

A HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE KADIMO CLAN OF YIMBO IN SIAYA COUNTY, KENYA, FROM 1896 -1963.

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A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Degree of Master of Arts in History of Chuka University.

**CHUKA UNIVERSITY
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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION


Declaration


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

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DEDICATION

To my mother Mary (Nyar Diang'a Korera), my late father Christopher Akelo, my sister Lorna (Maro) and my nephew Clinton, I dedicate this work.

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I am grateful to Chuka University fraternity for granting me the noble opportunity to undertake my Master of Arts in History at Chuka University. Without the contribution of many people, my work would not have been a success. I would like to thank Dr. Martha Muraya, Dr. Eliud Biegon, Mr. Job Mulati and Mr. Paul Muiro (Department of Humanities, Chuka University) for their professional and academic counselling that ensured the success of this work. I would also like to thank Dr. Eric Mwenda (Department of Education, Chuka University) for his moral support throughout my post-graduate studies. Special thanks go to Dr. Gordon Onyango (Department of Social Sciences and Archaeological Studies, Kenyatta University) for his input and guidance during my research. I cannot forget to thank the entire staff of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Chuka University for their moral support during my post-graduate studies.

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ABSTRACT

This study is about a history of representative politics and the socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county, Kenya, from 1896 to 1963. The study is guided by three objectives; to examine the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo between 1896 and 1963, to determine the new forms of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo from the onset of colonialism and to establish the influence of representative politics on socio-economic development of the Kadimo people during the colonial period. The assumptions of the study were that the history of representative politics of the Kadimo clan could be traced from the period 1896 when the British sent a messenger to Oloo of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo that they wished to make him the first colonial chief of the Yimbo people, that new forms of representative politics emerged among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo after 1896 and that lack of political representation affected socio-economic development of the Kadimo people during the colonial period. The study used Postcolonial and Underdevelopment theories to examine the history of representative politics and its socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan. Methodologically, the study used descriptive research design. The study was conducted in Yimbo, Siaya county. The respondents were purposively sampled using a snowballing technique. The study targeted 6, 210 Kadimo people in Usigu as per the 2019 census. The sample size was 30 respondents drawn from Usigu for interviews. The sources of data included: oral sources, archival sources and secondary sources, and were corroborated to meet the reliability and objectivity of the research. Data was collected through oral interviews and focus group discussions. The study analysed and presented data through Qualitative Data Analysis. The findings of the study discussed in chapters four, five and six were as follows; *Jo-Kadimo* found people of Bantu origin in Yimbo on their arrival and lived among them; *Dholuo* became the lingua franca in Yimbo; Kadimo homestead had many huts and they were polygamist; they practised mixed farming and there was a chief council called *Buch Piny*; Dimo was the first *ruoth*; the first colonial chief was appointed in 1902; there were conspiracies to remove incumbent representatives from office; there were no schools in the location until 1928 when Usenge School was built; there no health centres in the location and the Yimbo people hated to pay taxes to the colonial government. Chapter seven provides discussion on the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the research. The study has contributed to the historiography of the Kadimo clan.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION	ii
COPYRIGHT	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xiii
CHAPTER ONE:INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	5
1.3 Purpose of the Study	5
1.4 Objectives of the Study	6
1.5 Research Questions	6
1.6 Assumptions of the Study	6
1.7 Significance of the Study	6
1.8 Limitations of the Study	7
1.9 Scope of the Study.....	7
1.10 Operational Definition of Terms	8
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	9
2.1 History of Representative Politics.....	9
2.2 Forms of Representative Politics.....	11
2.3 Influence of Representative Politics on Socio-economic Development	15
2.3.1 Social Development.....	15
2.3.2 Economic Development	20
2.4 Theoretical Framework	22
CHAPTER THREE:MITERATURE REVIEW	25
3.1 Location of the Study	25
3.2 Research Design.....	26

3.3 Target Population	26
3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size.....	26
3.5 Research Instruments	27
3.5.1 Interview Schedule	27
3.5.2 Focus Group Discussion.....	27
3.6 Type and Nature of Data Collection	28
3.6.1 Primary Data.....	28
3.6.2 Archival Data.....	28
3.6.3 Secondary Data.....	28
3.7 Data Analysis Procedures and Presentations	29
3.8 Logistics and Ethical Considerations	29

**CHAPTER FOUR:THE EVOLUTION OF REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS
OF THE KADIMO BETWEEN 1896 AND 196331**

4.1 Background Characteristics of Respondents.....	31
4.1.1 Respondents’ Age	31
4.1.2 Respondents’ Gender.....	32
4.1.3 Respondents’ Level of Education.....	32
4.1.4 Respondents’ Residence	33
4.2 The History of the Kadimo Clan	35
4.2.1 Origin, Migration and Settlement of the Kadimo Clan in Yimbo	35
4.2.2 Linguistic Orientation of the Kadimo.....	41
4.3 Social Organisation	42
4.4 Economic Organisation	51
4.5 Political Organisation.....	53
4.6 The Evolution of Representative Politics of the Kadimo Clan of Yimbo in Siaya County during the Colonial Period.....	55
4.7 Conclusion.....	72

**CHAPTER FIVE:NEW FORMS OF REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS
FROM THE ONSET OF COLONIALISM.....73**

5.1 Political Structures of the Kadimo Before British Colonialists’ Invasion	73
5.2 Appointment of Chiefs	76
5.3 Colonial Protests	80

5.4 Representation in the Legislative Council	81
5.5 Political Associations/Parties	84
5.6 Collaboration with the Colonial Administration.....	86
5.7 The 1947 Little Election.....	87
5.8 System of Colonial Administration.....	89
5.9 The Kadimo Village Police	93
5.10 Conclusion.....	94
CHAPTER SIX:INFLUENCE OF REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS ON THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.....	96
6.1 Influence of Representative Politics on Socio-economic Development of the Kadimo clan in Siaya County.....	96
6.1.1 Social Development.....	96
6.1.2 Economic Development	104
6.2 Conclusion.....	114
CHAPTER SEVEN:SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	116
7.1 Summary of the Findings of the Study	116
7.2 Conclusions of the Study.....	122
7.3 Suggestions for Further Research	124
REFERENCE.....	125
APPENDICES	130
Appendix I: Data from the Kenya National Archives.....	130
Appendix II: List of People Interviewed.....	132
Appendix III: Map Showing the Settlers and Invaders of Yimbo.....	133
Appendix IV: Map of Luo Land	134
Appendix V: Map of Kenya Showing Location of Yimbo	135
Appendix VI: Researcher’s Self-Introductory Letter.....	136
Appendix VII: Interview Schedule on the History of Representative Politics and the Socio-Economic Development.....	137
Appendix VIII: Glossary of Luo Words	139

Appendix IX: Researcher's Kenya National Archives Official Entry Permit to Search-Room	142
Appendix X: Research Permit from NACOSTI.....	143

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Respondents' Age	31
Table 2: Respondents' Gender	32
Table 3: Respondents' Residence	33
Table 4: Respondents' Occupation	34

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Yimbo	25
Figure 2: Respondents' Level of Education.....	33
Figure 3: Respondents' Religion	35
Figure 4: Got Ramogi in Yimbo, Kadimo.	41
Figure 5: Researcher with Thomas Achando a Dholuo speaker from Lul village, Yimbo.	42
Figure 6: Chief Jacob Opuk with Archdeacon Walter Owen.	67
Figure 7: Chief Ezekiel Onyango	70
Figure 8: Pupils Outside a Classroom in Central Nyanza District.....	97
Figure 9: Central Nyanza Education Board Logo.....	98
Figure 10: Chief Jacob Opuk with his village police.....	100
Figure 11: African District Council Tax Receipt.....	109
Figure 12: African Poll Tax Receipt.....	110
Figure 13: Archdeacon Walter Owen talking with Kadimo women near their farm.	111

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACK:	Anglican Church of Kenya
CNDA :	Central Nyanza District Association
CSES :	Comparative Study of Electoral System
DC:	District Commissioner
ESS:	European Social Survey
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GoK:	Government of Kenya
K.A.U:	Kenya African Union
KADU:	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU:	Kenya African National Union
KAR:	King's African Rifles
KASU:	Kenya African Study Union
KCA:	Kikuyu Central Association
KIHBS:	Kenya Integrated House and Budget Survey
KNA:	Kenya National Archives
KTWA:	Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association.
LEGCO:	Legislative Council
LNCs:	Local Native Councils
MCA:	Member of County Assembly
MP:	Member of Parliament
NACOSTI:	National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation
NLC:	Nomiya Luo Church
PC:	Provincial Commissioner
RoK:	Republic of Kenya
SCIDP:	Siaya County Integrated Development Plan
YKA:	Young Kavirondo Association

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Representative politics refers to the process in which leaders are either elected, nominated or appointed to speak, advocate, stand and act on behalf of the constituents. These political representatives may or may not have formal authority (Chemers, 1997). However, in modern representative politics, elections are major avenues through which constituents choose their leaders and in turn can influence how they are governed (Moyo, 1992). Representative politics gained considerable attention in academics from the late 1980s and 1990s as various scholars advanced works on political representation through representative democracy (Pitkin, 1968; Urbinati & Warren, 2008). These were to address the socio-economic challenges that were emanating from lack of political representations in ancient societies.

In Europe, advocacy for the needs of the citizens saw the emergence of different forms of political representation. There was symbolic representation which marked the start of representative politics and it was used among Christians who wanted to know how Christ was represented in the Holy Communion. Even though symbolic representation had a religious origin, it was also extended to the political arena of the monarchical societies of Europe to know how the Kings were represented through their officials (Pitkin, 1968).

Consequently, corporation representation was advanced to solve the protracted struggle between the Pope, the Roman Emperor and the crown in the Roman Empire over the nature of the distribution of power. They wanted to know which political powers the Pope and the Roman Emperor should hold. Pre-modern concept of representative politics was marked by the emergence of identity representation which was advocated for by the people in the lower strata of the medieval societies in Europe. These people in the lower strata of the medieval societies wanted to be involved in the social, political and economic aspects of their societies (Pitkin, 1968). These implied that various and variant forms of political representation were evolved by the medieval European society as a result of the social, political and economic changes that were taking place at that time. These changes prompted the people to develop different forms of leadership to address their interests, socially, politically and economically.

Sieyes quoted in Ogwal (2014) maintains that to ensure full participation of citizens in matters of governance, national representation was advanced as a concept of representative politics. It originated in France after the activities of the French Revolution of 1789 which demanded equality for all regardless of class, race, religion and sex. The French convened the Estate-General meeting on 5th May, 1789 and this considerably influenced the future political developments in France and the rest of Europe. Convening of this meeting led to the revival of the parliamentary democracy in France in which the third estate declared itself the national assembly on 17th, June 1789. The representatives met in the national assembly to discuss both the public and private affairs affecting French citizens. This marked the emergence of political representation in the contemporary context. While the events of the French Revolution cannot be underscored in this context, it clearly showed that inclusivity in matters of governance was a central issue among the French citizens and beyond. These events led to the emergence of national representation to solve both public and private issues that were affecting the French.

In pre-colonial Africa, there were various and variant forms of political systems. There were African empires like Ghana, Mali and Songhai which had well established centralised political systems and there were those African societies which were stateless and their leadership was organised around family, kinship and clan systems (Chabal, 2009; Young, 1982). Even though Europeans had pre-colonial contacts with Africans through missionaries, traders and explorers; they did not have the political control over Africans until the convening of the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. This marked the genesis of the idea of western political representation in Africa. New forms of political representation emerged with colonialism which removed emphasis from the local communities to the colonial headquarters in the metropole. This implied that, on the eve of colonialism, Africans had institutions that were concerned with the social, political and economic welfare of the people. It was also true that colonialism brought new forms of politics of representation that disadvantaged Africans at the expense of the Europeans in all spheres of life.

Africans were not represented in the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 which laid the blueprint for the social, political and economic colonisation of Africa by the Europeans through various methods particularly treaty signings. These treaties were mainly

economic and political and were signed between Africans and Europeans and commercial treaties between European countries themselves (Oyugi, 1994). The treaties were signed by the representatives of European countries to perpetuate their social, political and economic interests in Africa at the expense of the interests of the natives.

Europeans employed different methods of administration in Africa. While the French African colonies were administered through Assimilation and Association, the British used both the direct and indirect administrative systems in their colonies. Through the indirect rule, the British used African chiefs to rule their fellow Africans, because of lack of enough personnel and/or to curb African resistance to British rule. The colonial government also wanted Africans to proceed with their lives according to their traditions while at the same time moving to more modern citizenship (Chabal 2009; Leys, 1975; Oyugi, 1994). This implied that to perpetuate their colonial interest, the British used African chiefs as colonial administrators at the local levels while at the same time striving to promote traditional African political structures in which the latter created two social African classes.

In all pre-colonial Kenyan communities, just like any other African society, there were many forms of political leadership. There were those communities which were centralised like the Wanga and the Luo. In 1898 Kenya was declared as part of the British East African Protectorate. In 1920, the British changed the name of Kenya from the East Africa Protectorate to Crown Colony establishing British colonial rule in the country (Odinga, 1967). To administer Kenya, the colonial government divided the country into provinces, districts, divisions, locations and sub-locations which were governed through European representatives at the provinces, districts and divisional levels while Africans were used as chiefs, assistant chiefs and village headmen at the locations, sub-locations and village levels (Branch, 2011; Hornsby, 2012). A white settler dominated Legislative Council (Legco) had been established in 1906 to make laws and represent the interest of the White settlers. To address Africans needs in the colony, the colonial government established the Local Native Councils (LNCs) to administer the African reserves. These were to deal with both the colonial state's interests and the colony. However, in reality, Africans were underrepresented in the

Legco and the Local Native Councils hence could not articulate their social, political and economic grievances effectively.

The politics of representation in colonial and after independence in Kenya was also visible at the local administrative levels, like Yimbo which is the concern of this study. The colonial regime in Yimbo began with the arrival of a European administrative officer called Sir Charles William Hobley also nicknamed by the Luo as *Obilo Nyachola* in 1895 and this made the whole of Luo land to be a British protectorate as an Eastern province of Uganda the same year. In 1896, Sir Charles William Hobley sent a messenger to Oloo of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo who at the moment was the traditional leader of the Yimbo community that he wished to make him the first colonial chief of the Yimbo people (Ochieng, 1975). Oloo declined in favour of his brother Anam Osunga on the claim that he did not have enough food to feed the District Commissioner and his people, and in 1902, the colonial government gazetted chief Anam Osunga of Kadimo clan as the first colonial chief of Yimbo (KNA/DC/CN 3/1/1913). The installation of the office of the chief was very crucial in ensuring the establishment and continuity of colonial rule among the Kadimo clan. These colonial appointees were direct agents of the colonial government in their localities hence represented the interest of the colonial government and not of their fellow Africans.

Kadimo clan is in Yimbo, Usigu Division, Bondo sub-county, Siaya county, Kenya. Yimbo was first occupied by Cushitic speakers and later by the Bantu civilisation in the pre-colonial period. These initial Cushitic and Bantu groups came from the islands of Lake Victoria such as Mageta and Lolwe. The Kadimo clan led by Dimo invaded Yimbo where they drove away the initial inhabitants of Yimbo (Ochieng, 1975) however, other clans of Luo origin such as Kowil and Wanyenjra as well as those of Bantu descent and migrants from the Buganda Kingdom residing in Yimbo.

Between 1880 and 1905 many people died in Yimbo of sleeping sickness and dysentery. The Yimbo people also experienced two great famines between 1890 and 1897. The Kadimo clan significantly affected the political organisation of Yimbo people since the pre-colonial period which created great rivalries between themselves and the non-Luo clans living in Kadimo location. However, in 1947 the non-Kadimo clans defeated the Kadimo clan in the election of a chief and for the first time, a non-

Kadimo chief was elected to represent the Yimbo clans (Ochieng, 1975). Kadimo clan proved to be a very dominative clan in the pre-colonial period, however, this situation changed with the coming of British rule in the location, as the Kadimo were now the conquered. This eventually, changed the socio-economic and politics of representation among the residents of Kadimo. It was against this background that a study on a history of representative politics and the socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya between 1896 and 1963 was conducted.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

People's representation is critical in any historical study as it plays a great role in understanding the socio-economic development in the society. The arrival of the British colonialists in Kenya, and particularly in Siaya county, brought transformations in the socio-economic and politics of representation among the residents of Kadimo clan of Yimbo because of the structural changes that the British effected in local leadership. Previous studies on political representation and socio-economic development have often focused on national and regional representative politics. However, the political representation at the local level specifically of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo has hardly received any scholarly attention, for instance, to understand whether the position of the chiefs marginalised the Kadimo people in form of political representation within the context of colonial government structures and the effect this had on the whole clan. This study therefore set out to fill this gap by exploring the history of representative politics and its socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan in specific locations of Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county from 1896-1963. The study therefore helped to fill the knowledge gap on historiography among ethnic communities at the local level in the colonial period.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The study examined a history of representative politics and the socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county, Kenya, from 1896 and 1963.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study was guided by the following objectives:

- i. To examine the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county between 1896 and 1963.
- ii. To determine new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county from the onset of colonialism between 1896 and 1963.
- iii. To establish the influence of representative politics on socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan in Siaya county during the colonial period from 1896 to 1963.

1.5 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following questions:

- i. How did politics of representation evolve among the Kadimo clan from the pre-colonial period, 1896 and 1963?
- ii. What were the new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo from the onset of colonialism between 1896 and 1963?
- iii. How did representative politics influence socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan in Siaya county during the colonial period from 1896 to 1963?

1.6 Assumptions of the Study

This study was based on the following assumptions:

- i. The history of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo could be traced from the pre-colonial period when they arrived and established their rule among the initial inhabitants of Yimbo.
- ii. New forms of representative politics emerged among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo from the onset of colonialism.
- iii. Representative politics affected socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan in Siaya county during the colonial period.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study will fill the knowledge gap on political historiography among ethnic communities in the colonial period, which is useful in demonstrating the chronology of politics of representation during the colonial period. Government policymakers and implementers could use the findings of the study to come up with policies that could be

used to tackle issues of inequalities. Besides, the study is of great importance to the students of history who will use the study as reference material for benchmarking.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

Data was collected through three sources; oral sources, archival sources and secondary sources. The limitation of the oral source was inaccuracy because data depended on the memory of the informant, which sometimes elapsed specifically among very old informants. This limitation was overcome by corroborating data from oral sources with archival and secondary sources to achieve reliability and objectivity. Data gotten from archival sources had the limitation of inadequacy, scanty and non-comprehensive to the study. This limitation was solved by corroborating the archival data with oral sources and secondary sources to achieve comprehensiveness of the objectivity and validity of the study. Data collected from some secondary sources, had the limitation of being Eurocentric and therefore biased. This limitation was overcome by having a variety of Afrocentric and Eurocentric perspectives which helped the researcher to weed out any bias.

1.9 Scope of the Study

This study examined historical data from the year 1896 to 1963. The year 1896 marks year when the British wanted to appoint the first colonial chief in Yimbo from the ranks of the Kadimo clan and this altered the social, political and economic structures of local communities especially of the Yimbo residents at the local level. The study exits in 1963 when colonial rule ended in Kenya and this brought new representative politics in the post-colonial era. The study was carried out in Yimbo, Bondo sub-county, where Kadimo clan is found.

1.10 Operational Definition of Terms

The following are the definitions of key terms that were used in the study:

Colonialism:	Refers to the situation in which western powerful countries ruled over others. For this study, those other countries are those in Africa.
Chief:	Refers to the colonial appointed African leader of Kadimo clan.
Clan:	A group of people related through origin and blood who do not allow marriage among their members. For this study, these people are the Kadimo clan residents.
Capitalism:	A situation in which property ownership, allocation, and distribution are owned by individuals. This is in contrast to state or community-owned property.
Development:	Process of improving life through representation.
Exclusion:	Leaving a particular group of people or a community from the mainstream of the social, economic and political spheres of the society.
Kadimo:	A clan in Yimbo that was named after its first leader-Dimo.
Politics:	Process through which the affairs of government or an institution is governed.
Political Organisation:	A group of people who organise and have power in public affairs including the justice and the rule of law.
Representation:	Refers to the process by which leaders speak, advocate, stand and act on behalf of their constituents. For this study, it is how the chiefs advocated for the interest of the Kadimo people who they represented.
Siaya County:	One of the 47 counties of Kenya found in older Nyanza province.
Yimbo:	An earlier settlement area of the Luo in Kenya found in Bondo sub-county, Siaya county, Kenya. It is where the Kadimo clan is found.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 History of Representative Politics

Odinga (1967) in his autobiography states that by 1944 Africans had representation in the Legco through Eliud Mathu. The first direct elections for Africans were held in 1957 in which Africans elected eight members to represent them in the Legco. The elected African members demanded multiracial representation in the Legco. The above discussions showed that representative politics took regional and national perspectives; however, these studies informed the current study on the various politics that were taking place in the country and how national politics influenced local politics during the colonial period. The above observations were therefore relevant to the current study since they helped in shedding more light on representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county, Kenya which showed that there were mini-politics among the Kadimo clan and that the Kadimo people were not represented in the Local Native Councils, African District Councils and the Legislative Council during the colonial period.

Odinga (Op Cit.) further asserts that Nyanza people had started holding political meetings at night in the early 1920s. A meeting held at Lundha in Gem in Central Nyanza saw the formation of the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) in 1921, a political association. The leaders of the association were Simeone Nyende, Ezekiel Apindi, Reuben Omulo, Jonathan Okwiri and Joel Owino. However, the association was diluted politically when Archdeacon Walter E. Owen took over its leadership and changed the name to Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (KTWA) and this changed its aim from a politically oriented association to a welfare association. This study established that there were two political associations that were formed among the Kadimo people. These were Kadimo and Ojwando associations which were opposing sides.

Pitkin (1968) proposes four main facets of representation which include formalistic representation, in which there are criteria of determining how representatives behave; symbolic representation where representatives are assessed by their level of acceptance among their constituents; descriptive representation which deals with the extent to which the representative resembles the represented and substantive representation in

which the representative takes action on behalf of the represented. This implied that representative politics was realised when politicians spoke, advocated, symbolised and acted on behalf of the represented in the political arena. A common thread that exists in Pitkin's theory of representation is that all interests are drawn from the represented and how to constitute the representative. Pitkin's theory of representation was relevant to this study since it helped in demonstrating that representatives were viewed as colonial government's representative among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Bondo sub-county, Siaya county, Kenya. This is the gap that this study tried to fill.

Dahl (1972) observes that representative politics as was first practised in Western democracies can be traced among the Greeks. The Greeks had established institutions which were representative in nature in which debates were held to solve the problem of governance and representation of the interests of the Greek citizens. The representatives met in Athenian state assemblies to discuss the social, political and economic issues which were central issues affecting the Greek citizens. The Greeks evolved the idea of political representation which either delegated or entrusted the advocacy of the preferences of her citizens to a small group of individuals. These observations were useful to this study since they helped in tracing the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo which was established that before colonialism, the Kadimo people were led by leaders called *ruodhi* who dealt with the social, political and economic issues that were affecting the people in Yimbo.

Ochieng (1975) maintains that after the Luo had crushed the Bantu opposition in Yimbo, a line of Kadimo clan chiefs was imposed. Dimo their leader became the first *ruoth* (chief) with his followers being called *Joka-Dimo* (the people of Dimo). He established a centralised government with a council which was Luo dominated with few Bantu clans in it. The Bantu clans provided the *ruothdom* (chiefdom) with an army which the chief used to fight the neighbouring Luo communities of Alego and Sakwa. When Dimo died his son Nyathuon took over the leadership in which he ruled with an iron fist, fighting the neighbouring communities. When he died a civil war broke between A.D 1760 and 1810 in Yimbo over whom should succeed him. The Bantu clans took this situation to revolt against Luo leadership in Yimbo which they termed as a dictatorship; however, Mbesi a grandson of Dimo was chosen to be the next chief having defeated the Bantu opposition. He also ruled harshly with magic and using a

police force from his Kadimo clan. These pre-colonial local politics of Yimbo would later determine the colonial political activities of the Yimbo people. These findings were relevant to this study as they provided the pre-colonial political set up of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo. This study harnessed Ochieng's work by demonstrating how clan politics influenced representation among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county, Kenya during the colonial period.

Ochieng (1990) aptly observes that organised political activities in Kenya began after World War I. This was due to the harsh socio-economic conditions that resulted from the war which made Africans realise that their political interests will be disregarded by the colonial government. Africans responded to these discriminating and oppressive policies by forming political associations led by missionary educated Africans. By 1924, Local Native Council, LNC was established by the colonial government as legitimate and alternative bodies for Africans to raise their opinions. These observations were important to this study since they helped in demonstrating that the Kadimo people were not represented in the created legislative bodies during the colonial period which were crucial in promoting socio-economic development of the people.

Salih (2007) demonstrates that political party financing and succession politics are a major threat to the African democratisation process. He concluded that political party financing corrupt politics and spreads corruption in political institutions based on political appointments and that succession politics is a major conflict causing factor in almost all African countries. Salih's work contrasted with the current study in the sense that it looked at political representation from a continental perspective whereas this study investigated the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county, Kenya whose geographical conditions is not be the same as the rest of African continent.

2.2 Forms of Representative Politics

Odinga (ibid) states that the Luo system of government was by consent and consultation from elders. A clan head did not inherit his position; however, when it belonged to the right lineage the individual had to prove his leadership qualities. Odinga concludes that the British changed this since they chose leaders who were unpopular among the people who could only be used to achieve the colonial aim. The British overpassed those who

were in leadership positions and others installed over them. This implies that the British introduced a new political system which was alien to the local communities. The current study utilised Odinga's observations above to show that Africans resisted the new forms of representation which included appointing of chiefs without consulting the natives by the British as we shall see in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Ogot (1973) writes on the hierarchy of the Luo society and he shows that politically the Luo were divided into subtribes each with its own autonomous political and territorial unit. Below this was the village elders and the clan council led by the council of elders, prominent diviners, healers, rain-makers and military leader. The council of elders was headed by a chief who played various roles of solving boundary disputes, welfare and communities. Moreover, the chief was the custodian of the land and the final court of appeal. The council admitted foreigners into the community or expelled undesirable individuals. The council also appointed senior elders in the community who would give the training of the youths during the initiation period apart from being the custodian of the community history and culture. This study harnessed Ogot's work to understand the pre-colonial political set up of the Luo communities and the Kadimo clan in particular and how this might have been affected by the coming of the British in Yimbo who introduced colonial regime which came with new representation forms.

Ochieng (1974) observes that class and ethnic division during the colonial rule had a considerable impact on forms of African political organisation. Most of the political activity was local within a single ethnic group. The domain for local political articulation varied from mission station to chiefs meeting, to a district-based political organisation. Local political activity became an important form of African protest seen in the organisation of the political association. Initially, the membership to the association also included African chiefs and headmen and the African mission educated men. This relationship was later destroyed due to the rivalry between the educated Africans, the chiefs and the non-chiefly bourgeoisie.

Ochieng (1990) establishes that due to the increased pressure for the representation of Africans in the European dominated Legco, Eliud Mathu was appointed the first African representative in the Legco in 1944. This also saw the formation of Kenya African Study Union (KASU), which was later rebranded Kenya African Union (KAU),

a political organisation and movement which represented the African grievances to the colonial government. By 1955, the colonial government allowed for the formation of district-based political associations to promote political and civic awareness among Africans. In Central Nyanza, Oginga Odinga established CNDA led by D.O Makasembo as its chairperson. These associations demanded increased African representation in the Legislative Council (Ochieng, 1995; Odinga, 1967; Ogot, 1995). This study established that lack of representation in the African District Council and Legislative council led to discontentment and resistance from the Kadimo people.

Oyugi (1994) also posits that political dissent also extended to religious forms and other groups which were seeking to get rid of the 'alien' chiefs imposed on them by the colonial regime in Africa. African labourers went for work stoppages in Tanganyika, in 1937, 1939, 1943 and Mombasa in 1934-1945. These events marked the beginning of trade unionism and in response, the colonial government limited their participation in administration and reinforcing the existing authoritarian patterns of control. This study harnessed the above observations to understand how issues of class, religion and missionary education, as well as trade unionism, influenced representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya. This helped this study to show that there were political associations in Yimbo which were formed along clan orientation and that religious orientation influenced the appointment of chiefs among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Bondo sub-county, Siaya county.

Besley and Case (1995) speaking in the context of the USA, argue that term limits affect the fiscal policies chosen by the governors and show that per capita taxes are usually higher during the final terms of term-limited governors who did not have to face voters again. This implies that in a context where taxation is the key policy issue in political competition as in the case of the USA where politics of representation shapes leaders' incentive toward a policy. These findings were important and informative to the current study since they were useful in shedding more light on how external factors and government fiscal policies influenced representative politics in my study. It was established that the appointed colonial chiefs did not have term limits and therefore could not be held accountable in providing incentives to the people they represented.

Cox and McCubbins (1986) and Cox (1997) observe that liberal democracy is aided or impeded by ethnic politics. Democracy, in the liberal perspective, is government by popular representation; a form of government in which the supreme power is retained by the people, but is indirectly exercised through a system of representation and delegated authority periodically renewed. Among the major features of democracy is the equality of individuals before the law; freedom, liberty and universal suffrage enjoyed by the people. This is in contrast with Chandra's (2004) observation that competition for wealth and power among various ethnic groups affect the institutionalisation of democracy. These observations were relevant and informative to the current study since they helped to determine the dynamics of the new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo which took the transformational form from the colonially appointed chiefs to the election of a chief in 1947.

Saward (2005) examines governance and the transformation of political representation in African countries. He used modernization theory and proposed for stakeholders, wider interests and surrogate governances as new forms of political representation. Stakeholder representation is the idea that one stands for or speaks for a group and is involved in the decision making processes; surrogate representation incorporates the marginalised as the electoral processes are not adequately encompassing social and cultural contexts and wider representative is based on the notion that a larger human interest can be represented; however, these human interests are too wide to receive an adequate voice in a national electoral political system. While Saward used modernization theory to establish new forms of political representation in the contemporary society, this study determined the new forms of political representation among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county using Postcolonial theory which was different and discovered that among the Kadimo people, several new forms of representative politics emerged after the establishment of colonial rule in Yimbo as shown in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Dana (2008) states that a presidential system is a form of representative democracy, where the president is the head of the state with a significant amount of powers over the government. The president and the executive are not liable to the legislature, but cannot dismiss it entirely in normal circumstances. However, such dismissal is possible in the uncommon case through impeachment. Similarly, the legislature cannot remove

the president from his or her office unless in the extreme case. In this system, the president is elected directly by the people of the state which makes the president's power more legitimate than that of a leader appointed indirectly. Dana's work looked at the presidential representation which was national in perspective while the current study determined the new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo at the local level. However, the above discussion was important to this study since it helped in shedding more light in understanding how national politics controlled the local politics in the area of my study. It was established that national politics did not control the politics among the Kadimo people during the period of study.

Antoine (2016) observes that representative democracy is the most common form of government across the world. The political parties choose their candidate to vie for a position either in the legislature, executive or the judiciary, and then the citizens of the state elect a more qualified representative, which is decided by the majority. Representative democracy strives to protect the rights of the majority, who most often are the minorities. This agrees with Pap's (2017) assertions that by electing a good representative the minority will be able to voice their grievances in an orderly manner. While the studies mentioned above give a general conclusion on forms of representative politics from a global perspective the current study determined the new forms of representative politics which were noted to be appointment of chief, holding democratic elections, protests and collaborations, lack of representation in the legislative council, formation of political associations and the use of a strong village police to help the chiefs in implementing the colonial policies in the location of Kadimo.

2.3 Influence of Representative Politics on Socio-economic Development

This study posits that there is a relationship between political representation and socio-economic development. The literature given in this section therefore supports this assertion.

