have applied in Kenya. Both Jones and Lugard dreaded the

⁶⁵⁵ Report of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate, 1919, Nairobi, Swift Press, 1919, p. 7.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

experience of India, where literary education was said to have helped arrest industrial development and made the recipients disobedient and morally indisciplined. For Lugard, academic education on European lines and as already practised in Egypt and West Africa only produced hostility and ingratitude. It made its products ready prey to the agitator and generated contempt for manual work; it made the recipient discontented, suspicious and bitter. The witnesses confirmed to the Education Commission of 1919 that such attitudes prevailed in the Department of Education in Kenya.⁶⁵⁷

Such attitudes got tied up with the idea of training Africans to develop their reserves and fill someplace in the colonial economy in their local areas. The policy of enclosing each ethnic group in its locality with little chance of associating freely with and learning from people of other ethnic groups was instrumental in crystallizing opposition against colonialism. The barriers might not have been all that tight. Nevertheless, the ulterior purpose of education offered at the schools considered here was to promote rather than hinder the colonial philosophy of divide and rule. It also helped to advance the development of the colonial economy, whose significant beneficiaries were the aliens and not the indigenous people. Its education led to the creation of an empire, the majority of whose natives were subjects. Education was a tool for advancing colonialism and settlerdom in Kenya. It is explicit when we examine the activities of Tambach, Kapenguria and Machakos scholars. These schools and others produced people fitted to work for the white man: settlers, trade, administrators and missionaries.

For instance, the fundis produced by Tambach helped establish economic imperialism

⁶⁵⁷ Lugard, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-9.

in the settled areas of the Uasin Gishu Plateau. These *fundis* put up cattle dips and sheds, granaries and shops, houses and fences for the whites on the Plateau. Their excellent work helped promote European settlerdom. There was widespread demand for ex-Tambach *fundis* among the European farms, especially those of Lessos, Sabatia, Cherangany, Moiben and Eldoret.

The demand and the satisfactory work the artisans performed for the whites pervaded the reports on Tambach School throughout the 1930s. The remarks by R. H. Howitt, the principal of Tambach, in 1937 will suffice to give an idea of the magnitude of the demand and good work done by Tambach *fundis* in helping establish settlerdom in Kenya. Howitt noted in his annual report that ex-pupil

“...Fundis are still in demand. I receive letters nearly every week asking if I can supply them, but it is challenging to meet the demand as they seem to give every satisfaction. Agricultural and technical education, therefore, boosted school and settler activities rather than the activities of the mass of the Keiyo-Marakwet...”⁶⁵⁸

European settlers did not occupy the West Suk District. However, the products of the G.A.S. Kapenguria became essential tools of the colonial economy in the settled areas outside the district. The Suk who had gained experience from the demonstration plots in their Reserve, the work of the principal of Kapenguria School, or from the school itself became ‘specialists’ in cultivating such new food crops as vegetables and fruits. Consequently, labour from the West Suk to the Trans Nzoia European farms mainly came from the agricultural Suk. They had benefited from the G.A.S. Kapenguria and

⁶⁵⁸ R. H. Howitt, “Annual Report, 1937” of December 31, 1937, op. cit., see also G. J. Stroud, Ag. STE, “Report of a Visit on December 4, 1933,” KNA: DC/TAM/2/4/1 (1933); Weller, STE, “Report on a Visit on June 14-15, 1934. No. 387/11/123 of July 10, 1934, KNA: DC/TAMB/3/4/9 (1937).

the experimental agrarian plots within their locations. The Suk harvested maize, coffee, vegetables, and fruits in the European settled areas and herded cattle. Moreover, Kapenguria School was expected and provided the first 'enlightened' headmen who promoted the wishes of the colonial administration.⁶⁵⁹

As indicated above, many colonialists saw Machakos School as a powerful force for development. It is futile to argue that the Akamba did not profit from the impact of the school because the products of the G.A.S. Machakos at least opened up minor carpentry, tailoring and other trading businesses, which helped in social change in the district. Nevertheless, the one single and most conspicuous beneficiary was colonialism. Machakos *fundis* did many works for Local Native Councils (L. N. C), the administration and settlers. These got done in Machakos township, L.N.C. outposts, and settled areas.⁶⁶⁰ The Machakos apprentices also erected additional buildings at D.C.'s headquarters besides constructing a permanent house for the senior reconditioning officer and roofing and lining a home in the Boma for G. R. Gibbons, a Government Forester. Settlerdom also benefited as Machakos apprentices carried out building work for settlers.

An example was the erection of the Machakos Sports Club House for the Ulu Settlers Association. All this work done for the L.N.C, DC, the school and the settlers went a long way to establish the colonial administration and produce its helping hands within the Machakos District. Another colonial mission that the ex-pupils of Machakos promoted was teaching in every other G.A.S. in the colony. Most African staff members

⁶⁵⁹ Captain G.B. Rimington, DC West Pokot, West Pokot District Annual Reports, 1930-1935, KNA: DC/WP. 1/2 (1932), pp. 21, 30, 38, 42-3, (1933), pp. 9-10; Captain M.R. Mahony, DC (1935), pp. 6,10.

⁶⁶⁰ W. F .G. Campbell, PC Ukamba Province, Ukamba Province Annual Reports (1929), p. 79.

at Kapsabet, Tambach, Kapenguria, Kericho and Narok were the Akamba products of the G.A.S. Machakos. They helped train other Africans for the colonial roles that had already got identified. However, the Department of Education had no intention of producing a finished African artisan. This motive was the message that E.E. Biss delivered to the Kericho School Area Committee in October 1927. Some whites viewed technical education in Kenya as nothing but turning out a half-baked person who could get called upon to do any technical work at the lowest level.

Evidence from the above analysis indicates that education, as offered in the first government schools for Africans, was meant for the comfort of the white man. That education promoted European culture and advanced the tenets of empire building with the British Crown as the peak of the whole edifice.⁶⁶¹ Literacy education got de-emphasized, while technical training remained mainly aimed at enhancing economic imperialism. A few Nandi embraced this kind of education. The Nandi liked working on farms as cattle herders and drivers mostly. Any work related to a cow was welcome.⁶⁶² The government started schools specialising in different trades and serving various aspects of the colonial economy and politics. Machakos and Kabianga Schools, for instance, taught carpentry, masonry and tailoring to the Akamba and the Kipsigis. While Kapenguria and Tambach taught modern agriculture to the West Suk and the Keiyo-Marakwet Kajiado and Narok Schools produced milkers and ghee makers amongst the Maasai.

⁶⁶¹ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Penguin Books, 1972.

⁶⁶² O. I with Kibuson Arap Randich, 89 years, 18-August-2022, Saniak.

Furthermore, these schools also advanced economic imperialism, thus keeping African ethnic groups separated and augmenting political colonialism's growth. Their products were among the first valuable labourers in the European settled areas. Governor Sir Edward Grigg underscored the importance of that labour throughout the colony during his tenure in Kenya from 1925 to 1931. On October 28, 1925, he told the Legislative Council:

“... I am certain to note that the only sure result we have so far derived from native education is technical education. The native can be trained to be a good artisan. He is doing outstanding work in the Railway works. He is quite a good driver of a motor car or tractor driver, and we are training him successfully as a mason, carpenter and builder....”⁶⁶³

As introduced by European colonizers, schooling was, therefore, part of the capitalist social, cultural, political and economic structures aimed at bringing Africans into these structures, so they remained effectively exploited. Colonial schooling as an institution for colonization, hierarchical skill production and social control played a chief role in assigning Africans to agricultural labour, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in the industrial and technical sector. Colonial education up to the mid-1930s got tailored to fit Africans to the needs of a foreign hierarchy, whether it benefited them or not. Paulo Freire sums up this as the ‘culture of silence in which colonial schooling attempted to silence, rationalize the unreasonable, and gain acceptance for oppressive structures.’⁶⁶⁴ However, the colonized acquired some new revolutionary concepts in the schools they attended, which finally aided them in challenging colonialism. The early history of African political opposition to white rule in Kenya is the history of the people who had undergone religious and industrial education. Indeed, some colonial apologists credited

⁶⁶³ E. W. M. C. Altrincham, *Speeches by H.E. Sir Edward Grigg, 1925-1930*, pp. 136-7.

⁶⁶⁴ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Penguin Books, 1972.

such African politico-cultural resurgence to colonial schooling. Lord Lugard noted that:

“...if there is discontent and a desire for independence, we have taught the value of liberty and freedom, which these people had not acknowledged for eras. Therefore, their very discontent is a measure of their progress...”⁶⁶⁵

Unquestionably, there was no time when Africans embraced colonialism: liberty and freedom were their inborn desires. This notion got attested by early African resistances like the Nandi, the Giriama, the Gusii, the Bukusu and the Gikuyu in the first two decades of this century's European colonization. They got led by people unschooled in Western scholarship. However, admittedly, formal education produced a new elite who could face the Whiteman, especially those whom the British conscripted for World Wars I & and II. Nonetheless, as Carnoy notes:

“...this group mainly acquired the leadership of the masses already opposed to European occupation and jurisdiction. The new elites translated ethnic and group resistance to Europeans into ‘national’ resistance. In this way, schooling may have made them more dangerous to European rule than their more local predecessors...”⁶⁶⁶

The above statement sounds like the fear of the colonial government attached to the returning soldiers and those who had acquired colonial education. However, as Carnoy notes, the intended educational outcomes were not achieved as he argues that the schooling made them more opposed to European rule. The intended outcome of colonial education was to make Africans fill some positions in the colonial economy and make them productive. Nevertheless, African politico-cultural resurgence was not the purpose of colonial schools. It was merely a by-product of that schooling. The factors that sharpened African education, 1940 – 1963 included, among others, mission

⁶⁶⁵ Lugard, *Op. Cit.*, p. 618.

⁶⁶⁶ Carnoy, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

schools, the returning soldiers with money and African nationalism. There was minimal primary education, while university education remained unavailable locally. It got conducted on an international basis until 1961. Colonial education and other players influenced the inter-ethnic relations in Kenya, so those communities that schooled together related well. From the oral sources, the study notes that Western education paved the way for ethnic trade links between Nandi and her neighbours.⁶⁶⁷

5.6 Stock Theft and Moral Economy in the Nandi Reserve.

From the earliest years of the colonial administration in Kenya, cattle theft by Africans against their neighbours and livestock thefts from settler farmers offered the administration their most persistent policing challenge in the African native areas of the colony. While the period of colonial rule in Kenya drew to a close, reported stock theft again showed a sharp upsurge, ascending from 1578 cases in 1955 to 4243 in 1962.⁶⁶⁸ In a pattern acquainted with the Kenya government, this prompted the revitalization of demands from the European settler community for more widespread and concerted government action to deal with the happenings of the stock thieves. Settlers held that the continuing prevalence of stock theft had much to do with the Nandi social prestige attached to the crime. Moreover, the refusal of the African people to prevent and detect stock theft got interpreted as an implicit sanctioning of such theft. However, it led to the conclusion that stock theft was not considered a crime within the moral economy of many African communities. In 1959, the Provincial Commissioner of the Rift Valley Province commented that stock theft is an indigenous sport for several African communities' young men. Therefore, the elders cannot stamp it unless they are legally

⁶⁶⁷ O. I. with Lumumba Shimuli, 89 years, Ikoli, Shamala Muchimba, 80 years, 16-July-2022.
⁶⁶⁸ KNA: Kenya Police Dept, Report for 1955 and 1962.

responsible.⁶⁶⁹

This interpretation got applied most readily to the pastoralists of western Kenya and the Rift Valley. The Maasai, Kipsigis and Nandi got involved in crimes of this sort. The belief that stock theft got accepted as a form of wealth accumulation within the Nandi society influenced the nature of the regulations put in force by the colonial government to deal with the crime. Policing and punishment got based on the idea of shared responsibility for acts of stock theft, with broad powers to extend collective punishments to families, villages and even entire locations implicated in thefts.⁶⁷⁰ While this view of stock theft as a young man's 'sport' against which no moral code was still prevalent among European settlers in 1960, the Kenya Police had long been aware of essential changes in the African approach to this crime. Over the years, stock theft had increasingly become the work of professional stock thieves operating in gangs of multi-ethnic origin. They managed to pass cattle rapidly through a series of receivers over vast distances and were known to move stolen animals across Kenya's borders into Uganda and Tanganyika.⁶⁷¹ This transition, like stock theft, took crime beyond the social order of individual African communities, eroding any sense of collective responsibility and making the implementation of collective punishments increasingly tricky.

⁶⁶⁹ KNA: PC/NKU/2/15/9. Note of a Meeting held in the Chief Secretary's Office on Wednesday, 23rd Sept., 1959, reporting discussions between government and settler representatives and enclosing minutes of the Kenya Farmers' Union Stock Thefts Sub-Committee interview with the Governor, 'The Collective Punishment Ordinance', November 1958, Kenya National Archives, Nairobi.

⁶⁷⁰ Both the Collective Punishments Ordinance (1909) and the Stock and Produce Theft Ordinance (1913), and their subsequent amendments held specific powers to extend punishment to the community, *Laws of Kenya, 1948*, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1948, Cap. 98 and Cap. 206.

⁶⁷¹ KNA: PC/NKU/2/15/9. Comments of Minister for Defence, Mr. A.C.C. Swan, Note of a meeting held in the Chief Secretary's office, 23rd September, 1959'.

If cattle theft by Africans in colonial Kenya stood thought of as a ‘young man’s sport’ by European settlers and administrators, then the young men of the Kalenjin in Kenya’s Western Highlands were undoubtedly the sport’s most enthusiastic participants. In general terms, all the Kalenjin style themselves as stock-keepers, but although there have been fluctuations in the size of livestock holdings over the past years, a mixed-farming pattern has been predominant. Although they remained recognised as having close cultural and social ties, these sections were each treated as a distinct ethnic group under colonial administration. The Maasai were their nineteenth-century neighbours on the grasslands of the Uasin Gishu Plateau and the Rift Valley. Only after the British conquest forced their removal from these grazing lands did the Kalenjin settlement area begin to expand significantly.⁶⁷²

However, in the early 1900s, expansion got restricted by the demarcation of lands throughout the Western Highlands for European settlement. As a result, the reserves subsequently allotted to each Kalenjin group were close to European settlement areas. This expansion process, the relationship of Kalenjin lands to European farms, and the extent of social relationship between the several Kalenjin sections have considerable relevance to the shifting pattern of stock theft among the Kalenjin within the period under review.

Several ethnographic and anthropological accounts mention the Nandi attitudes towards stock theft during the first half of the 19th century.⁶⁷³ Among each Nandi, a distinction got carefully drawn between someone who raids cattle from ‘outsiders’ -

⁶⁷² Anderson, D. M. 1983. 'Herder, Settler and Colonial Rule: a history of the peoples of the Baringo Plains, Kenya, c. 1890-1940', unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University.

⁶⁷³ Huntingford, G. W. B. 1953a. *The Nandi of Kenya: tribal control in a pastoral society*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Europeans or other Africans, including other Kalenjin communities and someone who steals cattle from members of his section. The social response to such acts demonstrated the moral distinction between a raid and a theft. At the same time, individual stock theft from outsiders was a form of wealth accumulation from which the entire community benefited, allowing younger members to accumulate wealth without needing redistribution.⁶⁷⁴

It was considered an acceptable risk that outsiders might raid the Kalenjin to regain their property.⁶⁷⁵ Raiding remained expected on the boundary between the Luo, Luo-Nandi, and Luyia-Nandi. Closer contact between adjacent localities often precluded such acts. Beyond these exclusions determined by territorial proximity, the interpretation of early European observers that the Nandi did not embrace the stock theft from outsiders to be a crime essentially holds; the Nandi moral economy imposed no sanction in contradiction of the theft of livestock from non-Nandi peoples.⁶⁷⁶

The indigenous raids against non-Nandi were the act that most embraced the notion of stock theft as an honourable occupation among the Nandi and implied a high degree of community culpability. Large-scale cattle raids involved a broad spectrum of the community in their planning and execution. By groups of forty and sixty members of the warrior age grades, a location raid would only stand mounted after a discussion with groups of elders and never be undertaken without the blessing and guidance of a local ritual leader, the *Orkoiyot*. Among the Nandi society, prospective raids got deliberated

⁶⁷⁴ Peristiany, J. G. 1939. *The Social Institutions of the Kipsigis*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

⁶⁷⁵ Cutshall, C. R. 1982. 'Culprits, culpability and crime: stock theft and other cattle manoeuvres among the Ila of Zambia', *African Studies Review*, 25, 1 – 26.

⁶⁷⁶ Massam, J. A. 1927. *The Cliff Dwellers of Kenya*. London: Se

in a summit of elders of the *pororiet*. Only the *orkoiyot*, by default of his wider ritual influence, could link numerous *pororosiek* and coordinate an enormous raid. Cattle from a successful attack got distributed among the participants, and the ritual leaders received livestock for their services. In differing ways, the warriors, elders and the *Orkoiyot* benefited from large-scale raiding. Similarly, the sense of community responsibility in planning a raid remained reinforced by the possible penalties for the community of reprisals; the dangers were evident and had to get calculated carefully.⁶⁷⁷

As the native cattle raid got less common, other forms of chancer theft from outsiders, which were both more insidious and less culpable to the community, continued and became more prevalent. Opportunist theft from other Africans required no preparation above the capability of members of a family to seize cattle belonging to others sketchily herded near their stock. Such thefts were most common in the neighbourhood of salt licks, watering places, and dry-season grazing areas shared with other herders. Drought tended to afford more significant prospects for this category of theft when pastoralist resources were scarce, and livestock belonging to different peoples were more likely to be temporarily congested. Boundaries between lands taken for settlers, farms and lands reserved for the Nandi were initially fluid rather than firm. At first, many of these boundaries remained poorly delineated on the ground, and most settler-farm boundaries remained unfenced throughout the colonial period. Until the 1920s, Nandi herders continued to graze their cattle on settler farms in many areas without realizing their right to utilise that grazing land remained threatened.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁷ Matson, A. T. 1970. 'Nandi traditions on raiding', in B. A. Ogot (ed.), *Hadith* 2, 61-78. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

⁶⁷⁸ Anderson, D. M. 1984. 'Depression, dust bowl, demography and drought: the colonial state and soil conservation in East Africa during the 1930s', *African Affairs*, 83, 321-45.

The practice of settlers in permitting Africans and their stock to remain on the farm as squatters continued to distort the distinction between the area of European settlement and the African reserves. Settler-owned and African squatter livestock frequently intermingled on the farms, circumstances in which cattle theft from settlers became notoriously easy. While European theft complaints remained regularly linked to the contravention of quarantine guidelines and the threat posed to the livestock industry, the negligent supervision of their squatters and workers by many farmers tended to corrode the effect of these organizational panels.⁶⁷⁹ Therefore, the alienation of lands for European settlement had brought Nandi sections and additional African clusters in the western plateaus into closer contact, affording more significant opportunities for stealing livestock from other Africans and Europeans.

