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TOPIC: ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KENYA: A CASE

STUDY OF THE NANDI 1962 -2012

BY

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DECLARATION

The Candidate:

I solemnly swear that this research paper is my original work and has not been presented for an award in any university.

FREDRICK KIPKOSGEI MUTAI

Sign………………………

Date..

The Supervisor:

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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Sign..

Date………………………….

DEFENCE STAFF COLLEGE

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my loving wife Rosaline and our sons Shadrack, Hosea and Brian who gave me support, inspiration, encouragement, understanding and appreciation of the intricacies involved during preparation of the paper, and for their patience during my absence.

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research study paper is to determine the role of the Nandi community as a strong political participant in Kenya's politics and secondly I intend to create the judgment based on retrospective historical trends of their conflict oriented reaction to political activity outcomes.

The Nandi are a sub-group of the Kalenjin-speaking ethnic community found in East Africa. Their dialect of Kalenjin is classified in the Nilotic branch of the Nilo-Saharan language family. In Kenya they inhabit the western highlands counties of Nandi, Uasin-Gishu, Trans-Nzoia, Nakuru and parts of Narok. Before British colonization they were sedentary cattle-herders. Their settlements were more or less evenly distributed rather than being grouped into villages. Like other Nilotic peoples they were noted warriors.

The community affairs were run through the council of elders in consultation with the seer or prophet. The nation-state of the Nandi was not only a territorial entity associated with nation of Nandi. It was sovereign as well. They had all the attributes of any state. The coming of the British interfered with this simple political infrastructure to their advantage. Fifty years of British Nandi coexistence overshadowed the political ambitions of the Nandi for armed political freedom from the British. The incomplete dominance by the colonialists allowed the Nandi some room for their economic subsistence through herding in the native reserves. This pseudo conflict management did not last and the community joined other Kenyans in clamouring for self-rule albeit at very late stage. After independence the community continued to search for suitable political vehicle that offered stable political participation in national affairs. Since independence the Nandi have been members of four prominent political parties in Kenya. Many scholars have written about the political behaviour of the Kalenjin people. However, there is little literature explaining these people's political participation. This research paper will attempt to fill this existing gap.

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CHAPTER ONE: ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KENYA

A HISTORICAL CASE STUDY OF THE NANDI

1.1   Introduction

The Nandi community has practiced ethnic politics since time immemorial, a practice that was used effectively against neighbouring communities. This practice was pronounced when they resisted the British occupation between 1896 and 1905 and later cooperating with them after their defeat in order to preserve the Nandi nation-state. The community applied peaceful terms during the great inter-wars era until very late in the run up to the pre-independence crisis when it realized that it needed to be part of the struggle for the country's self-rule. It strategically allied itself with the minority communities fearing losing its identity in the central government led by the bigger communities. However, it joined mainstream political parties when it emerged that it was advantageous to them. Through the five decades of Kenya's history, the Nandi have made remarkable contribution in the following political parties: the Kalenjin Alliance Party (KAP) during the Uprising period, Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) from pre-independence up to 1964, Kenya African National Union (KANU) from 1964 to 2012, Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) from 2002 to 2012 and United Republican Party (URP) from 2011 to date. There is also some form of relationship between the community's leadership and voting pattern along the political parties. This research paper seeks to analyze this trend.

Political participation is described as one of the basic conditions of functioning democracy and the quality of democracy and its ability to connect citizens with the political leaders has become an important political issue in today's society. The opening argument of this research paper asserts that current political participation research has not offered a satisfying

answer to the question presented about the Nandi community. It appears that ethnicity is a universal cradle of Nandi civility. It has socialized them in equality in local ways. It has also naturalized their equal societal discipline, productive, moral straightness and parent face value. Cultural festivals often bear a double meaning of celebratory and subversive. This universally lived ethnicity in all its forms has no necessary connection with political mobilization.

1.2   Political-Social-Cultural History of the Nandi

The Nandi[1] are a sub-group of the Kalenjin-speaking people who inhabit mainly Kenya and eastern part of Uganda. In Kenya they mainly inhabit the counties of Nandi, Uasin-Gishu, Trans-Nzoia, Nakuru and parts of Narok. Their dialect is classified in the Nilotic branch of the Nilo-Saharan language family though distinct from the Nande of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Nandi are primarily intensive cultivators with their major subsistence crops being millet, maize, and sweet potatoes with cash crops being tea, flowers and coffee. They are also notable herders. Cattle, sheep and goats serve many functions such as providing food, bride-price payments and holding great ritual significance.