2.3.1 Social Development

Social development is the process by which the wellbeing of people is improved in any society. It is characterised by putting people at the centre of development so that they can reach their full potential.

Odinga (Op Cit.) noting on the early political activities in Central Nyanza, demonstrates that the political motives of KTWA were changed to welfare motives when Archdeacon Walter E. Owen took over the leadership of the association. Archdeacon Owen focused KTWA to the planting of trees, digging of sanitary pits, manufacture of maize mills and the acquisition of beds by members. Moreover, Odinga points out that, at the local level, the District Commissioner (DC) was remote from the local people of Sakwa and Yimbo. Furthermore, in Central Nyanza the locals only heard about the DC through chiefs, they knew little about the Provincial Commissioner and just knew that there existed a governor. These observations were important and informative to the current study which established the influence of representative politics on the social development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya.

Pande (2003) analyses the function of mandated political representation in providing disadvantaged groups with influence over policy-making through political reservation in India. By the use of state-level variation, Pande hypothesised that the extent of state-level political reservation enjoyed by minority groups varies by its share of the population. This implied that changes emerged in representation even though the underlying population share is continuous. She found that political reservations in Indian states have produced many leaders from lower caste groups and increased redistribution of resources like increase in spending in public education programs and this benefit low-caste groups.

Jusco (2005) examines the political representation of the poor in most of the world's developing countries and uses Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) to show how the poor are represented in the contemporary democratic governance and how the elected representatives are more or less responsive to the preferences of the poor. Jusco (2005) demonstrates that there is a representation gap that favours the wealthy and the middle-income groups in most contemporary societies and that the interests of the wealthy and the middle income are better represented than the interests of the poor. This study employed a different approach from Jusco's as it used a descriptive research design to establish the influence of representative politics on socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county, Kenya as we shall see in Chapter Six of this thesis.

Kanyinga (2006) uses standardised reporting framework in examining democracy and political participation in Kenya to show that ethnicity and identity politics; the electoral system of both colonial and post-colonial periods and the dominance of the executive are major limitations to democratic consolidation in Kenya. This report concludes that ethnicity is embedded in Kenya's political arena as it is used to retain political power. This is escalated by the interplay of ethnicity and competition for the executive power which has constrained public political participation and the democratic transition in Kenya. Kanyinga's research formed a crucial backdrop to examine how ethnic politics influenced representation in lower levels other than at national level. This study established that clan politics influenced representation in the chief's council among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Bondo sub-county, Siaya county.

Urbinati (2006) suggests that new forms of representative democracy may also lead to better literacy of the public on emerging political issues. In this way, people can come into terms with the present and plans of democracy through their elected representatives. Representatives hence ensure that people understand clearly what is expected of them and therefore guide them on proper ways to tackle issues. It is, therefore, a wise decision for the elected representatives to focus thoroughly on matters concerning the public to enhance the consistency of the new democracy. These observations were important and informative to this study since they laid the foundation upon which socio-economic development within the context of representative politics was based.

Iyer (2011) uses state-level variation to show that political representation is strategic in providing a voice to the disadvantaged groups within the criminal justice systems specifically political crimes in India. The author found that political reservation for feminist representation in local government induces a significant rise in reported crimes against women in India. On the other hand, the author did not find any increase in crime against men or gender-neutral crimes. Iyer (2011) further examines the effectiveness of alternative forms of political representation in which she suggests that the participation of women in local councils is more important to them than participating in higher-level leadership positions. While Iyer's study looked at gender and representation in India, the current study examined the dynamics of gender and its influence on representative politics of Kadimo clan, Bondo sub-county. This study established that the colonial

political spaces among the Kadimo people was male dominated with women being at the periphery of the political scope.

Prakash (2011) similarly suggests that increasing the share of seats reserved for the most disadvantaged groups greatly reduces poverty in India. This implied that more political engagement by disadvantaged groups had an enormous result in rural poverty. This study explored the political representation of the poor through the political reservation of specialised seats. These observations were important to the current study since they were used to explore the existence of proportional and non-proportional representation and how this affected minority groups in form of political representation in Yimbo, Usigu division, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya. This study established that the created local institutions of administration such as the African District Councils did not benefit the Kadimo people since they were not represented in such councils.

Hafner (2012) shows that political representation is dynamic process of democratisation that creates social development and social changes in a society. Using data from the European Social Survey (ESS) and analysed through multiple linear regression the author establishes the link between democratic representation and social development in Europe. The study found that values play an important role in political participation only in developed countries of Western Europe. The current study gives variety to Hafner's study by looking at a different geographical context from those of the Europeans. These were found to be different among the Kadimo where the study established that values did not play a significant role in the politics of representation in Yimbo, Bondo sub-county, Siaya county, Kenya during the colonial period.

Acemoglu et al., (2014) provide an historical account from Colombia and USA where elites persisted to capture the state institutions despite the extension of voting rights to the minority groups. The authors demonstrate that elites use violence against opponents and coercion as well as economic sanctions against electorates to keep hold of power despite the presence of electoral institutions and poor performance. These observations were informative to this study as they show the methods used by the appointed colonial chiefs to keep hold of the political power that this study established in the subsequent chapters.

Acemoglu et al., (Op cit.) show how representation influence social development in the colonial organisation of chieftaincy in Sierra Leone. The three scholars show that chiefs face fewer limitations and less political competition in chiefdoms with fewer ruling families. The authors further show that places with fewer ruling families are underdeveloped evidenced by low rates of educational attainment and childbirth. This study contrast with the above findings by demonstrating that in Yimbo among the Kadimo clan, people still lived in poverty and underdevelopment despite providing most of the colonial chiefs that ruled Yimbo during the colonial period.

Southcott (2015) points out that representative politics improve the social economy through various dimensions that positively contribute to the development of society. This is enhanced when the elected representatives create and form associations that bring together people from different backgrounds to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Through such investments, people can make profits and lift themselves for better living hence improving the economy of the area. Southcott concludes that social developments are therefore handled easily as the representatives can handle emerging challenges that may affect investors and hinder the success of their development projects. This means that people can come up with different motives that enable them to develop interests in joint organisations hence improving their standards of living. The current study extended Southcott by establishing that the Kadimo chiefs were critical in improving the social development of the people they represented.

Mucece (2016) examines social exclusion and poverty among the Thagicu people who live in Meru county in Kenya. She used Historical Materialism and Social Darwinism theories to show that those who are poor are excluded politically leading to low socio-economic development. The present study employed Postcolonial and Underdevelopment theories to examine the history of representative politics of the Kadimo clan living in Siaya county in order to understand the relations between power, representation and income among the Kadimo clan. Through this the study shows that the ruling clan had much representation in Yimbo and the leaders were rewarded with a lot of gifts and properties at the expense of the non-ruling clans.

2.3.2 Economic Development

Economic development means the growth of the standard of living of a people within a nation from a low-income economy to a high-income economy. It is characterised by consistence flow of factors of production and distribution of goods and services in a society.

Odinga (ibid) observed that colonial rule introduced labour extortions as Nyanza became the largest labour reserve in the country. The DC issued labour quotas to the chiefs and the headmen to recruit labour. This made the chiefs to be subjected to pressure and corruption to extract more labour from their locations and the methods of recruitment became a major issue of grievance. Added to these were the increase in hut tax and poll tax from 10-16 rupees, introduction of kipande system to control the movement of African labour and road construction. These imply that chiefs were at the centre of social, economic and political development of their locations. These observations were useful to the current study since they helped in shedding more light on how colonial policies informed representative politics and how these policies have affected the economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Bondo sub-county, Siaya County, Kenya.

Lemarchand and Legg (1972) observe that a patron-client relationship makes a country to be a location where politicians bargain over the allocation of resources and secure their consumption under the condition of economic scarcity. There is a close link between resource distribution and political policies in Africa. Through a patron-client relationship, sponsor allocates resources to their clienteles owing to their dependability to the clients; the clienteles support the patron to get the resources (Bratton & Walle, 1997; Annan, 1998; Diamond & Plather, 1999; Leonardo, 2009). While these studies were given continental aspect to show how political elites control resource distribution, this study established how patron-client relationships influenced representative politics and how this affected the economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Usigu division, Bondo sub-county within the wider Siaya county.

Ayot (1977) argues that a chief stood at the social, political and economic organisation of his group. He further points out that the pre-colonial Luo political arrangement had two main features. First, there was a chiefly clan which provided leadership and second

was that dictatorship could not prevail since the leaders were closely monitored by their subjects. However, with colonialism, this changed as chiefs became answerable to the colonial government at the expense of the local populace. These observations guided the current study to establish the contestations surrounding representative politics and how the locals of Yimbo Kadimo and the colonial appointed chiefs affected economic development of the area of study.

Ochieng (1990) observes that at the time of establishing colonial administration in Kenya, the British used the policy of indirect rule to govern the native people through chiefs and this caused a major problem in chief-less societies. Similarly, Odinga (Op Cit.) demonstrates that a chief was the direct agent of the colonial government in his location. Their functions were akin to those of the District Commissioner (DC) and included maintaining African loyalty to the colonial government, collecting taxes, labour recruitment and obedience by Africans to the colonial law. The chiefs were appointed based on being successful organisers of trade caravans, labour recruiters or if they spoke Kiswahili. This study extended Ochieng's and Odinga's works by demonstrating that the colonial chiefs among the Kadimo were handpicked by the colonial government without consulting the natives on such appointments.

Pandey (2010) examines institutions of power concentration to subsequent political behaviour and the delicacy of public services in India. She analysed historical variation across districts in India in colonial land revenue institutions which had concentrated power among elite landlords who had more power than the peasants. The study found that, in a district with non - landlords' control, village bodies that were representatives of the peasants collected revenues. Further, she found that political control will be drawn from the groups of the higher caste. Carrying out research in Yimbo on the influence of representative politics on the social development expands Pandey's study and helps to give a different perspective from the Indian one.

Senna (2012) examines political participation and representation of hunter-gatherer communities of Kenya to show that cultural stereotyping, poor leadership skills, poverty, low self-esteem, poor infrastructure and insecurity are major hindrances to political participation of the hunter-gatherer communities. The current study looked at the Yimbo society who are primarily a mixed farmers community and demonstrated

that political participation among the Yimbo is often hindered by the political conspiracies and witch hunt among their leaders and this was the knowledge gap that the current study filled.

Acemoglu et al., (Op Cit.) state that a democratic institution leads to better economic development in most European countries. They examined the effect of democratisation within nations, control of forms of institutional variation across countries other than democracies. The authors used different measures of democracy and estimations including accounting for dynamics inherent in how Gross Domestic Product (GDP) changes with time. They demonstrate that democratisation leads to a sustained positive effect on economic development. The authors further show that some autocracies are more successful than democracies and that if autocracy is governed with an organised group with the powers to exercise control to discipline poor performance, then autocracy will promote good policies hence good economic development. This means that political representation occurs in every institutional context, democracies and autocracies, though in variant ways. The observations above were important and relevant to this study since they helped in understanding the dynamics of various forms of government on economic development and how this influenced economic development in the study area.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

This study used the Postcolonial and Underdevelopment theories to examine the history of representative politics and the socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya between 1896 and 1963. Underdevelopment theory is a Latin America development pattern which was first advanced by Andre Gunder Frank (1966), a German economic historian and a sociologist. Underdevelopment theory suggests that wealthy nations need a periphery group of poor countries to remain wealthy. This means that resources flow from a periphery of poor underdeveloped countries to the centre of wealthy countries and the wealthy nations thus develop at the expense of the poor countries.

Rodney (1972) opines that the coming of imperialism and colonialism made Europe increase in economic capacity through various means while Africa remained static leading to the expansion of capitalism in Africa. Indeed, the colonial government

expatriated African wage labour to feed the metropolitan sector. Development of Europe was in a dialectical process in which Africa was underdeveloped. African politics was interfered with as well as the African working class. African underdevelopment was also contributed to by the European trading companies who controlled the shipping and banking services hence exploiting the African peasants. Rodney (1972) concludes that without the poor nations at the periphery, the wealthy nations could not enjoy the life they have up to now. Wealthy nations escalate the state of dependency through various means including controlling medium; economics; politics; banking; finance; education and human resource development. Underdevelopment theory helped in establishing how the colonial government used the colonial appointed chiefs to their own advantage at the expense of the Kadimo people as the chiefs became the employees of the colonialists.

Leys (1975) opines that colonialism brought about new social strata among the native population which reorganised their social, political and economic aspects of life. This implies that direct colonial administration was replaced by independent governments representing local strata and classes with an interest to sustain the colonial economy which rested on monopolies due to competition between African peasants, Indians and Europeans for trade and jobs. The Europeans monopolised African land, market, government services and most profitable crops. This led to the low socio-economic development of the country. The British colonised the Yimbo people for economic benefits (Ochieng, 1975). This study agrees with Ochieng (1975) that the British colonised the Yimbo people for economic benefits.

Postcolonial theory is a term used to refer to socio-political and economic material conditions which are historical (McLeod, 2000). Many authors have written on Postcolony including, Edward Said's (2003) discussion of orientalism; hybridity, of Homi Bhabha (1994), and subalternity and strategic essentialism, associated with Gayatri Spivak (1988). Postcolonialism is a counter discourse of formerly colonised others against the cultural hegemony of the West (Muiru, 2012). Antonio Gramsci quoted in Muiru (Op Cit.) developed subaltern as a concept to refer to groups of people who are outside the established structures of political representation. In this study, this group refer to the Yimbo residents.

Mbembe (2001) speaking about the postcolonial situation, maintains that African historiography is embedded in a multiplicity of durations, trajectories and rationalities that can only be understood from the mindset of an African but not European. He states that colonial sovereignty demanded absolute submission from the colonised. Its policies were not based on any public good. It also played a role in the transformation of ancestral systems of power and realignments of alliances including the alliances between the natives and the colonisers. There was also the restructuring of cash-crop agriculture. These colonial roles in rural areas were decisive in the emergence of anti-colonial feeling and forms that nationalists' later post movements took. The Postcolonial theory was used to show the political transformations brought about by colonial regime in Yimbo and how such changes influenced the emergence of new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Bondo sub-county, Siaya county within the colonial structures.

Chabal (2009) notes that there were well-established kingdoms in pre-colonial Africa and African rulers sought wealth for status and warfare. By being under colonial rule, it meant becoming tributary to a centralised state that exercised absolute, unaccountable and arbitrary power over the social, political and economic aspects of the colonised. Colonial authorities extracted maximum resources from the least financial and coercive expenditure led to the establishment of authoritarian rule. Power rested in the colonial state regardless of the local political organisations and this made the African chiefs to be colonial clients since they were on the state payroll. This implied that the chiefs became accountable to their paymaster (the colonial government) and it breached the primary relationship the chiefs had with their local people. These observations were important and informative to the study since they helped in establishing the new forms of representative politics which were introduced in Yimbo by the colonial government.

Postcolonial theory is therefore built from the experiences of the people who engaged in liberation struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It allows people who are socially, politically and economically dominated to negotiate for their equity while challenging the impacts of the past that are exploitative. Therefore, Postcolonial and Underdevelopment theories were used to examine the history of representative politics and the socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya from 1896 to 1963.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Location of the Study

The study was conducted in Yimbo, Usigu Division in Bondo sub-county within the wider Siaya county, Kenya. Yimbo is made up of a total of 53 clans. Usigu division is divided into two locations namely East Yimbo and West Yimbo. The locations are subdivided into ten sub-locations namely Bar Kanyango, Got Agulu, Got Ramogi, Mahanga (Island in L. Victoria), Miyungu (Island in L. Victoria), Nyamonye, Othach, Pala, Usenge and Usigu. The sub-locations are further subdivided into five village units namely Got Ramogi, Mahanga, Othach, Usenge and Usigu each with its village council (Republic of Kenya [RoK], 2017). The area was chosen because no related research had been conducted in the sub-county despite the persistence of representative politics at the local level. It was also chosen because the researcher wished to understand the history of representative politics of this group of people who over the years had provided leadership to the initial inhabitants of the region. Moreover, there was a need to understand the relationship between representative politics and socio-economic development of the area of study during the colonial regime. Figure 1 shows the location of study.

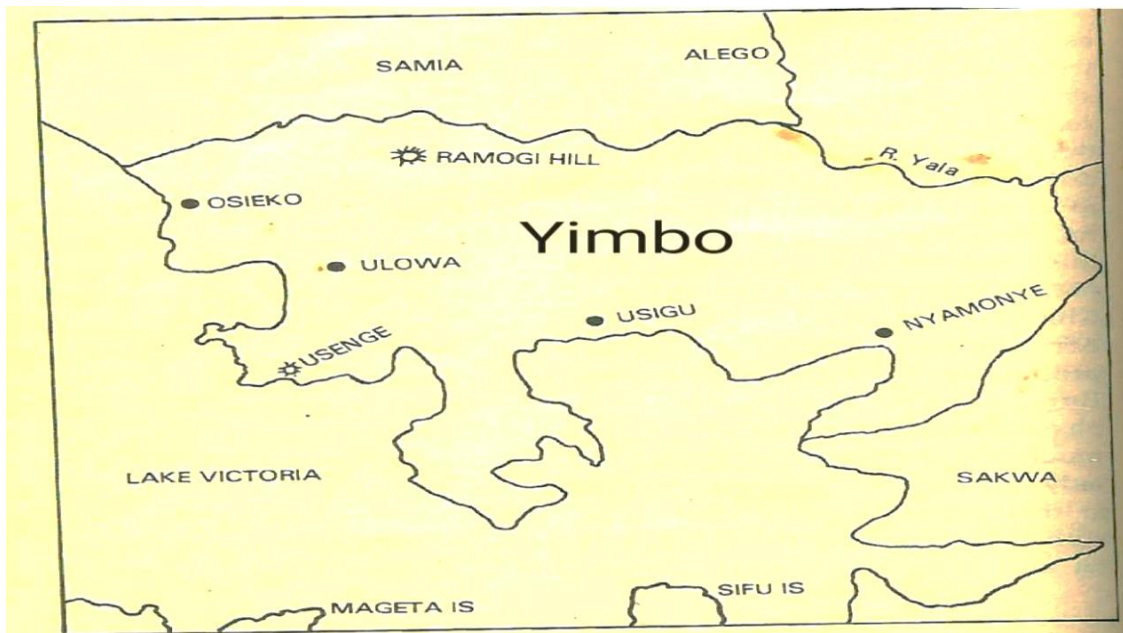


Figure 1: Map of Yimbo

Source: Ochieng (1975)

3.2 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive research design. The design was used to investigate the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan during the colonial period, to determine the new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan from the onset of colonisation and to establish the influence of representative politics on the socio-economic development of the Kadimo people of Yimbo in Bondo sub-county, Siaya county. This study described, recorded, analysed, reported and presented the findings of the current study as they exist.

Kothari (1985) notes that descriptive research is concerned with describing, recording, analysing, reporting and presenting the features of particular conditions as they are. Kathuri and Pals (1993) demonstrates that the systematic and scientific nature of the descriptive research design brings valid and reliable outcomes. For Kombo and Tromp (2006) the major purpose of descriptive research is the description of the state of affair as it exists and it allows for both qualitative and quantitative research. Hence, a descriptive research design suited this study because it enabled the researcher to give valid and reliable findings.

3.3 Target Population

According to the 2019 census, the total population of the Kadimo clan is 6, 210 people (Government of Kenya [GoK], 2019). A study population is the larger group to which the research prospects to apply the result. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) add that the study population is the entire group of individuals, events or objects having a common observable characteristic. The target population refers to all members of the real set of people, events or objects to which the study wishes to generalise its findings (Borg & Gall, 1982). Thus, this study targeted the 6, 210 people of Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Usigu Division in Bondo sub-county within the wider Siaya county.

3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Osso and Onen (2005) states that a sample is part of the population that has been selected procedurally to represent it and sampling procedure is a description of the strategies which the researcher uses to select representative participants from the target population. This study utilised purposive sampling with snowballing method in selecting the respondent. Purposive sampling was used to select respondents that had

the required information as per the objectives of this study. The respondent was then requested to recommend to the researcher another respondent who had such information as per the objective of this study. In snowballing, the researcher identified participants with similar characteristics until the researcher got the number of respondents and/or information required as per the objectives of the study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

Kathuri and Pals (1993) suggest that for major subgroup the minimum sample size should be 100 cases while for a minor subgroup, the sample size should be between 20-50 cases in determining the sample size. Kadimo clan in Yimbo being a small area of study, 30 respondents were interviewed from Usigu village of Yimbo in Bondo sub-county. For this study, the criteria for choosing the respondents was based on age, gender, educational level, occupation and residence to have a universal representation of the target population.

3.5 Research Instruments

This study used interview schedules and focus group discussions.

3.5.1 Interview Schedule

The researcher utilised structured interview schedules to guide interviews that were conducted from the respondents on the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo during the colonial epoch, to determine the new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan and to establish the influence of representative politics on the socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Usigu division, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya. Interview schedules that were used in this study are provided in Appendix VII.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion was used with pre-recorded topics, a predetermined list of open and closed-ended questions to obtain information on the participants' beliefs and perception on the topic of the study among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo. The focus groups were formed by the people of Kadimo clan in Yimbo, Usigu Division in Bondo sub-county within the wider Siaya county with a related history of socio-economic activities to ascertain the unique characteristics of the evolution of representative politics, new

forms of representative politics and the relationship between representative politics and socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan.

3.6 Type and Nature of Data Collection

Data was collected from primary data, archival data and secondary data.

3.6.1 Primary Data

The primary data was obtained through oral interviews guided by the interview schedules. The researcher booked appointments with respondents before the interview and the purpose of the appointment was explained to the respondent by the researcher. One research assistant was used to collect data. The information in these data addressed the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo and influence of representative politics on socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan, Usigu division, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya.

3.6.2 Archival Data

The researcher collected data from the archives because archival data contained first-hand information and for this study, the Kenya National Archives (KNA) in Nairobi was used. This data provided information on the political representation of Kadimo clan during the colonial period, new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo and on the influence of representative politics on socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, hence acted as an eyewitness to the topic of study. Thus, the researcher went to the KNA to obtain and read documents on Kadimo clan, annual reports, Siaya Development Plans, Boundaries and any other relevant available document to the topic of the study. Researcher's permit to access KNA is provided in Appendix IX.

3.6.3 Secondary Data

The researcher obtained secondary data from various libraries and electronic sources. Libraries were used in sourcing written materials on political representation, new forms of representative politics and socio-economic development. These libraries included the British Institute in East Africa (Kileleshwa, Nairobi), Chuka University Library, Kenya National Library (Nairobi and Kisumu). Data was obtained from both published

books, thesis (unpublished), journals, periodicals, seminar and discussion papers, maps, magazines, and newspapers. These sources of data were selected because they had information related to the topic of the study.

3.7 Data Analysis Procedures and Presentations

Data was analysed by the use of Qualitative Data Analysis. Qualitative Data Analysis was used to describe and interpret the socio-economic changes that took place in Kadimo over the epochs 1896-1963. For this study, the phenomenon that was studied was the history of representative politics and its socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya between 1896 and 1963.

The researcher then grouped the data from the questionnaire following the specific research questions. Qualitative data obtained from the open-ended questions were qualitatively analysed based on content analysis. This was influenced by the data obtained from primary sources, archival sources and secondary sources. Hence, the data obtained from oral sources, archival sources and secondary sources was corroborated to meet the reliability and validity of the study. Oral data was thematically analysed and corroborated using secondary data. Finally, data was merged from various data instruments to ensure consistency in data presentation to present a credible and general picture of the area under study. These were guided by the objectives of the study shown in Chapter One of this thesis.

3.8 Logistics and Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained a clearance letter from Chuka University Ethics Committee which was used to seek a research permit from the National Council for Science, Technology, and Innovations (NACOSTI) to conduct the research. The researcher presented an introduction letter to the respondent and with the consent of the respondent, the interview was conducted. The researcher booked an appointment with the respondent to conduct the interview and collect the filled questionnaires. The purpose of the interview was explained to the respondent. The respondent participated in the interviews wilfully and where the respondent sought to remain anonymous, the researcher respected the will of the respondent according to Israel & Hay (2006). The

researcher acknowledged all who had collaborated to ensure the success of the research. Researcher's self-introductory letter is provided in Appendix VI.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE EVOLUTION OF REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS OF THE KADIMO
BETWEEN 1896 AND 1963

4.1 Background Characteristics of Respondents

This section discusses the background of the interviewees from the context of respondents' age, gender, level of education, residence, occupation and religion. This was done in the belief obtaining respondents with common characteristics as per the objectives of this study stated in Chapter One of this thesis.

4.1.1 Respondents' Age

The researcher asked the respondents to state their age in years. A total of 30 respondents were purposively sampled using a snowballing technique. The results of the respondents' age are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Respondents' Age

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage (%)
50 – 70	10	33%
71 and above	20	67%

Out of the 30 respondents interviewed, the youngest respondent was 50 years old and the oldest was 100 years. The approximation was arrived at through one of the respondents who was born at the time of tsetse fly invasion in Yimbo Kadimo. This was supported by another 90-year-old respondent who narrated how the British controlled the tsetse fly in Mageta island and Magombe areas of Yimbo in 1929. Archival data on tsetse fly control in Kadimo, Central Nyanza (KNA/DC/KSM/1/29/15) also supported this assertion. Ages 50 - 70 were useful in providing information on the emergence of new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan from the onset of colonialism. They also provided information on the influence of representative politics on the socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan. The ages 71 and above were used to provide the first witness accounts on representative politics among the Kadimo clan from 1896 and 1963.

4.1.2 Respondents' Gender

This study defines gender as the state of either being male or female. It also means division of labour between men and women. The results of the respondents' gender are provided in table 2.

Table 2
Respondents' Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Males	23	77%
Females	07	23%

Out of the 30 respondents interviewed, 07 were females accounting for 23% while 23 were males accounting for 77%. This disparity was attributed to the fact that majority of the respondents who gave the pre-colonial and colonial history of the Kadimo were males. All the 10 administrators and village elders interviewed were males because naturally leadership in this community was bestowed in the hands of the male from time immemorial. Women were mainly caregivers. The elderly male respondents were in particular useful in providing a clear chronology of the events that led to the origin and evolution of representative politics among the Kadimo clan during the colonial period. Some of them were actively involved in the administration of the area of study and are even members of the Luo council of elders. One such respondent was Isaiah Achando, the secretary-general of the Luo Council of elders from Lul village, Yimbo in Siaya county. The researcher found it necessary to interview both males and females because both hold different views on representative politics as well as socio-economic development and this ensure the holistic nature of the current study.

4.1.3 Respondents' Level of Education

This study defines the level of education as the highest and professional academic attainment by the respondents. The results on the distribution of the level of education of the respondents are shown in Figure 2.

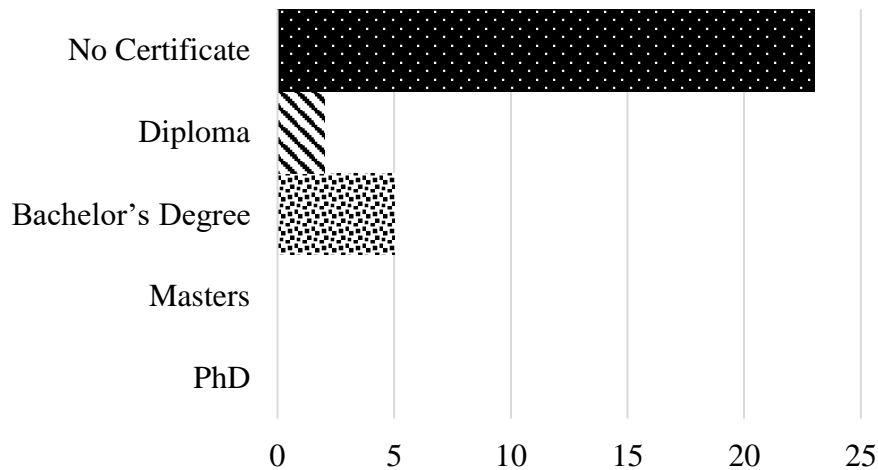


Figure 2: Respondents' Level of Education

Out of the 30 respondents interviewed, none had attained the PhD or Masters level of education. Only 5 respondents had attained Bachelor's Degree, while 2 had a diploma and 23 had no certificate. Majority of the respondents with no certificates reported they reached standard seven. The researcher sought to establish the level of education of the respondent since education is a major indicator of socio-economic development and it also helps citizens to make informed political decisions through civic education.

4.1.4 Respondents' Residence

For this study, residence refers to the actual or specific location of the intended respondent. The respondent was asked to indicate his or her residence and results of the distribution of the respondents' residence are shown in table 3.

Table 3
Respondents' Residence

Residence	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Kadimo	20	67%
Non – Kadimo	10	33%

Out of the 30 respondents interviewed, 20 hailed from Kadimo clan accounting for 67% and 10 were of non-Kadimo accounting for 33%. The Kadimo respondents were useful in providing information on the history of representative politics of the Kadimo, new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo from the onset of colonialism and the influence of representative politics on their social and economic development. As stated in Chapter 3, Kadimo chiefs provided political leadership in Yimbo; a region

with a total of 53 clans. This scenario prompted the researcher to interview 10 non-Kadimo to ascertain their views on the nature of this representative politics in Yimbo.

4.1.5 Respondents' Occupation

This study defines occupation as the activity done by the respondents to earn a living. The researcher asked the respondent to indicate his or her occupation. The results of the respondents' occupation are shown below.

Table 4
Respondents' Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Informal employment	20	67%
Formal employment	10	33%

Out of the 30 respondents interviewed, 20 were in informal employment accounting to 67% while 10 were in formal employment accounting to 33%. The informal employees were subsistence farmers with 5 from non-Kadimo and 15 from Kadimo. Other respondents were non-Kadimo from various locations, one being a nominated Member of County Assembly from East Asembo Ward in Siaya county. The researcher established the respondents' occupation because one's occupation is associated with an individual's wellbeing hence a good socio-economic development indicator.

4.1.6 Respondents' Religion

Religion refers to a belief in supernatural or divine power. The researcher asked the respondent to indicate his or her religion. The results of the distribution of the respondents' religion are provided in Figure 3.

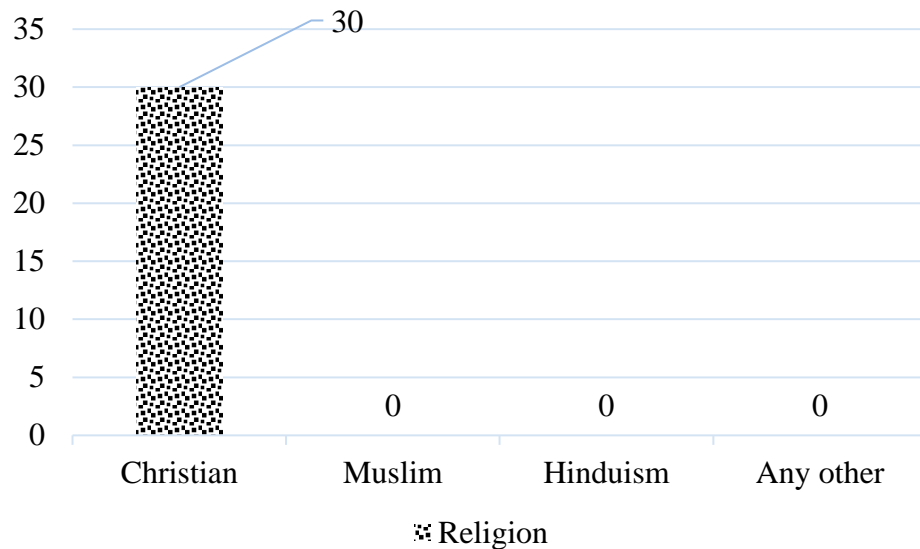


Figure 3: Respondents' Religion

All the 30 respondents interviewed were Christians accounting for 100%. The researcher established the respondents' religion since it was important in providing information on whether or not religious orientation determined the choice of political representatives among the Kadimo during the colonial period.