As the Europeans in the Western Highlands turned out to be more densely settled and more intensively farmed after 1920, complaints of Nandi stock thefts from the farms thrived alarmingly.⁶⁸⁰ Thefts got concentrated on farms along the reserve boundaries, with the most significant incidence in the Songhor and Kipsigis areas adjacent to the Nandi and Kipsigis reserves and the vicinity of the Tindiret forest.⁶⁸¹ By 1919, forest areas had remained identified as the entrepot through which Nandi entered the farms, and stolen livestock passed out to the reserves.⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁹ Van Zwanenberg, R. M. A. 1975. *Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, 1919-39*, Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

⁶⁸⁰ Ellis, D. 1976. 'The Nandi protest of 1923 in the context of African resistance to colonial rule in Kenya', *Journal of African History*, 17, 555 -75.

⁶⁸¹ PC/NZA/3/18/5/1, Stock Thefts, Nandi District, See the evidence gathered in 'Cattle in Forests, 1918 – 1929, ARC(FOR) 7/2/641.

⁶⁸² Ibid.

Various Nandi communities in the 1950s agitated for European withdrawal and handing over tracts of land in Kipkarren and Kaimosi. Thus, the conflict got mainly based on the colonized against the colonizers. Justifying violence for emancipatory purposes, Frantz Fanon emphasized the psychological aspects of colonial domination and the violent resistance these grievances generated.⁶⁸³ Even if the Fanonian psychoanalytical approach has some Marxian class inclination, it got integrated into the model formulated to harness aspects of Dahrendorf and Simmel with an appropriate psychological dimension. Indeed, through the dualism of the colonizer and the colonized, there is a process of sociation which brings into interplay forces of unequal distribution, not only of authority and power but also land along racial lines. In this case, the White settlers got favour while the natives, on the other hand, got discriminated against in all economic aspects. At the local level, the conflict degenerated into ethnic or sub-ethnic dimensions. This inequality caused by endogenous and exogenous forces results in social, political, economic and psychological conflicts.

Mazrui's position here primarily illustrates the conflictual relations within societies.⁶⁸⁴ As described in chapter one, he perceives conflict as the highest stage that could lead to integration. Herein lies the seed for conflict resolution and integration. This Mazruian view seems to be still cherished by him, as his other works illustrate.⁶⁸⁵ This study discussed the conflict within the Nandi inter-ethnic relations dimension. Land alienation, forced destocking, racism, and ultimate colonialism were colony-wide and

⁶⁸³ Seidman, S. (1996) "Empire and Knowledge: More Troubles, New Opportunities for Sociology" in *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 25, No. 3, May.

⁶⁸⁴ Mazrui, A. A. (1969a). *Violence and Thought*, London: Longman.

⁶⁸⁵ Mazrui, A. A., et al., (1993), "Nation building and Changing Political Structures" in eds. Mazrui A. A. and Wandj C. *General History of Africa*, Vol. VIII., California: Unesco.

continental concerns. In the era of decolonization, various communities inhabited Nandi, Kakamega, Vihiga, and Kisumu had begun living in harmonious inter-ethnic relations. It is this often calm and imperceptible interaction that this chapter addresses. Here are arguments to point out that social relations operating in any locality are subtle and complex and defy blanket generalisations' norms. This section addressed the areas of formal education and social welfare. However, some undercurrents of tension and suspicion emerge even in these aspects.

The interactions ranged from working together on community development projects, assisting needy people, and intermarriages that brought the communities socially closer. Therefore, this process continued even during the decolonization period. For example, members worked together during ploughing, planting, pasture clearing, spring protection, and even drinking beer. However, these inter-ethnic relations led to intermarriages and the cross-fertilization of cultural values. These included sharing names, items and places from both community sides. Similarly, practices such as clitoridectomy gradually got introduced into non-practising communities. However, this cultural practice occurred mainly to uncircumcised brides who got married to the Nandi.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the implications of the Second World War and decolonization on Nandi inter-ethnic relations. First, inter and intra-ethnic relations during the study period got discussed. Then, the Second World War and post-war policies on Nandi ethnic relations got discussed. The First World War deeply affected the manner in which the colonial powers set world policies.

The war influenced how they governed their nations and colonies worldwide. The advent of establishments like the League of Nations was the resultant effect of the havoc and disaster inflicted by WW1 on world powers. The mandate of the League of Nations was to advocate for a peaceful co-existence and welfare of developing countries between all Nations.

Moreover, the promotion of the welfare of the developing and under colonial rule was one of the central forces influencing world superpowers such as Great Britain during the 1929 Great Depression as well as the 1940s.⁶⁸⁶ Following the call for peace and welfare of the colonized nations, Britain tried to implement a welfare policy in African colonies and Kenya to maintain its colonial influence and stability. Britain's colonial rule and stability in Kenya had other economic calamities like the 1929 Great Depression, whose impact was felt up to the 1930s.

WWII characterizes a significant milestone in the history of colonist Kenya.⁶⁸⁷ Following the outbreak of WWII, the foundation of African political liberty and agitation for independence was marked. The war became a powerful reagent following the experiences of African soldiers. African nationalism was rooted in the war, culminating in an agitation for their freedom from the colonial masters. Both Africa and Europe were affected by the effects of the Second World War. The war directly led to Africa's decolonisation by distressing Europe and Africa regarding military

⁶⁸⁶ Allain, Jean, *The Slavery Conventions: The Travaux Préparatoires of the 1926 League of Nations Convention and the 1956 United Nations Conventions*, Koninklijke, Netherland, Brill NV, Leiden, 2008, p. 12.

⁶⁸⁷ Jeffrey Ahlman, "Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa," *Kronos*, (2011): 25.

experiences, psychologically, politically, and economically.⁶⁸⁸ Land questions remained at the heart of Kenyan politics during the war. Post-war political economy stimulated initially by a wartime demand for food to feed allied troops, African entrepreneurs branched into several activities soon after World War II ended. The Nandi who got affected emigrated to different places, including western Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda.

For the colony to realize its full-blown potential, there was a need to incorporate agricultural technology such as farm implements, tools and processes. This technology was necessary to facilitate production at the same time, minimise the use of human resources and production labour time, and thus alleviate food and material uncertainty.⁶⁸⁹

In 1920, therefore, Western education got established in Kenya. Christian missionaries were almost responsible for that education. The government's role was chiefly administrative through the education department, which got established in 1911. The government and missionaries cooperated in developing education for Africans. This move started much earlier than the period under scrutiny in this chapter. Missionaries believed Africans were to get groomed to work for the white man. Hence, the need for Africans to understand the needs of Europeans, acquire competencies to fill some place in the economy where they lived, and act as helping hands in the colonial administration, the missionary establishments and settler farms.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁸ Basil Davidson, "The Second World War, 1939-1945," *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History*, (1994): 61-65.

⁶⁸⁹ Stamp P. (1989). *Technology, Gender and Power in Africa*. Canada: International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, p. 49.

⁶⁹⁰ H. A. W. Chapman, Principal, GAS Kakamega on the role of the School. KNA: PC/NZA/3/6/77(1931), p. 26.

Culturally, too, missionary education negated the African experience by ignoring the physical world and actions around the school. It created a barrier separating the old and the young. Nonetheless, settlers and missionaries aimed to uproot Africans from their socio-economic environment, making them baseless and easy to rule.

Cattle theft in colonial Kenya dates back to the precolonial epoch, and as such, it morphed into an administrative challenge in the settler farms. The administration was forced to do much policing to curb the challenge. While the period of colonial rule in Kenya drew to a close, reported stock theft again showed a sharp upsurge, ascending from 1578 cases in 1955 to 4243 in 1962.⁶⁹¹ In a pattern acquainted with the Kenya government, this prompted the revitalization of demands from the European settler community for more widespread and concerted government action to deal with the happenings of the stock thieves. Settlers held that the continuing prevalence of stock theft had much to do with the Nandi social prestige attached to the crime.

Moreover, the refusal of the African people to prevent and detect stock theft got interpreted as an implicit sanctioning of such theft. However, it led to the conclusion that stock theft was not considered a crime within the moral economy of many African communities. In 1959, the Provincial Commissioner of the Rift Valley Province commented that stock theft is an indigenous sport for several African communities' young men. Therefore, the elders cannot stamp it unless they are legally responsible.⁶⁹²

⁶⁹¹ KNA: Kenya Police Dept, Report for 1955 and 1962.

⁶⁹² KNA: PC/NKU/2/15/9. Note of a Meeting held in the Chief Secretary's Office on Wednesday, 23rd Sept., 1959, reporting discussions between government and settler representatives and enclosing minutes of the Kenya Farmers' Union Stock Thefts Sub-Committee interview with the Governor, 'The Collective Punishment Ordinance', November 1958, Kenya National Archives, Nairobi.

This chapter has pointed out that the specific relations one may highlight require historical contextualization. The old social structure got defined by a complex system of mutual relations that survived inter-ethnic relations. This section paves the way for the next chapter to assess further the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations, 1963 – 2003. Moreover, answer the question: Which post-colonial factors influenced ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours?

CHAPTER SIX

POST-COLONIAL INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS, NANDI AND HER NEIGHBOURS, 1963 – 2003

6.0 Introduction

This chapter posits to answer the question: Which post-colonial factors influenced the ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours? As it premises on the questions, it further assessed the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations from 1963 – 2003. First, the study covered the following items: Nandi, a neo-colonial society, land grabbers, internal conflicts and conflicts. Next, the section discussed ethnic clashes, Nandi post-colonial politics, and Nandi politicians' influence within the study period. Similarly, the impact of artificial borders, land individualization and capitalization on Nandi inter-ethnic relations got assessed. Finally, the chapter discussed the causes of inter-ethnic conflicts between Nandi and her neighbours in post-independent Kenya.

The period 1963 manifested the departure from the colonial era in Kenya, comprising sixty-eight years.⁶⁹³ The period is a different year in the Kenyan socioeconomic and political journey. The colonial boundaries inaccurately fragmented people who shared similar values in various groups. Collections in the scenario comprise a number of eastern African countries such as Somalia, Uganda, Sudan and Tanzania. These cases illustrate the northern colonial boundaries between Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya, which inaccurately tore apart the Somali clans into three separate countries. The same applied to the Abaluyia, Nandi, and Luo, who broke their people because of the detrimental colonial boundaries. The Maasai and the Kuria split when European colonialists drew

⁶⁹³ Odinga, O., (1967). Not yet Uhuru, Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers.

the Kenya-Tanzania boundary. The chapter, therefore, assessed how the relationships between Nandi and her neighbours got influenced in post-colonial Kenya to 2003.

6.1 Preamble to Independence 1959 – 1963

The elections of 1957 saw Moi become MP for Rift Valley and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga become MP for Central Nyanza. Now, Moi and Jaramogi were elected as MPs. What were their ideals? Moreover, these would be the future leaders of these communities. 1959 – 1963 were as turbulent politically as the early Mau-Mau period had been military. Influential Africans like Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga, the Luo leaders from western Kenya, put themselves second to the imprisoned Kenyatta, arguing that his release was a precondition to negotiations for independence. Kenyatta continued languishing in jail as a series of constitutional meetings designed to edge Kenya along the pathway to autonomy began to unfold.

In 1954, the Lyttleton Constitution, named for the secretary of state for the colonies, opened the political door to African participation. Although still committed to parity between the races, that constitution did allow eight African representatives on the Kenya Legislative Council and did establish a multiracial administrative system. In 1958, the new Lennox-Boyd Constitution raised African participation to fourteen seats. Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga were elected to the council and offered ministerial positions. However, both refused their portfolios until the African representation on the LegCo increased. The formation of KANU and KADU as the main political parties also planted the seed of discord to germinate later. The ideology of KANU and how the two communities belonged to two different camps already sowed the seeds of conflicts between Nandi and Luo. The Nandi community were probably in KADU because of

Moi a Kalenjin and Majimboism, while the Luo community were in KANU because of Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga, respectively.

Political events of 1959 began to move more rapidly. First, Kenyatta's seven-year jail term got completed, but he was re-detained by the colonial government for security reasons at Lodwar in Northern Kenya.⁶⁹⁴ Two other contentious issues, however, were resolved in 1959: the ban on organizing political societies that had been in force since Mau-Mau got lifted, allowing multiracial groups to emerge nationally. Finally, a basic plan for purchasing European farms with British aid funds remained finalized, and almost immediately, the first 2750 stood offered for sale. These lands got sold to everyone who accessed the British loans.

In 1960, protracted negotiations between the colonial government and nationalist leaders got carried out on how the land question should stand settled. The final agreement included the right of Europeans to recover their investments and repatriate the money. They, moreover, understood that this land transfer would get accomplished economically to ensure continued growth and production, and finally, an agreement to provide land to the landless, particularly the landless poor, the unemployed, and the squatters.⁶⁹⁵

Lancaster talks of 1961 and 1962, and the first constitution supposedly became the Majimbo constitution. The British agreed with the fear of the minority that their

⁶⁹⁴ Were, Gedion Saulo and Derek A. Wilson, (East Africa through a Thousand Years, Evans Brothers Limited, 1968, 300-5.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid, 302-3.

interests got taken care of in the constitution.⁶⁹⁶ Therefore, they decided that Majimbo would be inside the constitution of 1962. However, unfortunately, that also planted the seeds of discord. Meanwhile, in London, the Lancaster House conference led to the new MacLeod Constitution, which gave Africans sixty-five seats on the Legislative Constitution and allowed most government ministers to be African. At this point, the British government surprised all participants by announcing its intention to grant independence to Kenya in a short period. Almost immediately, two political parties got formed. The Kenya African National Union, led by Mboya and Odinga in the name of Kenyatta, was made up ethnically of Kikuyu, Luo and the old guard of the banned KAU.⁶⁹⁷

The second party, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), led by Ronald Ngala, Daniel Arap Moi, and others, was a party of some Kamba and several ethnic minorities: the Kalenjin, Maasai, coastal Mijikenda, Somali, and other pastoralist peoples. In May 1960, KANU nominated the imprisoned Jomo Kenyatta as party leader, a move quickly disallowed by the colonial government. Undaunted, the KANU leaders stated that Jomo Kenyatta was their undisputed leader. Therefore, Kenyatta must lead their party if they were victorious in the forthcoming February 1961 election for seats in the Legislative Council. KANU won over KADU, sixteen seats to nine, and the pressure to release Kenyatta got redoubled. Finally, in July 1961, Governor Sir Patrick Renison agreed to the release. On 14th August 1961, Kenyatta was set free and transported to Gatundu, his home near Nairobi, where he received a grand reception. A triumphant journey through Nairobi and Mombasa followed, and in October 1961, with near unanimous support,

⁶⁹⁶ Jesse Kimani, (1963) Kenya's Rocky Road to Independence, Africa Today. Indiana University Press. Vol. 10 No. 10, p. 5-6.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid, 6.

Kenyatta became the premier of KANU. In 1963, KANU won, and Jaramogi became the vice president of the Republic of Kenya, and his powers included changing boundaries and borders.⁶⁹⁸

It is substantial to note that as the transition to independence increased, the ruling colonial officials and European farmers were bargaining with long-term economic concessions to retain some control of the government apparatus. Kenya nationalists first agreed to maintain private land title deeds and a foreign-tailored registration system for the nation. This decision profoundly influenced the nation's social structure and affected how goods and services got produced and exchanged. The nationalists accepted a capitalistic, free-enterprise, private property system. They also agreed to buy out European farms at fair prices, to remain in close economic alliance with the West, to continue to host multinational corporations, to buy British, and to receive Western foreign aid. In these settlement schemes, the Nandi peasants were impoverished and could not afford to purchase those pieces of land.

Most Nandi argued that the land in question originally belonged to them and should be reverted to them freely. Therefore, the Luo and Nandi middle class were the only ones who could buy. Odongo Omamo, Oginga Odinga, and Henry Kosgey took advantage of that. These pieces of land were settlement schemes, and now all people were coming in to Songhor, Chemelil, as the white man was returning to London. The Nandi believed these settlement schemes were theirs, but the government or the state in their hearts argued that these were settlement schemes that anybody could buy. This scheme goes alongside Kaimosi and Kipkarren; the deal was "willing buyer and a willing seller".

⁶⁹⁸ Were, G. S & Wilson D. A. Op. Cit. .303-4.

Hence, again, planting the seeds of future discord. The Nandi perceived this as their ancestral land, but the government insisted that it was government land and everybody was entitled to buy it.⁶⁹⁹

On the other hand, the Nandi saw Jaramogi as the Vice President and probably imagined that he would bring in his people. Now comes the plantations of tea and sugarcane; who are the owners of these big farms? Here again, the seeds of discord between Nandi and her neighbours got planted. In exchange, the British government and the settlers agreed to peacefully hand over the apparatus of government: the civil service, police, judiciary, prisons, army, buildings, equipment, employees and symbols and legitimacy of government. In so doing, British authorities indirectly agreed to establish a small African elite that would garner economic rewards at the expense of poorer citizens. This situation would be potentially explosive and unstable if hard class lines got formed.

In addition, despite parliamentary safeguards, the British handed extreme power to one man. Kenyatta's broad support and adroitness to 'informal' politics gave him the wherewithal to direct the system in any way he chose.⁷⁰⁰ In April 1962, a temporary coalition government of KANU and KADU got formed under a framework constitution. National elections in which the two parties would vie for seats in the first national assembly stood for a year later. The assembly was to be a bicameral system containing 41 seats. In the pre-election campaign, KANU's candidates had embraced national unity, centralism in government, African socialism and a nonaligned approach to foreign affairs. KADU advocated a regional form of government, greater

⁶⁹⁹ O. I. with Cornelius Seroney, Male, 82 years, on 20th February, 2022 at Kibwareng'.

⁷⁰⁰ Rok Ajulu (1992), Kenya: The Road to Democracy, Review of African Political Economy, Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 79-87.

conservatism in finance and welfare, greater latitude for ethnic loyalties in politics, and closer ties to Britain. The election outcome was tight in the senate (KANU eighteen seats, KADU sixteen, other groups seven. In the parliament, however, KANU dominated the election with seventy seats to KADU's thirty-two; the splinter groups captured fifteen seats, but ominously, the election was boycotted by ethnic Somalis living in Kenya's northeast arid lands. They held that their territory would stand ceded to Somalia. Following the elections on 1st June 1963, Kenya attained its internal self-government with Jomo Kenyatta, president of KANU, becoming the prime minister and later president.⁷⁰¹

Furthermore, he convened Kenya's first cabinet, which was multiracial. In September 1963, the final agreement remained reached in London on the Independence Constitution. Although still setting up a regional form of government, the document had stood tempered to be acceptable to both KANU and KADU. On 12th December 1963, in a dignified midnight ceremony attended by the Duke of Edinburgh representing Queen Elizabeth, the British Union Jack received its strike for the last time, and Kenya's new flag stood hoisted.⁷⁰²

6.2 The Post-Independence, KANU Era

Consequently, Kenya celebrated its independence on 12th December 1963 with a federal constitution, but the issue of nationhood was still fragile. Sub-national sentiments within each of the eight regions were strong, for each area got defined by a dominant ethnic group. Thus, in the Western Region are the Abaluyia, the Rift Valley comprises

⁷⁰¹ Were, G. S. & Derek, A. W. Op. Cit. 305.