Before British colonization they were nomadic cattle-keepers and practiced agriculture. Their settlements were more or less evenly distributed rather than being grouped into villages. Like other Nilotic people the Nandi were noted fierce warriors. They traditionally practiced circumcision of both sexes as initiation into adulthood. Boys' circumcision festivals took place every seven and a half years. Boys circumcised at the same time belonged to the same age-set. These age sets called *ibinda, pl. ibinwek* were given names from a limited fixed cycle. Each age

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[1] Henry A. Mwanzia. A History of the Kipsigis. East Afirica Litretrature Bureau, 1977.pp 1-89.

set [2] was further subdivided into a sub-set named *siritiet, (pl. siritoik)*. There was age-set generational change every four years and generational change every fifteen to twenty years marked by festivals. This was the time previous generation officially handed over defence of the community to the newly circumcised youths. This kind of arrangement ensured a generational leadership change that was adopted and respected without political participation. Girls' circumcision took place in preparation for marriage. The ceremonies had no impact on the daily activities except for marrying families.

The nation-state was divided among seventeen Patri-lineal and exogamous clans dispersed throughout Nandi territory. The most important traditional socio-political-cultural groups were the age-sets to which every male belonged to one from birth. The Nandi age grade system is of the cyclical type, with seven named grades covering approximately fifteen years each thus a single full cycle goes for hundred and five years. Men progressed through the warrior grades and upon entering the grade of elder could hold political and judicial authority. No political authority transcended this local council of elders. The community was generally polygamous as the rule with substantial bride-price in livestock accepted. Nandi society was by tradition democratic. But the colonialists understood little of the Nandi notwithstanding the fact that they had administered their territories for decades. Available books and papers published as at that moment on the language and customs of the Nandi people had little political knowledge as alluded by Hobbs who was a colonialist administrator in the early 20th century.[3]

[2] Were G S .East Africa through a thousand years: A history of the years AD 1000 to the present day, pp 49-211. Africana publishing company, 1987. Indiana University, USA.
[3] Hobbies explaining the little political knowledge of the Nandi people by early 20th century found in http://archive.org/stream/cu31924029888777/cu31924029888777_djvu.txt "the Nandi, their language and folk-lore accessed on 24 Feb 13.

1.3 Social Organization

The Nandi have had a well structured political system[4] revolving around the Nandi clan or *Bororiet*. Within each *Bororiet* were *siritoik* or *sub-bororiet*. No other Kalenjin community organized themselves in the *Bororiet* (pl. *bororiosiek*) system. The political life was ordered around *bororiet* which is distinctly different from *oreet* (clan) but is an expanded form of the advanced order of the *kokwet* or village system. People could and still change *bororiet* without necessarily changing their *oreet*. This is where I consider *bororiet* as a form of a political party. For example, if one's family lived in one *bororiet* but was haunted by repetitive deaths that pointed to a curse, a ceremony was performed to allow the family to change their *bororiet*. People changed *bororiet* as a result of migration to another region. Another instance of change of *bororiet* is a shameful perhaps spiteful defection. This was similar to modern day change of political parties voluntarily.

The Nandi major clans (*bororiosiek)* are Kap Chepkendi, Kap Meliilo, Kap Taalam, Kabooch and Kaptumoiis. The minor bororiosiek are Koilegei, Kabianga, Kapsile, Kapno, Cheptol, Tibingot, Talai and Murkaptuk.

The Nandi social organization is centered on the age-set or *ibinda*. There are seven age-sets (*ibinwek*) which are rotational, meaning at the end of one age set new members of that generation are born. Among the other Kalenjin peoples an age-set called *Korongoro* exists. However, among the Nandi this age set is extinct. Legend has it that the members of this *ibinda* were wiped out in war. For fear of a recurrence, the community decided to retire the age-set. *Ibinda* was given out at initiation and by simple arrangements there ought to be one *ibinda*

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[4] C. Hollis. *The Nandi: Their Language and Folklore, pg 47.* Clarendon Press: Oxford 1909

between a father and a son. For example, a *Maina* cannot beget a *Chumo*. The Nandi don't consider a woman to have an ages set, hence she can marry any age set except that in which her father belongs. The age sets are *Maina, Chumo, Sawe, Kipkoimet, Korongoro* (not in Nandi), *Kaplelach, Kipnyigei, and Nyongi*. In each age sub-set (*siritiet*), the initiates were bundled into *siritiet* or what can be understood as a 'team'. There are four 'teams' or *siritoik* in an age-set namely; *Chongin, Kiptaito, Tetagaat and Kiptoinik*.