4.2 The History of the Kadimo Clan

The aim of this section is to discuss the pre-colonial history of the Kadimo clan on the basis of their migration, settlement as well as social, political and economic organisation. This is done to create a proper background in examining the evolution of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo. The discussion was based on data obtained from the oral respondents from the field during research.

4.2.1 Origin, Migration and Settlement of the Kadimo Clan in Yimbo

According to Achando (O.I, 2019), the establishment of the Kadimo Luo chiefdom in Yimbo was made possible by the advent of the *Joka-Owiny* group of Luo into Nyanza. They broke off from Padhola in Eastern Province of Uganda, having hailed from Bahr-el-Ghazal in Sudan. From Pubungu Pakwach to Teso, *Joka-Owiny* were led by *ogaye* (a leader) called Owiny Para. This was supported by another oral respondent; Ongere (O.I, 2019) that for a long time, *Joka-Owiny* settled in Budama in Busoga, however, they later crossed River Malaba into Budola and Bulugui in Eastern Busoga where they stayed for approximately one hundred years. They temporarily settled at Miro from

Acholi where they had set off their migratory journey. From Miro, they went to Teso where the course of the Dimo people started. They briefly settled at River Ugweru a region between Teso and Kum.

The family lineage of *Jo-Kadimo* could be traced as follows. The third Ramogi called Owiny Sigoma gave birth to four sons namely: Mongra is now known as Munyenjra; Wiri is now known as Owil; Dimo now is known as Dimo and Kisodhi are now known as Karuoth of Alego. Munyenjra gave birth to Marwa and Marwa begot five sons namely: Nuhoya; Suwaya; Wariamda, Wasalu and Kisaria. Owil begot Munyolo. Dimo, on the other hand, begot Julu, Oyugi also called Bith, Were also known as Nyathuon, Ajong'o and Maganda. These sons of the third Ramogi were also of *Joka-Owiny* group (Opiyo O.I, 2019).

Achando (O.I, 2019) pointed out that when Munyenjra, Wiri and Dimo were at the banks of River Ugweru ready to cross to the other side, their dogs swam across the river and caught a big antelope. On seeing this, the owners of the dogs decided to *yoro* (wade) through the water. However, the river was in great depth and the current so fast such that they drowned in large numbers that they formed *olalo* (a bridge). Those who drowned were *Jo-Kamunyenjra* and *Jo-Kowil*. *Joka-Dimo* and *Jo-Karuoth* used the dead as a makeshift bridge as they crossed to the other side of River Ugweru.

Achando (O.I, 2019) further reported that from River Ugwer, *Joka-Owiny* temporarily stayed at Ugishu near Mount Elgon. Later they moved to Ubala in the land of Wanga and then went to Port Victoria in Samia where they met *Jo-Samia* (People of Samia). From here, *Joka-Owiny* migrated Southwards to Ager hill in Alego where they met with Bantu speaking people like the Mariachi. They fought with these initial inhabitants of Alego and having pushed them to Ugenya, *Joka-Owiny* found themselves faced with the aggression of the early Luo invaders who had occupied the area under the leadership of Alego. *Jo-Kakisodhi* (Karuoth) remained in Alego while Dimo, Owil and Munyenjra proceeded with the migration.

From Alego; Dimo, Owil and Munyenjra settled at Nyandiwa and Mur Malanga among the Mur people. In this journey, Munyenjra carried *rapogi*, Owil carried *tong* (spear) and Dimo carried *bul* (drum). After the death of Owiny Sigoma, there was a power

struggle between Dimo and Kisodhi over the succession of who should be the next leader. Both had *mula*, (a brass hamlet, a symbol of power) and none of them was willing to give room for the other. This succession politics prompted Dimo to go and live among Mur people (Okumu O.I, 2019). This implies that, even before finding a place to settle, the seeds of political power struggles had been planted among the Kadimo leaders.

In those days when they were settling among the Mur people, Dimo had a very large and strong bull with long and sharp horns. The bull used the horns against the bulls of Mur people and the people of Mur were not impressed as they wondered why the bull of a foreigner could dominate their bulls. Therefore, they conspired to humiliate Dimo by having the horns of his bull cut in public (Ongere O.I, 2019). When Dimo, Owil and Munyenjra heard the plan, they went to Kisodhi who was their elder brother to confer and come up with the solution. The three brothers agreed to go and consult *jabilo* (medicine man). Being that Dimo was a foreigner among the people of Mur, the medicine man told them that, they would get a land and they had to move out of Alego. *Jabilo* (medicine man) prophesised that their land was located towards the setting of the sun; Yimbo, across River Yala.

Jabilo (medicine man) told them that, the land would be taken by blood. In the prophecy, Julu would die in the battlefield by the enemy's spear. Medicine man gave them a sign. He told them, 'if Julu will fall on the ground, face up with his head pointing at you, you will lose the land, but in case he will fall to the ground with his head pointing at your enemy, then you will possess the land.' This prophecy fell heavily on Dimo and his son Julu. Dimo said 'it is only men not women who die in the battlefield, let it be.' This explains that Dimo was willing to see his son die to occupy a new land of settlement for his people-The Kadimo.

According to Achando (O.I, 2019), after this prophecy, Dimo, Owil and Munyenjra planned on how they could leave Alego without war because they had feared the military strength of the people of Alego. Since the plan to cut the horns of Dimo's bull was still on, Dimo, Owil and Munyenjra used this to their advantage to escape. Dimo agreed for the horns of the bull to be cut by the Mur people. However, this was to be done on one condition: Dimo told them that since the bull was a prize bull, the horn

cutting would be a ceremony. The Mur people said that there was no difference because, “ceremony or no ceremony, the horns of a foreigner’s bull would be cut.’ Therefore, a day was set for the horn cutting and this was the day that Dimo and his people would secretly leave.

On that day, Dimo brew pots of *Kong oseke*, (a local brew drunk using a long wooden straw) and invited *Jo-Mur*, *Jo-Seje* and *Jo-Kogwong* (clans in Alego). They were to drink *kong oseke* as they waited for the climax of the ceremony, the humiliation of the foreigners; cutting the horns of their bull. However, Dimo had planned to leave during this alcohol drinking spree. People of Alego sipped their *Kong oseke* as the sun was heading to *podho chieng*, (Westwards). Dimo then decided to execute their exit plan. Their women started going to the river for water. They returned but others were left at the river. It was said that, of the ten women who went for water, only one came back. This process was repeated severally: many going few coming back. By the time the sun was halfway towards its western home, only a quarter of the women were around to serve *Jo-Alego* the local brew (Okaka 2019, O.I).

Late in the evening, *Jo-Alego* asked for the bull to be brought for its horn to be cut. Dimo told them that, ‘the bull and other animals have not come back from grazing, and that they should wait as they took *Kong oseke*. As the sun went down Kadimo people started leaving one after the other with those who left never coming back. Those who were left behind with *Jo-Alego* also left claiming that they were going to find out what had happened to others and why the bull had not been brought for horn cutting. Once everyone from the Kadimo clan had arrived, a drum was beaten, with a sound, *udeko! Udeko! Udeko!* And *Jo-Kadimo* waded River Yala into a new land that the medicine man had prophesised they will possess (Achando O.I, 2019). Having arrived in the new country at about 1680, Dimo, Owil and Munyenjra first settled at a place called Bar Nyang’ to the East of Ramogi Hill. It was at Bar Nyang’ that Dimo divided the land. Owil and Munyenjra were to settle at Dudi around Ramogi Hill. Dimo was to settle at Misori (this place is in Uyoma) closer to Lake Victoria.

According to Ochando (O.I, 2019), on their departure, *Jo-Kowil* and *Jo-Kamunyenjra* agreed that since *Jo-Kadimo* were going the furthest, they were told to beat the drum once they arrived at a place called Sindho to signify that they had arrived safely. On

arrival at Sindho, Dimo beat the drum, producing the sound, *udeko! Udeko! Udeko!* a sound that went all over the country. The sound of the drum surprised the inhabitants of the land like; Kanyiywen, Wahenye, Wahwa and Wasawa, who were all Bantu speaking people, who wondered whether they had visitors in the land. A day after the drum beating, these initial inhabitants of Yimbo decided to look for the invaders of their land. They followed the animal tracks until they found where *Jo-Kadimo* spent the night, and inquired on who they were, where they came from and what they wanted. In response, *Jo-Kadimo* told them that, they had come from Alego and they had come to settle there.

Foreigners were allowed into a new land by the initial inhabitants of that land. They were given fire to symbolise acceptance into the newly acquired land. Despite this, *Jo-Kadimo* were not given fire by the inhabitants of Sindho. Thus, the inhabitants wanted to know where *Jo-Kadimo* had got fire and who gave them the authority to light the fire in the land. They therefore instructed *Jo-Kadimo* to put out their fire because the owners of the land were the ones to give them fire and that *Jo-Kadimo* give the inhabitants some cattle as compensation for coming into their country. Dimo asked them for a reprieve and told them that they were still waiting for their elder to come and give them direction (this was to buy more time). *Jo-Kadimo* asked for five-three days, meaning after eight days.

The inhabitants agreed and gave *Jo-Kadimo* some time as they requested. Were, the son of Dimo, also known as Nyathuon sent a messenger to Murwa son of Munyenjra and to Munyolo son of Owil to inform them about their confrontation with the inhabitants and about their demands. In response, Murwa sent backup troops of two sub-clans informing them that they were going to help Were beat the drum in case there was war. On the part of Munyoro, he sent only one sub-clan because many of the Owil clan members had died at River Ugwer and therefore they were fewer.

As members of *Jo-Kadimo* waited for the eight days to elapse, Were, led people to Misori, West of Yimbo. On arrival at Misori, they started fortifying their village. They did this by heaping soil and boulders around their settlement such that their village looked like it was in some trough. The place where they built their village is there to date and is locally called *Bur Dimo* (Dimo's hole). After five-three days, the inhabitants

came back and they were perplexed to see the fortified wall built just within few days, Ochola (O.I, 2019). Nevertheless, they asked *Jo-Kadimo* to put out their fire as promised and give them cattle compensation.

Dimo let out from their large herd of cattle, a thin sickly-looking calf and gave it to them. These people treading from contempt and insult demanded more animals which were bigger in size. In response, *Jo-Kadimo* replied, ‘you have no right to come here and choose our animals as if they were yours... if you have come for war, then brace yourselves for a battle!’ These inhabitants having realised that war had been declared ran back for their weapons and backup. Later when they came back well armed for the war and reinforcement, Were beat the drum and the war began.

A combined force from the Munyenjra clan, Kowil clan and Kadimo clan met these inhabitants in the fierce battlefield. It was said that Kanyiywen despite claiming ownership of the land did not join other clans in this war. Therefore, only the Wahaga, Wasawa and Wahuwa were in the battle field. According to Achando and Ongere (O.I, 2019), the war was fought by Dimo’s nephew named Karodi (today called Kamhore) who made up Dimo’s army. It was said that when Dimo left Alego, Rodi followed him wondering all over looking for his uncle, and later he found him at Misori facing the inhabitants of the land. Rodi then asked his uncle: ‘Why are you entertaining nonsense from these people?’ At this point, the war was declared and Rodi fought alongside Dimo hence defeating, the inhabitants of Yimbo. Among the Karodi war heroes were Jang’olo Kwach and Ogutu Kakipapi who were made generals in Dimo’s army.

A second battle was fought where *Jo-Kadimo* killed many of their enemies. But the third battle was the fiercest and it was in this battle that the prophecy made by the great *jabilo*, (magician) came to pass. It was in this battle that Julu, famously praised as Julu Waregna, Dimo’s son was speared by the enemy’s spear. As Julu fell, his fingers clawing the ground, *Jo-Kadimo* held their breath wishing for a favourable fall. Fortunately, Julu fell face down with his head facing the enemy, marking the positive fall as had been indicated by the *jabilo*. Therefore *Jo-Kadimo* possessed the land with jubilation on their faces. They shouted with joy and their voices could be heard as far as Manyala, Lolwe and Mageta. Now revived by the confirmation of the prophecy,

Kowil, Munyenjra and Kadimo warriors went to the homesteads of Kamenya and Wawamba and burnt them down.

According to Akoth, (O.I, 2019) after possessing the land, *Jo-Kadimo* turned their attention to Kagwa and declared war on them. However, Kagwa proved to be well prepared and stronger. Kagwa pushed *Jo-Kadimo* up to Goye. Some sub-clans of *Jo-Kadimo* tried to fight Nyajuok; but they also found them stronger and were pushed up to Nyangera. Figure 4 shows Got Ramogi in Yimbo, where Kadimo clan settled.



Figure 4: Got Ramogi in Yimbo, Kadimo.

Source: NTV Kenya (2nd November, 2019)

From the above discussion, it is very clear that from the onset of the migration of the Kadimo people, there were seeds of political struggle planted among them. It is also obvious that, *Jo-Kadimo* were a strong clan that did enjoy establishing their rules over others as portrayed in their stay in Alego and also in Yimbo. The wars of migrations were common and the Kadimo clan was established in Yimbo through the blood of Dimo's son, Julu.

4.2.2 Linguistic Orientation of the Kadimo

According to Ndiege (O.I, 2019), Kadimo people speak *Dholuo*. Indeed, even the other Bantu clans in Yimbo such as Wasenge, Wawamba, Wahumadhi have gradually graduated into speaking *Dholuo* presently. *Dholuo* is a language spoken by all the *jii* ethnic groups that live around the lake, found in South Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya. According to Achando (O.I, 2019), *Dholuo* language spoken by the Kadimo clan is the original Luo language and it is not spoken by the other Luo ethnic groups such as Asembo, Seme and Uyoma. The difference in linguistic orientation between the

Kadimo and these other Luo ethnic groups could be seen in the pronunciation of similar Luo words and/or different in the spelling of word. Figure 5 shows the researcher with a *Dholuo* speaker from Lul village, Yimbo.



Figure 5: Researcher with Thomas Achando a Dholuo speaker from Lul village, Yimbo.
Source: Photo taken by Research Assistant (26th/04/2019)

4.3 Social Organisation

In this study, social organisation is used to refer to how *Jo-Kadimo* lived among themselves and their neighbours based on their religious beliefs, marital customs, burial rites and homestead set up.

Kadimo's social life could be divided into three main stages. A homestead called *dala*, a sub-locational unit called *gweng* and a wider locational unit called *piny*. *Dala* refers to the area enclosed by the fence of a homestead. It is the immediate environment made up of several huts, *kul*, *dipo* and *dero*. A group of homesteads belonging to the same family members of the same sub-clan formed *gweng* while several *gwenge* formed *piny*. It was not uncommon for *Jogwenge* to disagree on various issues including grazing land, watering points and land boundaries. However, due to their blood relations, they

came together and supported each other to fight a common enemy. This changed with the establishment of colonial rule in Kadimo of Yimbo as private property ownership emerged in the location.

According to Okaka (O.I, 2019), *dala* would then be fenced with a euphorbia hedge, *ojuok* which was reinforced with thorns to prevent the entry of enemies and wild animals as well as to act as a wind breaker. The number of huts in each *dala* varied immensely. *Mikayi's* was the first hut and was built at the upper end of *dala*, directly facing *rangach*. *Dipo/Dero* (granary) would be built at the centre of *dala* with the gate facing directly the door of *Mikayi's* hut. The hut of *nyachira*, the second wife, would be built to the right side of *Mikayi's* hut while *reru's*, third wife's hut would be on the other side opposite to *nyachira's* hut. This sequence was repeated with subsequent wives. *Duol* (a small hut for the grandfather) would be built in which men met for eating and drinking. *Abila* would be built for the husband between the *dipo* and the hut of *Mikayi*. This was where he spent his nights. A *Simba* for the first wife's son would be built along the perimeter of the main hut as that of the second wife would be on the other side.

The above reports were supported by another oral respondent from Osieko in Yimbo who indicated that the Kadimo huts were made of mud, wood and were grass thatched. The local expert would mark the centre of the hut and the demarcation of the radius based on the size of the dwelling desired by the owner. The framework was made of *powo* and *adugo* plants which were straight and light. The poles were then reinforced by tying three or more rings around them at intervals from the ground to the top. The top was made of *powo*, *odundo*, (papyrus reed) and *tiang*, (dried sorghum stems). This would produce a smooth surface for grass thatching. After this then, the walls were tied with *tuoro* (sisal) then covered with earth mud.

The colouring would be produced by soils of different colours on both sides of the wall. The floor would be filled with soil and the decorations done by the leaves of *ogaka*, (aloe vera leaves). The huts had one large main room. Other huts called *agola* were built halfway around on each side. These were stores for the harvested crops. *Agola* was also used to keep calves, sheep and chicken. It was also used for cooking and grinding corns. The door of *agola* and the main hut were shuttered using a flat strong

shutter called, *thigo*. From *dhoot* (door) of the main hut, they kept a pot called *mbiru* which was used to store water for drinking. A small opening called *otuchi*, was constructed halfway the round wall to provide ventilation needed in the house.

Other structures in a Kadimo *dala* were; *kul*, which was built right in the middle of *dala*. It was large with a well-constructed gate. *Kul* was built of strong and thorny twigs. *Dere* were round granaries made of small sticks from *olando* plant. They were then daubed with cow dung to make them waterproof and insect-proof. They were built close to the family huts for security purposes. They also had small storage facilities called *adita*, *kodo* and *ndede* made from *olando* trees. These were used to store millet, simsim and sorghum (Achando O.I, 2019).

On medication, it was established that Kadimo clan used herbal medication which involved the administration of medicine made from leaves, roots, barks and flowers to prevent and cure particular diseases. *Jathieth* (medicine man) at times would burn ash, mixed it with water and give it to patient to drink. Sometimes it could be made of ointment and smeared on the body. These herbal preparations were used to treat infertility, snakebites, abdominal pains and headache. There were also physiotherapists called *jochomo* (plural) or *jachomo* (singular) who could manage most of the simple and complex fractures called *tur*. They also believed that steaming the face would cleanse the respiratory tract. The sick person was covered with a sheet when he/she sits in front of a pot of roots which had been heated to the boiling point. There was also a dentist called *janak* who removed the six lower teeth, which acted as; the initiation rite among the Kadimo to mark transition from childhood to adulthood. The gynaecologist was called *jacholo* and she assisted in childbirth. Every expectant mother was attached to a *nyamrerwa* (nutritionist) who advised her on diet, exercise and work to do (Akoth O.I, 2019).

Kadimo, just like any other Luo community was an ancestor-worshipping clan. They did not believe in the existent of a high god. Their traditional beliefs revolved around *juogi*, *bilo* and *kwere* (spirits, charms and ancestors). *Juogi*, locally called *jajuogi* (singular) worked through mediums, *Juogi* were possessing spirits with mystical powers and were used to find out the cause of any situation affecting the Kadimo clan to establish whether it was caused by witchcraft or *kwere*, (ancestors). *Bilo* were secret

preparations for preventing all problems and treatment in ritual ceremonies like rainmaking. These were administered by *jobilo* (plural) who acquired their expertise through apprenticeship and mystical blessings from *kwere*. *Jobilo* acted as mediators between Kadimo and their *kwere*. They were also used to purify building sites by performing rituals before construction work commenced. They believed in *Kwaro*, plural (*Kwere*) the departed ancestors who controlled the present and the future in the Luo philosophy. *Jo-Kadimo* called up on *kwere* during the times of extreme problems like drought and war. *Jabilo* mediated between the people and the *kwere* or *kwaro* who caused the problem and the people. *Jabilo* would then provide a solution to remedy the problem (Adora O.I, 2019).

Apart from being an ancestor-worshipping clan, *Jo-Kadimo* also believed in the existent of a supernatural being called *Nyasaye* (God). *Nyasaye* means from one who one can obtain favours of life. At times they also called God, *Were*; a term they borrowed from their association with Bantu groups who settled in Yimbo such as Wasenge, Waludhi, Wabu and Wawamba. They also believed in the mystic power of *mireri* (prophets) who predicted the future. They ascribed supernatural powers to certain natural events like huge rocks (Got Ramogi), as well as lightning and thunder.

According to Ratego (O.I, 2019), Kadimo people did not belong to any denomination or religion. Different situations called for different prescribed rituals and mystical solutions. Mystical aspects were dealt with by *bilo* or *juogi*, and this was achieved by consulting *kwere*. This was supported by archival source (KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/113) which indicate that the change due to the coming of missionaries like, the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) and the Catholics who worked alongside the colonial government structures. While it is not known of how many Christian denominations are there in Kadimo, the clan members belong to Christian denominations like the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK), Catholic Church, Pentecostal Church, African Inland Church, Nomiya Luo Church (NLC), Roho Israel and Legio Maria. There are no Muslims in the clan. Religion and denomination were linked to the social, economic and political development of the clan.

Oral sources adduced that the Kadimo clan married outside their clan and had marriage ceremonies. Young men were usually summoned and family members would choose the candidate who was ready for marriage. The chosen candidate would then go and look after the whole family's herd of cattle for him to be seen by young girls suitable for marriage (Ongere O.I, 2019). Akoth (O.I, 2019) also indicated that there was *por* (eloping), in which the elders would order the capture of a girl who they believed to be a good wife. The young men who could not talk with girls were sent to *Wayu*, their aunt (sister to the father) to get a wife. The aunt would then call girls to come and interact with the young men from among whom they would get a husband or a wife. In some cases, *jawang' yo* (a go-between) was used to get a wife for the young men for marriage.

Jo-Kadimo paid dowry in the form of cattle. A herd of 20 cattle could be used to pay dowry which was continuous until the wife dies. Marriage ceremonies were marked by feasting, singing and dancing. If on the wedding the bride was found still a virgin, the fact was declared and the clan started celebration while singing and dancing in the bride's village. A song of shame would be sung to a bride who was not a virgin. In the song she would be called *hududu fuong*, (an empty thing). About three days after final marriage transactions, the mother of the bride would cook food for the daughter which would be carried to the man's home by the sisters and the cousins of the bride. As they went, the girls sang *ndwira* (marriage songs). On arrival, they were met with songs at the outskirts of the man's homestead by a group of girls from the man's home. The two groups then sang together praising the newly married couple. Subsequently, a group of women brought the bride out of the man's house to meet the girls and eat the food with them. This would be done for a day after which the girls would return home singing *ndwira* songs (Odima O.I, 2019).

Odima (Op Cit.) further noted that a new born child among the Kadimo people was not welcomed with a song and the naming ceremonies were not accompanied by music. However, in case of twin-birth, dances and songs would be played primarily to drive away any evil impacts on the twins. Children cemented the marriage and among the Kadimo clan children were given names based on several factors including; occasion of birth or dreams from *kwere*. With dreams, a person could dream about a late kinsman and the child would constantly be crying. *Ajuoga* would be consulted to establish the cause of the cry and provide a solution. After this a ritual hen would be used to wipe

the child as the name of the kinsman being pronounced and the child would then be silent. One lady respondent, Odima Olongo narrated the following story concerning her name (Odima) which was influenced by a dream from *kwaro*:

My mother told me that, I was crying all night and all day. They had to consult ajuoga to establish the problem and be given a solution. Ajuoga told them that, their aunt, Odima wanted the child to be named after her. Odima (O.I, 2019)

From the interviews, it was noted that mourning songs were performed among the Kadimo people when a person had died. People blew horns, beat drums, ululated and wailed. Those who heard the cries would know that someone had died and they go for mourning and to the funeral. If death occurs at night, most people stayed at home, singing and playing their musical instruments until morning.

Jo-Kadimo were also said to have extensive burial and funeral rites which depended on several factors. The overriding factors were like, causes of the death, gender of the deceased and the social class of the deceased. Among the burial and funeral rites of the Kadimo clan were: *Goyo nduru*; a piercing cry made by women to pronounce the occurrence of *chot chuny*, (death); men would do their cry with war songs and *sigweya* (chants). The funeral songs had three main features; pointing at the ancestor and tracing the clan lineage, the deceased's praise name and the common place of origin of the clan and reflect the mourners' attitude to the death of the deceased. *Tero Buru* was also another common ceremony done by young Kadimo warriors of the bereaved family, adorned with ash and leaves, carrying war shields and driving cattle before them, storm the boundary between their clans and their neighbours to make mock war. They then returned to the homestead of the deceased running and fighting imaginary foes and making loud cries called *agoro*. *Tero Buru* was done for a married man who had died since the clan members assumed that his death might have been caused by enemies.

Jo-Kadimo had another funeral ceremony called *Kunyo bur kod yiko* (digging of grave and burial). For a man, the grave was dug in the centre of the first wife's hut. The graveyard was first cleansed. The corpse was bathed by women and they made a loud cry to signal the end of bathing. They later slaughtered a sheep whose skin was slit and placed between the fingers of the mourners, right for men and left for women. The

family of the bereaved would then spend the whole night in the hut of *mikayi*, (first wife). *Chieng tugo* (merry-making) was also done a day after burial. It was a general celebration in which clan and individuals in Yimbo would show off. They made snide comments to cowards. A cock was hanged upside down at *ragach*, (main gate) and at night young women played drums and sung. This was a day to see which clan had the most cattle, spears, war gears and ceremonial costumes. *Liedo* (shaving) was done on the third day after burial as the family members of the deceased individual had their hair shaved. Women were shaved by *nyamrerwa*, (nutritionist). The married ones were shaved in the home; the unmarried one out through *rot*, (a gap in the fence). Thereafter, the widows wore a symbolic skirt called *okola*.

Luokruok aora (bathing at the river) was a death ritual conducted on the fourth day after burial. It was done very early in the morning when all the materials used during the funeral were buried in the river bed. *Nyamrerwa* lit a fire for the mourners to warm themselves. They ate the head of a ritual he-goat, had the *chola* and *obudo* placed around their knock. A new *chieno*, (traditional girdle) was made for the married daughters of the deceased and was not removed until the widows were inherited. *Yweyo Liel* (cleaning the grave) involved cleaning the grave by the sister-in-law of the deceased very early in the morning. A new *chieno* was also made for the widows, *kode* in place of the *okola* and was not removed until they were inherited. *Yeng'o* (slaughter) was the prescribed slaughter for burial. There was a minimum requirement set; a bull for elders, bull for sons-in-law, bull or goat for wives' relatives and he-goat for maternal relatives. It was also mandatory for the son-in-law to be cooked a chicken preferably a cock, (*gwend mag'eng'a*) which was eaten at midnight.

There were also extensive dispersal ceremonies after burial. These included; *Turo osuri* in which *Nyakwaro*, (grandson), ritually removed the top most of *mikayi's* hut and that of the other wives. *Nyakwaro* was given a hen and *nalo*, (metal bangles) as gifts. There was also *huno* which involved the widows begging for grain. During *huno*, *Nyamrerwa* escorted the widows to fellow clansmen homestead to collect grain for brewing *kong'o* to allow mourners to return to their homes. At their home, each widow would kill a hen, *ng'olo gweno* and drink *manyasi*, (ritual medicine). *Kong ke*, (dispersal beer) was marked by drinking and playing drums. The bereaved family slaughtered an animal for skin to be placed between mourner's fingers. This ceremony was to release the bereaved

from certain restrictions like sleeping in their huts and sexual intercourse (Opiyo O.I, 2019).

Owino (O.I, 2019), pointed out that, there were other ceremonies related to the burial and funeral of the deceased carried out later. These were; *Duok wagogni*, (return of the female relatives) which was done by arrangement of preparing food, brewing *kong'o* and smearing earth round the grave and the widows had their hair trimmed. *Tero chola thurgi mikayi* which involved taking the funeral taboos to the parents of the first wife mikayi. The other wives did this in succession. *Tero mon kod duogo e liel* was done and this was the widow's inheritance ceremony. This was started by *mikayi*, the first wife who named the prospective husbands from those permitted to inherit after the other wives agreed individually. *Ajuoga* was consulted for choosing the appropriate day of making a major return ceremony. A new *osuri* was hosted on top of *mikayi's* hut. People sang and the widows had their hair shaved, the following day a ceremony was prepared and attended by everybody.

It was noted that *Jo-Kadimo* used music and songs as a means of praise and insult. A *nyatiti* player sang songs of generosity and hospitality praising chiefs. He could also sing about great herbalists. *Jothum* (musicians) were very special artists and were respected for the entertainment they brought in the community. The songs touched on several themes such as politics, love, and death as well as the history of the Kadimo clan. Fishermen also sang songs about the wood, *ober* and *miure* used for boat making. The women sang *puocho* songs when chunking milk, *wend-yuoko* for winnowing, *wend-rego* for grinding corns, *wend-moto* for fetching firewood and *wend-hoyo* nyathi for babysitting. Young boys would sing *wend-kwath* for herding cattle and there were also *wend-paro ndalo* in which elders reflected on their old days.

Data from the oral sources demonstrated that *Jo-Kadimo* had several recreational activities. These included: *Amen* (wrestling) a game in which two opponents struggled with each other while their arms inter-locked at the back round the arm pits. The person who placed his opponent down without leg tackle and placed him with the back flat on the ground won the game. *Ajua* (Pebble): a rectangular wooden with 16 holes in two rows carried out of the surface. Players at times scooped holes in the earth if the curved board was not available. *Ng'wech* (running) was a popular game for young boys and

girls who ran a marked distance and then returned to the base. The fastest runner won the game. Stick and ring game, *Nyangee*: a stick or pieces of many sticks were bent and tied into a ring which can roll on the ground. On a chosen ground, each boy took his turn using a pointed stick to try and stop the ring from rolling. The person who stopped it won the game.

Other recreational activities included house building, *Tuk-gedo*: the boys would use the earth and make building structures. The person who built a perfect structure won the game. Storytelling, *sigana*: this was led by the elderly in the clan. Riddles, *Ngero*: this involved telling riddles to each other in which a person asked the question. The person who answered most questions won the game. They also had several dancing styles such as *Maranda*- a line dance for men and women. Right foot was stamped on the ground as the dancers move forward or backward while shaking the shoulders. *Ohangla*- this accompanied *orutu*. There was emphasis on the contraction and release of the shoulder blades. *Otenga*- this was a type of dance that involved rigorous movement of the body shoulders. *Mboko*- musical interlude in which a small group of girls were encouraged by the musicians to display their dancing skills.

There were also several musical instruments in the Kadimo clan. These included *Abu or Bu*- (a gourd trumpet) joined at the top of a cow's horn, *Tung dhiang*. *Tung*- general name for all animal horns but mostly found from the cow/bull. *Oporo*- antelope, pol, buffalo, *jowi*. *Odundu*- a flute made up of papyrus reed. It was end-blown with three finger-hole. *Firimbi*- whistle. *Bul*- any type of cylindrical drum with two heads hung on the shoulders and played with sticks. *Nyatiti*- an eight-stringed lyre played at funeral ceremonies and at home for entertainment. *Orutu*- a bowed tube-lute with one string made of steel. It was made of *bondo*, *powo* or *osiri* trees.

The above activities and rituals demonstrate that the Kadimo clan had a rich culture that guided and controlled their daily activities and occurrences. Indeed, these activities brought together the Kadimo people as a close knit in Yimbo.

4.4 Economic Organisation

Economic organisation refers to the means of production of an individual or a group of people. It is about how production means and the way in which how goods are distributed and organised among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo.

According to an 87-year-old respondent, Ogwon'g (O.I, 2019), prior to colonialism, the inheritance of cattle, sheep and goats was meant for men among the Kadimo. They were also involved in fishing and making of fishing nets and boats. Men further constructed huts, *and* thatched them with grass. Women did hand digging, planting and transporting crops, *piedho* (sorting food crops), winnowing, shelling and threshing, grinding grain, tending poultry, collecting firewood and smearing the mud walls of the huts. Other activities like bush clearing, ploughing, weeding by hand, planting, transplanting cash crops, harvesting, transport and of tending cattle were shared among men and women. There were also other occupational specialists like diviners, black smith, shield makers and potters who often offered apprentice jobs to those who wished to achieve expertise in these areas.