⁷⁰² Ibid, 305.

the Kalenjin and the Maasai, the Central area is Agikuyu, and the Eastern region is the Embu, Kamba, and Meru. In contrast, the Coast region comprises the Swahili and the Mijikenda. Nairobi region is a multicultural, cosmopolitan city of all ethnic and racial groups and a capital city of the central government.

Moreover, the Northern Province, still keen on secession, comprises the Somali ethnic group. Therefore, all regional vocabularies, apart from Nairobi's, were given colonial connotations. Okondo, P.H., one of the advocates of *Majimhoism*, criticizes these nomenclatures and suggests that the Western province should have stood named 'Buluyia' and 'Nyanza' given a Luo description such as Ramogi, Piny Luo or any other Luo connotation. This notion was to reflect dominant ethnic groups in the region.⁷⁰³

In the *Majimbo* constitution, each region had a Regional Assembly to legislate and control agricultural lands, elementary and intermediate schools and civil servants. The region also managed a separate police force and the judiciary. And civil servants. All these were to be constitutionalized and a service rendered by the National Government. The National Government had a two-chamber parliament: the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The National Government also managed the foreign affairs department, defence, education at secondary and tertiary levels, natural resources, finance, and foreign trade. Hence, the seed of conflict at the ethnic and political levels was planted here. Kenyatta had termed this *Majimbo* arrangement an affair he got set to aggravate.

⁷⁰³ Okondo P. H. (1995) A Commentary on the Constitution of Kenya, Nairobi, Phoenix publishers, pp 148.

Moreover, it planted another seed of discord that later propagated into uneasy coexistence among Kenyan ethnic communities, and as such, Nandi was no exception in matters touching land. The article on the ground suggested that;

“...all Kenyan ethnic groups had to drop all claims to the land alienated by the colonial government, either given to the British settlers or treated as the Crown or government land...”

In contemporary Kenya, land could only stand acquired through purchase. Therefore, there were to be provisions stipulated for the Africans to acquire land from settlers. Furthermore, funding through loans remained the prerogative of the British government to enable Kenya to buy back the estranged land from white settlers who were to quit the colony at independence. When one considers the nature of acute unequal growth since colonial Kenya, this kind of setting was bound to pose tricky issues to the first post-independence Nandi community, among other communities, right from 1963.⁷⁰⁴

The Nandi land issue went unsettled, and the inter-ethnic relations depended on how well such issues got addressed based on how the culture of inter-ethnic relations got carried out. Indeed, inter-ethnic relations were necessary for national and inter-ethnic cohesion. However, as discussed earlier, colonial borders were drawn, like any other African country, piercing various ethnic groups into different territories. The uncertainty in the rouge boundary creation is apparent in the Somali ethnic mission for Greater Somalia. As a result, some Somalis are in Somalia, others in Ethiopia, and others in Kenya.

⁷⁰⁴ Odinga, O., (1967) *Not Yet Uhuru*, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, and Kuria Kamau G., (1993). *Majimboism and Ethnic Clashes in Kenya today*, in *The Nairobi Law Monthly*, May., pp. 21.

Similarly, the Maasai got split into Kenya and Tanzania. The Luo were divided between Tanzania, Kenya, Sudan, Kenya, and Uganda, while the Kuria stood shared between Tanzania and Kenya. The Abaluyia, Teso, Kalenjin and Nandi, in particular, are scattered between Kenya and Uganda.⁷⁰⁵ These concerns preoccupied Kenyan leadership between the period 1960 and 1970. Mazrui argues that nation-building implies widening the horizons of the identity of parochial ethnic units to include more extensive and composite units. This episode converged to a specific view of the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours in the reviewed period.⁷⁰⁶

From the beginning, adherents of the KANU party tirelessly worked hard to aggravate the *Majimbo* framework. Between 1963 and 12th Dec. 1964, all KADU MPs were influenced, at times coercively, to cross the floor into KANU, making Kenya a one-party state. The main argument then was to avoid unnecessary fragmentation of the Kenyan people. Little did such KANU proponents like Odinga⁷⁰⁷ realize that removing the checks and balances contained in the *majimbo* package would leave room for abuse of office. The removal of key clauses of the *majimbo* constitution took place through constitutional amendments that culminated in the entire re-writing of the constitution in 1969. At the end of the re-writing, Kenya got rid of regions, and in their place, provinces under Provincial Commissioners were re-established as they were during colonialism.

⁷⁰⁵ Were, G. S., (1992) *History, Public Morality and Nation-Building*. (Nairobi: G. S. Were Press), pp 8, and Cohen R. (1995) *The State: A Lenticular perspective* ed. Delle Oluwu et al. *Governance and Democratization in Nigeria*, Ibadan Spectrum Books Ltd, pp 36.

⁷⁰⁶ Mazrui (1993:436) A. A. et al, 1993. "Nation building and Changing political Structures" in eds, Mazrui A. A. and Wadj C., *General History of Africa Vol. VIII* (California: UNESCO), pp 436.

⁷⁰⁷ Odinga, O., (1967). *Not Yet Uhuru*, Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, pp 284-285.

Similarly, only one chamber of the National Assembly replaced the *majimbo*'s two-tier sections.⁷⁰⁸ The re-writing resulted in the vesting of gigantic authorities in the presidency. The presidency was to exercise great powers, skewing the officeholder towards authoritarianism.⁷⁰⁹ The president became a constituency Member of Parliament, the head of government and the state.

The head of state had powers to appoint his deputy, cabinet members, the secretary to the cabinet, and the controller and auditor-general at his discretion. He was not required to subject his nominees to parliamentary vetting, unlike what happened under the new dispensation (the 2010 constitution) promulgated under the leadership of President Mwai Kibaki, the third president of Kenya. Consequently, the authoritarianism that continued into the late 1990s got propagated in the scrapping of the *majimbo* constitution. These immense powers in the new body vested in the presidency ultimately impacted the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours during the KANU regime. As a result, there arose a skew in the allocation of state resources, which has remained to the present. This skewing in Kenyatta's administration was towards the Agikuyu, his relatives and kinswomen.⁷¹⁰ The president used these powers to enable his ethnic community to obtain fertile tracts of land in the now conflict-ridden Rift Valley Province at the expense of the perceived indigenous communities of the Kalenjin and Maasai.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁸ Nasong'o, S. W., (1999), "Constitution Making and the Minority Question: Assessment of Mwambao Separatism and Somali irredentism" in ed. Cheywa Ludeki Constitutional Politics and the Challenge of Democracy in Kenya (Nairobi: Sareat), pp 180.

⁷⁰⁹ Anyang Nyong'o, P. (1989), "State and Society in Kenya": The Disintegration of the Nationalist Coalitions and the Rise of Presidential Authoritarianism 1963-1978" in African Affairs, Vol. 88, No. 1.

⁷¹⁰ Nasong'o (1997:13) Nasong'o, W. S., (1997). Resource Allocation and The Crisis of Political Conflicts in Africa: Beyond the Inter-ethnic Hatred Thesis. (A revised edition of a paper presented at the Historical Association of Kenya Annual Conference held at Kisumu between October 31st and November 2nd 1997).

⁷¹¹ Leys, C. (1975), Underdevelopment in Kenya, (London: Heinemann), pp 228.

Leys argues that to address the issue of landlessness in Kenya in the 1960s, they got absorbed by private purchases of large farms by cooperatives or companies. This policy led to the further large-scale immigration of the Agikuyu on the Rift Valley land, which the various Kalenjin groups regarded as their own. Leys points out that initially, the affected Kalenjin communities merely remained mute. However, in the subsequent semi of the 1960s, it became clear to the Kalenjin that they could soon lack land in the Rift Valley. Violent episodes resulted. In addition, in 1969, Jean Marie Seroney published the 'Nandi Hill Declaration', claiming all settler-held land in the area belonged to the Nandi sub-ethnic group alone. However, since Kenyatta's influence was immense, Seroney's declaration remained faulted, and he was arrested, prosecuted for treason and made to pay a hefty fine. In the meantime, more Agikuyu land buyers continued moving into the Rift Valley. This trend sowed seeds of discord that later contributed to the souring of inter-ethnic relations in the Rift Valley in the later Kenyatta and Moi regimes.⁷¹² The western Rift Valley, which forms the border point between Nandi and her neighbours, has resulted from the seeds planted in the late 1960s.

The Nandi marginalization thus started during Kenyatta's regime. Key politicians from among Abaluyia were either denied strategic posts or detained if they proved stubborn, as Martin Shikuku's case demonstrates. These examples show a culture of ethno-dimensional political consciousness that seemed antithetical to territorial nationhood. To that extent, intra and inter-ethnic consciousness and contentions emerged. Nonetheless, of interest to this discussion here is that these examples gave rise to the

⁷¹² Leys, C. (1975), *Underdevelopment in Kenya*, (London: Heinemann), pp 228-230.

popular notion that ethnic groups whose members occupy the highest offices have a turn to 'eat' their share of the national cake.

Multi-party crusaders hailed from the Central, Western, Nyanza, Eastern and Coast provinces, which seemed well tailored to the goals of the wind of change. The crusaders linked authoritarianism, mismanagement and corruption not only with the single-party rule of KANU but, more specifically, highlighted the ethnic-dimensional operations of the Kenyan leader, Daniel T. Moi, a Kalenjin. The inevitable consequence was the scare of losing power and devising a survival mechanism against the wind of change. In a counter-strategy, the frightened KANU stalwarts from the Kalenjin community sought to forestall the efforts of pluralist advocates drawn mainly from the clergy, lawyers and politicians. They did this by reviving the *majimbo*, resorting to repressive political measures and appropriately arguing that the country's ills started during the Kenyatta era. The multi-party activists, especially Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia, proposed holding a public referendum at Kamukunji grounds in Nairobi on 7th July 1990, whose objective was to discuss the need for reintroducing multi-party democracy in Kenya. The two were arrested and detained before the rally.

Nevertheless, the crowd still went to the venue, anticipating listening to speeches by multi-party advocates and, in the process, engaged the police, who dispersed them. As a result, many people got injured. Consequently, this event got referred to as the *saba-saba* rally.⁷¹³ The concerns among KANU politicians increased in August 1991. This increase caused politicians like Odinga, Muliro, and Martin Shikuku, among others, to announce a new outfit. The outfit got named Forum for Restoration of Democracy as a

⁷¹³ Kiliku, 1992:7 op cit.

pressure group. The ethno-dimensional thrust of politics became apparent in the counter strategy. KANU politicians, especially the Kalenjin, conducted a series of rallies between 8th September 1991 and 17th October 1991. They threatened multi-party proponents with dire consequences if they insisted on pursuing their political agenda. Among notable venues was Kapsabet on 8th September 1991, Kapkatet on 21st September 1991, Narok on 28th September 1991, Machakos on 7th October 1991 and Mombasa on 17th October 1991. At the first two venues, the Kalenjin politicians were forthright in asserting their intentions to advocate for *Majimboism* to counter multi-partyism.

Furthermore, the same politicians vowed to use their *majimbo* threat to forestall the multi-party crusade. They threatened to expel communities of the multi-party advocates whose 'motherland' was perceived to be outside the Rift Valley from the region.⁷¹⁴ Going by the information, one detects various aspects of identity emerging. Firstly, the rallies got convened as KANU rallies. To that extent, KANU party politicians from the Nandi and other Kenyan communities attended and even addressed the crowds. Secondly, introducing *majimbo* based on communities' perceived ancestral homes gave rise to another aspect of identification that was antithetical to the first. In the latter case, even KANU loyalists whose homes were not perceived to belong to Rift Valley got threatened, for they were, just like the pluralist advocates, all likely to be flushed out as ethnic tensions heightened. (Refer to Table 6.1)

⁷¹⁴ KNA: The Weekly Review, 20th March 1992.

Ethnic sentimentality and political hostilities led to clandestine activities that led to the publication of anonymous leaflets. These were distributed in specific areas of the Rift Valley and Western Kenya, calling on members of particular communities to quit within a given time limit. Lastly, some KANU politicians have sponsored warriors who unleashed their political threats of evicting the aliens. The warriors resorted to the use of dangerous instruments such as arrows. Instead of debates and purposive dialogues to resolve their political and ideological differences against those advocating for pluralism, the force stood adopted. Given the massive influence the politicians command among their electorates, the ethnic question led to a political condemnation based on ethnic groups from which Kenya has never fully recovered.

It should not get forgotten that pluralist activists also used scornful language against KANU. Hence, in October 1991, the first confrontation erupted on the Meteitei farm of the Nandi District, pitting a Nandi against a Luo. It required the slightest interpretation to raise tensions beyond the individual level to assume an inter-ethnic dimension. Hence, within that dimension, ethnic conflict often came to be called ethnic “cleansing”. The cleansing had a meaning known to the locals alone. According to oral sources, it meant:

“...uprooting some *Labotik* (255odom-apples) which may have grown within the homestead. Ethnic cleansing, as used in this context, denotes the mass eviction or killing of members of an unwanted ethnic group in a given zone or area deemed non-locals. It is the terminology used to commit a crime against humanity. This crime included the destruction of property, looting and torching of houses. Non-locals or locals who did not support a candidate deemed supported by most local members, their eviction time stood ripe during the electioneering period. Ethnic patriotism has always driven a wedge between

Kenyans. Consequently, the behaviour of Kenyan voters remains shaped by ethnic identity and loyalty...⁷¹⁵

The cleansing spread quickly to parts of the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. Events seemed well planned, while the real planners remained disguised.

All shared border points between Nandi and Kisumu, Nandi and Vihiga, and Nandi and Kakamega got fueled by the abovementioned tensions, converging into sore inter-ethnic relations that have never healed for decades. This situation degraded with the approach of the 1992 multi-party general election. The government got placed in an awkward position. It was hard for Kenyans to believe that the government's hand missed in fanning the conflict. As a result, the Catholic Bishops wrote a pastoral letter that accused the government of complicity in the ethnic violence. Similar accusations came from the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) and the Kenya Chapter of International Law of Jurists (ICJ).⁷¹⁶

These accusations may appear puzzling. However, they got created when the government seemed sluggish in its measures to quell the clashes. These measures sharply contrasted actions in 1984. Then, the same government swiftly moved in to stop the conflicts that had pitted the Nandi against the Abaluyia at Kapkangani, Nandi-Kakamega region.⁷¹⁷ However, most other intellectuals in the area appear to have remained compromised. They played partisan roles and contributed to the spread of the

⁷¹⁵ Group interview with Arap Ng'eny Chepchogon, male, 73 years, Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo, male, 84 years, Malakwen Arap Rotich Siong'ei, male, 90 years, on 21st January, 2023 at Kapchorwa, Nandi hills.

⁷¹⁶ KNA: The Weekly Review, 27th March, 1992, pp 12.

⁷¹⁷ KNA: The Weekly Review, 20th March, 1992:10.

conflict. They did not come out strongly to condemn the disputes that had pitted the Nandi against her neighbours.⁷¹⁸

Nevertheless, for the business people, some of their customers were also affected. Hence, their profits declined, and those whose livelihoods depended almost entirely on business were adversely affected. At that level, matters had degenerated to retrogressive ethnicity. In such a situation, a person from one ethnic group automatically suspected and even killed another whose ethnic group was different merely because the killer wrongly assumed that anybody from the ‘enemy’ community was an enemy who should be fought and killed. This state of affairs seems to have disrupted peaceful inter-ethnic relations and marriages, for that matter.

The conflict occurred in 1992, the year of the general election, which, in one way or another, influenced the campaign process and, more importantly, the final results.⁷¹⁹ The situation was not unique to Nandi, Kakamega and Kisumu. The country’s general elections’ outcome revealed that ethnicity was crucial in determining where a political party won votes. The result perhaps contradicts the original notion of party politics. The idea got imported into African political life without modifications to make the parties reflect real-life African situations. Thus, the results usually reflect what operates on the ground but not what exists in party policies. On the 29th December 1992 general election, several parties participated.

⁷¹⁸ Group Interview with Margret Jesilim, female, 80 years, and Magdalena Jesugut, female, 88 years, on 7th May, 2022 at Kapkangani.

⁷¹⁹ “KENYA: AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTIONS.” *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1994): 30–55. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45052879>.

They included the ruling KANU, formed in 1960, FORD-Kenya (FORD-K), which split from the original FORD, and FORD-Asili (FORD-A), another splinter group. FORD was a formidable pressure group that had effectively fought for the reintroduction of multi-partyism. However, soon after removing section 2A, which had banned multi-party politics in Kenya from the constitution, and the subsequent re-legitimization of multi-partyism in the country, the founder members of the pressure group transformed FORD into a political party bearing the same name, FORD.

However, as a political party, FORD soon split because of differences among its founder members. Odinga led one faction, whereas Matiba and Shikuku led the other. As the general election approached, both sections registered as separate but weaker parties. Odinga's became FORD-K and Matiba's FORD-A. Other parties included the Democratic Party of Kenya (DP), Kenya National Congress (KNC) and the Kenya Social Congress (KSC), among others. KANU's presidential candidate was Moi, a Kalenjin from the Rift Valley, while FORD-K was Odinga, a Luo from Nyanza. FORD-A candidate was Matiba, an Agikuyu with his fellow relative, Kibaki of DP. Both from Central Province were strong contenders. On the other hand, Chibule wa Tsuma of KNC, a Mijikenda from Rabai and Moseti Anyona of KSC, an Omugusii, did not put up spirited presidential campaigns. Tsuma even lost his contest for a seat in the parliament.

Table 6.1 Presidential Results 1992

PROVINCE	D. T. Moi		Matiba		Mwai Kibaki		Odinga	
			Keneth				Oginga	
NAIROBI	62410	16%	165553	18%	69715	18%	75888	20%
NYANZA	17554	15%	10299	1%	51998	6%	581490	75%
RIFT VALLEY	981488	71%	214727	16%	98302	7%	75465	5%
CENTRAL	21918	2%	630194	60%	373147	35%	10668	1%
EASTERN	290372	37%	79436	10%	393481	50%	13673	2%
NORTH EASTERN	46420	72%	7188	11%	3259	5%	5084	8%
WESTERN	219187	39%	214060	38%	14404	2%	98822	17%
COAST	188296	62%	33399	11%	32301	10%	42796	14%

Source: The Weekly Review 1st January 1993 p. 5

The table indicates that Moi scored the highest (71%) in his Rift Valley Province, the home of the Kalenjin and the Maasai speakers. The two communities formed the bedrock of Moi's supporters. Moreover, it was in this province that the phenomenon of ethnic cleansing took place, displacing voters from other communities perceived to be anti-KANU. In this way, the displaced people living in makeshift camps may not have had time to vote. Matiba scored the highest (60%) in his Central Province, eclipsing his relative, Kibaki, who garnered only 35% because the voters perceived him as a spoiler of opposition votes.⁷²⁰ It makes sense to argue that Moi's performance outside his Rift

⁷²⁰

KNA: Finance, 15th February, 1992:14-15.