Achando (O.I, 2019), also added that *Jo-Kadimo* were traditionally mixed farmers as they grew millets, sorghum, potatoes, yams, cassava and bananas and kept large herds of cattle, goats and sheep. This information is supported by a secondary source by Ochieng (1975) who argues that by 1940, Onyor Mirindi from Kadimo clan had over 2000 heads of cattle. Ngolo *Ja-Kamunyenjra*, Aginga Ndalo and Abwonji Nyundo *Ja-Ulowa* as well as Jairo Okello (second colonial chief of Yimbo from Kadimo clan) were other rich cattle keepers among the Kadimo people. The family unit grazed its cattle as a single herd and kept it together at night in *Kul*. Normally, the big animals were taken far fields while sheep, goat and calves were looked at the nearby fields next to home. This discussion demonstrates how colonial appointed chiefs consolidated wealth and that they were selected on the basis of wealth they accumulated.

Jo-Kadimo was also said to have been involved in a lot of fishing along the shores of Lake Victoria. They used various fishing instruments including *mulo* and *ohunga* for trapping fish. They also developed *kwira* which is still used today at Goye beach and Majimbo island. Various kinds of fish like *ngege*, *kamongo*, *seu*, *fulu*, *suma*, *huan*, *ninge* and *mumi* was caught from the lake and fishing was a job mainly done by men.

Women dealt with the selling of fish in the inland communities. However, sometimes men and women could be seen fishing together especially during floods along the river.

According to Okaka (O.I, 2019), *Jo-Kadimo* engaged in trading activities with their neighbours and among themselves. The trade was based on iron implements like hoes, spears, axes. These iron implements were from the Walowa clan and were supplemented with iron items from Samia of Western Kenya. They also sold fish to other inland Luo communities like Alego and Sakwa. Additionally, the Kadimo traded in pots especially among the Goma clan who sold their items to the Alego and Sakwa.

Women were engaged in marketing of the agricultural products. However, agricultural, livestock and fisheries agents communicated much more with men than with women. This was because men were considered to be the direct representative of their *dala* - homestead and they had the authority to impose changes in the family and the clan.

Just like any other Luo community in Nyanza, there was no single unit of production in Kadimo clan of Yimbo. The family played an important role in the production systems and labour. Adopted children would also form part of the family unit of a Kadimo. According to an 86-year-old John Adora (O.I, 2019), in a polygamous family, each elementary family (wife and her children) was responsible for their own farms. If the co-wives had good relationships, then they could assist each other. It is also important to note that, even in farming, everything in the *dala* of a *Ja-Kadimo* started with the *Mikayi*, then *Nyachira* and then *Reru*, just like their order of marriage, as mentioned earlier and this would be repeated sequentially. This imply that polygamous family set up the capacity of a person to be appointed a community representative.

According to Opiyo (O.I, 2019), *Jo-Kadimo* divided labour on the basis of age and sex. Men took pride in their capability to subjugate the women whom they lived with. When visitors were around, this pride would be seen as they gave command in the *dala*. It was said that a man seen helping in home duties feared he would be thought of as weak and over-powered by his wife. Children also helped in farming work. Boys assisted in ploughing and herding, while girls did weeding, small transport and food preparation and also took care of their young siblings in the absence of their mothers. The above situation has however undergone some transformations today as both men and women

(elderly) as well as young boys and girls can herd their cattle. Boys can also take care of their younger siblings and help in the weeding and food preparation.

Land was a critical item in Kadimo clan and grazing of cattle was subjected to few restrictions. A man could usually lead his herd to any land not cultivated at the time in the territory of the clan. The crop residue on the harvested fields could also be used for communal grazing. Grass for thatching, wood for fuel and building, natural ponds, dams and market places were also open to all. This status of events has gradually changed as the rights for grass for thatching, wood for fuel and building are becoming more of privately owned (Ochola 2019, O.I). The issue of land was crucial since the traditional representatives were mainly responsible for the control and use of clan land.

4.5 Political Organisation

Political organisation refers to a group of people who organise and have power in public affairs including the justice and the rule of law.

In pre-colonial epoch, the Luo political system lay with the kinship. The degree of political control varied and the form of government differed from locality to locality. In some cases, the political system consisted of only a loose collection of clans while others established a centralised political system. The Luo of Gem under chief Odera Kang'o and the Kadimo clan of Yimbo under Dimo had centralised political systems. In this centralised political system, *ruoth* (chief) was assisted by a council. The decision was arrived at by consensus instead of voting while at times sanctions were used to enforce these decisions (Ochieng, 1975). The smallest political unit was *piny* consisting of elders of members of a clan occupying a territorial unit (Ogot, 1967). Below *piny* was *Oganda*. This means that *ruoth* was an influential person with many wives and cattle and his *dala* was the centre of political authority and control. His office was hereditary and his eldest son with the *mikayi* would succeed him upon his death.

According to the two informers, Achando and Okaka (O.I, 2019) *Jo-Kadimo* were led by *routh*. Dimo was their first *ruoth* when they arrived in Yimbo. Each *ruoth* had a territorial council called *Buch Piny*. The council consisted of elders from major Luo and Bantu clans in Yimbo. The elders were locally called *jodong dhouidi*. The council also composed of *osumbwa mrwayi*. *Buch Piny* dealt with major issues affecting

members of the location. These issues were like murder, rape, cattle thefts, boundary disputes, famines, invasions, diseases and inter-clan conflicts. *Buch Piny* also had a cabinet of elders from Kadimo clan and other experts like *jobilo* and *jojimb koth* (rain makers), a cabinet that was called *Buch Oganda*. Its major role was to advise *ruoth* on sensitive issues of the *ruothdom*. Among the sensitive issues were aspects like who would be the army general, when to declare war as well as which elders and/or *jobilo* were a threat to the *ruothdom*. There was no tax in the *ruothdom*. However, the clans could give the *ruoth* bulls, grains or spears as tokens of appreciation. These were to be used to feed members of the army that fought against their traditional enemies like Sakwa and Alego. *Buch Oganda* also determined who would succeed and be the next *ruoth* in Kadimo clan.

Below *Buch Piny* were smaller territorial councils called *gweng*, or *doho*. These were under assistant *ruoths*. The assistants were personally appointed by the *ruoth*. They were to maintain law and order in different parts of the *ruothdom*. The *doho* councillors were either influential elders or war leaders. They could also be dismissed by the *ruoth* who appointed them. In the 19th Century, *Jo-Kadimo* had four *doho* at Nyangera, Nyamonye, Goma and Majimbo. Below the *doho*, there were clan councils called *Buch Dhoot* which dealt with clan and family affairs (Ong'ng'a O.I, 2019).

The concept of justice was said to be linked to the political principles of family and organisation of Kadimo clan. Individuals were made to conform to the accepted norms of the Kadimo clan and it was the responsibility of the elders to ensure that the young behaved according to the moral standards of the clan. They had norms which prevented the destruction of one's personal and the other person's life and those that govern the social relationships between individuals and society. *Jaduong gweng* handled judicial problems at the *gweng* level. The elderly would announce the decision of the *gweng* council (Ombima O.I, 2019). Ochieng (1975) aptly agrees that the decision of the council was highly influenced by the position of one's ancestor. The council handled all the disputes for example, land problems and theft. The decision was reached by consensus rather than voting and such decisions were enforced by elders themselves even though at times they would use the village 'police' mostly youths to enforce such decisions. Within the clan of Kadimo there was the group of people called *Jodak* who did not have land rights but begged *jopiny* or *jogweng* for land to grow crops for their

survival. The *Jodak* did not sit in the *ruoth*'s council as they were considered barbarians or foreigners in the clan.

The aforementioned discussion shows that the Kadimo clan had adequate political structures that were adequate to handle the situation at the time. They were conscious of the concept of justice and rule of law that ensured conformity to the set norms of the clan by the members. These laws were also applicable to the foreigners who lived among the Kadimo clan.

4.6 The Evolution of Representative Politics of the Kadimo Clan of Yimbo in Siaya County during the Colonial Period

In this section, the researcher sought to establish the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo during the colonial period. The discussion starts with information on the nature of politics among the Kadimo before the arrival of British colonisers in Yimbo. This is done to help the researcher to establish a proper background in investigating the history of the evolution of representative politics among the Kadimo during the colonial period. The information given was based on the oral interviews conducted among the Kadimo people in Yimbo.

According to Ongere (O.I, 2019), after the people of Dimo had subdued the opposition of the other Bantu clans such as Wahundha, Wawamba among others in Yimbo, a line of Kadimo *ruoth* was imposed over the inhabitants of Yimbo. Dimo their leader became the first *ruoth* and he established a state with a functioning military and a centralised government. Achando (O.I, 2019) also added that the Europeans replaced the word *ruoth* (King) with the word chief because the British only considered their monarch as the only King. Indeed, Kadimo *ruothdom* of the Yimbo people was the only Kingdom in the entire Luo Nyanza. The Wanga Kingdom led by Nabongo Mumia was the near Kingdom. Nabongo would later play an important role in the establishment of chief's office in Yimbo, through his agents.

According to Achando (O.I, 2019), *Jo-Kadimo* named their location Yimbo Kadimo or as locally called Kadimo, a name which chief Anam Odero Osunga gave to the Europeans when they asked for the name of the location. The regions in Luo land normally took up the names of their *ogaye* or the invaders. Other regions named after

their traditional leaders are Alego, Gem and Seme, who are neighbours of Yimbo Kadimo. The name of the location would later from 1919 to 1947 bring about more political contestations in Yimbo especially between the Kadimo sub-clans, non-Kadimo clans and the Bantu clans of Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county.

There was the formation of two political camps in Yimbo in 1926 as reaction to the naming of the location: the Kadimo and the Ojwando. These two political camps were locally called Kadimo *gi* Ojwando (Achando O.I, 2019). Kadimo camp had the Luo clans that came with Dimo as their leader while Ojwando camp was a group of other non-Kadimo Luo and the Bantu groups dwelling in Yimbo. This information tallied with (Ochieng, 1975) that the name Kadimo was used to refer to the location until 1954 when a non-Kadimo *ruoth* was elected as chief of the location in 1947, and later in 1954, the name of the location was changed to be Yimbo location.

During the interviews, it was confirmed that Dimo became the first *ruoth* of Yimbo after subduing the Bantu opposition in Yimbo (Ongere O.I, 2019). Dimo established a centralised government and a council that comprised of *Jo-Kadimo* and a few Bantu clans of Goma, Walowa and Wayipi. These Bantu clans had been defeated by *Jo-Kadimo* in the onset of their arrival in Yimbo (Achando O.I, 2019). The Bantu clans provided Dimo with soldiers who helped to fight the Sakwa, their neighbouring Luo community. Dimo ruled over half a century before he died at a very old age.

Were fondly called Nyathuon, Dimo's first son from the second wife became the next *ruoth*. *Ruoth* Nyathuon established a council akin to that of his father. However, his council had more Bantu clans than that of his father. During his reign he fought with the Sakwa and pushed them past a place called Kapiyo. According to an 83-year-old respondent, Ndiege (O.I, 2019) when *ruoth* Nyathuon died the location was plagued into succession politics which created a political conflict over who should be the next *ruoth* in Yimbo. Dimo's son, Ajong'o Ojwach, the brother to Were Nyathuon had twins called Opiyo and Odongo and the elders were divided over who was to be the next *ruoth* between the two. After deliberations and consultations, a conclusion was reached that they should share power. Opiyo set up his council at Nyangera while Odongo had his council at Ururi. This caused political problems in Yimbo as any meeting convened interfered with the opposing supporters of each of the twins.

The opposing supporters started fighting and when the Bantu clans led by the Goma realised that there was a power vacuum in Yimbo, they declared themselves independent and therefore the Bantu clans rebelled against the Luo governance in Yimbo. According to an elder Isaiah Ochola (O.I, 2019) with the authority of Kadimo history, the Bantu clans refused to provide weapons to Kadimo whenever Yimbo was invaded by her neighbours. Walowa clan, in particular, refused to provide the warring Kadimo warriors with weapons. Externally, the Sakwa people also took these internal problems in Yimbo to push their boundary Northwards to the present area called Majengo. Dimo's grandson, Mbesi son of Uyoga emerged as the next *ruoth* of the *Jo-Kadimo* and the elders accepted him as the rightful *ruoth* of the Yimbo people from the Kadimo clan. Mbesi had defeated the Bantu opposition in the *ruothdom* led by the Goma clan.

Mbesi took over *telo* (leadership) when there were both internal and external problems to deal with in Yimbo. Ogutu Raruoch *wuod* Kipapi who took refuge in Yimbo after his *ruothdom* (Karodi) had been captured by Sakwa people at the start of the 19th century together with Jang'olo Kwach of Karodi and an army of Kadimo clan, Mbesi organised many militia attacks among the Sakwa. This lasted up to about 1820 when Sakwa people defeated *Jo-Kadimo* after Yimbo had been affected by sleeping sickness which caused several deaths and migration of the Yimbo people from Mageta island and Magombe areas. An elder, Okumu (O.I, 2019) reported that the sleeping sickness killed almost half of the Yimbo population. This was supported by the archival source, (KNA/DC/KSM/1/29/15) that there was control of tsetse fly outbreak in Kadimo, Central Nyanza. Quoting Bishop Tucker, Ochieng (1975) also shows that Kome island, which stands a few miles to the North of Mageta island, had hardly 500 people left after the pandemic, out of a population of about 10,000 people who lived there before the outbreak. After the changes in population, *Ruoth* Mbesi was said to have used *jabilo* (magician) and strong *kanga*, (police force) to rule making some clans of Yimbo such as Kagwa, Kamagak, Walowa, Iro and Karodi to migrate from Yimbo to escape his iron fist and ruthless reign. This means that bad leadership compounded with several epidemics with perennial effects prompts people to run away from such an environment.

Mbesi died in 1860 and *Ruoth* Ulwa took over the reign of Yimbo and he ruled between 1860 and 1864. *Ruoth* Ulwa was Mbesi's cousin and his strong supporter. *Ruoth* Ulwa was also a dangerous *jabilo* (magician) and liked to start war. Because of this character, he started several conflicts between the Yimbo people and their neighbouring Luo communities especially *Jo-Sakwa* and in the end the Bantu clans such as Walowa, Wahundha, Wasenge and Wawamba rebelled against his tyrannical rule. The Kadimo elders replaced *Ruoth* Ulwa with Oloo Opundo, another *ruoth* from the Kadimo clan. This was considered a shrewd decision to prevent the outbreak of another civil war in Yimbo, because having experienced a civil war previously after the death of *Ruoth* Were Nyathuon, the Yimbo people did not want to get into another succession political war in their land (Ndiege O.I, 2019). This means that, different political situations call for different survival tactics by the people being represented.

According to oral sources, Oloo Opundo from Kadimo clan became the next *ruoth* of Yimbo between 1864 and 1900. He replaced *Ruoth* Ulwa in 1864. Many elders remember *Ruoth* Oloo Opundo as a diplomatic and peaceful leader. His rule is said to be akin to that of Dimo, the first *ruoth* of Yimbo. It was during the reign of Oloo Opundo that European travellers and Christian Missionaries of CMC arrived in Yimbo. *Ruoth* Oloo Opundo also assisted the German Caravans with porters from Port Victoria, then called Kisuma, now Kisumu, (Achando & Ongere O.I, 2019). Indeed, leaders are important in promoting peaceful co-existence in their chiefdoms and they are also integral in welcoming visitors to their territories.

According to 100-year-old oral respondent Okaka Aduwa, in 1896, a message was sent to Oloo from Port Victoria. The message was given to Nyawadha a British agent from Nabongo Mumia's *ruothdom*, (Wanga Kingdom) of Samia, that *Obilo Nyachola* referring to Luo nickname for Sir. Charles William Hobley wished to make Oloo Opundo the first colonial chief of Yimbo people. This agreed with Ongere an 86-year-old respondent who said that before the appointment of the first colonial chief in Yimbo, *ruoth* Nabongo Mumia of the Wanga Kingdom was the only chief in the entire Nyanza region and the British used Mumia's agents to appoint chiefs of other regions in Nyanza. *Ruoth* Oloo Opundo declined Sir. Charles William Hobley's offer on the claim that he had no food to feed the many people who normally came with the District Commissioner (DC) and therefore he did not wish to be made the first colonial chief of

Yimbo. *Ruoth* Oloo Opundo thus resigned as the *ruoth* of Yimbo in favour of his nephew Anam, son of Osunga, brother to *Ruoth* Oloo. *Ruoth* Oloo Opundo died in 1900. This means that the colonial government used the already colonial appointed chiefs from other regions to extend their rule to other regions which at that time had no chiefs. The chiefs were also the keepers of the colonial officers as they fed them with the little resources they had and this explains the exploitative nature of the colonial state that Africans were being subjected to.

Ongere (O.I, 2019) asserts that it was during the reign of *Ruoth* Oloo Opundo, 1864-1900, that epidemics and calamities hit the people of Yimbo with perennial effects. To start with, there was sleeping sickness caused by *maugo* (tsetse fly) in Mageta island and Magombe areas in Yimbo which killed many people. Then there came two great famine called *chwe kode* about 1890 and *Odila* in 1897. These epidemics made many people from Siro, Lolwe, Sagiti, Homa, Wayasi and Mageta islands to migrate to the mainland. However, in the mainland at Magombe, many people migrated to lower regions of Yimbo. It was reported that almost half of the population died due to sleeping sickness (KNA/DC/KSM/1/29/15). This means that, epidemics are a major threat to the survival of a community and that the leaders are supposed to assist those that they lead in dealing with such epidemics.

Achando (O.I, 2019), pointed out that *Ruoth* Oloo Opundo was sceptical about Whiteman's interest in Yimbo. Achando argued that *Ruoth* Oloo Opundo's statement summed up all that which *Jo-Kadimo* felt about the British invasion of Yimbo. He narrated that, one-day Oloo Opundo asked his nephew, Anam Osunga the following before his council:

Dine awinji wuod omera kiwacho ni jorechere gi ok gin joma richo ahinya? Ee! Ne aonge geno kuomgi, bende nitie wendo moro mosenyisi mondo igerne yo maduong mabiro dalani, kendo imiye chiemo ma en ema odwaro?

Translation

Did I hear you my brother's son say that these White people are harmless visitors? Hm! I do not seem to trust them. Which of your visitors ever asked you to build a wide road for him to your home, and to feed him food of his choice?

Oloo Opundo's view of the colonial invasion of Yimbo summarised the feeling of the Yimbo people. It means that, the colonialists were seen as perpetrators who had more power and thus could get whatever they needed from the colonised. Even the natives did not trust the colonial invaders. This perpetuated the state of subalterns among the Yimbo residents during the colonial period.

According to oral respondents, the British introduced the title 'chief' to replace the title '*ruoth*' which was used by the Kadimo clan to refer to their previous pre-colonial leaders (Adora O.I, 2019; Achando O.I, 2019) as we have already seen with *Ruoth Dimo*, *Ruoth Nyathuon*, *Ruoth Mbesi*, *Ruoth Ulwa* and *Ruoth Oloo Opundo*. Therefore, from the inception of the colonial rule in Yimbo, the term 'chief' instead of '*ruoth*' was used to refer to the subsequent line of leaders.

Chief Anam Osunga was the nephew of *Ruoth Oloo Opundo*. He was the son of Osunga Opundo brother to Oloo Opundo. Having taken leadership from his uncle, Oloo Opundo; Anam was gazetted the first colonial chief of Yimbo in 1902. This information was also found in the District Commissioner's annual report of 1913 in Central Nyanza which showed that the colonial government gazetted chief Anam Osunga of Kadimo clan as the first colonial chief of Yimbo in 1902 (KNA/DC/CN3/1/1913).

Oral tradition pointed to the fact that chief Anam Osunga had several wives, a large herd of cattle and he built a very big *dala* at a place called Daho. He was thought of by the colonial government to be the leader who would transform the Yimbo community from traditional leadership into colonial society. An archival source (KNA/DC/CN/3/1/13) supported this view by stating that as the colonial appointed chief, Anam Osunga was to collect taxes, deal with lawlessness, inter-clan warfare, cattle robbery, opium smoking, witchcraft, recruit labour for European farms and the construction of roads and bridges in his location. Chief Anam Osunga ruled Yimbo people from 1897 to 1913.

Colonial rule in Yimbo threw the Kadimo clan into a very confusing state. Having established their rule over the Bantu clans; Walowa, Wasenge, Wahundha, through wars of conquest, one would have concluded that, *Jo-Kadimo* could have resisted European invasion of their location. However, three reasons have been put forward by

Ochieng (1975) why Kadimo clan did not resist the British invasion of Yimbo Kadimo. First, they had heard of the news of brutal pacification of *Jo-Seme*, *Jo-Uyoma* and *Jo-Ugenya* by the British before Sir Charles William Hobley had arrived in Yimbo Kadimo. Second, the Kadimo clan knew that if they resisted the British, the other non-Kadimo clans and Bantu clans would collaborate with the enemy. Third, the chiefdom had been affected by epidemics and calamities such as sleeping sickness and famine which left the chiefdom with almost half of the population dead; hence they could not wage any meaningful resistance to the British invasion of Yimbo (KNA/DC/KSM/1/29/15). An elder summarised the situation by saying that Kadimo rulers were forced to accept this colonial situation and that *Jo-Kadimo*, who were previously like colonisers because of their superiority were now being colonised.

Being under colonial rule implied that, Kadimo clan had to heed to the new rules, laws, regulations and policies promulgated by the new imperial power and perpetuated by the appointed colonial chiefs. This also changed the ethnic allegiance of the appointed chiefs to focus on the imperial regime instead of their native populace. Oral sources also pointed out that even though these colonial appointed African chiefs retained their political and judicial authority, they did so at the mercies of the colonial administration. This eventually made them answerable to the colonial government at the expense of their natives- the people of Kadimo.

Ochieng (1975) states that chief Anam Osunga was not pushed by the DC, and the Provincial Commissioner (PC) to implement colonial policies in Yimbo. Instead, chief Anam Osunga introduced colonial policies slowly without losing his popularity among the Yimbo people. As pointed out by Odima (O.I, 2019), chief Anam Osunga only collected tax from those he thought were capable of while leaving those he considered poor. Up to the time he died in 1913, the chief had made Yimbo feel like they were not under a new regime of British colonial government, hence their subjects. Moreover, chief Anam Osunga did not carry out colonial regulations and rules in his location, because Yimbo Kadimo was allegedly too remote from the headquarters, in Kisumu as observed in the Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza annual report of 1910. The Colonial administration had therefore considered Yimbo Kadimo location to be remote geographically as part of the Eastern Uganda province and far from colonial administrative headquarters in Port Victoria (KNA/PC/NZA/2/2).

According to an archival source, Annual Reports (political records) (KNA/PC/NZA/2/3), by 1909, chief Anam Osunga was getting older and Jairo Okello, his eldest son became his assistant. Jairo Okello helped him to carry administrative duties in Yimbo Kadimo location and 1909, H.B Partington, the DC for Central Nyanza wrote this about him:

I have found chief Anam Osunga a very sensible and good chief. He has been excused from his administrative duties (coming to Kisumu) any longer on account of his old age. His son (referring to Jairo Okello) who has largely taken his father's work represent him.

The above comments about chief Anam Osunga shows that, the colonial government was contented with the leadership of Anam. Also, the colonial government wished to continue working with Anam's son. This was handpicking of leaders by the colonial government on the natives without consulting the people to be led and imposing them of the natives to implement the colonial policies at the local level.

It was established that, by 1911, chief Anam had become virtually a dead man. This prompted the DC to appoint Odero Ong'ayo from Kadimo clan to assist the youthful Jairo Okello Anam with administrative duties in Yimbo Kadimo location, but the DC later realised that Odero Ong'ayo was not suitable to be the next chief of Yimbo Kadimo location. Evidence from the DC's minutes state that, 'Odero was a descent well-meaning man but of no great influence' and that Odero and chief Anam seemed to live in a distant state of variance (KNA/DC/CN/3/1/13). To the DC, the two years that Jairo Okello had acted as the chief of Yimbo Kadimo, had demonstrated that he was a tough, energetic and ruthless individual. This description would make Jairo Okello be fit as the next chief of Yimbo Kadimo and a man who would implement the colonial policies in his location.

On hut tax collection during chief Anam's reign in Yimbo Kadimo, the DC minuted in 1941 annual report that, the collection of hut tax and the poll tax was not always possible and the outlying parts of the Central Nyanza District especially Kadimo have not received the attention they need (KNA/DC/KSM/1/29/15). This agreed with the oral tradition that during chief Anam's rule, only those who had wealth were asked to pay

hut and poll taxes. Many people in Yimbo lived free as if the British Administration did not exist because the colonial policies and directives seemed remote to them. However, Jairo Okello was on a sharp variance from his father, Anam as he wanted to prove to *joroche* (Whitemen) that he was capable of being the next chief of Yimbo Kadimo location. In 1913, many people of the Kadimo clan and other clans of Yimbo wailed at the death of Anam because he was a good man. The DC for Central Nyanza District, acknowledged this in his minutes where he noted: ‘I have found him (Anam Osunga) an old man of great intelligence (KNA/PC/NZA/2/3).

In a confidential Report on chiefs in Nyanza, the DC for Central Nyanza noted that, ‘chief Okello Anam of Kadimo was appointed in 1914 in place of his father. He was gazetted the chief of Yimbo in 1914, one year after the death of his father’ (KNA/DC/CN/1/5/3). Chief Jairo Okello was chief of Yimbo Kadimo location between 1914 and 1926. It could be argued that by appointing Anam’s son the British wished to retain the inheritance system of leadership that was practiced before their arrival. This partly perpetuated their indirect rule.

According to Odhiambo (O.I, 2019), chief Jairo Okello *wuod* Anam inherited a council which had been established by his father chief Anam Osunga who died in 1913. The council was the primary administrative instrument in Yimbo Kadimo location and it acted as the traditional court of law and appeal. The council was made up of 12 representatives with the majority from the Kadimo clan. However, there were three representatives of the non-Kadimo clans who were represented by Okemba *wuod* Okila from Walowa clan, Onyango *wuod* Nyandong from Wayipi clan and Obumba *wuod* Goye of Wanyenjra clan. Wanyenjra clan traced their ancestry from Munyenjra, Dimo’s brother. Yimbo has a total of 53 clans, however, only Kadimo clan, Walowa clan, Wayipi clan and Wanyenjra clan were represented in chief Jairo Okello Anam’s council (Achando, O.I, 2019). This implies that, there was under-representation of the other Yimbo clans in the chiefs’ council.

It was established that Bantu clans Wahumadhi and Wahenye were the only clans in Yimbo which were not speaking *Dholuo* rather they spoke their original *dhomwa*-a Bantu language. *Dholuo* had been made the official language of the Yimbo people upon the establishment of Kadimo *ruothdom* from the time of Dimo, the first *ruoth* of Yimbo.

The language was an important aspect in conducting meetings in the chief's council. The Luo language was the only language that was used for communication in the council and this demonstrated Kadimo Luo dominance over the other non-Kadimo and Bantu clans in the chief's council.

Chief Jairo Okello Anam's reign coincided with the First World War of 1914 and 1919. According to oral tradition the war was fought between the British and the Italians over Somaliland. One of the respondents aged 86 said that chief Okello *wuod* Anam recruited labour for the white settlers and conscripted carriers for First World War. At the local level, chief Okello *wuod* Anam was bitterly accused of only conscripting and recruiting non-Kadimo clans into the war and for forced labour in the European farms. The most affected clans were non-Kadimo clans of Bantu origin which did not have representation in the chief's council.

Achando (O.I, 2019), stated that hut tax which was collected once a year in colonial Yimbo was another area of contestation during chief Okello *wuod* Anam's rule. The DC would give directives from the administrative headquarters in Port Victoria to the chief to collect the hut tax. The chief would then go with his *kanga* around the villages of Yimbo to collect the taxes. Thereafter the DC would come just to collect the tax from the chief, after which he would go back to Port Victoria, in Kisumu. During this time, the tax-payers were not registered. The DC, therefore, could not know whether or not the tax collected by the chief was a true representation of the money collected from the people. The hut tax was paid in form of rupees and livestock could also be accepted. Many people in Yimbo avoided paying taxes. It was established that the tax defaulters would escape to the islands of Lake Victoria such as Sirigombe, Siro, Hama, Wayasi, Mageta and Lolwe. The defaulters did this when they heard that *jarachar* referring to DC was coming to collect the tax. It is also true that chief Okello knew these tax defaulters in his location and would keep watch on them until they return from the islands. On arrival, the chief could round them up and demand that they pay. Those who were able to pay taxes were let go while those who were not able to be jailed for weeks to work on public roads or in chief Okello's farm (KNA/DC/CN/1/5/3).

The above findings agree with Ochieng (1975) that the tax was the hut tax but later poll tax was introduced in 1914. Oral tradition also pointed to the fact that many families of

Yimbo Kadimo location felt oppressed with these taxes as most of them hardly had an income to pay. Another problem was brought about by the Luo custom that required any adolescent man not to live in his parent's hut. It meant that he would have to build his first hut called *simba*. Doing this meant that the adolescent would be liable to taxation. Moreover, Luo customs allowed men to marry many wives, which implied that there were many huts in the compound to accommodate the wives hence more rupees and cattle to pay as hut tax. Added to this, was the problem of wife inheritance, where the wives of the deceased brothers, cousins or uncles were taken as wives by their male kinsmen, which forced them to build more huts therefore increasing the tax. Hut tax had therefore posed a great challenge to Yimbo Kadimo as they were required to pay the tax in the face of limited resources, especially money which was difficult to come by.

From the time of *Ruoth Were Nyathuon*, succession politics had thrown the Yimbo people into a civil war. This pre-colonial political setting led to a different phase of internal politics in Yimbo Kadimo as the situation was not different during the colonial period. By 1918, chief Jairo Okello Anam had made very many enemies for himself and his Kadimo clan. Although the DC thought of chief Okello as a respected servant who carried his duties well, the people of Yimbo Kadimo were not happy with Okello because 'the cousins of chief Okello who were in his council alleged that chief Okello was becoming so rich and therefore they plotted to ouster him out of power (Achando O.I, 2019). They wanted chief Okello to share with them what they termed the loot. Chief Okello Anam responded by dismissing them from his council and replaced them with more loyal elders from Kadimo clan. This internal problem in Kadimo prompted the other non-Kadimo clans mostly the Bantu clans to start a move aimed at dividing Yimbo into two locations to escape chief Okello Anam's rule. They accused chief Okello of bad leadership since they considered him a collaborator with the colonial government.

Soon, the chiefdom was divided into two opposing political camps and this reflected the pre-colonial structural alignment of the ruling clan (Kadimo clan) versus the ruled (other clans including those of Bantu origin). An oral respondent, Odhiambo (O.I, 2019) stated that, this division has not healed to date. These two opposing political camps became known as Kadimo gi Ojwando (Kadimo versus Ojwando). Yona Omolo

of Kanyidoto clan was a youthful missionary educated man from Maseno School, assumed the leadership of the Ojwando camp. This role he played until 1970 when he died. Chief Okello Anam led Kadimo camp. Yona Omolo established a militant of anti-Kadimo overrule to look for ways of removing chief Okello Anam as the chief of Yimbo so that he would assume the office of the chief (KNA/DC/KSM/10/45/10).

In 1926, chief Jairo Okello resigned as the chief of Yimbo. While it is not known what exactly made Okello to resign, many people in Yimbo believed that Yona Omolo liaised with Okello's cousins, Awelo and Jacob Opuk to have the Okello removed from chieftaincy. It was reported that, they wrote a letter to the DC in which they listed a long list which contained the names of tax-payers whom chief Okello Anam allegedly informed the DC to be dead but whose taxes he was pocketing (Ochola O.I, 2019). According to Achando (O.I, 2019), at a baraza held at Ogolla Awalla (the venue where the DC held Kadimo barazas) to collect tax, Maondo Tende an elder from Goye was instructed by Yona Omolo, Awelo and Jacob Opuk to bring the alleged dead tax-payers and present them to the DC. The alleged tax-payers came and were presented to the DC and were able to prove that they were paying taxes. The DC left this meeting unimpressed by chief Okello and the following day, chief Okello was summoned to administrative headquarters in Kisumu to answer these allegations.

Nobody can tell what transpired between chief Okello and the DC in Kisumu but oral sources indicate that he resigned thereafter. However, this is in contrast with Ochieng's (1975) report that when he interviewed Okello in 1967, chief Okello told him that he was not dismissed but that he was tired of malicious scandal and intrigues against him and therefore he asked the DC to relieve him of his duties. However, most people believed that chief Okello was dismissed. Jacob Opuk, Okello's cousin was appointed the third chief of Yimbo Kadimo in 1926. This was to the dismay of Yona Omolo, the leader of Ojwando clans who had thought that he would be made the next chief of Yimbo.

The Ojwando clans through their leader, Yona Omolo of Kanyidoto clan who had gleefully thought that the DC would appoint the next chief of Yimbo Kadimo from among their ranks were very bitter at the treachery of *jarachar*. They therefore

successfully engineered a conspiracy against chief Jacob Opuk in that within 6 months Opuk was removed from leadership. Figure 6 shows chief Jacob Opuk posing for a photo with Archdeacon Walter Owen.



Figure 6: Chief Jacob Opuk with Archdeacon Walter Owen.

Source: Luo Cultural Centre, Kisumu (Dated, 1926)

An archival source, Central Kavirondo District Annual Report of 1932-1934 records that Ogutu Ogoma from Kanyathuon sub-clan of Kadimo clan was appointed the next chief of Yimbo Kadimo location (KNA/DC/CN/1/6/2). Oudia Obudho of the Goma clan was his main rival. It was said that Ogutu Ogoma was made the chief because of his Christian background in Christian Missionary Society (CMS), Anglican Church. Oudia Obudho was a member of Independent African Church called Nomiya Luo Church (NLC) of John Owalo. The interviews for the position of chief were based on which church each of the candidates belonged (KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/4). Once in office, chief Ogutu focused on the rampage, purifying the location of witchcraft and corruption. This demonstrates that during the colonial period, religious orientation greatly influenced how the British appointed the representatives among the Kadimo people.

Achando (O.I, 2019), pointed out that Ogutu Ogoma arrested known *ajuoga* and destroyed their magic apparatus. Among the known *ajuoga* that chief Ogutu arrested were: Mnane Ojang'o *wuon* Winja, Jura Achando *wuon* Okonya, Oriengo *wuon* Achando and Anyango Rakula. It was said that chief Ogutu Ogoma tied these magicians' legs and hands and placed them before the blazing fire in a hot afternoon, burning and destroying their magic. Chief Ogutu was said to have destroyed the magic of Lul village in Usigu and he arrested Obiero *wuod* Ogolla who collected market tax and imprisoned for 6 months. Obiero was accused of not submitting all the tax collected to the chief. Chief Ogutu Ogoma also arrested people from Kadongo sub-clan, Kadimo clan. This shows the brutality with which the chiefs governed the people who they represented during the colonial period.

Due to chief Ogutu Ogoma's interference with the magic of the Yimbo people and especially of the Kadimo clan and arresting the people of Kadongo sub-clan, Kadimo clan rose against him. It was said that a baraza at Rabongo tree (presently located at of Nyamonye girls), the DC was to tour Got Ramogi and chief Ogutu Ogoma was to ensure that the road was passable. Before DC's tour, the chief had toured the road and confirmed that it was good and passable. However, some conspirators went behind his back and cut down big *bondo* (cactus tree) and placed it across the road thus blocking the road. After the baraza, the DC was on his way to Got Ramogi and when they reached Miguna, they found a big *bondo* blocking the road. Even though chief Ogutu Ogoma forced the villagers to clear it off the road, he was made to ride on the DC's land rover hanging outside the door. Chief Ogutu Ogoma was scratched by thorns and bushes as they went to Got Ramogi tearing his clothes. His body was also shredded. Later Chief Ogutu Ogoma was forced to resign as the chief of Yimbo Kadimo location (Ratego O.I, 2019).

Chief Ogutu Ogoma was replaced by Ezekiel Onyango of Kadimo clan as the next chief of Yimbo Kadimo. According to an archival source (KNA/DC/CN/3/1), during the reign of chief Ezekiel Onyango the Second World War broke out in 1939. Due to this, there was need to recruit carriers as well as soldiers. The Ojwando clans were thrown into a panic from the old memories of First World War in which they were targeted for recruitment and conscription. A word reached Nairobi that chief Ezekiel Onyango had been conscripting the non-Kadimo youths under Ojwando camp into the war. Before

the outbreak of the Second World War, the Yimbo people in Nairobi from Kadimo and Ojwando clans had worked together in Kadimo Association led by Abisalom Oloo Oduda from Kanyathuon sub-clan of Kadimo clan. When the word of chief Ezekiel Onyango conscripting non-Kadimo youths in the war reached Nairobi, the non-Kadimo members broke from Nairobi's Kadimo Association. They formed the Ojwando Association (Ochieng, 1975). As the Nyanza Provincial intelligence report states:

Forty jaluo were recruited as carriers for the 5th King's African Rifles, KRA at Meru, a Regimental Sergeant Major and Sergeant being sent down for them. Although it was made clear to them that they were to be machine gun porters and not askaris, on arrival at Meru they refused to sign on. It appeared that they had expected to carry rifles, as machine gun porters had done formerly. When, however, it was explained to them that they would be trained to fire the machine gun, although they carried no rifles, they signed on promptly, (KNA/PC/NZA/4/5/2).

From the above quote, it is observed that even though many Luos were recruited as carrier corps during the world war, they were not aware of their roles. However, they reluctantly accepted to remain in the force on the promise that they would be trained to fire the guns which were used in the war.

In response, they called on the colonial government to remove chief Ezekiel Onyango as the Kadimo chief and in place appoint an Ojwando chief. The DC went to Yimbo in 1939 to investigate these allegations which he found to be true. The DC, therefore, appointed Steven Jwenge of Goma clan as a special sub-chief, (*mruka*). Steven Jwenge was in charge of all areas in Yimbo under the Ojwando occupation. The DC promised them that a meeting would be held after the war to decide the name of the location and elect a new chief (KNA/DC/CN/3/1). During the rule of Ezekiel Onyango, many non-Kadimo clans' members also migrated from Kadimo to Kabras to escape being recruited as labourers and conscripted as couriers in the Second World War, (KNA/DC/KSM/1/19/121). Figure 7 shows chief Ezekiel Onyango of Kadimo location.



Figure 7: Chief Ezekiel Onyango

Source: Luo Cultural Centre, Kisumu (Dated: 1933)

Enoch Obudho from Kadimo clan was appointed by the DC to carry administrative duties of Ezekiel Onyango who had resigned in 1946 (KNA/DC/CN/3/1). He was to act as the chief of Kadimo location until August of 1947 when the elections of chief would be held. In preparation for the elections, both Kadimo clan and the Ojwando clan started to look for candidates. The Kadimo clan brought Enoch Obudho and Paul Sewe. The Ojwando clan found it difficult to provide candidates since it consisted of many clans and each clan wanted to have its own chief. Secondly, their obvious choice Yona Omolo of Kanyidoto clan who since early 1920s had been against the Kadimo leadership in Yimbo was already an old man thus could not outwit the youthful Enoch Obudho.

Ogwong (O.I, 2019) aptly opines that this political deadlock was solved through a meeting that was held at Alban Nyamhore home at Urima. In the meeting, the Goma clan was requested to step down and accept the post of the sub-chief which was already in their hands. The Wanyenjra clan put forward Blasio Mbira, a war hero in the Second World War. The Karodi clan put forward Raphael Odima. Achando (O.I, 2019)

affirmed that in response, Kadimo clan dropped the candidacy of Paul Sewe for Enoch Obudho. This was in the hope that the Ojwando votes would be split between Blasio Mbira and Raphael Odima and this would guarantee the Kadimo clan a landslide victory. The Ojwando went ahead and dropped the candidature of Raphael Odima of Karodi clan for Blasio Mbira of Wanyenjra clan. The stage was set and it was said that the campaign was very stiff. All inhabitants of Yimbo in urban centres asked for leaves and went back to vote. It was alleged that Yona Omolo conspired with Wanyenjra clan to bring their cousins from Alego to vote. After the election, Blasio Mbira of Wanyenjra clan defeated Enoch of Kadimo clan with 600 votes. This election was conducted in August, 27th, 1947. Chief Blasio Mbira's victory gave the Ojwando clans victory over the dominant Kadimo clan and for the first time from the time of Dimo- the first *ruoth*, the Yimbo people were now to be led by a non-Kadimo chief from Wanyenjra clan.

On assuming office, chief Blasio Mbira liaised with the DC concerning the name of the location. When the British arrived in Yimbo and asked chief Anam Osunga the name of the location in 1898, Anam had provided them with Kadimo as the name of the location. Yona Omolo found victory in 1954 having started fighting for the name of the location from as early as 1920. In 1954, the DC changed the name of the location from Kadimo location to Yimbo location (KNA/DC/KSM/1/30/50).

The above discussion demonstrates the rich history on how the history of representative politics evolve among the Kadimo from the time of pre-colonial *ruodhi* to the colonial chiefs. The colonial government appointed the chiefs from among the Kadimo clan and imposed them on the people of Yimbo. These chiefs as peoples' representative wielded a lot of power which was bestowed on them by the colonial government to implement the colonial policies including tax policies. Due to the discontent among the people represented, there were various forms of political conspiracies and witch hunt to remove the incumbent chief from office. These were some of the elements of evolution of politics of representations that filled the political spaces of the Kadimo clan during the colonial period.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter out of the thirty respondents, seventeen respondents were interviewed. From the above discussion it can be noted that *Jo-Kadimo* originated from Padhola in Eastern Uganda where they migrated from to Mur and then to Yimbo where they settled at Misori near the shores of Lake Victoria. On arrival in Yimbo, Kadimo encountered resistance from the Bantu clans who were the initial inhabitants of the region. They fought with these inhabitants of the land. Having defeated them, *Jo-Kadimo* established their rule over these early clans of Yimbo. The first leader was Dimo and thereafter a line of Kadimo *ruodhi* was forged in Yimbo from the time of Dimo up to 1947 when a chief from non-Kadimo clan was elected to represent the Yimbo people.

It was also noted that the pre-colonial leaders among the Kadimo were called *ruodhi*, a title that was changed to chief by the colonial government upon establishing their rule over the Yimbo people. The Kadimo chiefs were appointed by the colonial government without consulting the Yimbo people. As colonial administrators, the Kadimo chiefs were empowered to implement the colonial authority over the Yimbo people. They collected both hut and poll tax from the people they led. The Kadimo chiefs on the order of the colonial government conscripted many people from Yimbo in the King's African Riffle as carrier corps. There was formation of two opposing political outfits in the location as a reaction to the manner in which the Kadimo chiefs had targeted non-Kadimo clans in recruiting the Yimbo people in the King's African Rifles during the World War One and Two.

It was also noted that, the evolution of representative politics among the Kadimo was characterised by the aspects of conspiracies and political witch hunts that were aimed at removing the incumbent chiefs from office by the non-Kadimo clans in Yimbo. It was also demonstrated that the chiefs were corrupt and brutal in dealing with those that they represented and therefore they were considered as the direct agents of colonial rule in Yimbo.

CHAPTER FIVE
NEW FORMS OF REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS FROM THE ONSET OF
COLONIALISM

5.1 Political Structures of the Kadimo Before British Colonialists' Invasion

This section begins with a brief discussion on the political situation in Africa during the pre-colonial period. It then proceeds with the discussion on the pre-colonial political structures of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo.

During the early pre-colonial period in Africa, chiefdoms represented an environment that was closer to a system of clubs than governments which possessed monopolies over governance services. In late pre-colonial Africa there was stiff competition among services provided by government and this facilitated the response to the needs of the citizens by the chiefs. There was also the existence of migrations of tribes, lineages and families between chiefdoms within this period (Davidson, 1970). This led to a situation where lineages broke from chiefdoms and subordinated themselves to other chiefdoms or governed themselves independently.

Leeson (2005) explains that by imposing new sets of rules and limiting the individual's exit options between various chiefdoms and communities, the colonialists empowered local chiefs and destroyed many of the pre-colonial institutions. This agrees with Ashton (1947) and Mamdani (1996) observations that by strengthening the position of the chiefs and weakening the influence of tribal opinion led to slow economic development in the chiefdoms under the colonial appointed chiefs. This means that the chiefs were more accountable to their people before colonisation and this changed with coming of colonisers who strengthened the office of the chiefs thereby reducing the role of the traditional institutions of controlling the chiefs.

Before European colonisation of Africa, there existed political institutions and mechanisms of private ordering that were established by various African communities. Various forms of institutions of contract and property rights existed including systems and associations that provided insurance, credit and facilitated trade among variant groups (Crowder, 1968; Leeson, 2005). This is supported by Lesson (2007) demonstrations that effective self-governance in pre-colonial Africa, enabled different clans and villages to establish institutions for trade, disputes solving and enforcing

contracts. This means that in the late pre-colonial period chiefdoms were constrained constitutionally hence responded well to the needs of citizens. The situation was similar in Kenya as observed in the archival sources which show how traditional structures of governance had constrained the powers of clan chiefs before colonisation.

Commenting on the pre-colonial African political organisation, Ayittey (1992) expands Crowder, (1968) and Leeson, (2005) studies by observing that there were several “governments” which existed and they had variant organisational structures. There were stateless societies, comprising of various tribes that existed as autonomous political entities without individual ruler while other tribes were organised into smaller or larger chiefdoms. A chiefdom was mainly characterised by a recognised leader or head and the chiefdoms, kingdoms and stateless societies all co-existed.

Furthermore, the internal political organisation of chiefdoms took two main forms: first the federated governments, and second the centralised monarchies. The federated government was made up of a recognised ruler of the chiefdom having many subgroups with enormous autonomy. Each subgroup had a leader and several leaders established the inner council whose main role was decision-making and appointing the clan chief. The centralised monarchy had a consolidated political administration that ruled over various communities and gave them restricted political right as the chief was the head of the chiefdom and was advised by an inner council which he chose himself (Cohen, 1969). From the above discussions, it is clear that the pre-colonial African political system varied from one region to another as was influenced by the nature of the politics at the time.

Interviews conducted in Yimbo established that the pre-colonial political organisation began at the lineage level among the Kadimo clan. Each Yimbo lineage chose a ruler; different lineages came together to form a village which chose a chief to be the leader of the clan. The heads of the various lineages in this clan would then serve on the chief’s council of elders. Further inquiry shows that the chief was also seen as religious leader and the living representative of the ancestral spirits as well as the government leader responsible for maintaining order and acting as the decisive authority in matters affecting the welfare of the Kadimo clan (Ochanda O.I, 2019). This means that from the time before British invasion, the Kadimo people were conscious of their political

structures and that lineages were an important aspect of choosing the leaders. Also, the chiefs could not abuse their powers since they were under the watch of council of elders.

In addition, the inner council which consisted of influential members of the community or relatives and friends of the chiefs assisted the chief in governance of the Kadimo clan. The council members did not have the authority to override the chief, however they acted as counsellors and were informers to the chief. The chief's decision making was informed by the village of the commoners, which consisted of village meetings with the councillors, advisers and the people of the community. Community members and leaders discussed the proposed solution after which the majority would make final decision. It was also possible for the chief to act contrary to the decision of the majority, but that was not possible since such action led to conflict within the clan leading to the removal of the chief (Jeje O.I, 2019). This clearly shows that, the leaders had to have a group of individuals that would assist in governance. Justice and the rule of law was also ensured in the village courts as the chief had to be conscious of his decision before making a judgment.

According to Ongere (O.I, 2019), the actions of the Kadimo ruler was controlled and if the chief showed any rebellion to make himself independent of the council, he was either deserted by the elders or deposed. This was akin to Busia's (1967) observations among the Asante that those who appointed the chief also had the power to depose him if he did not perform the duties of his office satisfactorily. This meant that the chief therefore, internalised the implications of bad governance. The chief also earned his revenues directly from the members of his clan and their ability to overthrow him controlled the chief's actions.

The pre-colonial Kadimo chiefdom had more political entities than any other as the immediate family of the chiefdom was formed by the chief and his blood kinsmen, which included people which the chief did not have family relations. Kadimo chiefdom was fully independent and did not appear to be in relations of over lordship or subordination to other chiefdoms (Odongo O.I, 2019). This meant that among the Kadimo clan in Siaya county, various grades of independence existed.

The oral interviews conducted demonstrates that the Kadimo natives had the mandate to initiate an exit option, the chief felt the pressure to provide better services and responsive to Kadimo clan and Yimbo residents. It was in court that the authority of the Kadimo chief was most often seen, and the limitations on his power to judge reflected the limited political power of a pre-colonial chief (Adul O.I, 2019). Therefore, in the past no Kadimo chief could impose his own will on unwilling subjects.

The Kadimo chiefs participated in competitive political activities. According to Ogwo'ng and Achando (O.I, 2019), since Yimbo clans could break off from the Kadimo chiefdom as shown above, the chief had the responsibility to cater for the need of the Yimbo residents. This was a shrewd move by the chief to increase his following rather than encourage desertion to a neighbouring chief. This was supported by a study by Ashton (1947) which shows that chiefs who met their roles were sure of keeping both their position and their following. The chiefs who did not, found their followers dwindling and/or, might find their position taken by a popular rival. Such freedom made sure that chiefs became accountable in order to win trust of those under their rule.

From the foregoing discussion, it is arguable that the pre-colonial political dispensation in Africa was one that was made up of close family members. Chiefdoms during the pre-colonial period made allies with other chiefdoms and/or remained independent. The chiefs were also concerned with the needs of the people they led since there were institutions such as council of elders which controlled the governance of the chiefs. Among the Kadimo people, pre-colonial political structures were also made up of individuals from the same lineage and the chiefs had a council which assisted him in leadership. The chief and his council were important in ensuring that justice and the rule of law was followed. However, migration of the other clans acted as form of controlling the Kadimo chiefs.

5.2 Appointment of Chiefs

This discussion starts by looking at the appointment of chiefs from other regions of Africa and then looks at the appointment of the Kadimo chiefs during the colonial period which is the aim of this section.

When the British colonialists arrived, they used the policy of indirect rule to administer their colonies. By this rule the British governed through traditional political institutions and tribal chiefs. Indirect rule also altered the institutional forms and the roles of existing tribal chiefs since they were now in the British payroll; smaller chiefdoms were merged with larger areas and the privilege of natives to get rid of bad chiefs from office and to coordinate his punishment was removed. This resulted to a breakdown in the mechanisms that were previously inherent in pre-colonial governance structures since they softened the chief's budget constraint and reduced political competition between chiefdoms and chiefs. The British colonial reforms therefore expanded their traditional powers (Branch, 2011). This eventually modified certain local government institutions.

Indirect rule was also evident in the Northern Nigerian Kingdom of Kano, where Crowder (1968) notes that the Emir had a fixed salary from the colonial administration. Since the Emirs were on the British payroll, they were expected to execute British demands as well as to perform the traditional functions of governance. The British demanded that the chiefs to "maintain order" and collect taxes from the citizens. Another way the chiefs obtained extra money was by sitting in a court created by the British administration as Busia (1967) notes that in the Asante Kingdom of Ghana, during the pre-colonial era, the Asante chief received tribute from the people he ruled, however, this changed with colonisation as they began receiving payment from the other sources, namely the British administration. This was to make the chiefs feel like they were now working for the British administration through the salaries earned.

Having established their rule in Africa, the British was faced with limited administrative staff that could be used to manage the colonies. The British therefore adopted a policy that involved the integration of native administrative system or creating one where none existed, into its structure. New individuals were recruited to advise Kadimo chiefs who was under the supervision of the District Commissioner (Magak O.I, 2019). This means that, the colonisers such as British had to appoint some local leaders to assist in governing of the newly acquired territories under the supervision of the District Commissioner.

The British administration began paying Kadimo colonial appointed chiefs' salaries following colonial government directives (Achando O.I, 2019). This was corroborated by archival source KNA/PC/NZA/2/3: Annual report 1905-1015, in which the Provincial commissioner reported that the main purpose of the establishment of a Native Treasury was to create a source from where the salaries of Native Administration personnel such as chiefs would be paid. This meant that from the onset of colonialism, the Kadimo chiefs were directly being paid wages by the colonial government as local colonial administrators.

Traditionally, the Kadimo residents gave tributes to the chiefs for their services such as presiding over the cases in the traditional courts or receiving new villages into the Yimbo community (Okaka O.I, 2019). By getting payment from the colonial administration, it meant the chiefs were now able to receive income independently of government service provision. It further meant that throughout Kadimo clan under British colonial rule, the chiefs were no longer compensated solely for services to their constituents. This also declined the quality of service delivery of the chiefs because they were now not solely responsible to those they ruled.

To consolidate colonial rule in Kadimo clan, the British came up with ways of recruiting and appointing Kadimo chiefs into its administrative structure at the local level (Outa O.I, 2019). This was akin to indirect rule which the British adopted in some parts of East Africa and later the rest of Africa for the purposes of administration as previously discussed. This indicate that, for the colonial government, appointment of the chief was very important in ensuring that the colonial policies are implemented in the regions under colonial regime.

During the period under investigation, conflicts existed between the Kadimo chiefdom establishment headed by the Kadimo chief and the protectorate government over the appointment of chiefs. For instance, there were conflicts between Kadimo residents, Protestant, and Catholic over chiefly appointments based on religion (Odongo O.I, 2019). The people of Yimbo were critical of the recruitment of colonial chiefs' exercise. The Kadimo clan members therefore tried to influence the recruitment exercise to ensure that it was to their desired interest (Ochanda O.I, 2019). This meant that the installation of chiefs was a political process that involved both the colonial

administration and the Yimbo people which resulted to great rivalries between the two forces.

With the establishment of colonial rule, the Kadimo chiefs had more privilege than the other Bantu clans in Yimbo did not enjoy. Oral sources reported that at that time since there were no other means of getting up the British ladder of leadership, to be a chief was highly valued by individuals during the colonial period. Chiefs also made decisions through their appointments to ensure that their interests as Kadimo people were catered for (Odongo O.I, 2019). On the other hand, due to the influence that came with such appointments, the colonial authorities were concerned on the kind of person to be appointed as a chief. This was also to ensure that right administrative personnel were appointed that would implement the colonial policy at the local level in the colony (KNA/PC/NZA/2/3). This means that, the colonial government was conscious of the person that was to be appointed as the chief among the Kadimo. This was because such an appointment came with a lot of influence to the individual.

A 1910 memorandum from the secretary to the Administration to the Provincial and District Commissioners, stressed the importance of soliciting the wishes of the people before recommendations were made to the governor for the selection and appointment of chiefs and headmen. The memorandum emphasised that administrative officers should never lose sight of the fact that if men were artificially raised above their fellows, or forced upon the people they were expected to govern, they generally proved unsatisfactory, and with time would have to be deposed, causing the native authority to be entirely undermined (KNA/DC/CN/3/1/13). This was supported by Magak (O.I, 2019) that chiefs were not only respected because they were imposed on the people in Nyanza region but also because some of them took advantage of their position to exploit their subjects. This was also true in Kadimo clan, for instance where data from the oral sources indicated that chief Anam did not hesitate to use his powers for private advantage at the expense of the Kadimo people.

As time went by, the Protestant church started identifying with the colonial government because when Christianity arrived in Kadimo the rulers had become Protestant and the British colonial state was itself Protestant oriented (Odongo O.I, 2019). One such beneficiary of the colonial education was Yona Omolo of Kanyidoto clan. It was

reported that Yona Omolo attended the Maseno Mission School after which he came back to Yimbo and was very vocal in the appointment of chiefs in Yimbo. Even though he was not appointed as a chief in Yimbo, Yona Omolo was vital in dethroning the Kadimo chiefs in 1947, when he orchestrated the win of Blasio Mbira as the next chief of Yimbo.

The discussion above clearly shows that after the establishment of colonial law and order in Kadimo, the British was faced with the challenges of appointing the chief in Yimbo. To achieve her colonial interest, the British was ready to use force to impose their will on the people as uncooperative and/or rebellious chiefs were threatened with punitive legal actions.

5.3 Colonial Protests

The study first looks at reactions to British colonisation in different states in Africa, and later examines how the Nyanza and Kadimo people reacted to this colonial invasion.

The historical emergence of macro-economic structures, Larmer (2010) distinguished four historical periods of social movement struggles in Africa: nationalism and liberation struggle in the 1950s and 1960s, suppression and incorporation from 1960 to 1975, economic crisis and structural adjustment from 1975 to 1989, and prodemocracy movements between 1990 and 2010. This means that over the years, Africa has witnessed different political environments which were either active or passive political resistance to the colonial and post-colonial governments.

The British colonisation in Nyanza region encountered minimal resistance from the local population. The people in Nyanza region might well have drawn the same conclusion a decade earlier, between 1884 and 1898, during the German colonisation of Tanzania. Archival source the Central Kavirondo District Annual Report of 1909 indicated that during the colonial period “it was not possible to mention a clan within a day’s march of the Anglo-German border that was not punished forcibly by the government of German East Africa” (KNA/PC/NZA/2/3).

The Kadimo residents only failed to comply with British colonial administrators such as the chiefs as a form of resistance. Such people who registered this attitude refused to co-operate with the colonial government on matters of Western education, Christianity and the new agricultural methods that the colonial government introduced. Such areas were then mostly neglected and ignored by the colonial government and generally lagged behind in the process of change (Jeje O.I, 2019). This shows that, in Nyanza, reaction to British invasion was passive as it did not involve the use of arms by the natives to resist the colonisers.

5.4 Representation in the Legislative Council

During the colonial period, the colonial government created legislative bodies to enact laws for the colony. One such legislative body was the Legislative council where African representation became a major issue that Africans did not take for granted.

Though never formally expressed before the publication of the 1927 White Paper, it was implied in the demand for a European elected majority in the Legislative Council. Though an elected majority was not granted until 1948 it was one of the main drives toward ultimate self-government and was intricately tied up with the political development of Kenya. It was inconceivable to the settler that he should undertake an elected majority without at least sharing in, if not taking over, trust commitments of the Imperial Government. In this vein, the Europeans were encouraged by the 1927 White Paper which reconvened that the colonists be associated with the execution of this trust. Sir, Amery, the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time, favoured such an association. However, the Hilton Young Commission did not affirm the principle of dual trusteeship. In 1930 Lord Pasfield, the Labour Secretary of State for the Colonies stated in Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa that the responsibility for trusteeship could not be devolved. The abrupt change was due partly to the Labour Government which was then in office (KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/9).

An East African Central Assembly was proposed which would sit nominated members and representatives elected by the unofficial Members of each Legislature in a ratio of one European, one Indian and one African. The proposal made explicit the point that if accepted the political fusion of the territories would not be involved. The outrage caused by the submission of this proposal was discussed above. Several reasons were

given, but the categorical rejection was based mainly on the proposal of equal representation. The Electors Union began an active campaign to oppose the proposal and backed unanimously the categorical rejection. The proposal was called a frontal assault on the European position in Kenya, although it was found acceptable in Indian and African quarters. In contrast to the high degree of unanimity on rejection, there was very little forthcoming in the way of counter proposals that all could agree on (Achando O.I, 2019). This demonstrate that, the colonial government had seen the need of ensuring that Africans got representation amidst the opposition from other quarters within and without the colony.

In the summer of 1946 Mr. A Creech Jones, under the Secretary of State for the Colonies toured East Africa and met with various groups endeavouring to dispel fears and calm the agitation which had arisen. In 1947 revised proposals of the Imperial Government were published. These provided for a Central Legislative Assembly composed of a Speaker, seven ex officio members who would be officers in the High Commission, three nominated official members, one from each territory, and four members appointed from the unofficial side of each Legislature, one each Indian, African and European, while the fourth would be at large member representing all the unofficial. Although the European community was generally in favour of the revised proposals it was felt that their position in the Legislative Assembly would be jeopardised by an increase in the non-European representation in the Legislative Council. With the Governor's announcement that an unofficial majority might be linked to the revised White Paper and that the fourth member would be a European. European opinion solidified behind the proposals. Although the Imperial Government denied it, the principle of equal representation had been abandoned. The Indian and African communities were opposed to the revised plan; the East Indian National Congress called the new White Paper "this unhappy surrender" and a victory for the Europeans. The Governor Sir Philip Mitchell proposed that the official members of the revised Kenya Legislature should number 15 and the unofficial 22 consisting of 11 Europeans 5 Indians, 4 Africans and 2 Arabs. There would also be a speaker of the Legislative Council (KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/9). These events provided avenue for Africans to demand for more representation in the government since they were now being represented in the Legco.

African representation was considered at this time as part of the general reorganisation of the Council. In early 1947 Beniah A. Ohanga a member of the Luo tribe and a former school master was appointed to the vacancy created by the resignation of Archdeacon Beecher who had represented African interests since 1943. The Reverend Archdeacon recommended to the Governor that African representation be increased to six, a suggestion strongly endorsed by Eliud Mathu the African nominated unofficial representative in the Legislative Council. After discussions with unofficial in the Legislature, the Governor recommended that African representation be increased to one each to represent Nyanza Province; Central Province, including Nairobi, Coast Province; Rift Valley Province and the remainder of the Colony. Africans would continue to be nominated by the Governor after being advised by the local native councils (KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/265). African representation in the colonial administration as ministers and members of the Legco became important historical moments in the political historiography of the Kenyan people.

The formal organisation of Local Native Councils began in 1924. Before this, a limited authority system was attempted by the Village Headman's Ordinance of 1902 with subsequent changes in the 1920s and the Native Authority Ordinance of 1912. The Local Native Councils or, as they are called today, the African District Councils, were a major step forward. They grew out of Native Councils of Elders, a familiar institution in the chiefless tribes of Kenya. The Local Native Councils consisted of the District Councils, the District Officer if there is one, and the local appointed chiefs. This latter group were usually chosen from a list presented to the District Commissioner by local natives. Local councils were subject to the central government through the Minister for Local Government (KNA/PC/NZA/4/19/3).

There were also African District Councils, that were key in African representation at the district level. There were 24 African District Councils (ADC) governed by the provisions of the African District Councils Ordinance of 1950 which replaced earlier legislation. The councils' bodies corporate had powers similar to other local authorities including; construction and maintenance of roads, public health, housing, animal husbandry, social welfare. Revenues were derived from poll rates on adult male Africans, cases on agricultural produce, land rents and royalties and fees for services and licenses issued (KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/273; KNAPC/NZA/3/1/272). Despite the

significance of the above legislative bodies in the promotion of leadership and governance, the Kadimo people indicated that they were not represented in either the Legislative Council or the African District Councils that had been established in Central Nyanza. This meant that the Kadimo people lacked representation in the Legislative and African District councils during the colonial regime in Yimbo.

The aforementioned discussion demonstrates that, during the colonial period, Africans became aware of the need to be represented in the government by an African. Even though various representation bodies such as Legco, Local Native Councils and African District Councils were established, the Kadimo people in Yimbo lacked representation in these important colonial institutions at the time.

5.5 Political Associations/Parties

Formation of political associations and/or parties formed the basis of the new forms of representative politics in Africa during the colonial period. They were used by Africans to fight for their grievances and they led the African countries to independence.