Valley Province stood not entirely based on ethnicity. His party associates and performance in other provinces contributed to his receiving at least 25% of the total votes in at least five areas, meeting a crucial constitutional requirement. Besides, Moi enjoyed the advantage of incumbency. This advantage enabled him to use state resources and power more efficiently than his opponents could. It can remain argued that this led to unfairness caused by uneven playing ground.⁷²¹

Public resentment was widespread among the non-Kalenjin voters who nursed grievances against the KANU manner of governance. The apparent reluctance of the party to swiftly stop the inter-ethnic violence or what was considered politically motivated clashes merely aggravated the situation. In these highly ethnicized elections, the leading opposition parties that received parliamentary seats in the area were FORD-K and FORD-A. Here, the Muliro legacy and the political stature of Shikuku played vital roles in popularizing FORD-K and FORD-A.⁷²² Hence, in resolving conflicts ensuing in the process, the chapter has highlighted specific contributions made by professionals, the political elite, interdependence and the state's role in monitoring cross-border contacts and inter-ethnic relations. Furthermore, the chapter has pointed out that conflicts that emanate from inter-ethnic interactions assume an ethnic outfit among Nandi and her neighbours. In other parts of the country, a mosaic of factors such as land conflicts, political manipulation, economic grievances and the communicative agency of the mass media has been in play.

⁷²¹ NEMU, (1993). *The Multi-party General Election in Kenya*, Nairobi: NEMU, pp 75 – 80.
⁷²² KNA: *The Weekly Review*, 1st January, 1993.

6.3 The Conflicts of the Moi Era

The coming of Moi to power, how does the Nandi perceive it?

“...The Nandi, on seeing Moi, we saw a Messiah-like leader who will bring the desired change, the change we want! Bring back our land. However, over time, Moi did not do that. We do not know if the state tied his hands, but we remain to remember that he was in power, a powerful man. He could only incite some politicians; occasionally, skirmishes could arise during election time. The skirmishes ended up being inter-ethnic clashes between Nandi, Luo and Luyia neighbours with no lasting solutions. The main driving force is boundary disputes and cattle theft along the borderline...”⁷²³

From the above interview, it was evident that the Nandi did not realize the intended expectations from one of their own. Instead, they fought for their space even though they had a living ‘messiah’ who could make them above all nations.

1978 – 1982, Moi reigns, and in 1982, there is a coup⁷²⁴. This incident again got Nandi offended. It worsened already weak inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and the Luo. The Nandi perceived this coup as a brainchild of some neighbouring community members. 1986 – 87, there was the Mlolongo politics, which the church and the politicians vehemently opposed. At that point, in 1989, the Berlin Wall fell, ending the Cold War.

Furthermore, multiple people were coming to Kenya whether they liked it or not. Because the Cold War was over, in 1991, the formation of FORD began to challenge Daniel Arap Moi. Nandis and Moi view this as a treat. However, come 1992, multi-party elections, and severe skirmishes from 1989 after the Mlolongo elections 1992.

⁷²³ Group Oral interview with: Kichwen Ng’elechei, 89 years, Arap Boit Chelilim, 88 years, Tobensoi Johana, 90 years, Arap Rop Cheptigoi 79 years, Arap Sang Chililei, 80 years, at Sang’alo-Resiot, May 10th 2022.

⁷²⁴ PRC broadcast quoted in Anyang’ Nyong’o, Peter. “Struggle for Power and Class Contradiction in Kenya”. *Contemporary Marxism*, No. 7 (1983).

Furthermore, 1993 -1995 witnessed the tension between Nandi, Luo and Luyia because of FORD. Who are the leaders of FORD? Masinde Muliro, Martin Shikuku, and again Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. These leaders represent the Luo and Luyia communities, making political parties local and ethnic. In the 1997 Elections, were there any skirmishes? What were the grounds, and what were the consequences? Then, in 1998, 1999 and 2001, NARC was led by Mwai Kibaki, Raila Odinga and Wamalwa and followed the 2002 elections, which were the most peaceful since independence. Finally, Moi had given in to the mounting pressure and let it go. Moi was now going to retire from politics.

“...In Kenya, we have a principle to help someone closer to you, and someone from your ethnic group is closer to you. So, if I vote for my ethnic group, he will develop my rural area and bring infrastructure there. Then, if I seek job opportunities, it is relaxed for me if my god-father is at the top. However, nevertheless, if somebody rigs the election, he is shoplifting for my life...”⁷²⁵

Indeed, the promise of such benefits can lead to understanding elections as life-or-death matters. If somebody rigged the election, that person is shoplifting for the community. Consequently, politics becomes a scuffle among ethnic people to put themselves into power, so ethnic voting patterns are prominent in the political arena.⁷²⁶

As a result, there is an intense fear that should immigrant numbers turn out too high, their mathematical advantage could significantly challenge native claims on the land as they may come to control the community politically and economically. The perception

⁷²⁵ Group Interview with Luyia Youth: Omukoto Akunda, 30 years, Willington Amakoli, 24 years; Musa Shamwana, 25 years; Charles Mukomari, 25 years; Jacintha Obara 26 years, at Kaimosi, Vihiga, 8 April 2022.

⁷²⁶ Daniel N. Posner, 'Regime change and ethnic cleavages in Africa', *Comparative Political Studies* 40, 11 (2007), pp. 1302-28, p. 130

that immigrants were seeking to take control over a particular space was particularly galling when it also perceived that these immigrants had their own rural homes that they could control. Undeniably, it is observed as undeserved that they should seek a share in the properties belonging to other groups.

However, while there is undoubtedly an earnest expectation of individualized benefits covering the grassroots, the reality has been challenged by scholars. They propose that there is no reason to trust that the irresistible majority of clients derive substantial wealth from their relations with state patrons.⁷²⁷ Besides Kenyans, there is no such entity as ethnic rights. No special spending vouchers exist for voters who share an ethnic group with the president. No special schools, supermarkets, or marked lanes exist for citizens or president-producing communities. We are all caught in the damn jam and feel inflation.⁷²⁸

Most interviewees⁷²⁹ point out the benefits of keeping power in the community's hands. However, many deny it and recommend that the wish to have one of your own in control is more correlated to arrogance. Thus, working in concurrence with these contributing aspects are the oft-neglected affective issues of pride and subservientness. The apparent attempts by immigrants to dominate a native community got desperately looked upon as a hint of their superior attitude, and the notion that immigrants could rule in 'our country is an unacceptable affront to ethnic pride:

⁷²⁷ Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001), pp. 120.

⁷²⁸ Nicolas van de Walle, *Op. Cit.*

⁷²⁹ O. I with Arap Chepyoset Kimase, male, 88 years, on 16th June, 2022 at Kibwareng', Arap Chebose, male, 88 years, on 24th July, 2022 at Kamasai, Arap Kemei Kipyator, male, 84 years, at Chepterwai, Charles Shirutsi, male, 89 years, at Vihiga, Kaimosi, James Makokha, male, 80 years, at Banja, and Odhiambo Silas, 90 years, on 22nd February, 2022 at Muhoroni.

“...They sense as if they are the superiors, not comprehending that there were people formerly from there who ought to have the most say in that area...”⁷³⁰

In part, the 1997 and 2002 elections can stand understood as a performance demonstrating that the immigrant-guest metaphor got best understood as a socialized text that can rise to ritualized forms of social action.⁷³¹ This section examined the contest’s dynamics and the violent aftermath, demonstrating how the metaphor provided a framework for action during the elections.⁷³² During the campaign period, within the ultimate intensive month before the polling day, the categorization of ethnic voters as guests is subject to specific rules of hospitality. The former immigrant inhabitants were made acutely aware of their guest parameters and the expected outcomes placed upon them by the native community. In many cases, immigrants and minorities got threatened to adapt and conform to the host’s political position, or they would get evicted from the area:

“...We would tell the Luyia or Luo, ‘You Luyia and Luo, if you do not vote for us, then you will shift from here to Nyanza and Western. Then, however, it would converge to an argument and a fight now and then...”⁷³³

Indeed, as this oral informant advocates, it was not rare for the harassment of dissenting supporters to incline into skirmishes from the multi-party era in 1992. For example, people putting on t-shirts bearing portraits and writings supporting an

⁷³⁰ Oral interview with Laurence Okech 88 years, Odhiambo Silas 90 years, Muhoroni, 20-02-2022.

⁷³¹ Johnston, 'Ritual, strategy and deep culture, p. 322.

⁷³² Ibid.

⁷³³ Group Interview with Kalenjin youth: Aron Kiplagat Sum, 22 yers, male, Nixon Cheres, Male, 24 years, Shalody Jepchumba, 25 years, female, Sheila Tuwei, female, 26 years, Daniel Kipkoech Some, male, 23 years, David Katam, male, 22 years in Meteitei, 16 June 2022.

alleged ‘wrong or person’ party got beaten and even killed during the campaigns or otherwise danced to some ‘unpleasant music’. Similarly, matatus displaying posters in opposition areas were attacked and burned, and local youths broke up campaign rallies. Thus, the campaign period got marked by various notches of caution, pestering, and coercion of minorities and immigrants who stood alleged to be supporting the wrong party and remained underscored by the clear message that they should succumb to the political wishes of the majority. In addition, many scholars suggest that democratization processes in many African regions ignited questions over who could stand as a candidate, who could vote or not, and who could not participate in a new-style project.⁷³⁴ Gabrielle Lynch propagates upon this literature to suggest that similar queries got raised in Kenya.⁷³⁵ Nevertheless, it is vital to highlight that in the Kenyan context, it is not whether an immigrant community may encompass itself in politics or does so in contradiction to the political position of the host community.

In some places, Luyia immigrants and Luo minorities got time to leave voluntarily; “We are giving you seventy-two hours to vacate. Get your automobiles out of here before this time runs out. Otherwise, your blood and ashes of your property will remain poured.”⁷³⁶ Indeed, the violence was characterised mainly by burning immigrant houses

⁷³⁴ Bambi Ceuppens and Peter Geschiere, 'Autochthony: local or global? New modes in the struggle over citizenship and belonging in Africa and Europe', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2005), pp. 385-407, p. 389. See also Peter Geschiere and Stephen Jackson, 'Autochthony and the crisis of citizenship: democratization, decentralization, and the politics of belonging', *African Studies Review* 49, 2 (2006), pp. 1-14, p. 4; and Piet Konings, 'Autochthony and ethnic cleansing in the post-colony: the 1966 Tombel disturbances in Cameroon', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, 2 (2008), pp. 203-22, pp. 211.

⁷³⁵ Gabrielle Lynch, *I Say to You*, p. 211.

⁷³⁶ Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, *On the Brink of the Precipice: A human rights account of Kenya's post-election violence* (KNCHR, Nairobi, 2008) p. 106, <http://www.knchr.org/Portals/0/Reports/KNCHR_REPORT_REPORT_ON_THE_BRINK_OF_THE_PRECIPE.pdf> (11 May 2012).

and businesses and attempting to reappropriate land and its associated resources. Consequently, the underlying tensions regarding persistent abuses of hospitality got violently articulated following the elections. Several interviewees in the Vihiga and Kakamega enclaves of Luyia and Muhoroni of Kisumu reported that the Nandi who attacked their villages were claiming that they would raze the town to the ground, chase the immigrant populaces away and name it again with an appropriate Nandi name.

Thus, this understanding of others as visitors who remain anticipated to show gratitude for the hospitality over acquiescence to the political wishes of the hosting community provided a transparent, rational framework for the violence. This portrayal of grassroots tensions raises interrogations about the centrality of the part played by political elites in post-election violence. The influence and involvement of political leaders have been highlighted not only by scholarly discussion and debate but also by human rights documents and governmental reports.

6.4 Post-Colonial Economic Factors on Inter-Ethnic Relations

Conflicts are imminent in any human setting. Interactions between human beings that involve scarce resources result in competition in their use, acquisition or management—influence of economic factors on inter-ethnic relations. There exists a link between the availability of resources and ethnic conflicts. This premise assumes that when a community depends chiefly on prime commodities, including agricultural and natural resources, it is prone to internal vehemence. Conflict remains explained by greed or grievances where there are feelings of ethnic or political marginalisation as another disadvantage to one group regarding access to natural resources.⁷³⁷ Again, the

⁷³⁷ Hussein K. (1998). The conflict between farmers and herders in the semi-arid -Sahel and East Africa: A review, International Institute for Environment and Development, London.

conflict stems from inequality, in this case, economic inequality. In the event of a gap of bigotry between what people sense they warrant and what they get in terms of property and economic power, dissatisfied people will revolt.⁷³⁸

Most studies have emphasized the effects of social, cultural and political factors on ethnic violence.⁷³⁹ However, a relationship exists between economic conditions and the occurrence of ethnic conflicts. The less fortunate in society usually view their wealthier counterparts as exploitative.⁷⁴⁰ Furthermore, any slightest provocation would make the less excellent or oppressed turn in contradiction to the rich or oppressor in an attempt to revert the situation. This provocation would result in discord that would have people of different classes and possibly inter-ethnic conflicts—however, poverty evidence itself among the youth through nutrition, housing and sanitation deprivation. In urban areas, deprivation in information ranks as the third contributor, alongside food and housing. Deprivation in housing, education and nutrition are the three critical contributors to multidimensional poverty among the youth. Other factors include unemployment and lack of economic activities among the youth.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁸ Malombe, J. (1997). *Conflicts in Urban Settlements in Kenya: Access to land and Services in Unplanned Settlements*. A paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa, June 1997. p. 59.

⁷³⁹ Hussein K. (1998). The conflict between farmers and herders in the semi-arid -Sahel and East Africa: A review, *International Institute for Environment and Development, London., see also* Malombe, J. (1997). *Conflicts in Urban Settlements in Kenya: Access to land and Services in Unplanned Settlements*. A paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa, June 1997. p. 59. And Turton D. (1993). “*We must teach them to be Peaceful*”: Mursi views on being human and being Mursi. In: Tvedt T. (ed.) *Conflicts in the Horn of Africa; Human and ecological Consequences of Warfare*, Reprocentalen HSC Uppsala.

⁷⁴⁰ Dietz T. (1993). The state, the Market and the Decline of Pastoralism.

⁷⁴¹ Oluoko-Odingo, A. A. (2009). “Determinants of Poverty: Lessons from Kenya”. *Geo Journal*, 74, 311-331.

A high level of youth unemployment renders a section of the population idle and unable to meet its daily needs. The higher the poverty level a group has, the more likely it can indulge in a violent situation, and vice versa, since, in the first place -they do not have much to lose in the event of a conflict.⁷⁴² The youth are considered core to societal development. Skewed employment opportunities for the youth have compelled them into child soldiers, idlers, militias, rebels and vigilante groups.⁷⁴³ During the early years in Africa, uneducated, unemployed and idle youth posed no threat to society. This perception has, however, changed since the youth currently engage in violent activities in search of solutions.⁷⁴⁴ Some youths argued that:

“... life in the twenty-first century has posed many challenges to us. We need to live and eat like our seniors, but on the contrary, the same seniors only use us during campaigns and promise us heaven on earth, only to be dumped and forgotten up to the next general election. We remain told that we are the leaders of tomorrow, the tomorrow that never comes all these years! However, to be sincere, should there arise any slight disagreement, we must capitalise on the conflict. We are bitter and like a timed bomb to explode at any time. We lack many things, and no opportunity can get missed even if we perish like a few months ago in Tabolwa; we have nothing to lose; it is like pata-potea...”⁷⁴⁵

As a reactionary group, the youth have become a social group responding to unfortunate government policies. In Kenya, the youth stand viewed as vulnerable and

⁷⁴² Nyukiri B. K. (1997). *The Impact of past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenya's stability and Development*. A paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Great Horn of Africa, June 1997.

⁷⁴³ Duffield M. (1997). *Ethnic War and International Humanitarian Intervention: A Broad Perspective*. In: Turton D. (ed.) *War and Ethnicity. Global Connections and Local Violence*, University of Rochester Press, Woodbridge.

⁷⁴⁴ Turton D. (1993). “*We must teach them to be Peaceful*”: *Mursi views on being human and being Mursi*. In: Tvedt T. (ed.) *Conflicts in the Horn of Africa; Human and ecological Consequences of Warfare*, Reprocentalen HSC Uppsala.

⁷⁴⁵ Group Oral interview: Mika Kipkemei, 25 years, Bor Eliab, 27 years; Philemon Chirchir, 26 years, Paul Kogo, 28 years, Milka Jelimo Sitienei, female, 30 years, Winfridah Jesang' Kili, female, 26 years, Chepnyogoson village, Nandi North, 20th March 2022.

innocent groups involved in armed conflicts. This view has stood occasioned by the lack of protection and resources.⁷⁴⁶ From the initial interview, it can get said that youth have often been used as child soldiers and portrayed as an unruly social group. However, the youth constitute a significant percentage of any society. They got imaged as both makers and breakers of the community. The youth acted as a political force and a source of resilience and resistance. Youth lacking training, formal education and skills involve themselves in acts of conflict and violence to make ends meet.

Most youths in Nandi and the neighbouring Counties are poverty-stricken and quickly lured into warring groups. Some youth alluded that: “due to unemployment despite being learned, we have nothing to do, and acutely deprived of economic activities and nutrition, we find ourselves scrambling for any chance to make ends meet.”⁷⁴⁷ From the preceding statement, the youth mainly have no personal property or dependable employment; thus, they have the lowest opportunity cost in war.⁷⁴⁸ The idea of the youth being used or misused as tools for achieving goals is more eminent in politics, where social, political and economic goodies depend on politics of manipulation and patronage. In conflict and violent situations, the youth have been active participants. Although disputes are common in every society, the exponential rise in adverse effects of confrontations with the youth as active participants are exasperating.⁷⁴⁹ The abuse

⁷⁴⁶ Khadiagala, G. (2003). *Protection and Property; The experiences of Community weapons collection initiatives in Northern Kenya*.

⁷⁴⁷ O. I. with Abigael Jesang’ female, 23 years, on 16th June, 2022, Aron Kiplagat Sum, male, 27 years, on 16th June, 2022, at Meteitei, Bor Eliab, male, 27 years, on 20th March, 2022 at Chepnyogoson, Brenda Jepchumba, female, 26 years, on 16th June, 2022 at Meteitei, Jacintha Obara, female, on 8th April, 2022 at Kaimosi, Vihiga and Omukoto Akunda, male, 30 years, on 8th April, 2022 at Vihiga, Kaimosi.