Strong and sustainable democracy is dependent on the existence of well functioning political associations and/or political parties. According to Salih (2007), political parties are important actors in bringing together different interests, recruiting and presenting candidates and developing competing policy proposals. Globally, however, political parties are faced with many problems hence they find themselves in crisis, unpopular and increasingly not trusted. The situation is not different in Africa, where political parties face challenges that are further increased by diverse and complex political and developmental challenges in the continent.

According to Leys (1975), in Africa colonial rule did not reproduce the full extent of European institutions and culture; rather, it introduced partial and extremely skewed representations of Europe through the state, the missions, merchant capital and settler communities. The colonial states established bureaucratic institutions of political dominion for the control of outlying provinces and largely agrarian populations. This political structure was akin to neotraditionalist ideology of patriarchal bureaucratic authoritarianism. This demonstrates that this political rule, with its use of military and police organisations of coercion was gradually added functional or technical

departments in dealing largely with the development and control of the colonial political economy based on African labour and production.

Colonial rule in Africa was a confusing one as Mbembe (2001) and Chabal (2009) demonstrate. Colonial states were undoubtedly bureaucratic despots with limitations on their ability to control and change the African natives which they ruled. While the few European administrators and their equally small and poorly equipped police and military units could deal with African resistance guns, very little was invested in the civil apparatus of infrastructure development, social services and macroeconomic management that could have facilitated the full change of African natives and their integration into the capitalist world economy.

In Kenya the development of nationwide parties was banned until 1960 and political organisations were allowed only at the district level. For the election in 1961, still under British colonial rule, two major parties were formed, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). Due to the circumstances, both parties were loose coalitions of the district and local level political organisations (Barkan, 1987). Therefore, because of the ban of national political parties and the very short period to form them for the 1961 elections, individual personalities and local groups, as well as regional and ethnic ties, became increasingly important for aggregating and representing the interests of the citizens.

Oral interviews conducted indicate that the chiefdom was divided into two opposing political camps and this reflected the pre-colonial structural alignment of the ruling clan versus the ruled. An oral respondent, (Odhiambo O.I, 2019) stated that this division has not healed to date. In Yimbo, there was the chief's clan, Kadimo which provided leadership from the time of Luo invasion of Yimbo around 1680. There were also other clans tracing their origin from the Bantu groups such as Walowa, Wawamba and Wasenge among others in Yimbo. These two opposing political camps became known as Kadimo *gi* Ojwando (Kadimo versus Ojwando). Yona Omolo of Kanyidoto clan was a youthful missionary educated man from Maseno School, assumed the leadership of the Ojwando camp. This role he played until 1970 when he died. Chief Okello Anam led Kadimo camp as Yona Omolo established a militant of anti-Kadimo overrule to look for ways of removing chief Okello Anam as the chief of Yimbo and himself to

assume the office of the chief (KNA/DC/KSM/10/45/10). This meant that after the establishment of colonial regime in Yimbo, the Kadimo clan and other non-Kadimo clans formed political associations as response to the political challenges of that time.

5.6 Collaboration with the Colonial Administration

The areas of cooperation between the people of Nyanza and the colonial government were crucial in the emergence of the new forms of politics of representation in the locations of Nyanza during the colonial period.

Ochieng (1975) argues that in Nyanza region, most communities opted to co-operate with the British colonial government and not to stage a futile armed resistance against the better-armed conquerors. Some people in Nyanza region, as in other parts of Luo land, felt impelled to co-operate with the British colonial government as a result of the injunctions that had been issued by their *jobilo* (diviners), diviners or prophets. Jeje (O.I, 2019), 76 years of age, noted that *Jo-Kadimo* had diviners who could foretell the future. He observed that, diviners had prophesied the coming of a white man and that this prophecy was uttered at a time when no white man had entered the country. The *jobilo* had foretold of the coming of ‘red strangers’, long before whites arrived in Luo land, who would come from the sea. The *jobilo* warned that once these “strangers” (whites) arrived, people should never try to fight them because they had superior weapons in contrast to the ones that the Luo possessed.

Adul (O.I, 2019), mentioned that any individuals who co-operated with the British colonial government did so for reasons of personal advantage. For instance, some personalities who after associating with the colonial government for a short duration of time, serving the colonial government as interpreters, realised that the whites were there to stay and that their presence could be taken advantage of. One such individual was chief Jairo Okello Anam. Chief Anam first engaged with the colonial administration accompanying *askari* (police) on safari (tours) within the district. He was appointed as a court interpreter in 1907 to translate *Dholuo* (Luo language) into English at the district headquarters, Kisumu. He sought out the position because of the benefits and influence that he gained.

It may be assumed that Anam might have acquired proficiency in English when he worked as an askari's boy while assisting his father Anam Osunga in his administrative duties. The ability to speak English qualified him to be appointed a court interpreter and finally a chief. Other men like Anam elsewhere in colonial Kenya were also appointed chiefs because of their language skills. For instance, in Sakwa location, Central Nyanza District, Ugada Ondiek, who had gone for a while to live in Kano location, near Kisumu, where he had learned to speak Kiswahili, used that skill to enable him to be appointed chief of Sakwa in 1912 (Odinga,1967). This means that the leaders were appointed on the basis of their cordial relationship with the colonial master.

The foregoing discussion demonstrates that in Nyanza region, most of the pre-colonial *ruodhi* (chiefs) who, when the colonial government arrived, co-operated with the new power, retained their positions in the new political dispensation. Such pre-colonial *ruodhi* (chiefs) included Gor Ogalo of Kanyamwa, Oloo Ragot of Kanyamkago and Nyakiti Ogutu of Karachuonyo. Such rulers acquired more powers, status and wealth in the new political system. This tallied with oral interviews among the Kadimo people where chief Anam Osunga became the chief in Kadimo location, right from the pre-colonial epoch.

5.7 The 1947 Little Election

Elections have been used to elect leaders and change governments in different parts of the world. How elections were held in Yimbo among the Kadimo to elect their chiefs is the aim of this section. The discussion starts with general commentaries on the electoral politics in other parts of Africa and then concludes by Kadimo's electoral processes during the period under study.

Elections have facilitated the emergence of democratic governments in Benin, Cape Verde, Ghana, Mali, Senegal, and South Africa. Following autocratic regimes and protracted civil wars, more stable societies have emerged in Guinea, Liberia, Niger, and Sierra Leone. In some cases, however, elections have been manipulated to legitimate autocratic regimes or to ensure dynastic successions on the continent. Violence still plagues approximately 20 to 25 per cent of elections in Africa. In recent times, high-profile electoral crises in Kenya (2007-2008), Zimbabwe (2000 and 2008), and Côte

d'Ivoire (2010-2011) have collectively led to at least four thousand deaths and hundreds of thousands displaced. This means that electoral violence erodes people's faith in democratic processes. Additionally, countries with a history of electoral violence often experience a recurrence of such violence, as has been witnessed in Kenya, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe.

Elections are a nationally owned process. Concerns about the protection of sovereignty frequently lie just beneath the surface when international actors support electoral processes in Africa, fuelled largely by the legacy of colonial domination on the continent. These sensitivities have also surfaced during General Assembly debates on United Nation (UN) electoral assistance in which some member states have asserted that elections are a sovereign responsibility, which should not be impinged upon by the UN or other external actors. While such sensitivities must be taken into consideration, it is clear that international assistance plays a vital role in supporting successful electoral processes (Urbinati, 2006). This indicates that external bodies are influential in the electoral process of many African countries as they act as observers thereby ensuring democratic processes during the elections.

Since the introduction of multiparty elections in Kenya in 1992, the electoral process has been characterised by violence in one way or another. In 1992 and 1997, interethnic violence and militia driven persecution of opposition supporters in the run up to the elections killed several hundreds of people (Kagwanja, 2001). The 2007 December elections erupted into interethnic and militant violence that killed 1,500 people and displaced more than half a million (Kagwanja & Southall, 2010). Even the supposedly peaceful elections of 2002 and 2013, where a lot of resources were put into preventing and containing violence, saw hundreds of people killed in the months leading up to the elections (Mutahi, 2005; Merino, 2014). The dynamics and expressions of violence might have differed from one election to the next, and some of the violent actors have also changed over time, but the politicisation of ethnic identities, the instrumentalisation of youth militias, and the excessive use of force by the state security services have been central components of the violence that have surrounded and affected democratic elections in Kenya (Mueller, 2008; Thibon, 2014).

Collier (2010) and Cheeseman (2015) investigate the political economy of the dynamics of democracy and violence in Africa from a cross-country comparative perspective. Cheeseman and Collier depart from the positive potential for legitimacy and accountability inherent in democratisation and the possibility for changing the course of events through the electoral process. Both authors point out that political participation and maybe even the idea of democracy itself is often boiled down to the electoral process of casting the vote, and the dynamics of contestation and violent conflict are often linked to the possibility for change. This means that Kenya's history of ethnic voter mobilisation, which has created identity-based loyalties between politicians and their support bases, has also limited voters' mobility to other political camps and has increased the risk of ethnic violence.

Oral interviews demonstrate that an election was conducted in 1947 to elect a new chief in Yimbo- Kadimo. It could be called 'democratic election' because for the first time during the colonial period, the Yimbo people were now allowed to elect their own chief as opposed to the previous case where the chiefs were appointed by the colonial government without the consultation of the Yimbo people.

5.8 System of Colonial Administration

The focus here is on how the British invaders administered the Yimbo people having established their rule over them. The discussion starts with how Kenya was administered during the colonial period. It then proceeds to Nyanza and then gives the situation as it was in Yimbo, Kadimo.

Chabal (2009) demonstrates that power rested in the colonial state regardless of local political arrangements, the nature of clientelism also shifted. Chiefs became colonial clients since they were on the state payroll. The chiefs were also the intermediaries between colonial administrators and colonial subjects. This made the chiefs to become accountable to their pay master. This imply that the appointed colonial chiefs never had much legitimacy as their authority eroded with time.

Oral interviews conducted on administrative purposes show that the British colonial government divided Kenya into many provinces, which were administered by expatriate Provincial Commissioners (PC). The provinces were further sub-divided into

district administrative units, headed by District Commissioners who, like Provincial Commissioners, were expatriates. Districts were subdivided into divisions, also under the jurisdiction of expatriate officers. Divisions were subdivided into locations under the control of African chiefs. This implies that the colonial administrative structure was designed in such a way that, the top leadership positions were held by the Europeans while Africans were used at the lower leadership positions under the supervision of the European administrative officers.

Archival source (KNA/DC/CN/1/6/1) demonstrates that the establishment of the British colonial administration in Kenya after 1894 had a little immediate impact on the people in Nyanza region. When a Protectorate was declared over Uganda in July 1894, the region to the east of Lake Victoria as far as Naivasha was formally brought under British colonial rule. The region became known as the Eastern Province of Uganda Protectorate, to which Nyanza region also belonged. The province was formally divided into four districts: Nandi, Mau, Baringo and Suk. Nyanza region fell within Kisumu District. The district comprised three divisions: Nandi proper, South Kavirondo and Ugaya (where Kadimo clan is found). Despite the existence on paper of the divisions, colonial administrators had little contact with the people in Nyanza region between 1894 and 1903. The closest administrative station was the Provincial headquarters at Kisumu. The British colonial administration in Nyanza region effectively commenced in January 1903, when a parcel of Union Jacks was dispatched from Provincial headquarters, Kisumu, to the Karungu area to be raised in all villages in the vicinity to show that Nyanza region was under the British colonial administration. This means that Nyanza and its neighbouring clans became under the colonial rule.

Chiefs were first appointed in Nyanza region in 1902. Their primary duty by then was to collect taxes. By 1907, chiefs and headmen had been appointed in the various locations in Nyanza region. The position of a chief was explained in a District Circular: A chief is a direct agent of the government in his location; his position is much the same as that of a District Commissioner. All over Kenya, every chief has certain general functions and duties that go with his appointment (Outa O.I, 2019). The archival source also corroborated this view (KNA/DC/KSM/1/31/62) that the chiefs are active to maintain a spirit of loyalty to the British Crown, and to inculcate such spirit to see that all lawful orders are obeyed by the African inhabitants of his location. He must take

continuous personal interest in the collection of tax. This imply that a new form of politics of representation was introduced in the region as initially the chiefs were direct representative of their people, however, this role was tilted towards the colonial government after the establishment of the chief's office in Yimbo Kadimo.

The powers and duties of chiefs gradually evolved; however, it was the basic legal framework on which the authorities of chiefs rested derived from the ordinances enacted before the First World War. A 1902 ordinance gave the chiefs three broad areas of responsibility. They were to maintain public order and could be subjected to fines if disturbances occurred in their areas of jurisdiction. They were to keep roads in their location clear and they could preside over petty cases. In 1912 these outlines were defined in more detail. To maintain order, chiefs were permitted to employ other persons to assist them. They could issue orders restricting the brewing of African liquor (kong'o), the holding of drinking bouts, the cultivation of poisonous plants such as hemp, the carrying of arms and any conduct likely to lead to a riot (KNA/DC/KSM/1/31/62).

Two other bodies that were also engaged in local administration in Kadimo clan, as indeed in other African locations, were the native tribunals and local native councils (KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/272). The colonial government recognised both bodies on the understanding that these had governed many African people before colonial rule. But in both organs, the needs of the colonial administration and the powers of chiefs were strongly reflected. The 1897 Native Court Ordinance enjoined the government to supervise the judicial activities of tribunal authorities, allowing them to employ customary law, subject to the restriction that punishment was not to be inhumane or convictions obtained through witchcraft, torture, or "barbarous practices". These tribunals operated similarly to the pre-colonial councils of elders that had settled disputes. However, these tribunals did not operate effectively in the Nyanza region and other areas of Luo land due to the countervailing power of Luo chiefs. This was an issue that the colonial authorities never came to terms with. The pre-colonial Luo chiefs were more powerful than the colonial chiefs. Hobley (1965) notes that chiefs were often more powerful in pre-colonial times. The bone of contention was that membership to these native tribunals and local native councils was skewed to only incorporate those clans that were in one way or another related to the chief of the time.

The above development had its drawbacks and, in the end, disrupted ethnic control. The colonial government was as a result forced to reinforce the power of elders. The appointment of colonial chiefs that went hand in hand with the establishment of colonial rule in Kadimo location changed the pre-colonial political dispensation in several ways. For instance, the position of chiefs and their relationship to elders changed once the colonial rule was established in the area. Odhiambo and Outa, (O.I, 2019) asserted that during the pre-colonial rule, councils of elders assisted chiefs in settling disputes in their respective jurisdictions. But with the establishment of colonial rule, the position of elders became marginalised in the new political dispensation. Being illiterate, elders could not fit in the day to day running of the colonial administration that required some degree of western education. Their positions were now filled by the youths who had acquired some elements of European culture and were able to assist chiefs in the colonial administration.

The position and power of pre-colonial chiefs who were retained by the new political order changed drastically as they moved from independence to subordination. On the one hand, as Hobley (1965) points out, chiefs were often more powerful in pre-colonial times, as a result of multiple marriages, and the ability to deploy armed force. On the other hand, the council of elders also checked their powers. As already been seen in chapter two, during the pre-colonial period, chiefs inherited their positions, but with the establishment of colonial rule, they were now being appointed by the colonial state and they were direct agents of the colonial government in their locations. The chiefs were also accountable to the colonial state and therefore no longer had power unto themselves as they had in the pre-colonial era. This meant they could be dismissed from their posts at any time and even be jailed by the colonial government for misconduct. Therefore, the coming of the colonial system degraded the leadership situation among the Africans.

The 1910-1913 Nyanza Province Annual Report remarked thus of the Luo chiefs:

The Jaluo (the Luo) chiefs, seem to think that anything like a council will tend to diminish their authority, and they prefer to act independently in all matters or consultation with their retainers, relying on the government to support them in the event of opposition. Where we have a capable and energetic chief this

despotic rule works well enough, but unfortunately very few of them bear out this description. The majority of them are either wanting in intelligence and power and accomplish nothing, or make use of their authority to enrich themselves at the expense of their people (KNA/PC/NZA/2/3).

This means that the appointed Kadimo chiefs could have been corrupt in dealing with their administrative duties, showing that even the colonial government had to be cautious in dealing with them. The colonial government therefore hired and dismissed the chiefs as they found necessary.

5.9 The Kadimo Village Police

In modern day dispensation, the police are known as law keepers and they are supposed to serve all citizens famously labelled “*utumishi kwa wote*” (service to all) in Kenya. Ogwong (O.I, 2019) reported that police officers also called locally as *kanga* was used in the Kadimo location to represent colonial policies. Prominent among these retainers were youths who had acquired some form of Western education or those who were engaged in wage labour. Initially, chiefs in the Nyanza region tried to ignore the role of elders in assisting them in administration. This weakened the chiefs’ ability to effectively administer their locations. The colonial administration, therefore, had to restore the powers of elders.

These youths were useful to the chiefs on two accounts. First, they could translate from the vernacular into Swahili (many chiefs, at least at that time, could not); second, they had become acquainted with the Europeans, and chiefs in working with the British preferred assistants who had some knowledge of the white man’s ways. As the colonial government came to appreciate the importance of the elders in traditional Kenyan societies, it sought to revive the powers of the elders on the tribunals. For a variety of other reasons however, by the first decade of colonial rule, the crucial role that the elders had played in the affairs of their community had further declined. The Central Kavirondo District Annual Report for 1908-1912 emphasised the significance of the restoration of the native council in assisting chiefs to settle cases in consultation with the elders (KNA/DC/1/6/2). The report observed:

The custom had gradually grown up, more specifically among the Luo, of the chief ignoring the old men, who were formerly accustomed to assemble and deal with tribal affairs, and substituting, therefore, many youths, who had managed to procure European or Swahili clothing, the donning of which is popularly supposed to immediately increase their powers.

The report admitted that the youths undoubtedly had their uses and were always conspicuous in obtaining labour for work on the roads or anything of a similar nature, though they “never by any chance do any manual work themselves”. By virtue of the use made of them by chiefs and government officers, they had begun to consider themselves indispensable and to arrogate (take or claim something) to themselves considerable power.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter has the conviction that, the British indirect rule effectively altered the club-like mechanisms that constrained the behaviour of chiefs in the pre-colonial era. Chiefs were no longer dully dependent on the citizens for their incomes because they received salaries from the British administration. The political competition between chiefdoms was weakened by British consolidations of the chiefdoms. Political competition for the position of chief was also eliminated because the chief had access to the British resident, who suppressed all efforts to overthrow him or to appoint a new chief. Appeals for the Resident’s protection weakened the chiefs’ incentives to be accountable to their citizens and resulted in widespread extortion and blatant disregard of traditional constitutional checks. The same constitutional checks that were in place during the pre-colonial period were discarded in the colonial period. And even though the political leaders under British colonial rule were the same ones that the citizens had chosen beforehand and who had been constrained before colonial rule, chiefs began to act in predatory ways to such an extent that corruption and bribery became the norm during colonisation.

In Yimbo, most of the pre-colonial *ruodhi* (chiefs) who, when the colonial government arrived, co-operated with the new power and retained their positions in the new political dispensation. Such rulers acquired more powers, status and wealth in the new political system. Kadimo clan chiefs were empowered by colonial authorities to implement very fake, arbitrary and exploitive tax policies. By this act, they demonstrated that they were

no longer representing the interests of their people, but rather, their interests and those of their employers, the colonial government.

It was also established that there were few instances of colonial protests among the Kadimo people against the colonial administration represented by the chiefs in Yimbo. There was also no representation of the Kadimo clan in the legislative council and the local native council which were established by the colonial government to enhance representation in the colony.

Both the Kadimo and non-Kadimo clans formed two opposing political associations namely Kadimo and Ojwando Associations as a reaction to the imposition of chiefs in Yimbo. It was also established that from 1902 only chiefs from Kadimo clan were appointed by the colonial government to represent the Yimbo people until 1947 when an election was conducted to elect a chief. A non-Kadimo chief was elected in this election.

It should also be pointed out that for the first time, African District Councils were established by law and were officially recognised as the basic units of administration so that the 1949 Ordinance was the legal instrument which established “tribal” local governments in Nyanza. Chiefs were not only respected because they were imposed on the people in Nyanza region but also because some of them took advantage of their position to exploit their subjects.

CHAPTER SIX
**INFLUENCE OF REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS ON THEIR SOCIO-
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

6.1 Influence of Representative Politics on Socio-economic Development of the Kadimo clan in Siaya County

6.1.1 Social Development

According to a 90-year-old respondent, there was the adoption of the Luo language as the main lingua Franca in the entire Kadimo clan and Yimbo community. The Kadimo were not many in numbers as compared to the other Bantu clans who had settled in Yimbo. However, they were the single largest clan. Since they were nomadic pastoralists, they quickly dispersed among the Bantu clans as they grazed their cattle in open spaces in Yimbo and within a short period, the Luo language was evident in every corner of Yimbo. This made the Luo language to become the official language of trade and general communication (Onyango O.I, 2019). Ochieng (1975) also confirms that the Kadimo people had no business in learning the many *dhomwa* languages they found in Yimbo. It was therefore up to the Bantu clans if they wanted to communicate with the Kadimo clan members to learn *Dholuo*. An oral respondent from Got Ramogi reported that even in the chief's council, the meetings were being held in *Dholuo*, forcing the elders from the Bantu clans in the chief's council to learn *Dholuo*. This is akin to colonial language policies in their colonies during the colonial period where Africans had to learn to speak the foreign languages spoken by the colonial administrators. Use of local language constrained the communication between the colonial administrators and the Kadimo residents. They had to rely on the interpreters who were the chiefs and the a few educated Africans who were notorious for their dishonesty and misinterpretation.

Education is an important indicator of social development. According to Achando (O.I, 2019), there were no schools in the location until 1928 when Usenge School was built. This was corroborated with the archival source (KNA/DC/KSM/1/23/42) which indicate that the Kadimo people had allocated land for the establishment of Usenge secondary school in Yimbo in 1928. This was due to the efforts of Yona Omolo who attended Maseno School and conducted catechism as well as reading lessons in the location and further established education centres in Yimbo Kadimo. This also tallied with archival source that Yona Omolo was appointed by the colonial government as an

inspector of schools in Yimbo and the wider Central Nyanza region (KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/10). This group of mission and government educated men became the dominant architects of politics of representation which remained in their hands even during the postcolonial epoch. Figure 8 shows a group of pupils with their teacher outside a classroom in Central Nyanza District, while figure 9 shows the education logo of Central Nyanza Education Board:



Figure 8: Pupils Outside a Classroom in Central Nyanza District

Source: Luo Cultural Centre, Kisumu (Dated: 1926)

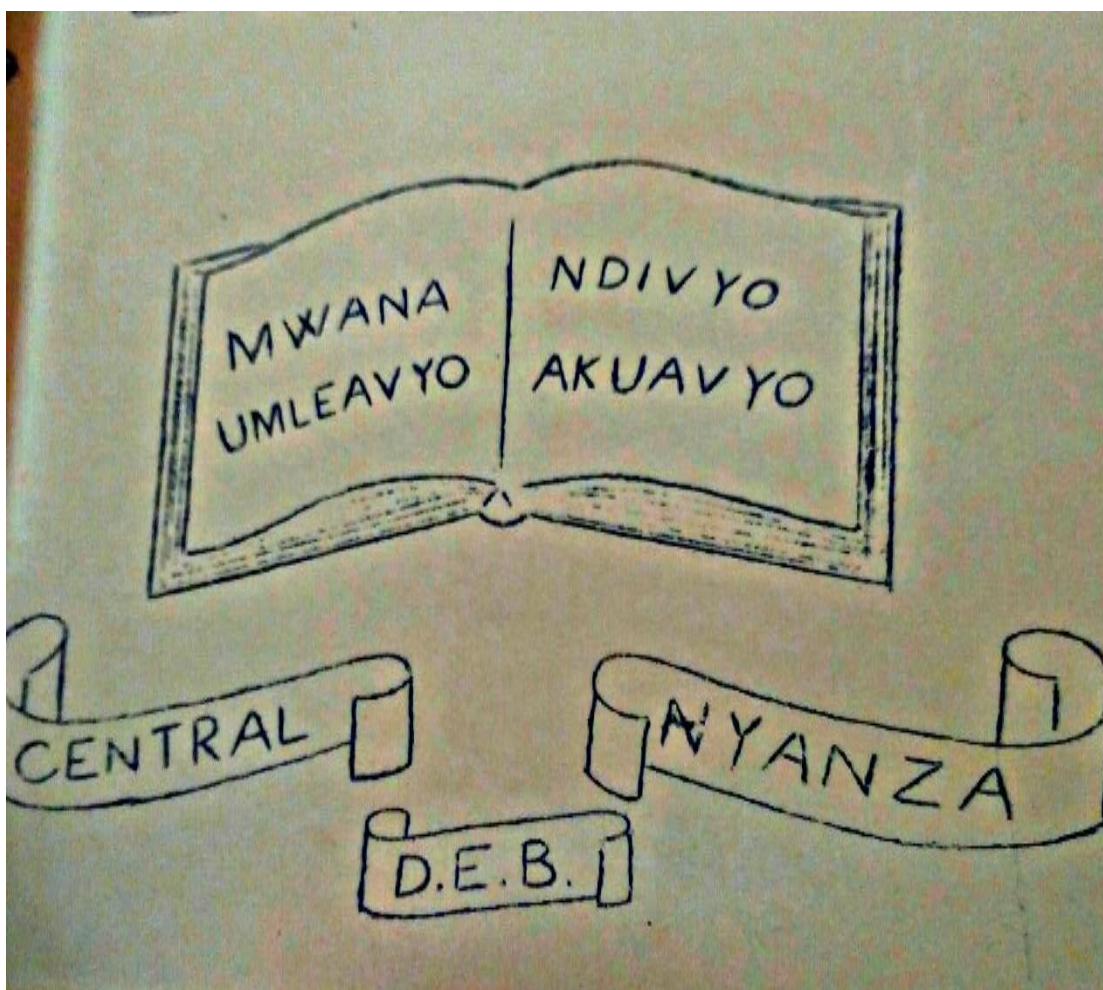


Figure 9: Central Nyanza Education Board Logo.

Source: Kenya National Archives (KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/19)

Some oral respondents (Akoth 2019, O.I), which was ascertained from the archival sources (KNA/DC/CN/1/2/10), there were no health centres among the Kadimo clan during the colonial period. *Jo-Kadimo* hugely depended on the traditional doctors to cure the various diseases that were common in the chiefdom such as stomach aches. The nearest hospital was found in Kisumu where the colonial headquarters for Central Nyanza was situated. Therefore, many people in Kadimo relied on traditional herbs for medicine because these were distant places which they could not access easily. This means that, despite having the colonial appointed chiefs, the Kadimo people were still not able to access medical services within their location. This in turn led to underdevelopment in Yimbo as far as access to modern medical facilities were concerned.

Offences in Kadimo location were punished in various stringent forms. Offences, like stealing, smoking opium, insulting retainers, being involved in a fight or letting cattle into a neighbour's farm, were handled by the chief. The culprits would be fined or caned (Otieno O.I, 2019). The village police who were selected because of their muscular strength; caned the culprits with pride, savagery and satisfaction (KNA/JD/1/477). However, the rich culprits got off very lightly. They could send a young boy with a goat or cow to the chief before the case was heard such that when he came before the chief's court, he would only be warned not to repeat the mistake. After 1915, Africans started getting restless. As Odinga (1967) quotes:

Complaints of harsh treatment by the chiefs and headmen and the District Commissioner began to be seen through government authorities. There was the case for instance of heads of clans who were detained at the administrative headquarters for a week on a charge of slackness and the clan elders who were given stroke on buttocks for each hut on which tax had been ordered to be paid and was overdue. A headman who was reported to have disobeyed an order to bring in porters was forced to carry the load himself, page 24.

The creation of chief's areas of jurisdiction and boundaries of administration constrained African movement from one location to another. Without the knowledge and permission of chiefs and district officers and this in away affected the community's development because of the population pressure. It also means that, to ensure that law and order was adhered to, the chiefs were encouraged by the colonial government to implement the colonial policies among the people they represented by use of every means. Very brutal mechanisms were used to enforce such laws. The police assisted the chiefs in Yimbo in the administration of location. The chiefs who failed to implement such policies were also not spared from the wrath of colonial brutality. Figure 10 shows chief Jacob Opuk of Yimbo from Kadimo clan together with his village police locally called *kanga*.



Figure 10: Chief Jacob Opuk with his village police
Source: Luo Cultural Centre, Kisumu (Dated: 1926)

During World War One (WWI) many people from Nyanza were recruited as carrier corps. Thousands of these African men died during the service from diseases like malaria and smallpox. The situation was not different among the Yimbo people. Presently, the people in Yimbo, look back to this period with a lot of bitterness. When the Second World War (WWII) came in 1939, the Yimbo clans which were non-Kadimo such as Goma, Walowa, Wasenge and Wahundha were thrown into panic because they feared to be recruited into carrier corps like it had happened during the First World War when chief Jairo Okello favoured the Kadimo against other clans. This led to the division of the Nairobi Kadimo Association as the people of Yimbo who were once members of this association broke away and formed Ojwando Association, Nairobi branch. This was after reports reached Nairobi that chief Ezekiel Onyango (1933-1946) from Kadimo clan was only recruiting non-Kadimo youths as carrier corps in the war (KNA/PC/NZA/4/5/2). This means that recruitment process is hugely influenced by the representatives of a society. When such recruitments negatively targeted a particular group against the other, then the two groups will revolt to protect their interests.

The Kadimo chiefdom brought together the many other clan elders in the chief's council and many warriors. In the council called *Buch piny*, the elders discussed the common interests and problems facing the *Jo-Kadimo* as the warriors were useful in fighting the Yimbo neighbours such as *Jo-Sakwa*, *Jo-Alego* and *Jo-Samia* which were considered traditional enemies. The sub-chiefs at the *doho* council also brought many regional clan members to discuss their common interests and problems (Mboya O.I, 2019).

Respondents also indicated that the Kadimo chiefs and other Luo chiefs in the entire Nyanza region were very keen in marrying from the other Bantu clans which they had conquered as they were settling in Yimbo. Intermarriages assisted the chiefs to rule as one great family dynasty with the areas where they married acting as satellites provinces of the Kadimo chiefdom (Masala 2019, O.I). It means that marriage was a very important aspect in leadership and the Kadimo people continued to marry outside their clan. Marrying from different clans enhanced the authority of the chiefs over the people they represented.

Oral tradition, the Kadimo people continued to construct their houses using stick and mud after British invasion of Yimbo. They did not have iron-roofed or bricked wall houses. This means that, even with the coming of the British in Yimbo and the appointment of chiefs, the Kadimo people still lived in their traditional homestead structures.

The study established that protests were not many in the location. However, this study established some few instances of colonial protests in Yimbo. For example, the Yimbo people resisted against the ruthless rule of chief Jacob Opuk. There were also several letters of protests that were written by Yona Omollo from Kanyidoto clan demanding the removal of Kadimo chiefs and the change of the name of the location from Kadimo to Yimbo location. This means that, when people become dissatisfied with the governance of those who represented them, such leaders were resisted.

Chiefs in Kadimo clan also dealt seriously with thefts of all kinds, especially of cattle. During the period under investigation, there were rampant cattle thefts throughout the location and beyond. These are termed "thefts" because people or someone came mainly at night and silently took off with a cow or cows they wanted. The aim was to

sell it somewhere or simply slaughter the animal for meat. It was, therefore, different from cattle rustling or raiding that was a cultural practice among cattle keepers. This could be attributed to high levels of poverty among the taxpayers. Paying tax was enforced by the colonial government through the chiefs, who represented both the people and the colonial government, thereby affecting the social life of the Kadimo people. There was only one single cash crop; cotton, which fetched very little income that could not make ends meet for peasants. People had to pay taxes and feed their children. If they reached a predicament especially when the cotton harvests were poor, people resorted to all sorts of lawlessness that included burglary, gambling, highway robbery, cattle theft and irresponsible drinking (Achando 2019, O.I).

To check these activities, chiefs came up with a series of by-laws. For example, any butcher who intended to slaughter a cow or goat had to get a license and inform the public by having someone to announce by shouting on top of a tree. The announcement told the public that there was going to be the meat of very good quality. The aim was not only to advertise the meat but rather to make sure that no animal was slaughtered stealthily by potential thieves. Besides, the head, the skin and the legs of the slaughtered animal were not to be sold till all the meat was sold off (Opiyo 2019, O.I). This was to allow possible complainants looking for their stolen animal to view “appearance” of the slaughtered animal.

It should, however, be noted that in Kadimo clan, chiefs and elders had to strike a balance of cooperation with colonial authorities especially on issues or policies that overlapped between the colonial and traditional sectors. This included cases of drunkenness, adultery, incest, rape, and domestic violence, violence to parents and women and land disputes. The reason was that colonialism did not destroy all the pre-colonial traditional values which had to operate side by side with those of the colonial masters. This also explains why elders were called upon to assist as court assessors during the judgment of certain sensitive criminal cases. However, the overall opinion of the colonial masters was paramount. It also implies that, even though the natives were given a room to make their decisions, the colonial government could still overturn such decisions made by the traditional institutions of a society.

Ochieng (1975) observes that the personal interests of the rulers (chiefs) must rapidly become identified with those of the controlling power. The force of disorder does not distinguish them and the rulers who will soon recognise that any upheaval against the British would equally make an end of them. Once this community of interests was established, the central government could not be taken by surprise, since it was impossible that the native rulers could not be aware of any disaffection. In line with this, it means that chiefs in Kadimo clan were allocated administrative and judicial powers, financial and material rewards, status and prestige with which they could be used to promote the socio-economic development of the people they represented.

Under the Local Government Ordinance, the chiefs still wielded meaningful power such that every chief administered such protectorate as he was legally competent to administer and in particular, he administered the provision of the Native Authority Ordinance (1949) and any bylaws lawfully made by any District Council. Hence, what the chiefs of Kadimo clan did, such as declaring curfew, inspecting health and sanitation, arresting and prosecuting lawbreakers, were all aspects of exercising the powers devolved to them by the colonial authorities. This means that as a system of chiefship, the Kadimo chiefs were village despot possessing powers built on administrative variant as opposed to the traditional system of leadership.

It should also be pointed out that for the first time, African District Councils (ADC) were established by law and were officially recognised as the basic units of administration so that the 1949 Ordinance was the legal instrument which established “tribal” local governments in Nyanza (KNA/PC/NZA/3/45/12). During the colonial period, the Kadimo people did not have any representation in the Legislative council. This was a state that remained until 1958 when Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (a non-Kadimo) was elected in the LegCo to represent the Central Nyanza region where the Kadimo clan is found. This implies that during the colonial period, the Kadimo clan and the Yimbo people lacked political representation leading to their social, economic and political exclusion from the mainstream of the colonial government administrative structures.

A large number of competing governance structures and the ability to exit puts competitive pressures on the chiefs to provide better governance services to collect payments from the citizens. These mechanisms incentivise governments to provide “good governance” services because chiefs and chiefdoms could lose their members, who were their only sources of revenue (Ochola 2019, O.I). This demonstrates that the interests of the chiefs were tied directly to the ability to satisfy the people they represented. As residual claimants in a competitive political environment, Kadimo chiefs thus faced incentives to remain accountable for their actions.

Chabal (2009) asserts that colonial state evolved a form of governance that paid little attention to accountability and making Africans its subjects with little to say about policies. Traditionally, the colonial system removed the accountability mechanisms that had linked the chiefs and subjects in pre-colonial Africa. Colonially appointed chiefs became auxiliaries of the colonial administration to which they were accountable in the person of the District commissioner. This implies that Africans could not control the behaviour of the chiefs and therefore had no power in deciding on the colonial policies which were implemented by the chiefs.

6.1.2 Economic Development

The economic development in Kenya during the colonial period was only skewed to specific regions especially where the white settlers had settled. White settlement and the massive alienation of the Kenyan land had started as early as 1903. As a result, the notorious system of labour recruitment came into effect. While tropical diseases like malaria, sleeping sickness and poor climate saved the Luo of Nyanza from the systematic alienation of land, Nyanza was thrashed into the largest labour reserve in the country. When voluntary labour was slow, ordinances such as the Master-Servant Ordinance of 1906 were passed to empower the colonial government to exert labour compulsory for public and settler purposes. For instance, the Northey Circular of 1919 demanded the chiefs to encourage their subjects to engage in wage labour. On this, Oginga Odinga (1967) writes:

The District Commissioner issued labour quotas to chiefs and headmen, and the chiefs were turned into labour recruiters. Chiefs were subject to pressure and bribery to exact more and more labour from their areas and recruiting methods became major grievances

among the people. Chiefs or sub-chiefs, issued with orders for labours, arbitrarily picked batches of forty men at a time from the location and had them signed up for six-month contract under which it was a penal offence to decamp, page 36.

The above assertions demonstrate that as representative of their people, the chiefs became the sovereign agents of colonial government in recruiting African labour. The unpopular labour policies which were given to the chiefs by the colonial administrators forced the chiefs to punish any individual who showed contempt to such policies.

The peasants of Yimbo hated to leave their homesteads to provide labour in distant places. They also hated to pay the oppressive hut tax and the poll tax. To avoid payment of hut tax and poll tax, they took the practice of disappearing to the islands of Lake Victoria such as Mageta, Sirimbi, and Lolwe throughout the colonial period. Whenever they heard that the tax collectors or labour conscripts were coming, they would go and hide. On occasions when government motor-boats confined the islands, many would dive and swim around the islands until the motor-boats had left (KNA/DC/CN/1/2/11). Hut tax had started in Nyanza by 1900, and the collection of taxes was done once a year. This tallied with Odinga (1967) that the DC could warn the chief of the day he was coming and the chiefs, their retainers and the assistant collectors could go around collecting taxes from the chiefs and then return to the headquarters. This means that Africans were against the unpopular labour and tax policies of the colonial government enforced on them by the colonial appointed chiefs.

Ochieng and Maxon (1992) observe that forced labour was used and became institutionalised during the first few decades of colonial rule in Kenya. The labour was required to establish foundations of the colonial economy which included the construction of rail lines, roads, dams and bridges as well as administrative centres. The colonial government depended on Africans to provide such labour under no or low wages which were also used by the Africans to pay the colonial taxation imposed on them.

Ochieng (1975) saw taxation as a triple edged weapon: as stimulation to production, as a source of revenue for the support of colonial administration and as a mark of recognition by the community of the protecting power of the colonial state. It was also

a cardinal principle that colonies had to finance their own cost of administration and development. Ochieng further believed that the whole process had to start with politicising the people about it. He observes:

Among unorganised communities, the tax affords a means of creating and enforcing native authority, curbing endlessness and in tribal evolution and hence, it becomes a moral benefit and is justified by the immunity from slavery which the people now enjoy, page 40.

Ochieng (1975) observes that the immediate object of taxation was to provide revenue for government projects and payment of employees. The first official attempt to introduce a more organised system of taxation in Nyanza region was when the District Council appointed a committee which included a location chief, sub-chiefs and representatives of the sub-location council assisted by the village police. This committee was charged with the duty of determining and assessing taxes to be paid by the people.

The assessment on how much tax to pay was made against people's wealth which included domestic animals, acreage of land, number of wives and children and business premises and also the volume of cotton produced by individual farmers. Government poll and education taxes were always automatic for all people and were not included during the assessment structures. According to Okaka (O.I, 2019), the whole system of colonial taxation was resented by the people of Kadimo clan because there were rampant cases of corruption, malice and unfairness based on a personal interest on the side of the chiefs who administered taxation and sometimes, the malice was based on religion. Most of the chiefs were Protestant and it was common to find someone assessed over and above his level of income just because of his religious status. Religious allegiance determined an individual's economic status during colonial times and those who represented the citizens were the architects of this.

The Central Kavirondo Annual report of 1905-1915 shows that there was also the quota system, applied to Districts, Divisions and Sub-divisions. The aim was to reach a specific sum of revenue by making each area pay its specific or maximum share or quota in the form of tax. There was, thus, inherent competition among chiefs of different

areas as they struggled to meet their respective quotas. Instructions given to the District Secretary of the Treasury of Nyanza region in 1959 reads:

The assessment committee must remember that their first aim must be to reach the Kadimo quota. The second aim must be to make the rich men pay more. The third aim is to make the peasants pay sufficient tax.

It therefore, means that these chiefs were merely implementing orders from the colonial masters. The logical consequence was that the chiefs deliberately over-assessed taxpayers to meet their obligatory quotas. In case they failed, they were forced to succumb to scandalous and arbitrary reassessment exercises that turned out to be extremely detrimental to the economic development of the people of Kadimo clan in Yimbo.

In addition to the quota system, there was the method of collecting taxes that aroused wide-spread opposition from the Yimbo communities. One oral source aged 89 years old from Kadimo clan narrated how his only cow which was in-calf was seized in 1958 by chief Blasio Mbira to pay his sixteen-year-old son's tax. The cow was later bought cheaply by the chief. Other respondents across Kadimo clan in Siaya county such as Magak, Adul and Ong'ng'a (O, I, 2019) confirmed and emphasised the unfairness and brutality in tax collection exercise, especially when it came to education tax which was imposed by the District Council. For example, in 1953 a rate of two shillings was fixed for all males above eighteen years and after only one year, a notice was released raising the education tax to five shillings. Finally, in 1957, the education tax was raised to ten shillings and in 1959 to twenty shillings.

The element of unofficial taxation (which was not officially declared by proclamation), was practised in Yimbo. For instance, Mbeki (1984) shows that in South Africa, there were smaller unofficial taxes extorted by chiefs from peasants before granting a permit to cut wood, to cut thatching grass, to brew beer and to hold initiation rites for boys and girls. Besides, individuals had to pay bribes to smaller personalities who would influence the chief to grant the permit.

Cases of corruption in Kadimo location were also reported by a wide range of oral sources. Achando, Ochando, Odhiambo and Jeje (O.I, 2019) recalled a Yimbo chief by the name chief Blasio Mbira who in the 1950s, had the habit of asking tax defaulters to offer him whatever little money they could afford to pay or anything in lieu in form of chicken, a goat or a tin of “Mwenge”, a local alcoholic beverage made from bananas. As he received these items, he would remark, “*Madhi e ich ematek*”, meaning what goes into your stomach is more important than anything else.

Formation of political associations was one of the avenues of new political dispensation in Africa after colonialism. The Kadimo people did not have national political parties, however, at the locational level, they formed two political movements: the Kadimo Association was majorly for the Kadimo clan and the Ojwando Association was for the non-Kadimo clans residing in Yimbo. These two associations divided the location into two variant politic outfits. The Ojwando Association wanted to dethrone the Kadimo clan leadership in Yimbo (Ochanda 2019, O.I). This made the Yimbo people to choose whom to trade with as well as the lands to graze their cattle. This means that political associations determine the economic choice of a people in the society.

In view of the above analysis, it can be assumed that Kadimo clan chiefs were empowered by colonial authorities to implement exploitive tax policies. Therefore, they failed to represent interests of their people effectively and often concentrated their interests and those of their employers. This particular observation was raised by respondent who was a school teacher during colonial time (Ongere 2019, O.I). He decried the faulty tax assessment in which school leavers were assessed seventy-six shillings. This faulty assessment made Africans even poorer because they were forced to part with more than they could afford.

The chiefs were also instrumental in safeguarding wider perspectives of economic development. According to oral respondents, during chief Anam’s rule, only those who had wealth were asked to pay hut and poll taxes. As a result, many people in Yimbo lived free as if the British Administration did not exist, paying no attention and heed to colonial policies and directives. However, chief Jairo Okello was on a sharp variance from his father, Anam as he wanted to prove to *joro chere* that he was capable of being the next chief of Yimbo Kadimo location. Okelo was accused of using his powers to

extort more taxes from the Kadimo people. He was also liable of using the faulty tax register to a mass more wealth apart from being brutal in dealing with tax defaulters and other culprits in Yimbo.

Between 1914 and 1916 not much of the tax collected reached the Central government. The 1916 Central Nyanza District Annual Report accounts for the decrease as follows: it is not possible definitely to state all the poll tax has been collected as it was obtained from a floating population and it is not a very popular tax. The other decrease seems also to have been due to either direct or indirect conditions of the war (KNA/DC/CN3/4/1916). This imply that the District Commissioner for Central Nyanza District concluded that the chiefs were pocketing part of their locational taxes. The District Commissioner, however, recommended closer administration to solve this problem.

The District Commissioner proposed to the Provincial Commissioner that the locations around the Lake Victoria region which were far from the Kisumu be brought together under a paramount chief. He suggested the youthful and good chief, referring to chief Okello of Kadimo or the retired ex-chief of Gem called Ndeda to be made the paramount chief. The paramount chief would administer the Lake locations of Seme, Asembo, Uyoma, Sakwa and Kadimo. The chief was to be supported by a council of an elected representative from each of these locations. However, the Provincial Commissioner did not take up this recommendation (KNA/DC/CN/3/4/16). Figure 11 and 12 show the African District Council Tax and African Poll Tax paid by Mr Achando Badia of Lul village, Kadimo clan in 1952.

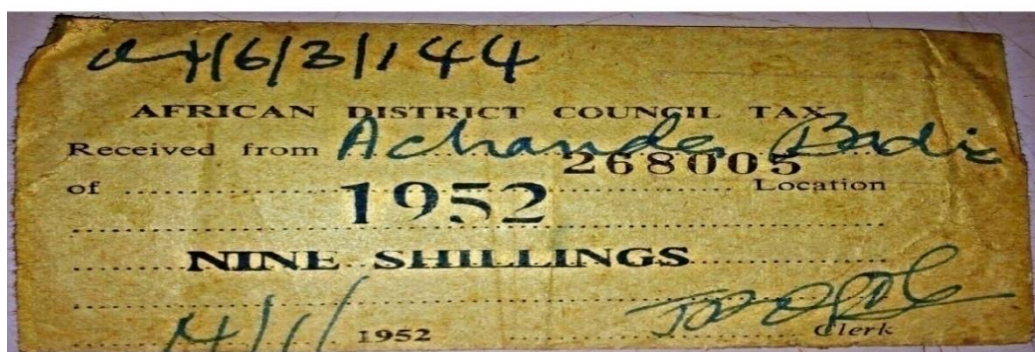


Figure 11: African District Council Tax Receipt

Source: Picture taken by Researcher (2019)

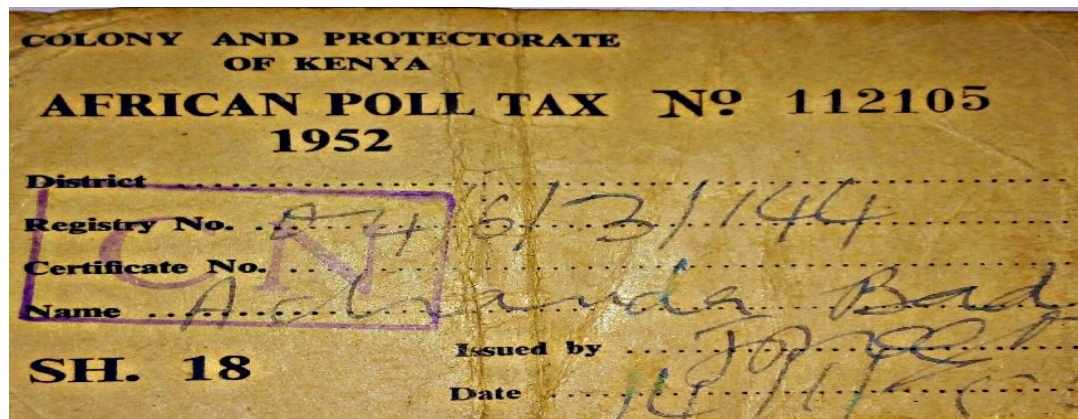


Figure 12: African Poll Tax Receipt

Source: Picture taken by Researcher (2019)

Oral interviews conducted, demonstrate that there was the Yimbo road to be constructed during the colonial period. This road started from Kagolo Awala to Sakwa to Goye. To construct the road, every adult was expected by the chief to turn out once a week for the construction of the road (KNA/DC/KSM/1/30/41). There was also the construction of the Kadimo location chief's camp at Usigu. Each sub-location was to contribute money towards its construction. A market was also to be built at Kadimo Bay today called Oyele. The market allowed traders to rest before going to Uganda. By 1916, Indians had started establishing themselves at Kadimo Bay and had set up shops called dukas. They engaged in thriving trade with the natives in sisal, grain, hides, cotton and fish. Bridges were built at Nyamonye and Goye while other market centres established at Ndhiayo and Nyamonye (KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/9; KNA/PC/NZA/3/14/322).

The Kadimo chiefs dealt with those who were considered to be lazing around and not working in their farms. It was said that in 1916, Anyango wuon Jang'olo had gone to visit his friend Ndigo at Kanyibok a distant place from chief Okello's home. He was intercepted by kanga of chief Okello and was caned for loitering while he should be working in the field. The following day, a mob of over fifty warriors armed with spears and clubs invaded chief Okello's homestead to revenge the humiliation of Anyango wuon Jang'olo. Fracas spurned between this group and the *kanga* of chief Okello. In response, chief Okello appeared with a gun and everybody left in a panic. Archdeacon Walter Owen was very instrumental in introducing new crops in Kadimo and the entire Central Nyanza region (KNA/PC/NZA/4/193). Figure 13 shows Archdeacon Walter Owen talking to Kadimo women near their farm.



Figure 13: Archdeacon Walter Owen talking with Kadimo women near their farm

Source: Luo Cultural Centre, Kisumu (Dated: 1926)

Oral respondents reported that the Kadimo people were involved in trading activities with their neighbouring communities such as Sakwa, Alego and Samia. Specifically, the trade was based on iron items like hoes, spears and axes which were manufactured by the Walowa clan of Yimbo in Bondo sub-county, Siaya county. They also imported iron tools from the Samia; sold fish to the inland Luo of Sakwa and Alego in exchange of grains such as wheat, millet and sorghum (Nyawanga O.I, 2019). The art of pot making, the Goma learnt from the Samia where they were settling before arriving in Yimbo Kadimo. This was supported by archival data that indicated the leasing of plots to Mrs. Motiba Kanji at Kadimo Trading Centre as letters from the DC and PC for Central Nyanza to Mrs Motiba (KNA/PC/NZA/3/14/322) and (KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/9). These trade links were very crucial to the development of the area under study since they were avenues through which the natives paid the taxes to the colonial administration collected by the chiefs.

Leys (1975) aptly observes that colonial economy in Kenya rested on monopolies. For example, there was competition between the Indian importers of consumer goods and

between Indian wholesalers and retailers and between Indian buyers of some lives of peasant produce like cotton and hides. This competition also existed among European importers of machinery and equipment and consumer goods. To summarise this, Leys conclude that Europeans had monopoly over land, agricultural labour through hut and poll tax systems as well as government services and most profitable cash crops like tea. Africans were disadvantaged in these economic monopolies and so were the Kadimo traders.

The oral interviews conducted demonstrate that the effectiveness of colonial local government administration depended largely on a steady flow of income or revenue. The British, therefore, legislated that colonies had to pay for their administration rather than leave the burden to the British taxpayers. This could be done with the full knowledge that all steps taken had to be cautious, with the aim of “developing” the areas they colonised (Owino 2019, O.I). This was part of Ochieng (1973) Dual Mandate theory by which he proposed that instead of selling Africans as slaves, they should be left intact in their original habitat to be used to advance British economic interests. This shows a situation in which the blacks and the whites interacted through an association in which the Whites were on top, and the institutions of the Blacks were not abolished, but incorporated into the structure of a foreign system of government.

The oral interviews conducted reported that the compulsory unpaid labour not only robs the peasants of the meagre monthly income but also saps their energy and their time. The situation in Kadimo-Yimbo also had a negative bearing on gender relations. Wives were forced to cook and bring food to the working teams at the expense of their domestic obligations. Mbilinyi (1974) identifies four types of “cheap” labour systems in response to different kinds of employer demands and different local conditions: migrant, casual, peasant, and family labour. The colonial state in Kadimo-Yimbo intervened in particular ways to support each of these labour systems; for example, by encouraging issues such as customary marriages, inheritance and property systems. All these subsequently helped to reproduce family and peasant labour. There was, therefore, demand for a large reservoir of cheap labour. There were two aspects of labour, the voluntary labour and the “*Amal*” meaning involuntary service. Voluntary labour constituted free movement of people from their areas of origin to other places to sell their labour for cash. This made many people from Kadimo to migrate from the

location as was reported by DC for Central Nyanza, Mr V.M McKeag to the PC for Central Nyanza between 1930 and 1938 (KNA/DC/KSM/1/19/121).

The British introduced cotton farming as a cash crop in Kadimo and physical force and utter violence meted through the chief was used to enforce its production. The chiefs, therefore, provided the much-needed administrative alliance between the people and the colonial state. It therefore meant that chiefs were no longer ordinary members of the community; they were unique and possessing decentralised responsibility and power that prompted them to perform their duties with a high degree of loyalty and confidence. They had wide powers to arrest, execute, torture and even grab property. These coercive functions inevitably had cumulative negative effects on the part of the peasants most of whom were their close relatives and friends. The negative cumulative sentiment was later on demonstrated during the Nyanza region riots of 1960 (Ogola, 1993). Amidst all these, cotton prices were not determined by the growers. They were low and even when they were high, Kadimo clan farmers did not benefit much; instead, most profits were expropriated to benefit the metropolitan countries (KNA/DC/CN/1/6/2).

Maxon quoted in Ochieng (1990) demonstrates that the coming of the British colonial rule altered the traditional patterns of agriculture in Kenya. Kenyan households were brought to a capitalist system by colonialism and also created a form of capitalist agriculture. These had considerable impacts on agricultural African communities. There was coercion of African into labour markets to work in the settler farms. Heavy taxation on Africans were used to provide revenue for transportation and extension services to settler farmers. The government denied African farmers the right to plant high value cash crops. Such policies were implemented at the local level like the Kadimo by the colonial appointed chiefs.

Kadimo chiefs were therefore, village despots, their children received a formal education, their wives were dressed very well and they possessed large and comfortable homes with large granaries full of different kinds of foodstuff. It is not possible to provide all the cases of brutality and unfair treatment meted by the chiefs on their fellow people. However, a few interesting cases were detected during data collection and therefore, deserve to be mentioned.

One respondent, Okumu, a resident of Lul Village, Bondo sub-county, narrated a story in which he had a sick child admitted in Bondo dispensary on Tuesday 30th October 1960. The following day, he was to go and check on the patient. Unfortunately, Wednesday was the official day for compulsory road works by all taxpayers. When he reached the site, he found a sub-parish chief had tied a rope across the road preventing people from passing across. The chief immediately ordered him to get a hoe. Okumu pleaded with the chief in vain. This demonstrates that contempt with which the chiefs were implementing the colonial policies on the people they represented.

Colonial expansion into the area, therefore, meant extending the areas of expansion for an import-export economy which the British wished to enhance to generate revenue. In Kadimo clan, therefore, there was a close link between the colonial administration and economic policies which the chiefs found themselves implementing and promoting. The British realised early enough the need for closer administration and this could only be effected by taking care of important and strategic infrastructure. Thus, roads were constructed to facilitate movement.

6.2 Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that there was the adoption of the Luo language as the main lingua Franca in the entire clan and Yimbo community. The Kadimo were not many in numbers as compared to the other Bantu clans who had settled in Yimbo. *Jo-Kadimo* quickly dispersed themselves among the Bantu clans as they grazed their cattle in open spaces in Yimbo and this made the Luo language to become the official language of trade and general communication that was also used in the chiefs' council during meetings. Use of local language constrained the communication between the colonial administrators and the Kadimo residents due to inconsistencies of interpretation of the chiefs and the educated elites.

There were no schools in the location until 1928 when Usenge School was built. There were no health centres among the Kadimo clan. The Kadimo residents hugely depended on the traditional doctors to cure the various diseases that were common in the chiefdom such as stomach aches. The nearest hospital was found in Kisumu where the colonial headquarters was situated. They continued to use traditional herbs as medicine. The

mission and government educated young men became the leaders and the architect of politics of representation in the location of Kadimo.

Offences in Kadimo location were punished in various stringent forms. Offences, like stealing, smoking opium, insulting retainers, being involved in a fight or letting cattle into a neighbour, were dealt with by the chief. The culprits would be fined or caned. However, the rich culprits got off very lightly. They would send a young boy with a goat or cow to the chief before the case was heard.

Many non-Kadimo residents were recruited as carrier corps by the chiefs during the World War I and II. These people died due to illnesses such as smallpox and malaria. The non-Kadimo clans protested such recruitments. The Kadimo chiefs also married many wives from different clans within Yimbo. This was to enhance his authority in the location since the clan a chief married from acted as a satellite office for his reign.

The peasants of Kadimo clan hated to leave their homesteads to provide labour in distant places. They also hated to pay the oppressive hut tax and the poll tax. To avoid payment of hut tax and poll tax, they took the practice of disappearing to the islands of Lake Victoria such as Mageta, Sirimbi, and Lolwe. This was a practice that the Yimbo people did throughout the colonial period.

The Yimbo residents were required to provide labour in road construction in Yimbo. This road started from Kagolo Awala to Sakwa to Goye. To construct the road, every adult was expected by the chief to turn out once a week for the construction of the road. There was also the construction of the Kadimo location chief's camp at Usigu. Each sub-location was to contribute money towards its construction. They were also to turn out to help in the building. A market was also to be built at Kadimo Bay today called Oyele. There were also cotton seeds and grounds nuts given to the people of Kadimo by the colonial government through the chiefs to plant on their fields.

CHAPTER SEVEN SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1 Summary of the Findings of the Study

This section presents a summary of the findings following the three objectives of the study. The objectives for this study were: to examine the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county from 1896-1963; to determine the new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo from the onset of colonialism and to establish the influence of representative politics on socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan in Siaya county during the colonial period. From the research conducted, the researcher found out the following;

The study's objective one was to examine the evolution of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county from 1896-1963. In this objective, the discussion commenced with findings on the background characteristics of respondents on the context of age in which the youngest respondent was 50 years old while the oldest was 100 years old, gender where 23 of the 30 respondents were men while 07 were female, level of education as of the 30 respondents none had attained PhD or Masters level as 5 respondents had a Bachelor's degree, 2 had diploma and 23 had no certificate, 20 of the 30 respondents interviewed hailed from Kadimo while 10 were non-Kadimo, 20 respondents were in informal employment while 10 were formerly employed and 30 respondents prescribe to Christianity as their religion. This is followed by a brief history of the Kadimo clan in terms of their origin, migration and settlement including their linguistic orientation, social, economic and political organisation. This objective also presents findings on the pre-colonial and colonial history of representative politics of the Kadimo clan.

The researcher established that Kadimo migrated from Padhola to Mur in Alego from where they went and settled in Yimbo. Having arrived in Yimbo, they settled at Misori near Lake Victoria and they had to fight for the land with the initial inhabitants of Yimbo such as Nyinek, Nyiywen, Uhanga, Ulowa, Wasenge, Goma, Ureje, Wawamba, Waluwanga which were all of Bantu origin. In the war Julu, Dimo's son was killed as had been prophesied by *ajuoga*. Having defeated these inhabitants, the Kadimo established their rule over the Yimbo residents with Dimo being their first *ruoth*.

The language of the group is *Dholuo*. Even the other Bantu clans in Yimbo such as Wasenge, Wawamba, Wahumadhi have gradually adapted to speaking *Dholuo*. *Dholuo* is a language spoken by all the *jii* ethnic groups that followed the lake found in South Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya. *Dholuo* could be heard in every corner of Yimbo where the Kadimo grazed their cattle and it was adopted in the chief's council in both pre-colonial and colonial period to conduct meetings.

The researcher found that Kadimo clan lived among themselves and their neighbours based on their religious beliefs, marital customs, burial rites and homestead set up. A homestead called *dala*, a sub-locational unit called *gweng* and wider territory locational unit called *piny*. *Dala* refers to the area enclosed by the fence of a homestead. It is the immediate environment made up of several huts, *kul*, *simba*, *dero* among others.

The Kadimo clan also believed in supernatural beings. Apart from being an ancestor-worshipping clan, they also believed in the existent of a supernatural being called *Nyasaye* (means from one who one can obtain favours of life). At times they also call God, *Were* a term they borrowed from their association with Bantu clans who settled in Yimbo. They also believed in the mystic power of *mireri* who were prophets or diviners that predicted the future.

The Kadimo clan also engaged in various marriage ceremonies which advanced their political representation and marriage ceremonies were also there. *Jo-Kadimo* married outside their clan. Young men were summoned and family members would choose the suitable candidate for marriage. The chosen candidate would then go and look after the herd of the cattle of the whole family. This was to make him be seen by young girls suitable for marriage.

The Kadimo clan had extensive burial and post-burial ceremonies that brought the Yimbo people together when an individual had died. They also had many recreational activities such as drum beating, house building among others. All these enhanced their social history and culture.

The study established that mixed farming and fishing were the main economic activities of the Kadimo residents. They grew crops such as millet, sorghum and kept livestock such as cattle. Those who engaged in fishing caught fish in Lake Victoria. They also practiced trading activities with their neighbours such as Alego and Sakwa and they exchanged items such as pots, basket with the farm items and fish.

It was also established that the first colonial chief in Yimbo was appointed by the colonial government in 1902 when Oloo turned down the offer to be made a chief in Yimbo. Oloo resigned in favour of his brother Anam Osunga who was gazetted as the first colonial chief of Yimbo Kadimo in 1902.

The residents of Yimbo were led by chiefs from the Kadimo clan from the time, the Kadimo had defeated the initial inhabitants of Yimbo. This trend continued during the colonial period when the colonial government appointed a line of Kadimo chiefs from 1902 to 1947 when a non-Kadimo chief was elected to represent the Yimbo people.

It was also demonstrated that, the appointed chiefs faced a lot of opposition from within their location. For instance, there were reported cases where residents of Yimbo conspired to get the incumbent chief be removed from office.

Objective two was to determine new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county from the onset of colonialism. In this objective aspect of the new forms of representative politics among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in Siaya county and political history that is important for understanding their participation in Kenya's nationalist politics during the colonial period were discussed. The people's social and political structures on the eve of the British intrusion from 1896-1963 were examined. This was done in the belief that the phenomenon of colonial politics and nationalist struggle cannot be fully understood and viewed in its proper perspective without paying due regard to the role of such institutions.

The researcher found that, the Kadimo chiefs were more accountable to the Yimbo people during the pre-colonial period than they were during the colonial period. This was because the colonial government strengthened the office of the appointed chiefs

thereby reducing the crucial role of the traditional institutions that had provided checks and balances on the chiefs during the pre-colonial epoch.

It is the finding of the study that the Kadimo chiefs had individuals who assisted in controlling the location. Aspects of crime and justice were well handled in the village courts and the village police enforced rule and law. The chief was the final decision; however, he was conscious of the general feeling of the whole clan before making a judgement since unsatisfying judgement could make him be removed from office.

It is the finding of the researcher that the Kadimo clan did not resist against British colonisation. The British colonisation in Nyanza region encountered minimal resistance from the local population, as time went on and the British punitive expeditions multiplied in other locations of Luo land, particularly in Yimbo, Nyanza region drew appropriate conclusions from the fate of their kinsmen and made their peace without ever having occasioned war.

It was also established that Local Native Councils; African District Councils and the Legislative Councils were established by the colonial government to enhance the African representation in the colonial administrative structure. Despite this, the Kadimo people did not have representations in either of these councils and this perpetuated their lack of political representation during the colonial period.