⁷⁴⁸ Chigunta, F. and Mkandawire, R. M. (2002). *Emerging Issues and Challenges for Young Women and Men in Africa. The Livelihood Pathway Series. CYF/ILO/CIDA/IDRC.*

⁷⁴⁹ Mkangi K. (1997). *Traditional Social Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution in Kenya: A Contextualized paradigm for examining Conflict in Africa*, University of Nairobi.

of drugs among the youth in ethnic conflicts erodes their “self-control and enhances free-will behaviour and encourages bravery”.⁷⁵⁰

6.5 Land and Inter-Ethnic Tensions.

The land is a factor of production which has played a pivotal role in influencing most inter-ethnic conflicts in Kenya. Since 1991, inter-ethnic violence has erupted with high intensity and worrying regularity, not seen before in the country’s decades of relatively peaceful independence. The cause of the conflicts has, in most cases, got attributed to land-based conflict.⁷⁵¹ There have been intermittent conflicts between Nandi and her neighbours over cattle rustling and land border disputes. It happened along the border adjacent to Kisumu, Vihiga and Kakamega counties.

Land and linked properties such as water and biodiversity played a vital role in the ethnic relations of communities in independent Kenya. Given its implication, access to and obtainability of land-based resources is critical in safeguarding long-lasting enhancement in social, economic and political well-being, particularly in susceptible societies in turmoil and conflict. The question of the use, ownership and entree to progressively scarce land and related resources has been central to unending conflicts between ethnic communities in Kenya. Heavy reliance on this resource is critical in the study area, as the region is arable and highly productive. As a result, communities in question densely live on either side of the common boundary in the study area. The North, South and Tinderet forest makes the borderlands more beneficial to the

⁷⁵⁰ Chigunta, Op. Cit.

⁷⁵¹ White C. (1990). Changing Animal Ownership and Access to Land among the Wodaabe (Fulani) of Central Niger. In: Baxter P. T. W. and Hogg R. (Eds) property, poverty and people: Changing Rights in property and problems of pastoral Development, University of Manchester, Department of Social Anthropology and International Development Centre, Manchester.

communities around them. Ecological conditions favour agricultural activities, forming a solid base of their livelihoods and planting a discord seed.

The land purchase was cheaper in Nandi central and south than other areas bordering Nandi counties like Vihiga, Kakamega and Kisumu. Since the early 1980s, land in Kapkangani, Chepkumia, Serem, Chemase, Chebara, Kaimosi, Chepsonoi, Yala, and a section of Bonjoke, was a willing buyer, willing seller; most lands got roots in the hands of the neighbouring communities from Kakamega, Vihiga and Kisumu. Consequently, during conflicts and election periods, those who purchased land in the past were considered outsiders and, hence, were threatened and evicted. Their property was stolen or vandalized by the youths incited by errand politicians.

The Nandi are considered the original inhabitants who practice crop and animal husbandry. In the event of impending conflicts, the other ethnic groups, mainly the Luyia and Luo, view themselves as being in a foreign land; hence, in most cases, they opt to move to other regions until peace prevails at the onset of an election period.⁷⁵² The Nandi own considerably larger tracts than the different ethnic groups along the borderline. As a result, the other ethnic groups feel they got sidelined during the election and any other development agenda. The land also stands compounded by the rising population density in the region.

⁷⁵² Group O. I. with Edward Arap Birgen, 88 years, Tamason Chepyego, 89 years, Kitur Arap Cheison, 80 years, Sawe Chepkelio 90 years, Margret Jesilim, 80 years, Female, Magdalena Jesugut, 88 years, female, Kipkerebet Arap Kuto, 79 years, 7th May, 2022, Kapkangani, Nandi Central.

6.6 Socio-cultural factors on inter-ethnic relations

Each society is structured so that roles and responsibilities get assigned by either gender or the dimension of age. For example, the elders usually advocate for peace and good relations among their neighbours to widen their access to limited resources and opportunities. However, to some extent, they may turn to conquer their neighbours to achieve their unmet goals or peace.⁷⁵³

6.7 Ethnic Stereotypes and Conflict

Different communities tend to have negative perceptions of each other. Ethnic stereotypes in Kenya are a significant cause of ethnic tension that has led to bloodshed and displacement for many years.⁷⁵⁴ The Somalis in this context got dubbed as warlike; the Agikuyu as thieves, the Luyia and the Akamba labelled liars, and the Kalenjin as cattle rustlers. The coastal people are deemed lazy, and Dholuo is said to be proud. In cosmopolitan areas of Kenya, the continued use of ethnic stereotypes creates tension among the communities. Some ethnic stereotypes used by various ethnic communities among the Nandi may generate anger and animosity among other ethnic groups. For instance, the Nandi refer to the Luyia as “Lemeek, Lumeek”⁷⁵⁵, a terminology that got taken to mean “cultivators, diggers, destroyers of grass”. However, the history of the terminology roots back to the colonial period when the Nandi lived among the Luyia lands before they migrated uplands to their present home. The Luyia remained seen as people who dig the ground to destroy pasture for their animals. Oral sources further

⁷⁵³ Bollig M. (1990). *Ethnic Conflicts in North West Kenya: A Multy-causal Analysis of Conflict Behaviour*. International Institute Development, London.

⁷⁵⁴ TJRC, (2008). *Conflict Analysis of the 2007 Post Election Violence in Kenya*, United States Institute of peace.

⁷⁵⁵ Group Oral Interview, with John Kipng’etich, Lolkeringet, 90 years., Kogo Bot Jepkigen, female, 88 years, at Kapkerer, Terik, on February 20, 2022.

affirm that as the Nandi refused to embrace Western education, they later suffered a socioeconomic loss, as stated below:

“...The Nandi despised the neighbouring communities because they embraced Missionary Education earlier than them and suddenly started buying lands that formerly belonged to the Nandi. They were well off economically and hence had a better chance of controlling most of the production factors and dominated most government opportunities. This concern was not welcome among most of the Nandi. From the 1970s to 1990s, most of the Nandi lands in the South and Kapkangani, and most parts bordering the escarpment, Aldai, and Tinderet, got sold to non-locals and migrated to the highlands. Because the Nandi had not embraced Western education, they could secure government and private jobs. Within a short period, the neighbouring communities had established themselves in the job market, leaving behind the Nandi, creating a disparity in socio-economic status and thus planting a discord seed to only manifest itself during electioneering periods and even in the event of the slightest disagreement between two persons may lead to ethnic tension...⁷⁵⁶

From the above interview, the stereotyping results from socioeconomic jealousy caused by resultant inequalities among the neighbouring communities.

6.8 Nandi Cultural Norms and Conflict

The Nandi herders along the borderline have historically got associated with cattle rustling. Consequently, young people are culturally required to pay dowry from livestock obtained through cattle rustling.⁷⁵⁷ This requirement pushes young people to acquire the necessary number of animals for the tradition.⁷⁵⁸ As a result, property ownership got vested in the elders, leaving perpetual poverty among the youth.⁷⁵⁹ This

⁷⁵⁶ Rt. Justice Barbara Tanui, 90 years, at Kaiboi, Nandi on 20th May, 2022

⁷⁵⁷ Hussein K. (1998). *The conflict between farmers and herders in the semi-arid - Sahel and East Africa: A review*, International Institute for Environment and Development, London.

⁷⁵⁸ Black-Michaud J. (1975). *Feuding Societies*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

⁷⁵⁹ Mohamed, F. (1993). *From Ethnic Response to Clan Identity: A study of State Penetration among the Somali Nomadic Pastoral Society of North Eastern Kenya*, Uppsala.

poverty scenario among the youth gives them an impetus to use all means available to acquire resources from other ethnic communities, disregarding the possible consequences. As a result, cattle raids became common among herders against the neighbouring communities. Such repeated attacks eventually bred hostilities among the concerned ethnic groups. As a result, cattle raiding has led to distrust between Nandi and her neighbours, a prerequisite for conflicts.⁷⁶⁰

6.9 Land and Nandi Politics

Land issues are often not about land only. Instead, they invoke property issues more broadly, implicating social and political relationships in the broadest sense. Struggles over property may be as much about the scope and structure of authority as about access to resources, with land claims tightly wrapped in questions of governance, citizenship, and jurisdiction politics. On the one hand, this dynamic relationship between land and citizenship rights and the authority to define and adjudicate these questions are central to state formation.⁷⁶¹ On the other hand, however, with the reoccurrence of multi-party elections in Kenya, the role of land in generating political support has received much attention from politicians and constituents. Land places politics as a central theme. Politicians use the land to reward supporters from a broader perspective. The land is commodified and used as a medium of exchange for political support.

⁷⁶⁰ Little P. D. (1996). Cross Border Cattle Trade and Food Security in the Kenyan *Somalia Borderlands*, University of Kentucky.

⁷⁶¹ Boone, C. (2003a) Political Topographies of the African State: territorial authority and institutional choice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (2007) 'Property and constitutional order: land tenure reform and the future of the African state', *African Affairs* 106 (425): 557-86.; Lund, C. (1998) *Law, Power and Politics in Niger: land struggles and the rural code*. Hamburg: LIT Verlag

Beyond facilitating the exchange of land for votes, politicians find their arbitrary control of the power to guarantee rights in valuable land because it allows them to gerrymander constituencies even when they lack the formal authority to redraw constituency boundaries. The fundamental goal of gerrymandering is to make the voting complexion of a constituency more favourable to certain parties. However, redrawing constituency boundaries is not the only means of achieving this. You could also evict unwanted voters and move in sympathetic ones while maintaining existing boundaries. Unfortunately, this eviction sows the seeds of discord, germinating into election violence.

The eviction involved arbitrarily cancelling some land rights and granting those rights to others. Among other populations considered sympathetic to opposition parties, Luo, Luyia, and Gikuyu were violently evicted from Uasin Gishu, Nakuru, Kericho, Nandi, and Trans Nzoia districts.⁷⁶² Others then occupied their lands. Meanwhile, populations considered more sympathetic to KANU were moved into specific constituencies to reduce the advantage of opposition parties. The settlement of 318 Kalenjin families in Likia before the 1997 elections got perceived by resident Gikuyu as an effort to fraud elections in favour of KANU.⁷⁶³ The social costs of such exploitation of land rights by politicians and the institutional environment that facilitates it can be very high. There are the obvious human costs of violent evictions and the expropriation of properties. As discussed in the preceding paragraph, the clashes around the Kenyan elections in 1992 and 1997 left an estimated 1,500 dead and 300,000 displaced.⁷⁶⁴ Furthermore, the threat

⁷⁶² Klopp, Jacqueline, 2002, 'Can Moral Ethnicity Tramp Political Tribalism? The Struggle for Land and Nation in Kenya,' *African Studies*, pp. 61.

⁷⁶³ Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), 2006, 'I am a refugee in my own country:' conflict-induced internal displacement in Kenya,' Geneva Switzerland, 19 December, pp. 13 – 20.

⁷⁶⁴ IDMC 2006, 13.

of eviction and uncertainty concerning land rights would force many Kenyans to think twice about investing in certain parts of the country, given their political inclinations and ethnic identities.

6.10 Power Influence and Resource Allocation

After independence, Kenya focused on practical economic growth and resource allocation issues, for it was most intense in the Rift Valley and Nandi. In the 1970s, the resource allocation process got intense, and the silencing of vocal Nandi politicians began. The shushing of Jean-Marie Seroney, Member of Parliament from Nandi district and the author of the infamous Nandi Hills Declaration, commenced. Jean-Marie Seroney, born in Kapsabet in 1925, almost the same time as Moi, was an MP from the Nandi district, where bitter land disagreements between the Nandi and the central state returned to 1919. As discussed earlier, the colonial state expropriated approximately 17% of the land area of the Nandi Reserve in the Nandi Salient-Kipkarren area. This land was described to the Kenya Land Commission in 1933 as ‘some of the best agricultural lands in the country’ to create a Soldier settlement scheme for European veterans of WW1. In the early 1930s, some 8,000 Nandi living on alienated land stood rendered squatters. In testimony to the commission, “the Nandi at Kapsabet regarded the question of Kipkarren farms as a serious grievance”.⁷⁶⁵

These long-standing grievances remained fueled by the settlement programme of 1960-1966, in which the government expropriated much of the property in 1919 and properties encompassing White-owned sugar farms in the southern part of the district.

⁷⁶⁵ Kenya Land Commission. 1933. "Report of the Kenya Land Commission, Sept. 1933." Presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, May, 1934, by Sir Morris Carter C.B.E., committee chair (a.k.a. Carter Commission Report). London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, pp. 272, 277.

The government reacquired and redistributed to outsiders with no ancestral claims to Nandi land, thus planting the bitter long-term seed of discord. In this case, the outsiders are the Luo and Luyia community members. Seroney was elected member of parliament for Nandi North constituency in 1963 on a KADU ticket and became Deputy Speaker of Parliament. This constituency was also known as the Tinderet constituency.

However, Seroney carried on his mandate of ‘protesting the invasion of the Nandi ancestral lands by settlers.’⁷⁶⁶ Seroney published the famous Nandi Hills Declaration in 1969, negating Kenyatta’s auction of Nandi land to non-Nandi, tagging the settlement schemes “Kenyatta’s Colonization of the Rift” and putting claim to all land in the district for the Nandi.⁷⁶⁷ For this reason, Seroney was convicted and fined for sedition. Still the Nandi North MP in 1975, he was imprisoned for denouncing the post-colonial land allocation to non-Nandi settlers. He remained in custody (detention) until the end of Kenyatta’s administration in 1978. The Jean-Marie Seroney incident was one of the milestone cases of high-level political repression of the Kenyatta years. The matter never died and erupted in the fiery clashes of 1991 and 1992.⁷⁶⁸ It recurred in 1997 and 2002. This matter has been a thorn in the flesh over the years. In 1978, Moi inbred the presidency. From the mid-1980s forward, his tenure became progressively more active in using land allocation to forge a cohesive ethnopolitical constituency out of the Kalenjin and the other ethnocultural groups claiming to be indigenous to the Rift Valley.

⁷⁶⁶ Oyugi, Walter O. 2000. "Politicized Ethnic Conflict in Kenya. Addis Ababa: CAFRAD/UNPANO. www.dpmf.org.

⁷⁶⁷ Leys, Colins. 1975. *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp 229-30.

⁷⁶⁸ Oyugi,. 2000 Op. Cit.

Demographic and environmental pressure heightened the strains and stakes in conflicts over land allocation.⁷⁶⁹ Closing land frontiers in small-holder farming areas throughout Kenya gave many low-income families limited opportunities to create feasible agricultural livelihoods for their children. In addition, domestic legal challenges to the destruction of forests and international pressure to control corruption and anarchy at the pinnacles of the Moi government raised the costs of exploitation of forest reserves as a new land frontier to settle Kalenjin farmers.⁷⁷⁰ These pressures made it stiffer for Moi to offer land for his constituencies without directly attacking the rights of those who had acquired land under Kenyatta. In addition, Klopp⁷⁷¹ emphasizes that it was appropriate to scapegoat Kikuyu and Luo small-holders as illegitimate settlers to deflect the rage of land-hungry Kalenjin away from the vast properties of Moi's cronies.

The provincial administration and security forces contained and suppressed the sporadic outbreaks of land-related violence in the Rift under the Moi regime in the 1980s. For example, Throup and Hornsby⁷⁷² mention the 1984 clashes between Nandi and Luyia in Kapkangani, describing these as "similar to the outbreak of violence in November 1991 on Meteitei Farm" around Tinderet in Nandi District. However, they point out that the 1984 clashes were "quickly ended" by the local administration. In addition, the introduction of multi-partyism in 1991 - 1992 created new incentives for Moi regime politicians. It heightened their incentives to mobilize potential and likely supporters, get them out to vote, and reduce the opposition's vote share by discouraging

⁷⁶⁹ Kahl, Colin. 2006. *States, Scarcity, and Civil Strife in the Developing World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Ch. 4.

⁷⁷⁰ Onoma, Ato Kwamena. 2010. *The Politics of Property Rights Institutions in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁷¹ Klopp, Jacqueline. 2000. "Pilfering the Public: The Problem of Land Grabbing in Kenya." *Africa Today* 47 (1): 7-26.

⁷⁷² Throup, David, and Charles Hornsby. 1998. *Multiparty Politics in Kenya*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

or preventing likely opposition-party voters from going to the polls. This confluence of factors brought land distribution and redistribution questions to a crisis point.⁷⁷³

Leading adherents of the Moi government campaigned openly on a podium about chasing settlers out of the Rift and reallocating land to the regime's supporters.⁷⁷⁴

Moreover, in late 1991, peoples alleging to be indigenous to the Rift Valley - the Maasai and the Kalenjin coalition of smaller groups were encouraged by ruling-party politicians to demand that "settlers" be dispossessed of their land and expelled. Politicians dangled the tantalizing prize of reinstating land in the Rift Valley to the "original owners" who had been twice denied, first by the colonial state in 1905-20 and then by the reigning party of Jomo Kenyatta in the 1960s and 1970s. Political rhetoric that pervaded Nandi, Nakuru, Uasin-Gishu, and Trans-Nzoia Districts dwelt on how land lost to the Europeans did not revert to natives and how, under Kenyatta, "foreigners" had been permitted to buy up land. Public political discourse is filled with loud denunciations of Kenyatta's "land gifts" and stresses for land restitution.

6.11 Conclusion

This chapter has assessed the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic ties in the studied period. The chapter attempted to shed light on the preamble to independence, 1959 – 1963. First, the post-colonial KANU era got discussed, followed by the Nayayo–Moi Era, which analyzed the coming of Moi to power and how the Nandi viewed him. On

⁷⁷³ Mutua, Makau. 2008. *Kenya's Quest for Democracy: Taming Leviathan*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 78 – 79.

⁷⁷⁴ Reintroduction of the "majimbo system of government" was an explicit part of this platform as articulated by KANU politicians in Kapsabet and Kapkatet rallies; Majimboism was presented as an alternative to multipartyism. See Akiwumi Report (Republic of Kenya 2002 (1999): 212,223 and Kahl (2006:142-43.) The argument presumes that multipartyism would take the presidency away from Moi and the "minority tribes."

viewing him, the Nandi saw a Messiah-like leader who was to bring the desired change they wanted! Bring back their alienated land.

However, over time, Moi did not do that. He could only incite some politicians; occasionally, skirmishes could arise during election time. The fights were inter-ethnic clashes between Nandi, Luo and Luyia neighbours with no lasting solutions. The main driving force was boundary disputes sandwiched with cattle thefts along the borderline.”⁷⁷⁵ However, struggles are impending in all human situations. Relations between ethnic groups encompass threatened resources, resulting in struggle in their usage, procurement, or administration, which influences economic factors on inter-ethnic relations. Land and inter-ethnic relations were discussed, and the study found that land and related resources played a vital role in the ethnic relations of societies in the post-colonial era.

Heavy dependence on this resource is critical in the study area, as the area is fertile and extremely productive. As a result, the societies in question densely live on either side of the common boundary in the study area. The North, South and Tinderet forest makes the borderlands more beneficial to the communities around them. Socio-cultural factors on interethnic relations proved that each society is structured so that responsibilities and roles get allocated by each gender. However, they may turn to conquer their neighbours to accomplish their goals.