The finding of the researcher was that for effective political representation, the effectiveness of colonial local government administration depended largely on a steady flow of income or revenue. The British, therefore, legislated that colonies had to pay for their administration rather than leave the burden to the British taxpayers. This could be done with the full knowledge that all steps taken had to be cautious, with the aim of “developing” the areas they colonised. It is also the finding of the researcher on the objective that for coherent political representation, promotion of peace, law and order was an essential aspect among the Kadimo people.

Objective three sought to establish the influence of representative politics on socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan in Siaya county during the colonial period. The findings started with the influence of representative politics on social development

and then concluded by establishing the influence of representative politics of on economic development.

The finding of the researcher is that social development was crucial in the political representation of Kadimo clan, among the social development aspects included the language which the researcher found out that, there was the adoption of the Luo language as the main lingua Franca in the entire clan and Yimbo community. The Kadimo were not many in numbers to the other Bantu clans such as Wasenge, Wawamba, Wahumadhi and Waluwanga who had settled in Yimbo and since they were nomadic pastoralists, they quickly dispersed themselves among the Bantu clans as they grazed their cattle in open spaces in Yimbo speaking in *Dholuo*. Within a short period, the Luo language was being heard in every corner of Yimbo. The language became prominent in Yimbo as it was used in the chief's council and hence it was made the official language in Yimbo.

The finding of the researcher is that, there were no schools in the location until 1928 when Usenge School was built. The researcher found that offences in Kadimo location were punished in various stringent forms. Offences, like stealing, smoking opium, insulting retainers, being involved in a fight or letting cattle into neighbours, were dealt with by the chief. The culprits would be fined or caned. The retainers who were selected because of their muscular strength and red eyes caned the culprits with pride, savagery and satisfaction.

To protect their political interest, the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, the researcher found that, the clan prohibited marriage from among its members. They, therefore, forged marriage alliances with the Bantu clans of Yimbo. Specifically, the Kadimo chiefs were very keen on marrying from the other Bantu clans like Wawamba and Walowa which they had conquered as they were settling in Yimbo. Intermarriages assisted the chiefs to rule as one great family dynasty with the areas where they married acting as satellites provinces of the Kadimo chiefdom.

The finding of the researcher was that there were no health centres among the Kadimo clan. They still hugely depended on the traditional doctors to cure the various diseases that were common in the chiefdom such as stomach aches. The nearest hospital was

found in Kisumu where the colonial headquarters was situated and this was still far from Kadimo and the Yimbo community.

Offences in Kadimo location were punished in various stringent forms. Offences, like stealing, smoking opium, insulting retainers, being involved in a fight or letting cattle into a neighbour, were dealt with by the chief. The culprits would be fined or caned. The retainers who were selected because of their muscular strength and red eyes caned the culprits with pride, savagery and satisfaction. However, the rich culprits got off very lightly. They would send a young boy with a goat or cow to the chief before the case was heard.

The finding of the researcher was that, during the World War I (WWI) between 1914-1919 many people in Nyanza were recruited as carrier corps. Thousands of these African men died during the service from diseases like malaria, smallpox, among others. Back in Yimbo, they look back to this period with a lot of bitterness. They accused chief Jairo Okello Anam of protecting the youths of his Kadimo clan and only recruited from non-Kadimo clans such as Wanyenjra, Wahundha, Wasenge and Goma. When World War Two broke chief Ezekiel Onyango was also dismissed by the DC after complaints that he was targeting non-Kadimo clans in the recruitment of carrier corps.

It is the finding of the researcher that, Kadimo chiefdom brought together the many other clan elders in the chief's council and many warriors. In the council called *Buch piny*, the elders discussed the common interests and problems facing the *Jo-Kadimo* as the warriors were useful in fighting the Yimbo neighbours such as *Jo-Sakwa*, *Jo-Alego* and *Jo-Samia*. The sub-chiefs at the *doho* council also brought many regional clan members to discuss their common interests and problems.

The finding of the researcher was that, the Kadimo people continued to construct their houses using stick and mud. They did not have iron-roofed or bricked wall houses. Still, male Kadimo clan members who reached a certain age, married or unmarried were expected to have their hut. A young man would build his first hut called *simba*. This signified a sense of identity and maturity. Even the women married would be proud of such a man.

Among economic activity of the Kadimo clan was fishing, which was a very important aspect of their economy. The early settlers had no fishing lines or nets. They used sharp sticks called *Mulo* and at times baskets called *Ohunga* were used for fishing. Later, they introduced the use of *Kwira* which were long woven reeds; these are still used today by some fishermen at Goye and Majimbo. The fishermen caught fish including *Ngege*, *Kamongo*, *Seu*, *Fulu*, *Suma*, *Huan*, *Ninge* and *Mumi*.

According to oral interviews conducted, there was the Yimbo road to be constructed. This road started from Kagolo Awala to Sakwa to Goye. To construct the road, every adult was expected by the chief to turn out once a week for the construction of the road. There was also the construction of the Kadimo location chief's camp at Usigu. Each sub-location was to contribute money towards its construction.

7.2 Conclusions of the Study

From this research we conclude that Yimbo was first occupied by Cushitic speakers and later by the Bantu civilisation in the pre-colonial period. These initial Cushitic and Bantu groups came from the islands of Lake Victoria such as Mageta and Lolwe. This means that Yimbo was one of the most important settlement areas in Nyanza region before the arrival of the Kadimo. The Kadimo clan led by Dimo invaded Yimbo where they drove away these initial inhabitants of Yimbo. However, there are other clans of Luo origin such as Kowil and Wanyenjra as well as those of Bantu descent and migrants from Buganda kingdom residing in Yimbo. Between 1880 and 1905 many people died in Yimbo due to sleeping sickness and dysentery and between 1890 and 1897, the Yimbo people experienced two great famines which had great influence in their population as well as their future political relations from within and with the colonial government as well as with their neighbouring communities. The Kadimo clan has had the most effects on the political organisation of Yimbo people since the pre-colonial period and this created great rivalries between themselves and the non-Luo clans living in Kadimo location under the Ojwando Association. In 1947 the Ojwando clans defeated the Kadimo clan in the election of a chief and for the first time, a non-Kadimo chief was elected to represent the Yimbo clans. This was chief Blasio Mbira of Wanyenjra clan in Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county.

The peasants of Yimbo hated to leave their homesteads to provide labour in distant places. They also hated to pay the oppressive hut tax and the poll tax. To avoid payment of hut tax and poll tax, they took the practice of disappearing to the islands of Lake Victoria such as Mageta, Sirimbi, and Lolwe. This was a practice that the Yimbo people did throughout the colonial period. Whenever they heard that the tax collectors or labour conscripts were coming, they would go and hide.

It also observed and concluded that Kadimo clan chiefs were empowered by colonial authorities to implement very fake, arbitrary and exploitive tax policies. By this act, they demonstrated that they were no longer representing the interests of their people, but rather, their interests and those of their employers. There were many cases of such physical and verbal confrontations because the local chiefs were using their acquired authority over their people.

It should also be pointed out that for the first time, District councils were established by law and were officially recognised as the basic units of administration so that the 1949 Ordinance was the legal instrument which established “tribal” local governments in Nyanza. Chiefs were not only respected because they were imposed on the people in Nyanza region. They were also not respected because some of them took advantage of their position to exploit their subjects.

Indeed, colonial rule in Yimbo threw the Kadimo clan into a very confusing state. Having established their rule over the Bantu clans; Walowa, Wasenge, Wahundha, through wars of conquest, *Jo-Kadimo* would have resisted European invasion of their *ruothdom* based on their pre-colonial wars of conquest. However, several reasons were given for their collaboration. First, they had heard of the news of brutal pacification of *Jo-Seme*, *Jo-Uyoma* and *Jo-Ugenya* by the British before Sir. Charles William Hobley arrived in Yimbo Kadimo. Second, the Kadimo clan knew that if they resisted the British, the other non-Kadimo clans and Bantu clans would collaborate with the enemy - British.

Hence the researcher can conclude that the history of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo can be traced from the period 1896 when the British wanted to appoint the first colonial chief from the Kadimo clan to represent the Yimbo people and

this altered the social, political and economic structures of the Kadimo clan at the local level. As time went by new forms of representative politics emerged among the Kadimo clan of Yimbo after 1896 and that representative politics have affected socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan in Siaya county.

7.3 Suggestions for Further Research

In the course of the study more virgin areas were uncovered for further research on the Kadimo clan. Researchers can therefore conduct:

- i. A comparative study of the history of women and politics in Kadimo clan during the colonial and post-colonial periods.
- ii. A study on the new forms of representative politics in post-colonial era.
- iii. A study on the role of assistant chiefs on the socio-economic development of the area of study should be conducted.
- iv. A study on socio-cultural relations of the Yimbo clans in Siaya county, Kenya.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Data from the Kenya National Archives

KNA/DC/CN/1/1/10 Oginga Odinga letter to DC Central Nyanza on the formation of Central Nyanza District Council, 1955.

KNA/DC/CN/1/2/10 Central Nyanza District Annual Reports 1958.

KNA/DC/CN/1/2/11 Central Nyanza District Annual Reports 1958-1959.

KNA/DC/CN/1/5/2 Annual Reports, Kisumu District 1919-1923.

KNA/DC/CN/1/5/3 Confidential Reports on chiefs in Nyanza.

KNA/DC/CN/1/6/1 Kavirondo District Annual Report 1924-1931.

KNA/DC/CN/1/6/2 Annual Reports, Kavirondo District 1932-1934.

KNA/DC/CN/3/1 Central Kavirondo Political Record Book (Historical and Customs) 1936-1938.

KNA/DC/CN/3/1/13 Annual Report, 1913.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/10 Rev. Yona Omollo Ramogi letter to DC Central Nyanza, dated 20th August 1954.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/103 Mr T.A Watts DC Central Nyanza to chairman Oboch primary and Maseno intermediate Schools, dated 26th August 1954.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/110 DC Central Nyanza to D.O of Bondo on Oboch School dated 29th July 1955.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/113 Mr J.M Normand DC Central Nyanza; on Oboch school dated 4th August 1955.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/4 Mr V.M McKeag DC Central Nyanza to PC Nyanza on the status of funding Nomiya Luo Mission Schools dated 23rd, February 1932.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/6 Letter from DC Central Kavirondo to the inspector of schools dated 29th March 1933.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/7 Letter from the inspector of schools to DC Central Nyanza dated 7th April 1933.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/10/45/9 Education Department Inspection Report, dated 30th May 1933.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/19/121 Mr V.M McKeag letter to PC Nyanza on the migration of the Luo from Kadimu to Kabras, 1930-1938.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/23/42 Report on the allocation of land for the establishment of Usenge secondary school.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/29/15 Control of tsetse fly outbreak in Kadimo, Central Nyanza.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/30/41 Establishment of location centre/chiefs camp in Yimbo, Kadimo.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/30/50 Water supply in Nyanza.

KNA/DC/KSM/1/31/62 Chiefs and Headmen in Central Nyanza.

KNA/DC/KSM/7/57 Annual Report, 1959-1960.

KNA/JD/1/297 Judicial Reports 1908, 1909.

KNA/JD/1/474 Judicial Reports 1909.

KNA/PC/ NZA/2/2 Annual Reports, 1910.

KNA/PC/NZA/2/3 Annual Reports, 1905-1915.

KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/265 Central Nyanza (African District Councils) 1953-1955.

KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/272 Central Nyanza (African District Councils) 1955-1957.

KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/273 Central Nyanza (African District Councils) 1956-1958.

KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/9 Lease of land by Mr Sidney Herbert Fazan PC Nyanza to Mrs Motiba Kanji at Kadimo Trading Centre, 1940-1950.

KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/9 Legislative council: election and nomination of members, 1919.

KNA/PC/NZA/3/14/322 Mr C.F Atkins PC Nyanza letter to DC Central Nyanza on the lease of plots No. 16 and 17 at Kadimu Trading Centre, 1937-1951.

KNA/PC/NZA/3/45/12 District Intelligence Reports, 1930-1931.

KNA/PC/NZA/4/19/3 Central Nyanza (African District Councils) 1951-1956.

KNA/PC/NZA/4/19/3 Disposal of district vehicles and writing off of stolen goods at Akala Dispensary on 12th November 1955.

KNA/PC/NZA/4/19/3 Membership to the African District Council for Central Nyanza.

KNA/PC/NZA/4/19/3 Political activities of the church missionary society in Nyanza: Interview of chief Ogada of Central Kavirondo.

KNA/PC/NZA/4/5/2 Nyanza Provincial Intelligence Report, 1936-1938.

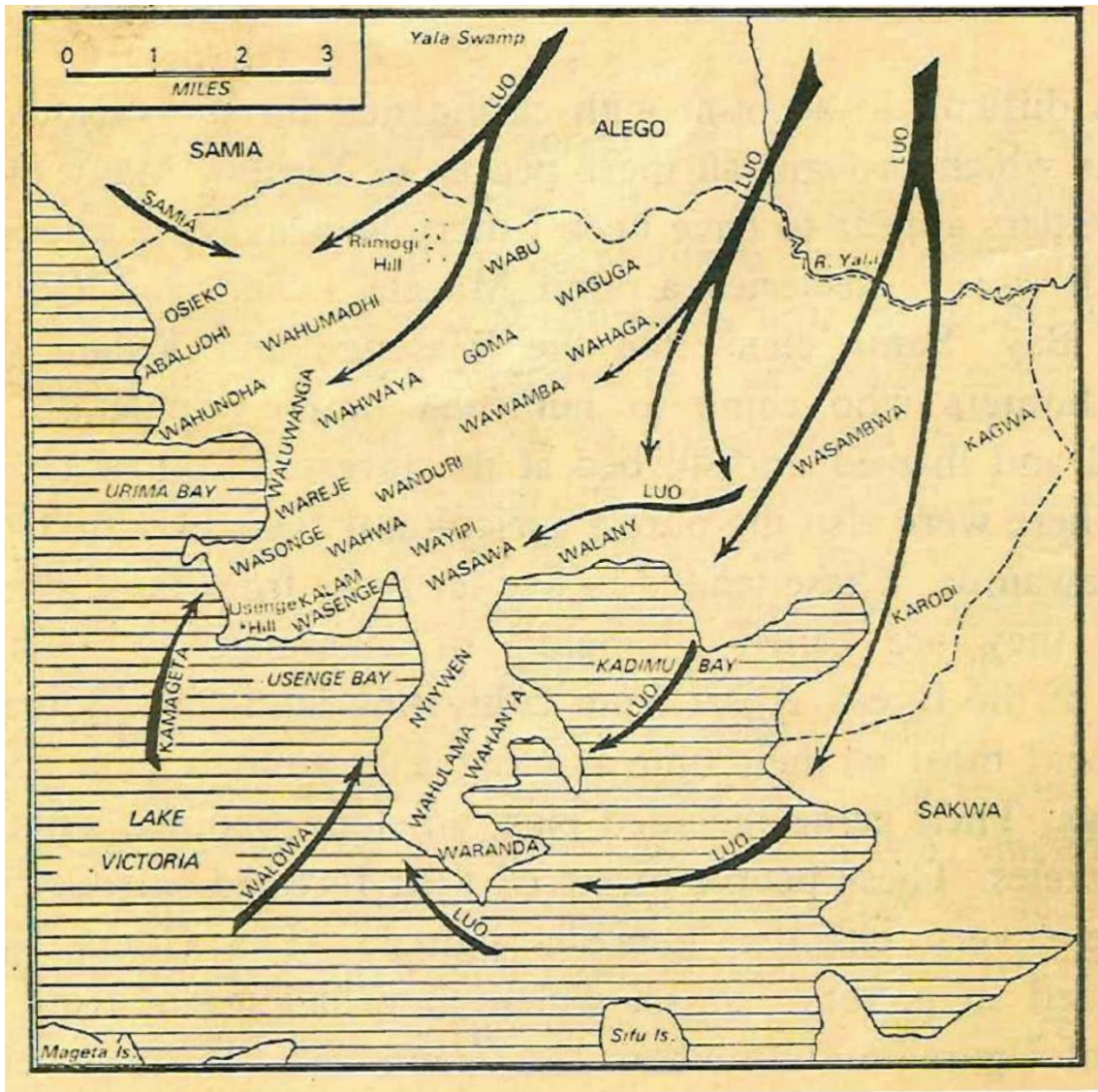
KNA/PC/NZA/4/5/6 Central Nyanza (District Education Board) 1959-1961.

KNA: PC/NZA/2/3 Annual Reports (political records) 1908-1913.

Appendix II: List of People Interviewed

Respondents' Name	Sex	Date Interviewed	Place of Interview
Thomas Achando	Male	26 th April 2019	Usigu
John Ongere	Male	24 th April 2019	Usigu
Simon Ochanda	Male	23 rd April 2019	Usenge
Fredrick Outa	Male	18 th April 2019	Nyamonye
James Ndiege	Male	28 th March 2019	Nyamonye
Susana Jeje	Female	26 th March 2019	Majimbo
Sylfanus Adul	Male	26 th March 2019	Majimbo
Beatrice Magak	Female	24 th March 2019	Osieko
Roselida Akoth	Female	24 th March 2019	Usenge
George Opiyo	Male	15 th March 2019	Usigu
Robert Ong'ong'a	Male	15 th March 2019	Usigu
Simon Odhiambo	Male	10 th March 2019	Bondo
Jael Odongo	Female	5 th March 2019	Akado
James Mboya	Male	5 th March 2019	Akado
Magret Odima	Female	3 rd March 2019	Asembo
George Okaka	Male	3 rd March 2019	Asembo
John Adora	Male	1 st March, 2019	Asembo
Mary Akoth	Female	5 th May 2019	Akala
Kennedy Onyango	Male	7 th May 2019	Misori
Isaiah Ochola	Male	9 th May 2019	Got Ramogi
Rhoda Okumu	Female	9 th May 2019	Got Ramogi
Simon Otieno	Male	15 th June 2019	Kisumu
Reuben Masala	Male	18 th June 2019	Kisumu
Jeremiah Ratego	Male	13 th May 2019	Mahanga
Cleophus Owino	Male	13 th May 2019	Mahanga
Isaac Ogwo'ng	Male	13 th May 2019	Mahanga
Meshack Odima	Male	2 nd July 2019	Othach
Mourice Ombima	Male	2 nd July 2019	Othach
Stephen Akoth	Male	4 th July 2019	Sakwa
James Nyawanga	Male	4 th July 2019	Sakwa

Appendix III: Map Showing the Settlers and Invaders of Yimbo



SOURCE: OCHIENG W.R (1975)

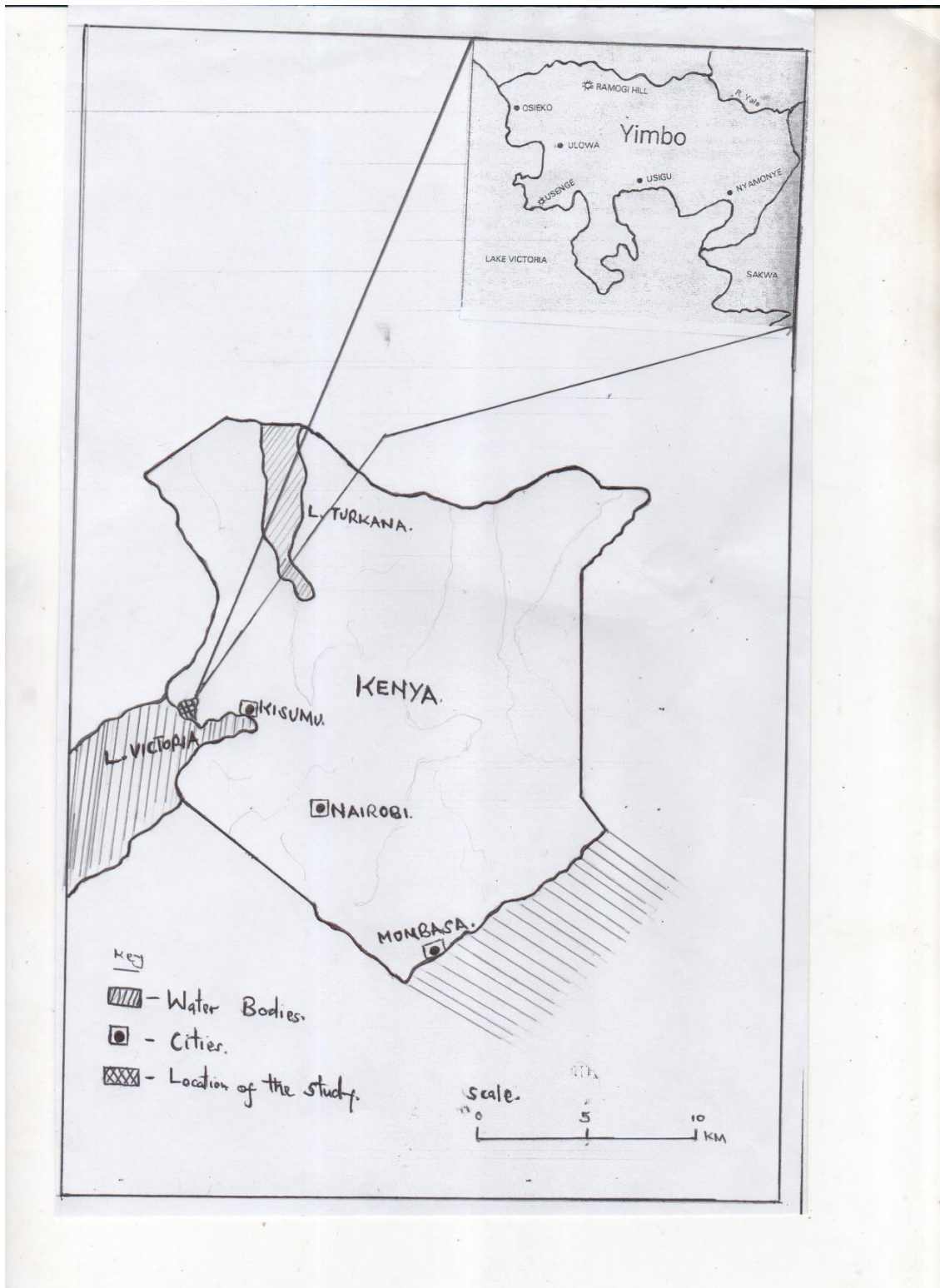
Appendix IV: Map of Luo Land

Map of Luo Land



SOURCE: MAPTRACK.COM

Appendix V: Map of Kenya Showing Location of Yimbo



Appendix VI: Researcher's Self-Introductory Letter

RICHARD OLWANDE ODO
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES
CHUKA UNIVERSITY
P.O BOX 109-60400
CHUKA, KENYA.

Dear Respondent.

RE: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR DATA COLLECTION.

I am Richard Olwande Odo, Registration No. AM14/29053/16. I am a bonafide student of Chuka University undertaking MA History. Currently, I am conducting a research a history of representative politics and the socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo, Usigu division, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya between 1896 and 1963. Kindly take your valuable time and assist me with this information. The information given will be strictly used for research and academic purpose.

Yours sincerely,

Richard Olwande Odo
Chuka University

Appendix VII: Interview Schedule on the History of Representative Politics and the Socio-Economic Development

The following interview schedule will be used to generate data on the evolution of representative politics, new forms of representative politics and socio-economic development of the Kadimo clan in Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya county, Kenya between 1896 and 1963.

Section A. Background of the Respondent.

1. Indicate your age (in years)
2. Indicate your gender. **(please tick () appropriately in the box provided)**
 - i. Male
 - ii. Female
3. What's your level of education? **(please tick () appropriately in the box provided)**
 - i. PhD
 - ii. Masters
 - iii. Bachelor
 - iv. Diploma
 - v. Certificate
 - vi. Any other _____
Specify _____
4. What is your residence _____
5. What is your occupation _____
6. Indicate your clan _____

Section B. History of Representative Politics of the Kadimo clan in Yimbo, Bondo sub-county in Siaya County from Pre-colonial to Colonial Period.

1. Describe the origin, growth and development of representative politics of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo between 1896 and 1963?
2. What were the qualifications to be appointed as a chief in Yimbo between 1896 and 1963?

Section C. New Forms of Representative Politics from the Onset of Colonialism

1. How were the chiefs appointed among the Kadimo clan between 1896 and 1963?
2. How were the protests organised and contained among the Kadimo clan between 1896 and 1963?
3. How were the Kadimo clan represented in the Legislative Council between 1896 and 1963?
4. What were some of the political associations/parties formed by the Kadimo clan between 1896 and 1963?
5. How were campaigns done to appoint representatives among the Kadimo clan between 1896 and 1963?
6. How were democratic elections held in Kadimo clan of Yimbo between 1896 and 1963 conducted?

Section D. Influence of Representative Politics on the Socio-economic Development

1. To what extent was non-representation of the Kadimo clan of Yimbo in politics responsible for the development of the area between 1896 and 1963.
2. How would you describe the contribution of lack of political representation to the underdevelopment of the area between 1896 and 1963?

Appendix VIII: Glossary of Luo Words

Ajua: Pebble

Ajuoga: Magician.

Akumba: A Temporary Hut.

Amen: Wrestling

Buch Oganda Ruoth: Cabinet

Buch Piny: Territorial Council

Bul: Drum.

Bur Dimo: Dimo's Hole.

Chieng Tugo: Merry-Making

Chieno: Traditional Girdle.

Chot Chuny: Death

Dala: Homestead.

Dero: Granary.

Dholuo: Luo Language.

Dhoot: Door Exit or Entrance

Doho: Court

Duok Wagogni: Return of The Female Relatives.

Erokamano: Thank You

Goyo Nduru: Piercing Cry Made by Women to Announce Death

Gwend Magenga: Cock Eaten at Midnight for Burial Ritual.

Gweng: Village.

Hududu Fuong: An Empty Thing

Jabilo: Medicine Man.

Jachomo: Physiotherapist

Jarachar: Whiteman

Jo-Kogwong: People of Gwong.

Jo-Mur: People of Mur.

Jo-Samia: People of Samia.

Jo-Seje: People of Seje.

Jothum: Musicians

Jo-Uludhi: People of Uludhi.

Kanga: Police Force

Kong Kee: Dispersal Beer.

Kong Oseke: Local Brew Drunk Using A Long Wooden Straw.
Kul: Cow Shed.
Kunyo Bur Kod Yiko: Digging of Grave and Burial.
Kuodi: Shield
Kwere: Ancestors
Liedo: Shaving
Luokruok Aora: Bathing at The River.
Manyasi: Ritual Medicine.
Maugo: Tsetse Fly
Mboko: Musical Interlude in Which Small Group of Girls Are Encouraged by Musician to Display their Dancing Skills.
Mikayi: First Wife.
Mireri: Prophets
Mruka: Special sub-chief
Mula: A Brass Hamlet.
Nalo: Metal Bangles
Ndwira: Wedding Songs
Nyachira: Second Wife
Nyakwaro: Grandson
Nyamrerwa: Female Ritual Specialist
Nyasaye Ogwedhu: God Bless You.
Nyasaye: God
Nyatiti: Lyre
Nyono: Dance
Ogaka: Aloe Vera
Ogaye: A Leader.
Ojuok: Euphorbia
Okola: Symbolic Skirt.
Osuri: A Hosted Tree on Top of The First Wife Hut.
Piedho: Sorting Food Crops
Piny: Earth or Planet.
Por: Eloping
Rangach: Gate.
Reru: Third Wife

Reyo: Daubing

Rot: A Gap in The Fence.

Ruoth: Chief

Sigweya: Traditional Chants

Simba: The First Hut for A Son

Tero Buru: Ceremony Done to The Bereaved Family, Adorned with Ash and Leaves Carrying War Shields and Driving Cattle Before Them.

Tero Chola Thurgi Mikayi: Taking the Funeral Rites Taboos to The Parents of The First Wife.

Tero Mon: Wife Inheritance

Tong: Spear.

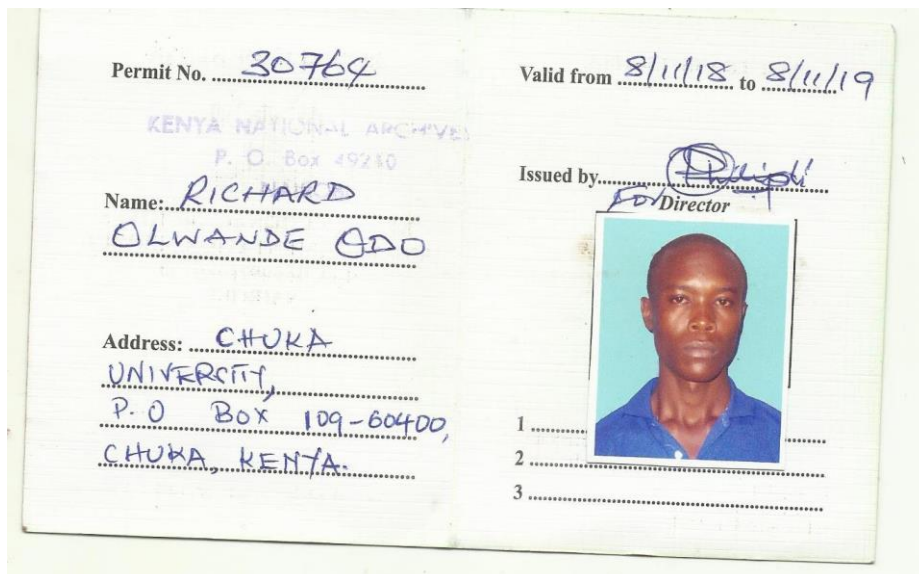
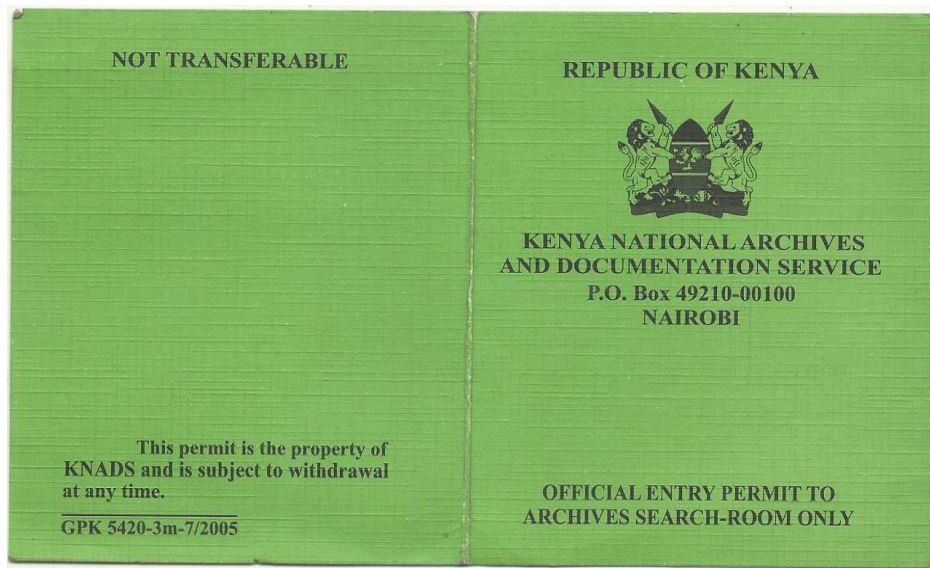
Tuk Gedo: House Building Game

Tung Dhiang: Cow's Horn


Tuoro: Sisal

Wayu: Aunt

Appendix IX: Researcher's Kenya National Archives Official Entry Permit to Search-Room



Appendix X: Research Permit from NACOSTI

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 272057	Date of Issue: 09/January/2020
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
<p>This is to Certify that Mr.. RICHARD OLWANDE of Chuka University, has been licensed to conduct research in Siaya on the topic: HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS OF THE KADIMO CLAN OF YIMBO IN SIAYA COUNTY, KENYA, FROM 1902-1963. for the period ending : 09/January/2021.</p>	
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<p>NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.</p>	