⁷⁷⁵ Group Oral interview with: Kichwen Ng’elechei, 89 years, Arap Boit Chelilim, 88 years, Tobensoi Johana, 90 years, Arap Rop Cheptigoi 79 years, Arap Sang Chililei, 80 years, at Sang’alo-Resiot, May 10th 2022.

On the other hand, ethnic stereotypes remain a significant basis of cultural tensions that have led to carnage and dislocation for several years in the area under study and the county. Cultural norms and practices have also historically stood associated with cattle rustling. Cattle raiding has led to distrust between Nandi and her neighbours, a prerequisite for conflicts. Beyond facilitating land exchange for votes, politicians found their arbitrary control of power to guarantee rights in valuable land. Because it allows them to control constituents even in circumstances where they lack the official authority to redraw constituency boundaries, thus causing evictions of non-locals. These evictions sow the seeds of discord, germinating into election acts of violence.

Power influence over resource allocation was discussed. After independence, the country twisted its consideration to the substantive economic issues of development and resource distribution, for it was most concentrated in the Rift Valley and Nandi. Politicians like Jean-Marie Seroney got jailed while agitating for the return of Nandi land, which got alienated during the colonial period in vain. This conflict has remained echoed in the minds of the Nandi, causing them ethnic tensions. These long-standing grievances stood fueled by the 1960s settlement programme, which the state expropriated considerably by 1919. In addition, population and ecological pressure upsurged the pressures and risk factors in the struggles over land allocations. This chapter has pointed out that post-independence inter-ethnic relations remained informed by ethnic animosity, land disputes, economic and political inequality, electoral violence, the creation of arbitrary borders, and a lack of effective leadership. This section, therefore, paves the way for the next chapter to make a summary, conclusions, and recommendations on the study's general objective.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This study analysed and contextualised the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 -2003. The Nandi have been examined together with their neighbours to investigate their ethnic ties. The precolonial inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours got diagnosed from 1884 to 1895. The researcher examined the effects of colonial rule on the reconstruction of Nandi inter-ethnic relations during the period ending in 1918. In the same vein, the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations beginning in 1919 up to the end of the interwar period were analysed. The researcher also investigated the implications of the Second World War and the decolonisation on Nandi inter-ethnic relations. The study concluded by assessing the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations up to 2003.

7.1 Summary

The study's primary objective was to analyse the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours from 1884 to 2003. The study endeavoured to pursue five specific outcomes as follows:

- i) To analyse precolonial inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 – 1895.
- ii) To examine the effects of colonial rule on the reconstruction of Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1895 – 1918.
- iii) To establish the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1919 – 1939.

- iv) To investigate the implications of the Second World War and decolonisation on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1939 – 1963.
- v) To assess the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations, 1963 – 2003.

Regarding objective one, which sought to analyse the precolonial inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 – 1895, the study found out from the available sources that the original settlers in the western Kenyan terrain gave the impression of being Bantu. By the 11th century, this group had started infiltrating Western Kenya's land. They eventually got tracked by other agriculturist communities. Ultimately, the groups got referred to as Abaluyia. The Luo, Nilotic speakers from Uganda, moved in by 16th century and hard-pressed the Luyia backwards. As they conquered new lands, other Luo practised Luyia agricultural practices briefly as they sought adventure in new lands. They managed to conquer the Gusii, who were other Bantu speakers and on a similar territory with the Luo in a bid to extend their territory.

The Nilotic Nandi occupied the eastern territory's edge as the Luo and Luyia contested the same lands. The ethnic ties and territorial manoeuvrings by the trio oscillated between frequent land conflicts, cattle raids and peaceful coexistence. The inter-ethnic relations did not always converge to confrontation. However, Luyia, Terik, Nandi and Luo interacted peacefully as trade in barter between these neighbouring communities thrived.

Similarly, trade items include pots, baskets, fish, knives, drums, lyres, wood carvings, spearheads, tobacco, millet, and snuff. Their shared nomenclatures and paraphernalia indicate a close interaction. Nandi first filled the northern half by the 17th century

around Mt. Elgon. However, some migrated southward and assimilated into Bantu, becoming North Kabara and the Tachoni.

Besides, sandwiched between 1870 and 1900, they had fixed markets where all groups bartered their products in diverse environments.⁷⁷⁶ Both Bantu and Nilotic speakers between 1870 and 1900, in their diverse regions, markets were already fixed where all groups bartered diverse trade items. They never lived in isolation; however, cultural exchanges existed between the Luyia people and the Terik, part of the Kalenjin subgroups. However, because the Terik practised circumcision after establishing good relations, the ‘Abalukhoba’ and other Abaluyia subgroups adopted the circumcision habits of the Terik. Thus, they later came to be known as ‘Abatirichi’ with the customs and circumcision rights of the Terik.⁷⁷⁷

The researcher borrowed Dahrendorf’s theoretical assumptions in the analysis. The framework demonstrated that most regions’ nomenclatures and food names derive mainly from the Nandi, while others are from the Luo and Luyia ethnic communities. These names illustrate the inter-ethnic relations that existed over the years. Besides, using the paradigm, it remained pointed out that the disparity in arable lands, hills, rivers, vegetation and natural resources signifies communities’ favourable habitations. Finally, this section provided a synopsis of the precolonial inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 – 1985.

⁷⁷⁶ Wright, Marcia. 1979. “Societies and Economy in Kenya, 1870–1902.” In Bethwell A. Ogot (ed.), *Ecology and History in East Africa: Proceedings of the 1975 Conference of the Historical Association of Kenya*, 179–94. “Hadith” 7. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

⁷⁷⁷ Were, G. S. (1967). *Western Kenya Historical Texts*, Kenya Literature Bureau, p. 4.

Objective two of this study examined the impact of colonial rule on the reconstruction of Nandi Inter-ethnic relations, 1895 – 1918. This objective is primary to the study. It laid down the effects of colonialism on Nandi's inter-ethnic ties before and after the First World War. The objective discussed the attendant outcomes of WW 1 on Nandi inter-ethnic relations. Nandi's relationship with Luyia and Luo stood discussed in this objective. The chapter concluded that the Colonial establishment in Nandi between 1895 and 1918 greatly affected their way of life. It abstracted their labour from African economic activities. During the resistance period, cattle raids and land tilling got halted after their forceful eviction to the northern part of the territory. As a result, the inter-ethnic relations between them and the Luo halted. Contacts got interfered with within the Central and Southern. Land tilling was greatly affected due to the fight with the British forces that consumed most of their time. Apart from the diversion of labour, many lives got lost, and other warriors were captured alive, prosecuted and imprisoned, causing a long-term impact on inter-ethnic ties with the Luo and Luyia neighbours.

The burning of homes and grain stores destroyed the food reserves for the rest of the year. Furthermore, the emigration of the entire community from the southern part of the reserve inhibited their routine farm activities in the new lands in the north. The attendant impact was that they progressively resisted all forms of European political economy. They also resisted the schooling of their children and thus sought adventure in cattle raids among the Luyia neighbours. They failed to adopt the new Western education from Christian missionaries. They saw education as a way of submitting to British control, something they were not ready to accept following their forceful eviction from their lands in the South.

Furthermore, they were not enthusiastic about adopting the new British agricultural techniques. The pressure of consolidation into a native reserve got projected to neighbouring communities, while others emigrated elsewhere seeking empty lands. However, as discussed above, not all the inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and the Luyia always got sour; at other times, they related well. They engaged in socio-economic activities like barter trade, intermarriage, and material and cultural exchange, such as the Nilotic initiation rite adopted by the Abatirichi.

The third objective is interrelated to the second one, whose main impetus was establishing the consequences of colonial policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations during the twenty-year interwar period, 1919 – 1939. The chapter analysed the prelude to British exploitation in Kenya and the power transfer from the Foreign Office in London to the Colonial Office in Kenya. This objective examined Land alienations and the creation of native reserves under the colonial office and the settlers' reaction to the labour shortage. Alongside the Masters and Servants Ordinance as a means of labour conscription, the study discussed the native registration ordinance on Nandi inter-ethnic relations and the native reserves. The chapter also examined the Settlers' influence on settlement, the Northey Forced Labour Crisis, 1920 – 1921, and the Native Followers' Recruitment Ordinance. In the same vein, Carrier Corps Recruitment in Kenya, Nandi emigrations, settlers, and the squatter system. However, the chapter discovered that the interwar colonial policies implicated Nandi's inter-ethnic relations with her neighbours. As a result, they migrated out of their reserve, influenced by the colonial rule establishment and subsequent land alienation by the British administration for settler farmers. However, the Nandi as a community was a group of agro-pastoralists whose land usage in the reserve, after alienation, failed to accommodate intensive agrarian and

commercial activities. These earliest migrations happened in 1906 following the powerful drive of the Nandi to Kabiyet, a new area to the Reserve's northern part, forfeiture of their cattle, cereal foods in granaries, grazing and indigenous habitat. As a result, some of the Nandi moved to neighbouring regions, among the Luyia, even as some moved to Baringo and Pokot, where they settled in places such as Eldama Ravine, Tiaty Mogotio, and Sigor permanently.⁷⁷⁸

The second group migrated in 1910 due to land shortages experienced in the reserves. The third migration occurred between 1933 and 1936 when several settlers attempted to implement government laws to regulate squatter labour. These regulations resulted in the mass movement of the Nandi squatters away from settler tea farms in South Nandi. As a result, many crossed the border for the first time during colonial rule to settle in Uganda. However, the last migration of the Nandi to as far as Uganda and Tanganyika occurred between the 1940s and 1950s.

The out-migration of the Nandi got influenced by the land shortage in the reserves. These migrations illustrate peaceful intra and inter-ethnic co-existence between the Nandi and her neighbours in the pre-colonial period, whereby somebody or a family could emigrate and settle down among a neighbouring community and were warmly received, so long as they respected the hosting community's culture. Such people ultimately got integrated into the hosting community. Those who lived among the Luyia got Bantuised, while those in Uganda became part of the Sebei of Uganda. The migration of the Nandi to new regions stood welcomed by the colonial government.

⁷⁷⁸ KNA: MSS/10/5/57, Matson, Nandi Political Consciousness, 2. See also, KNA: DC/KAPT/1/1/94, Infiltration in Native Land Units.

This move morphed into a solution alternate to executing the destocking policy on European farms. It eased the population pressure in the already congested Nandi reserve, which could easily lead to an insurgency.

Both Nandi intra and inter-ethnic relations got interfered with in many ways. Some of the Nandi families got separated as the squatters emigrated outside Kenya and failed to come back from Uganda and Tanganyika for fear of being imprisoned for breaking the squatter's rules. In contrast, others enjoyed the new freedom in the neighbouring country and could not trace back their relatives. The loaning of cattle to friends also did not continue as most cattle were far away in Uganda. The raiding expedition declined between the Nandi-Luo and Luyia common boundary for some time. The barter trade between the Luo and Nandi declined during this period. The Reserve began to overpopulate after reducing Kaimosi and Kipkarren, diminishing food production.

The fourth objective investigated the implications of the Second World War and decolonisation on Nandi inter-ethnic relations, 1939 – 1963. The objective encompassed the Second World War and post-war policies on Nandi inter-ethnic relations and the postwar economy. It also analysed the influence of the colonial economy on Nandi inter-ethnic relations and agricultural technology and the impact of colonial education on inter-ethnic relations. Stock theft and moral economy in the Nandi reserve concluded this objective. The mayhem of the First World War and the disasters it caused to humanity led to the advent of new organizations like the League of Nations that sponsored peacekeeping worldwide and the welfare of developing nations and countries under colonial rule.

Moreover, welfare promotion was among the central ideas influencing great powers like Great Britain during the Great Depression in 1929 and the 1940s.⁷⁷⁹ The welfare policy set by the colonial administration in the homeland, in the diverse colonies, and in the territory of Kenya covered essential sectors such as communication and transport, agriculture, fishery, land, and many other vital industries. This policy got conducted under the 1929 Colonial Development Act. The Second World War represents a significant landmark in Kenya's colonial history. However, African voices were significantly raised in protest when European soldiers and personnel were awarded and celebrated for their bravery in the war. At the same time, Africans received nought and were released.

Nevertheless, the war was a catalyst for African freedom and independence.⁷⁸⁰ Land questions remained at the heart of Kenyan politics during the war. Post-war political economy stimulated initially by a wartime demand for food to feed allied troops, African entrepreneurs branched into several activities soon after World War II ended. The Nandi who got affected emigrated to different places, including western Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. They migrated to North Nyanza and lived among their neighbours, the Luyia, from the early 1940s. They also moved to Kabras in the period between 1942 and 1954.

Similarly, Agricultural technology that included tools, skills, and processes facilitated production by reducing human energy, expenditure and labour time. Also, Artificial

⁷⁷⁹ Jean Allain, *The Slavery Conventions: The Travaux Préparatoires of the 1926 League of Nations Convention and the 1956 United Nations Conventions*, Koninklijke, Netherland, Brill NV, Leiden, 2008, p. 12.

⁷⁸⁰ Jeffrey Ahlman, "Road to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the Eclipse of a Decolonizing Africa," *Kronos*, (2011): 25.

Insemination technology got introduced to Nandi during this period. These improved spatial mobilities and alleviated material uncertainty.⁷⁸¹

Missionaries introduced colonial education in Nandi informally and later by the colonial government. This move started much earlier than the period under scrutiny in this chapter. Missionaries believed Africans were to get groomed to work for the white man. Hence, the need for Africans to understand the needs of Europeans, acquire competencies to fill some place in the economy where they lived, and act as helping hands in the colonial administration, the missionary establishments and settler farms.⁷⁸² Culturally, too, missionary education negated the African experience by ignoring the physical world and actions around the school. It created a barrier separating the old and the young. Nonetheless, settlers and missionaries aimed to uproot Africans from their socio-economic environment, making them baseless and easy to rule.

From the earliest years of the colonial administration in Kenya, cattle theft by Africans in contradiction of their neighbours and livestock thefts from settler farmers offered the administration their most persistent policing challenge in the native areas of the colony. The indigenous raid against non-natives was the act that most embraced the notion of stock theft as an honourable occupation among the Nandi and implied a high degree of community culpability. However, large-scale cattle raids involved a broad spectrum of community planning and execution. This chapter has crisscrossed several factors that it endeavoured to pursue. First, the implications of the Second World War and decolonization on Nandi inter-ethnic relations got addressed. Besides, the chapter has

⁷⁸¹ Stamp P. (1989). *Technology, Gender and Power in Africa*. Canada: International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, p. 49.

⁷⁸² H. A. W. Chapman, Principal, GAS Kakamega on the role of the School. KNA: PC/NZA/3/6/77(1931), p. 26.

argued that outside political conflicts and tensions, the three communities continued to cooperate, intermarry and carry out other projects. This chapter has pointed out that the specific relations one may highlight require historical contextualization. The old social structure got defined by a complex system of mutual relations that survived inter-ethnic relations.

Ultimately, the fifth objective assessed the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations, 1963 – 2003. This objective assessed the road to independence, 1959 to 1963, and the post-independence KANU era. In addition, the conflicts of the Moi era and the post-colonial economic factors on inter-ethnic relations stood discussed. In the same vein, the study analyzed land and inter-ethnic tension, ethnic stereotypes, Nandi cultural norms and Nandi land conflicts with the influence of power on resource allocation. Finally, in the post-independence period, the study assessed the Nandi post-colonial inter-ethnic relations in the period under study.

The study attempted to shed light on the preamble to independence, 1959 – 1963. First, the post-colonial KANU era was discussed, followed by the Nyayo–Moi Era, which analyzed the coming of Moi to power and how the Nandi viewed him. In him, the Nandi saw a Messiah-like leader who was to bring the desired change, primarily to get back their alienated lands. However, over time, Moi did not do that. He could only incite some politicians; occasionally, skirmishes could arise during election time. The fights were inter-ethnic clashes between Nandi, Luo and Luyia neighbours with no lasting

solutions. The main driving force was boundary disputes sandwiched with cattle thefts along the borderline.”⁷⁸³

However, struggles are impending in all human situations. Relations between ethnic groups encompass threatened resources, resulting in struggle in their usage, procurement, or administration, which influences economic factors on inter-ethnic relations. Land and inter-ethnic relations were discussed, and the study found that land and related resources played a vital role in the ethnic relations of societies in the post-colonial era.

Heavy dependence on this resource is critical in the study area, as the area is fertile and extremely productive. As a result, the societies in question densely live on either side of the common boundary in the study area. The North, South and Tinderet forests make the borderlands more beneficial to the communities around them. Socio-cultural factors on interethnic relations proved that each society is structured so that responsibilities and roles get allocated by each gender. However, they may turn to conquer their neighbours to accomplish their goals.

On the other hand, ethnic stereotypes remain a significant basis of cultural tensions that have led to carnage and dislocation for several years in the area under study and the county. Cultural norms and practices have also historically stood associated with cattle rustling. Cattle raiding has led to distrust between Nandi and her neighbours, a prerequisite for conflicts. Beyond facilitating land exchange for votes, politicians

⁷⁸³ Group Oral interview with: Kichwen Ng’elechei, 89 years, Arap Boit Chelilim, 88 years, Tobensoi Johana, 90 years, Arap Rop Cheptigoi 79 years, Maria Taprandich, 92 years, female, Arap Sang Chililei, 80 years, at Sang’alo-Resiot, May 10th 2022.

found their arbitrary control of power to guarantee rights in valuable land. Because it allows them to control constituents even in circumstances where they lack the official authority to redraw constituency boundaries, thus causing evictions of non-locals. These evictions sow the seeds of discord, germinating into election acts of violence.

Power influence over resource allocation got discussed. After independence, the country twisted its consideration to the substantive economic issues of development and resource distribution, for it was most concentrated in the Rift Valley and Nandi. Politicians like Jean-Marie Seroney got jailed while agitating for the return of Nandi land, which got alienated during the colonial period in vain. This conflict has remained echoed in the minds of the Nandi, causing them ethnic tensions. These long-standing grievances stood fueled by the 1960s settlement programme, which the state expropriated considerably by 1919. In addition, population and ecological pressure upsurged the pressures and risk factors in the struggles over land allocations. The study pointed out that post-independence inter-ethnic relations remained informed by ethnicity and ethnic animosity, land disputes, economic and political inequality, electoral violence, the creation of arbitrary borders, and inept leadership. This study, therefore, adopted the perspectives derived from Conflict and African Agency theories to analyze the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours in the period under review and the effects of such historical interactions.

7.2 Conclusion

The study analysed the factors determining inter-ethnic relations between the Nandi and her neighbours, Kenya, 1884 – 2003. The researcher realized this task through five specific objectives that the study pursued. First, the study concludes that land claims derive their grounds from contested and semi-mythical histories of origin and migration. Second, conflicts over land are fraught with competing interpretations of history, reflecting and enriching Africans' ongoing struggles to engage productively with the past and future. Third, land and property regimes in many African countries are associated with inequalities and conflicts in which laws and policies function. Fourth, a historical analysis of conflict over resources in Kenya and the state's role suggests continuities and changes from the colonial period to the present. The colonial period stood characterized by the threat of violence to acquire land, population displacement and oppressive rule.

The concept that lands in Kenya were *terra nullius*, legally considered untenanted or uninhabited, and its citizen's crown tenants were at the heart of the colonial land tenure system. According to this abhorrent legal argument, Africans did not have legal ownership rights over the lands they customarily owned; instead, they had only user rights. This paradigm of deficiency and disenfranchisement has been fundamental to the history of land tenure in Kenya. Land scarcity and agricultural commercialization increased land value and led to individualising land rights, creating opportunities to establish institutions to define and enforce property rights.⁷⁸⁴ However, after independence, the basics of the colonial land tenure system remained in place, including

⁷⁸⁴ Boserup, E., 1965. *The conditions of agricultural growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Populations Pressure*, London: Earthscan Publications.

the retention of de facto ethno-territorial administrative units and the unaccountable powers of the executive branch over land.

The colonial administration used distinctive approaches to acquire land from local societies, such as creating native reserves and enforcing the Nandi and the Talai evictions. Moreover, land estrangement by international companies and coercive measures such as forced African labour, enforced taxation and conscripted military service. These colonial policies, laws and practices had immediate and long-term consequences on African communities, as well as permanent displacement. In addition, the colonial regime fashioned ethno-specific boundaries, which gave the impression that definite communities in specific areas could only enjoy land rights within distinct alien borders. These inter-ethnic ties to land continued to affect societies and regions under study.

In the post-colonial era, some officials of Kenya's newly formed independent government turned the foreign-funded settlement schemes into cartels for their advantage. They bought land in the Rift Valley and other fertile portions of the settler farms. Through this process, government officials tricked communities that were supposed to profit from the settlement schemes after being displaced by the British. This process remained exacerbated by the willing buyer, willing seller rule. The government adopted this policy regarding land transfers to benefit the landless. The policy saw large-scale land acquisition in favour of communities close to the centre of power through skewed empowerment of communities. Three main categories of land emerged: the government or local authority, trust, and private land.

Nevertheless, the regulations on land were not appreciated, resulting in illegal or irregular land allocation. State officials, for example, the provincial administrators, abetted historical injustices related to land, including forceful eviction of individual communities and land grabbing for personal gains. In Kenya, government officials attribute ethnic-based violence to existing cultural differences for their selfish political ends. The government deliberately formed ethnic conflicts, consequently, opposition leaders or groups that play on existing communal tensions to entrench their power, forcibly acquire territory, or advance a political agenda.⁷⁸⁵ This formation creates a politically motivated conflict between Nandi and her neighbours along the borderline. Both Nandi intra and inter-ethnic relations got interfered with in many ways.

Some of the Nandi families got separated as the squatters moved to Uganda and did not return to Kenya for fear of being imprisoned for breaking the squatters' rules. In contrast, others enjoyed the new freedom in the neighbouring country and could not trace back their relatives. The loaning of cattle to friends also did not continue as most cattle were far away in Uganda. The raiding expeditions declined between the Nandi-Luo and Luyia common boundary for some time. The barter trade between the Luo and Nandi declined during this period. The reserve began to overpopulate after reducing Kaimosi and Kipkarren, diminishing food production.⁷⁸⁶

Therefore, it is logical to sum up that the colonial origins of Kenya and the confinement of the Nandi into a restricted Reserve have progressively influenced their post-independence ethnic relations with their neighbours. As argued in this study, the

⁷⁸⁵ Ondimu, K. N. *Child Exclusion among Internally Displaced Populations in the Rift Valley and Nyanza Provinces of Kenya*. Addis Ababa: OSSREA, 2010, p. 9.

⁷⁸⁶ Rt. Justice Barbara Tanui, 90 years, at Kaiboi, Nandi on 20th May, 2022.

imposition of alien colonial boundaries, administrative structures and economic and social Ordinances only gradually destroyed and moderately restructured Kenya's pre-colonial ethnic communities. Nandi and her neighbours are no exception.

Independence did not represent any break; instead, it adopted and inherited the existing structures. Consequently, the colonial state remained alien and governed through despotism throughout its era. However, colonial capitalism provided the anvil on which the post-colonial social formation continues to propagate. Subsequently, the post-colonial inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours in the period under study have been built mainly on colonial heritage. As a result, it has successfully deracialized but, at the same time, ethnicized social relations.

7.3 Recommendations

As it is known today, the Kenyan republic is a creation of colonial intrusion over a century ago, and so Nandi is. Therefore, the country has a history that citizens should learn for good national cohesion and integration. Communities stood together by force in artificial borders, hence a colonial creation that needs to get remodeled into a new Kenyan nation like precolonial nations.

The communities in question worked for the Whiteman for years, destroying their traditions, culture and roots at the end of the empire. However, they had no choice but to permanently live together, a fact that should not get lost in the thoughts of every single Kenyan whose descendants got together and fought for independence on the principle of togetherness as one people and nation and one destiny. The freedom fighters said, “Kenya for all of us”. Therefore, the claims the youth allege are historical injustices that should stand addressed amicably.

Historical inequities and colonial legacies in Kenya are some of the encounters that have led to ill-famed elections and acts of violence that need national dialogue with a particular impetus on National Cohesion and Integration. The study, therefore, recommends a full implementation of the Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management to sort out the historical inequalities and conflicts that need a national dialogue.

A community of people forced to live together against their wishes ought to be purposely united. Therefore, despite all the turns and twists, Kenyan communities and the people living in the study area need to accept their unfortunate fate and live together

as one people in one nation with one destiny and promote peaceful inter-county relations. On this concern, the study calls on the Policy on National Cohesion and Integration to address the inter-ethnic conflicts persistent in the borderline, joining the three communities in the study area.

Kenya inherited colonial land policies and administrative systems, which brought about controversies in land matters. The government must address these policies and implement a clear land policy involving all the stakeholders. In addition, the study recommends ways to restore mutual trust among the communities living together. The study has illustrated how conflicts arose because of mistrust, suspicion and subsequent hostilities across ethnic groups. Moreover, some mistrust and suspicions have a long history of social injustices. For the above concerns, the study recommends that the National Land Policy should be reviewed and Gender, Youth and Disability Policies should be implemented to address the matters raised in this study.

The government should devise appropriate ways and policies to prevent politicians from politicizing ethnicity. However, politicizing ethnicity rests within colonialism embedded in colonial ideology. The people living adjacent to the escarpment should embrace new technology and adopt national integration and cohesion as a pillar for inter-ethnic relations. The study calls for quick inter-county conflict resolutions addressed by relevant governors to iron out persistent conflicts within the study area. Further, the study calls for strengthening vital institutions for cohesion and integration, addressing socio-economic inequalities, managing ethnic and socio-cultural diversity, conflict prevention, management, and reconciliation. These include national and county legislative institutions, the judiciary and public service institutions. To achieve the

above expectations, the concerned counties should address socio-economic inequalities through devolution, fight against corruption, develop specific economic zones, address youth unemployment, access to quality public education healthcare, and effective management of natural resources.

These include the management of ethnic and socio-cultural diversity by promoting inter-ethnic social activities, inter-religious dialogue, dispute resolution, and cultural activities, establishing exchange programmes across diverse groups and cultural centres and using media to broadcast messages of social cohesion. For conflict prevention, the study recommends revitalising indigenous conciliation, mainstreaming peace education and encouraging inter-ethnic dialogue, ensuring balanced economic growth and entrenching positive value systems in all segments of society.

7.4 Suggestions for further research

The researcher suggests further investigations to cover other aspects that this study could not address. Nevertheless, the researcher discovered that exploring other issues pertinent to developing peaceful inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours is necessary. For example, additional studies should stand conducted to determine to which extent education and religion have implicated the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours.

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S/No	Names of informants	Gender	Age	Date	Village/Location
1	Abigael Jesang'	Female	23	June, 16, 2022	Meteitei
2	Arap Chepyoset Kimase	Male	88	Aug., 02, 2022	Kibwareng'
3	Arap Boit Chelilim	Male	88	May 10, 2022	Sang'alo-Resiot
4	Arap Chebose	Male	88	July, 24, 2022	Kamasai
5	Arap Kemei Kipyator	Male	84	May 8, 2022	Chepterwai
6	Arap Kimoso Kipsile	Male	88	Feb., 20, 2022	Maraba
7	Arap Makaa Kibosio	Male	80	Aug., 02, 2022	Kibwareng'
8	Arap Ng'eny Chepchogon	Male	73	Jan., 21, 2023	Kapchorwa.
9	Arap Sang' Chililei	Male	80	May, 10, 2022	Sang'alo-Resiot
10	Arap Sonoi Raphael	Male	92	Mar., 03, 2022	Kaiboi
11	Aron Kiplagat Sum	Male	22	June, 16, 2022	Meteitei
12	Bor Eliab	Male	27	Mar., 20, 2022	Chemnyogoson
13	Bot Kamarei Jepkuto	Female	90	Feb., 20, 2022	Kibwareng'
14	Brenda Jepchumba	Female	26	June, 16, 2022	Meteitei
15	Charles Mukomari	Male	25	Apr., 08, 2022	Vihiga, Kaimosi
16	Charles Shirutsi	Male	89	Mar., 21, 2022	Serem
17	Cheison Kipkalum	Male	84	Mar., 20, 2022	Meteitei
18	Chepkelio Arap Tuing'wan	Male	90	July, 24, 2022	Kamasai
19	Clementina Boen	Female	80	Apr., 04, 2022	Sang'alo

20	Cornelius Seroney	Male	82	Feb., 20, 2022	Kibwareng'
21	Daniel Kipkoech Some	Male	23	June, 16, 2022	Meteitei
22	David Katam	Male	22	June, 16, 2022	Meteitei
23	Edward Birgen	Male	90	Mar., 10, 2022	Kaiboi
24	Eliud Arap Chemosei	Male	60	Jan., 20, 2023	N. Hills, Sirwo.
25	Felix Arap Mwei	Male	58	Jan., 20, 2023	N. Hills, Sirwo.
26	Jacintha Obara	Female	26	April 08, 2022	Vihiga, Kaimosi
27	James Mukhoha	Male	80	Mar., 21, 2022	Baja
28	John Kipng'etich	Male	90	Feb., 20, 2022	Kapkerer-Terik
29	Joseph Kiptoo	Male	48	Jan., 20, 2023	N. Hills Sirwo.
30	Kenduiywo Arap Butuk	Male	88	Jan., 23, 2023	Kipkorom.
31	Kibosio Arap Chemalan	Male	87	July, 24, 2022	Kamasai
32	Kibunja Arap Mosong'	Male	82	July, 24, 2022	Kamasai
33	Kibuson Arap Randich	Male	89	Aug., 18, 2022	Saniak
34	Kichwen Ng'elechei	Male	89	May, 10, 2022	Sang'alo-Resiot
35	Kipchumba Arap Chemalan	Male	80	Feb., 20, 2022	Kibwareng'
36	Kipkerebet Arap Kuto	Male	79	May, 7, 2022	Nandi Central
37	Kiprono Arap Montagoi	Male	89	Mar., 20, 2022	Meteitei
38	Kipsewer Arap Tengwa	Male	80	Mar., 20, 2022	Meteitei
39	Kirongo Arap Kitur	Male	78	May, 8, 2022	Chepterwai
40	Kitur Arap Cheison	Male	80	May, 7, 2022	Nandi Central
41	Kitur Arap Chemengen	Male	78	Mar., 20, 2022	Meteitei
42	Kitur Arap Kili	Male	92	Apr., 20, 2022	Sang'alo
43	Kogo Bot Jepkigen	Female	88	Feb., 20, 2022	Kapkerer, Terik
44	Kogo Chemelenge	Female	84	July, 24, 2022	Kamasai

45	Laurence Okech	Male	88	Feb., 22, 2022	Muhoroni
46	Lumumba Shimuli	Male	89	July, 16, 2022	Ikoli, Kakamega
47	Magdalena Jesugut	Female	88	May, 07, 2022	Kapkangani
48	Malakwen A. R. Siong'ei	Male	90	Jan., 23, 2023	Kipkorom.
49	Margret Jesilim	Female	80	May, 07, 2022	Kapkangani
50	Maria Taprandich	Female	92	May, 10, 2022	Sang'alo-Resiot
51	Mika Kipkemei	Male	25	Mar., 20, 2022	Chemnyogoson
52	Milka Jelimo Sitienei	Female	30	Mar., 20, 2022	Chepnyogoson
53	Musa Shamwana	Male	25	Apr., 08, 2022	Vihiga, Kaimosi
54	Nixon Cheres	Male	24	June, 16, 2022	Meteitei
55	Odhiambo Silas	Male	90	Feb., 22, 2022	Muhoroni
56	Omukoto Akunda	Male	30	Apr., 08, 2022	Vihiga, Kaimosi
57	Paul Kogo	Male	28	Mar., 20, 2022	Chemnyogoson
58	Philemon Chirchir	Male	26	Mar., 20, 2022	Chemnyogoson
59	Rtd. Justince Barbara Tanui	Male	80	May, 20, 2022	Sarora, Nandi.
60	Reuben Arap Kogo Kamogo	Male	84	Jan., 21, 2023	Kapchorwa.
61	Sawe Chepkelio	Male	90	May, 7, 2022	Nandi Central
62	Shalody Jepchumba	Female	25	June, 16, 2022	Meteitei
63	Shamala Muchimba	Male	80	July, 16, 2022	Ikoli, Kakamega
64	Sheila Tuwei	Female	26	June, 16, 2022	Meteitei
65	Shikanga Charles	Male	90	June, 18, 2022	Namakara.
66	Tamason Chepyego	Male	89	May, 7, 2022	Nandi Central
67	Tobensoi Johana	Male	90	May, 10, 2022	Sang'alo-Resiot
68	Vibian Mutai	Female	80	Feb., 20, 2022	Kapkerer, Terik
69	Willington Amakoli	Male	24	Apr., 08, 2022	Vihiga, Kaimosi

70	Winfriidah Jesang'	Female	26	Mar., 20, 2022	Chepnyogoson
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TOTAL: Male	55
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Female	15
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS ON THE PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF NANDI

Agriculture:

- i) What was the aim of agriculture in the pre-colonial period?
- ii) What crops were grown in the pre-colonial period?
- iii) Where were they grown, and why?
- iv) When were they grown?
- v) Was there mixed farming?
- vi) If yes, explain.
- vii) If no, how then were crops grown?
- viii) How was food stored?
- ix) How was this food harvested?
- x) For what purpose was food stored?

Hunting and Gathering

- i) What did the Nandi gather from nature?
- ii) When was this done?
- iii) Which animals were hunted, and why?
- iv) What products were obtained from hunting and gathering?
- v) How was the hunt organized?
- vi) Was hunting individual or communal?
- vii) How was the technique of hunting acquired?

Land

- i) How was land acquired in the pre-colonial epoch?

- ii) How was land owned before the coming of the whites?
- iii) What were the patterns of land ownership in those early days?
- iv) Who owned the land? Was it the clan, the family, some ethnic group, or an individual?
- v) What was the role of elders in land affairs?
- vi) How did the community control the use of land?
- vii) Did the Nandi women have access to land ownership?
- viii) How was land handed over from one generation to the other?
- ix) Was land divided according to use, for example, grazing or cultivation?
- x) What rights over land did an individual have, and for how long did these rights last?

Labour

- i) How was labour organized during the pre-colonial period?
- ii) Did people work as a community, as a family, or as an individual?
- iii) How was communal labour organized?
- iv) How could one increase the labour of his household?
- v) What roles were performed by children, Men, and Women?
- vi) Was there any labour division?
- vii) Did the community experience any labour deficit in the precolonial era?

APPENDIX II

**INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR THE FORMER AND
SERVING CHIEFS**

1. What were the roles of colonial chiefs?
2. What were the economic and political roles of colonial and post-colonial chiefs?
3. What were the roles of pre-colonial chiefs?
4. What was the type of conflicts solved by pre-colonial chiefs?
5. What do you contemplate was caused by the conflicts related to land among the Nandi during the colonial and post-colonial periods?
6. Do all members of Nandi have access to land ownership? If yes, how, and if no, why?
7. Have conflicts over land transformed into ethnic conflicts?
8. How did you manage to solve the conflict?
9. Are there any absentee landlords in Nandi County?
10. Is the conflict over land between Nandi and her neighbours?
11. Was there any form of land competition?
12. If yes, who is involved?
13. How many ethnic groups live in Nandi County?
14. Is it easy to obtain land in Nandi?
15. Who is the custodian of land in Nandi County?
16. Which coping strategies were employed to curb land conflicts in Nandi?
17. Is there any other organization that deals with land matters in Nandi County?
18. Are there any indigenous conflict-solving mechanisms employed among the Nandi?
19. How effective is the mechanism?

20. In your view, what other colonial and post-colonial factors influenced inter-ethnic relations?

21. How have communities managed to cope with the factors?

APPENDIX III
INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR MALE AND FEMALE
INFORMANTS

1. When did you come to the Nandi, Kisumu, Vihiga, and Kakamega counties?
2. Which community was present before your arrival?
3. Kindly tell me the history of your community in this county.
4. Who were the original inhabitants, according to you?
5. Were there any contestations?
6. If yes, kindly name some of them.
7. How did you solve them?
8. Did colonialism influence the politics of being Nandi, Luo or Luyia?
9. What pre-colonial inter-ethnic relations existed between your community and your neighbouring community?
10. Did land cause ethnic conflicts within and between Nandi, Luyia, or Luo and her neighbours?
11. Did peripheral cultural dynamism influence internal conservatism?
12. Did cultural identity and ethnic consciousness influence ethnic relations?
13. What was the role of ethnicity in Nandi's pre-colonial lifestyle?
14. Were there any political or social relations between this community (Nandi, Luo, Luyia) and your neighbours?
15. Were there any religious relations between you and your neighbours?
16. Which other factors defined Nandi's relations to her neighbours?
 - (a) Luyia and Nandi
 - (b) Luo and Nandi
 - (c) Kipsigis and Nandi

(d) Keiyo/Marakwet and Nandi.

16. How did Nandi perceive land and livestock as a resource during the pre-colonial period?
17. How did colonial legislation and policies influence your community's inter-ethnic relations?
18. Did the inter-war colonial policies affect the relationship between and within the Nandi and her neighbours?
19. If yes, to what magnitude was the impact and how did communities cope with the situation?
20. Do cattle rustling or stealing practised in your community?
21. If yes, how do you manage it? Who are the customers?
22. In your view, what other factors have persistently defined the inter-ethnic relations in your community?
23. Who intervened and brought about the existing relations?
24. Which post-colonial factors have influenced the ethnic relations between three communities (Nandi, Luo, Luyia)?

APPENDIX IV

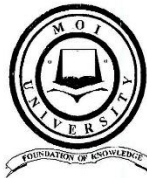
INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR VILLAGE ELDERS

1. Who manages land in Nandi County?
2. Can you briefly tell me how land is managed in Nandi?
3. Who allocates land?
4. What are the procedures for land allocation in your village?
5. How do you relate with the chief and land board members over land matters?
6. Which areas are disputed in Nandi, and how do you solve such disputes?
7. Who deals with land disputes at the village, sub-county, and county levels?
8. How did British legislation and policies influence the Nandi inter-ethnic relations?
9. What changes does Nandi attribute to the British legislation?
10. How did colonial legislation affect the internal and inter-ethnic relations in Nandi?

APPENDIX V**INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR LAND BOARD MEMBERS AND
ASSISTANT COUNTY COMMISSIONERS**

1. What was agricultural land?
2. What was the mandate of the land control boards in the colonial period?
3. Who allocates land?
4. Do all people in your area of jurisdiction have equal access to land?
5. Which land transactions do not require consent?
6. How was the land dispute appealed?
7. What was the purpose of Provincial Land Control Boards?
8. How were appeals heard and determined?
9. How is an application for consent determined?
10. How does the Land Control Board inspect the land to fulfil its mandate?
11. What were the effects of the court's jurisprudence on communal land tenure?
12. What are changes attributed to British legislation?
13. How did colonial legislation affect the internal and inter-ethnic relations in Nandi?
14. What role did the chiefs play in inter-ethnic matters?
15. Who presided over land cases, and how were the claims determined?
16. How does the board deal with the land cases extending to neighbouring counties?

APPENDIX VI
RECOMMENDATION LETTER TO NACOSTI



MOI UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

Tel: (053) 43093
(053) 43620 Ext 2515
Fax: (053) 43047
E-mail: deanarts@mu.ac.ke

P.O Box 3900
ELDORET
KENYA

25th January, 2022

NACOSTI (National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation)
P.O. Box 30623
Utalii Hse,
NAIROBI.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: NG'ETICH, BENJAMIN KIPKIOS – SASS/DPHIL/HIS/02/18

This is to certify that the above named is a bonafide student at Moi University, School of Arts and Social Sciences. He is a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) student in History.

He has completed his coursework component and proposal and has now embarked on Thesis writing.

His Thesis is entitled: **“The Inter-Ethnic Relations between Nandi and her Neighbours, 1884-2003”**.

Any assistance accorded to him will be appreciated.


DEAN
SCHOOL OF ARTS
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY

PROF. MARY WAHOME
AG. DEAN, SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES



(ISO 9001:2015 Certified Institution)

APPENDIX VII

RECOMMENDATION LETTER TO KENYA NATIONAL ARCHIVES



MOI UNIVERSITY
(ISO 9001:2015 CERTIFIED)
SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, POLITICAL SCIENCE & PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Tel: (053) 43620
 Fax No. (053) 43047
 Telex No. MOI VARSITY 35047

P.o Box 3900
 Eldoret
 Kenya

25th January 2022

The Director
 Kenya National Archives
 P.O BOX 49210
 NAIROBI

Dear Sir,

REF: NG'ETICH BENJAMIN K. -SASS/DPHIL/HIS/02/18

This is to confirm that the above named is a student in the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration pursuing Doctor of Philosophy Degree in History and would like to conduct research at your office. This will enable him to collect data on the thesis topic **"(Inter Ethnic Relations Between Nandi and Her Neighbours 1884-2003)"**.

Any assistance given to him will be highly appreciated.

Ken Oluoch
Prof. Ken Oluoch PhD.
Chairman, Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration



APPENDIX VIII

NACOSTI - RESEARCH LICENSE


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: 233269 Date of Issue: 14/February/2022

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Mr.. BENJAMIN KIPKIOS NG'ETICH of Moi University, has been licensed to conduct research in Kakamega, Kisumu, Nandi, Vihiga on the topic: THE INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS BETWEEN NANDI AND HER NEIGHBOURS, 1884 - 2003 for the period ending : 14/February/2023.

License No: NACOSTI/P/22/15526

233269
Applicant Identification Number


Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
INNOVATION

Verification QR Code



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Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.

APPENDIX IX**NACOSTI- RESEARCH LICENSE PAGE TWO**

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is Guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014

CONDITIONS

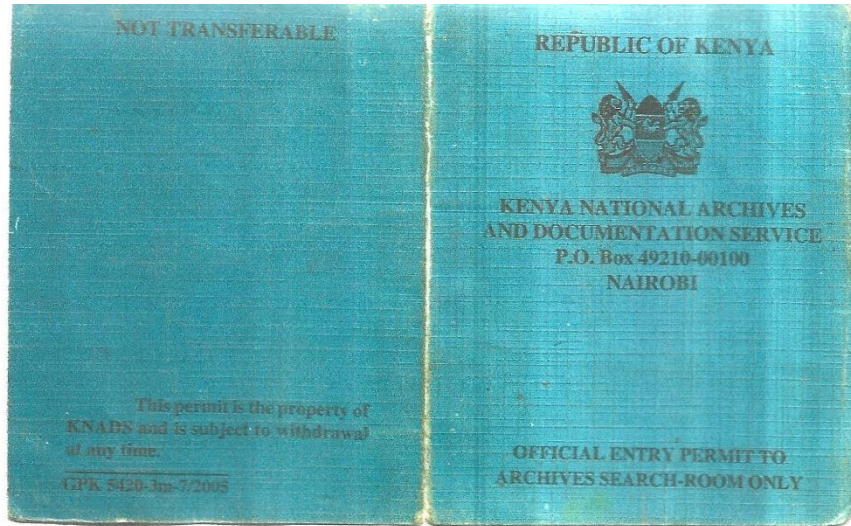
1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period
2. The License any rights thereunder are non-transferable
3. The Licensee shall inform the relevant County Director of Education, County Commissioner and County Governor before commencement of the research
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies
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6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project
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National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
off Waiyaki Way, Upper Kabete,
P. O. Box 30623, 00100 Nairobi, KENYA
Land line: 020 4007000, 020 2241349, 020 3310571, 020 8001077
Mobile: 0713 788 787 / 0735 404 245
E-mail: dg@nacosti.go.ke / registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

APPENDIX X

KENYA NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND DOCUMENTATION SERVICE

ENTRY PERMIT



Permit No. 18820

Valid from 26/3/15 to 26/3/16

Name: NGETICH
BENJAMIN KIPKOS

Address: P.O. BOX
18
KABINET

Issued by [Signature]
Director

KENYA NATIONAL ARCHIVES
P.O. BOX 49210
NAIROBI

RENEWAL DATES:
1. 5/3/2022
2. _____
3. _____

APPENDIX XI
RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION-OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
COUNTY SECRETARY – NANDI

COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF NANDI

TELEPHONE 0535252355
Email: info@nandi.go.ke
Website: www.nandi.go.ke



P.O. BOX 802-30300
KAPSABET.

OFFICE OF THE COUNTY SECRETARY

Ref: CG/NDI/ADM/1/14 VOL. I/21/43

16TH MARCH, 2022

Mr. Benjamin Kipkios Ngetich
P.O Box 3900
ELDORET.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORISATION

This is in reference to your letter dated 13th March, 2022 requesting to conduct research in Nandi County as per National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation, Research License No. NACOSTI/P/22/15526.

The purpose of this letter therefore is to grant you permission to carry out research in our County as guided by the relevant laws and regulations on "The inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884-2003 for the period ending: 14th February, 2023.

We wish you all best as you carry out your research.


Dr. Francis K. Sang, MBS
County Secretary/Head of County Public Service

APPENDIX XII

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION-OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

COUNTY SECRETARY – VIHIGA

COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF VIHIGA



**OFFICE OF THE COUNTY SECRETARY
AND HEAD OF COUNTY PUBLIC SERVICE**

When replying please quote:
Our Ref: VCG/CS/GEN/VOL.1/042
Date: 15th March 2022

P.O BOX 344-50300,
MARAGOLI
Email : countysecretary@vihiga.goke.
Tel no. 0722-291270

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN


**RE: AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT RESEARCH
BENJAMIN KIPKIOS NG'ETICH**

Reference is made to your letter Ref NO. NACOSTI/P/22/15526 dated 14th February 2022.

The above name has been granted to conduct a study on “**The inter-ethnic between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884-2003**” Vihiga County for a period ending 14th February 2023

The purpose of this letter is to request you to accord him the necessary help for him to meet his obligations.

Yours Faithfully,

For 



MR. EZEKIEL M. AYIEGO (MR.)
COUNTY SECRETARY AND HEAD OF COUNTY PUBLIC SERVICE

APPENDIX XIII

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION-OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

COUNTY SECRETARY – KAKAMEGA

REPUBLIC OF KENYA
COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF KAKAMEGA



**OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
COUNTY SECRETARY AND HEAD OF PUBLIC SERVICE**

Telephone: 056-31850/31852/31853
Website: www.kakamega.go.ke
E-mail: countysecretary@kakamega.go.ke

County Government of Kakamega
P.O. Box 36-50100

KAKAMEGA

When replying please Quote

Date: 18th March, 2022

Ref No: CGK/OCS/GEN.CRR./22/ 3 (11)

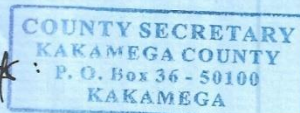
Mr. Benjamin Kipkios Ng'etich
Moi University
ELDORET

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

The above subject matter refers.

Following your authorization letter by the National Council for Science & Technology (NACOSTI) Ref. No.NACOSTI/P/22/15526 dated 14th February, 2022 to undertake research on the “Inter-Ethnic Relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884-2003 - Kakamega”, for the period ending 14th February, 2023, I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to carry out the research on the same in Kakamega County.

Thank you.



Amb. James Ochami
County Secretary and Head of Public Service

APPENDIX XIV

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION-OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

COUNTY SECRETARY – KISUMU.

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



THE COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF KISUMU

Office of the County Secretary, Head of County Public Service and Secretary to the Executive Committee

CGK/CS/ADM/14/VOL.I/143

17th March 2022


NGETICH BENJAMIN KIPKIOS
SASS/DPHIL/HIS/02/18
P. O. BOX 3900 - 3300
ELDORET

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

This is to inform you that the County Government of Kisumu has authorized you to conduct research and collect data on "The Inter-Ethnic Relations between Nandi and her neighbours in fulfillment of the award of the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in History at Moi University.

The research period is one year.

By copy of this letter the relevant departments are requested to accord him the necessary assistance.


GODFREY M. KIGOCHI
COUNTY SECRETARY

CC. Dean School of Arts & Social Sciences
 Moi University

APPENDIX XV

RESEARCH AUTHORISATION-OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNTY COMMISSIONER – NANDI

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

Tel: 053 5252621, 5252003, Kapsabet
 Fax No. 053 – 5252503
 E-mail:
 nandicountycommissioner@gmail.com
 When replying, please quote



County Commissioner's Office,
 Nandi County
 P.O. Box 30,
 KAPSABET.

Ref: No. NC.ADU.4/3 VOL. 1/(132)

14th March, 2022

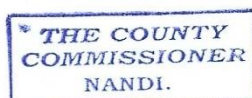
Mr. Benjamin Kipkios Ngetich
 Moi University,
 P.O.Box 3900.
ELDORET.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

This is in reference to Research License No. NACOSTI/P/22/15526 dated 14th February, 2022 from the Director General/CEO, National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation on the above subject matter.

You are hereby authorized to conduct a research on **“The inter-ethnic relationship between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 - 2003 for the period ending 14th February, 2023.**

Wishing you all the best.



SUSAN WENDY
 For: COUNTY COMMISSIONER,
NANDI.

COVID-19 IS REAL GET VACCINATED

APPENDIX XVI
RESEARCH AUTHORISATION-OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNTY COMMISSIONER – VIHIGA

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



THE PRESIDENCY
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Email: vihigacc1992@gmail.com
Telephone: Vihiga0771866800
When replying please quote

COUNTY COMMISSIONER,
VIHIGA COUNTY,
P.O. BOX 75-50300,
MARAGOLI.

REF: VC/ED.12/1 VOL.III/185

15th March, 2022

All Deputy County Commissioners
Vihiga County.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION – BENJAMIN KIPKIOS NG'ETICH.

This is to introduce to you Mr Benjamin Kipkios Ng'etich of Moi University to carry out research on "*The inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884 - 2003,*" in Vihiga County, Western Kenya for a period ending 14th February, 2023.

Kindly accord him the necessary assistance.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'John O. Otieno'.

John O. Otieno
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
VIHIGA COUNTY.

cc.

Benjamin Kipkios Ng'etich

APPENDIX XVII

RESEARCH AUTHORISATION-OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COUNTY COMMISSIONER – KAKAMEGA

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND CO-ORDINATION OF NATIONAL
GOVERNMENT

Telephone: 056 -31131

Email: cckakamega12@yahoo.com

When replying please quote:

Ref: ED.12/1/VOL.VI/48

County Commissioner
 Kakamega County
 P O BOX 43 - 50100
KAKAMEGA

Date: 10th March, 2022

Mr. Benjamin Kipkios Ng'etich
 Moi University
 P.O Box 3900
ELDORET

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your authorization vide letter **Ref: No. NACOSTI/P/22/15526** dated 14th February, 2022 by **NACOSTI** to undertake research on "*The Inter-Ethic Relations Between Nandi and her Neighbours 1884 - 2003*" for the period ending 14th February, 2023.

I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to carry out the research on the same in this county.

 **COUNTY COMMISSIONER**
KAKAMEGA COUNTY

B. O. NYAMBANE
FOR: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KAKAMEGA COUNTY

APPENDIX XVIII

RESEARCH AUTHORISATION-OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COUNTY COMMISSIONER – KISUMU



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

Telephone: Kisumu 2022219/Fax: 2022219
Email: ckisumucounty@gmail.com

**COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KISUMU COUNTY
P.O. BOX 1912-40100
KISUMU**

CC/KC/ED/3/VOI.4 (214)

17th March, 2022

All Deputy County Commissioners
KISUMU COUNTY

**RESEARCH AUTHORITY
MR. BENJAMIN KIPKIOS NG'ETICH – MOI UNIVERSITY**

Reference is made to a letter from NACOSTI ref NACOSTI/P/22/15526 dated 14th February, 2022 on the above subject matter.

The above named is a student of Moi University. He has been authorized to carry out a research on "*The Inter-Ethnic relations between Nandi and Her neighbours, 1884-2003*". The research ends on 14th February, 2023.

Kindly accord him any assistance that he may need.

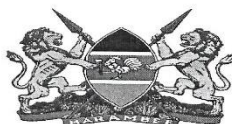
**JOSEPHINE OUKO
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KISUMU COUNTY**

Copy to

Mr. Benjamin Kipkios Ngetich –
Moi University
P. O. Box 3900, ELDORET

APPENDIX XIX

**RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION-MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
STATE DEPARTMENT FOR EARLY LEARNING AND BASIC EDUCATION
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION – NANDI**



**REPUBLIC OF KENYA
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION STATE DEPARTMENT FOR EARLY
LEARNING AND BASIC EDUCATION**

Email: cdenandicounty@yahoo.com
Telephone: 0773044624
When replying please quote

County Director of Education
NANDI COUNTY,
P. O. Box 36-30300,
KAPSABET.

Ref: NDI/CDE/RESEARCH/1/VOL.111/13

Date 14/3/2022

Benjamin Kipkios Ng'etich
P.O Box 3900
Eldoret

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORISATION.

Reference is made to the letter Ref: No. NACOSTI/P/22/15526 dated 14th February, 2022 on the above subject.

The above named person has been granted permission by the County Director of Education to carry out research on "*The Inter-Ethnic Relations between Nandi and her Neighbors, 1884-2003 in Nandi County*" for the period ending 14th February, 2023.

Kindly provide him all necessary support he requires.

Odongo J. O

For: County Director of Education,
NANDI COUNTY.

<p>For: <i>County Director of Education</i> NANDI COUNTY</p>
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APPENDIX XX

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION-MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT FOR EARLY LEARNING AND BASIC EDUCATION
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION – VIHIGA



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Telegrams:
 Telephone: (056) 51450
 When replying please quote

COUNTY EDUCATION OFFICE,
 VIHIGA COUNTY,
 P.O. BOX 640,
 MARAGOLI.

REF: CDE/VC/ADM/VOL.2/39/98

15TH March, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT RESEARCH
BENJAMIN KIPKIOS NG'ETICH

Reference is made to your letter Ref No. NACOSTI/P/22/15526 dated 14th February, 2022.

Permission is hereby granted to BENJAMIN KIPKIOS NG'ETICH to conduct a study on "**The inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbours, 1884-2003**" in Vihiga County for a period ending 14th February, 2023.

Kindly note, in order for the office to be informed a copy of the same be shared with the County Education office for intervention purposes upon completion of the research.

HELLEN NYANG'AU
 COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
 VIHIGA COUNTY

Cc
 County Commissioner
 VIHIGA



APPENDIX XXI

**RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION-MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
STATE DEPARTMENT FOR EARLY LEARNING AND BASIC EDUCATION
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION – KISUMU**



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

State Department of Early Learning and Basic Education

Telegrams: "schooling", Kisumu
Telephone: Kisumu 057 - 2024599
Email:
countyeducation.kisumu@gmail.com

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KISUMU COUNTY
P.O. BOX 575 - 40100
KISUMU

When replying please quote

REF: CDE/KSM/GA/3/24/IV/245

17th March, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION
MR. BENJAMIN KIPKIOS NG'ETICH - NACOSTI/P/22/15526**

The above named is from Moi University.

This is to inform you that he has been granted authority by NACOSTI to conduct research on the topic "*The Inter-Ethnic Relations between Nandi and Her Neighbours, 1884 - 2003*" for the period ending 14th February, 2023.

Any assistance accorded to him to accomplish the assignment will be highly appreciated.

EUNICE A. OUKO
For: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KISUMU COUNTY



APPENDIX XXII

**RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION-MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
STATE DEPARTMENT FOR EARLY LEARNING AND BASIC EDUCATION
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION – KAKAMEGA**

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EARLY LEARNING AND BASIC EDUCATION

Telephone: 056 -30411
Fax: 056 – 31307
E-mail: rceducation2016@gmail.com
When replying please quote our Ref.

County Director of Education
Kakamega County
P. O. BOX 137 - 50100
KAKAMEGA

REF: KAKA/GA/29/17/VOL VI/27


16th March, 2022


MR. BENJAMIN KIPKIOS NG'ETICH
MOI UNIVERSITY
ELDORET

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

The above has been granted permission by National Council for Science & Technology vide letter Ref. NACOSTI/P/22/15526 dated 14th February, 2022 to carry out research on "the inter-ethnic relations between Nandi and her neighbors, 1884-2003 - Kakamega" for the period ending 14th February, 2023.

Please accord him/her any necessary assistance he may require.


COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KAKAMEGA COUNTY

 **DICKSON O. OGONYA**
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KAKAMEGA COUNTY

CC
The Regional Director of Education
WESTERN REGION