The Nandi *bororiet* may be taken as a primordial model of multi-partyism. The advent of Christianity and the consequential thinking that what was traditional was backward lead to the danger of disappearance of *bororiet* becoming inevitable. Nevertheless the recent resurgence of Nandi nationalism has brought to the fore the social tenets and socio-cultural-political organizational strata. Among these is the realization that the current level of complacency, laziness and dull attitude to life that is prevalent among the youth has been inspired by a lack of cementing social identities like the *bororiet* system. The *bororiet* then was a form of a political system. Hence I could safely, albeit without provoking a sense of unjustified pride, say that the *bororiosiek* were actually a system akin to the modern day multi-party system.

1.4   Statement of the Problem

Is the Nandi community inherently political?

Since the period transcending pre-colonial, pre-independence to multi-party era, the Nandi community have been noted to have been politically active. The political consciousness had not been evaluated until the advent of multi-party politics in Kenya post cold war era. Regional political violence had been increasing since 1991 and worsened in 2007/08 general election. The epicentre of this political violence took place in areas populated by the Nandi. This

resulted in enormous loss of lives destruction of property and displacement of people. The causes of conflict were little understood lest for political polarization, non-responsive government's policy and intertribal animosity. Therefore understanding the Nandi political participation factors will offer means of resolving political conflicts through political participation mechanisms.

1.5   Literature Review

Nandi County occupies a total area of 2,899 Sq. Km with its headquarters at Kapsabet. Kapsabet Division occupies the largest area (482 Sq. Km.) while Kosirai division has the smallest area (185 Sq. Km.). The County has four local authorities namely Kapsabet Municipal council, Nandi Hills Municipal, Nandi county Council and Nandi Hills Urban Council and ninety eight electoral wards. Nandi County is divided into six administrative districts namely; Nandi North, Nandi East, Nandi Central, Nandi South and Tindiret. The County is further sub-divided into administrative divisions namely; Kipkarren, Kabiyet, Kosirai, Kapsabet, Kibiwoni, Aldai, Kaptumo, Nandi Hills and Tindiret. Nandi County is politically divided into six constituencies namely; Aldai, Emgwen, Mosop, and Tindiret.

The purpose of learning strategic political participation history of the Nandi is to understand the community through the pre-colonial, colonial and finally independent Kenya period. Many historians who have written about the subject have tended to be experts with limited understanding the posture of Nandi in politics. In relation to the class structure, Professor Munene captures the evolution of Kenyan political leaders from struggle for independence period to the 21st century politics. But unlike the general Kenyan situation, the Nandi nation-state did not have political class structure. They settled their political issues at the *ibinda* level.

Whereas man has been characterized by movement for expansion and domination, early colonialism was characterized by motivation for Gold (wealth/economy), Glory (power) and God (morality). Later colonialism became synonymous with commerce, Christianity and civilization.[5] Changes during industrial age in Europe demanded colonial expansion as a necessity. Colonialism was resisted by the natives they came in contact with and the Nandi nation-state was no exception when they resisted the British between the years 1896-1905. Subdued, they decided to collaborate with them in order to save the community from total collapse.[6]

The Nandi protest of 1923 due encroachment of the district by the Kikuyu and Nyangori tribes is viewed as a national issue in its Kenya-wide political context as a result of the increased pressures brought to bear on Kenya Africans by colonialists. Around this time pressure for African land, labour and taxes which greatly affected the Nandi as well as other people was on the rise. The Nandi political protest to colonial policies was in contrast to that of the kikuyu who wanted recognition and land rights. The Nandi focused on the traditional leadership of the *Orkoyot* or ritual expert mirroring relative lack of politico-socio-cultural change in Nandi before 1923 and the continuing viability of the traditional Nandi economy and political structure.

Squatting in northern parts of the territory and Uasin Gishu which began at this period may be considered as a key contributing factor to this viability. At the same time it presented new threats to Nandi economic independence which the political protest which centered on *Orkoyot* Barserion of *Talai* clan attempted to counter. An examination of this protest of 1923 sheds light on its contribution to understanding of the political expression of the Nandi community which has often been ignored in the studies of the origin of political protest in

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[5] Kiwanuka S. The Origins of European Colonialism and the Scramble for Africa, 1870-1900. From colonialism to independent, pg 1-27. Kenya literature bureau, 1982. Nairobi.
[6] Ibid, indirect rule: the myths of the contrasts. Pg 78-79.

Kenya. In 1934 the British colonial administration expelled the entire *Talai* clan comprising about 700 persons to Gwassi on the shores of Lake Victoria. They remained in captivity until 1962 on the eve of Kenya's independence when they were allowed to return home and have been living at Kapsisywo village, Nandi Central.

Former president Daniel Arap Moi while addressing campaign rally at Kapsabet on 5th October 2002 observed and advised the Nandi community to stick to mainstream politics of the day. He asked the community to refuse being coerced into leaving mainstream politics to join tribal political parties. Mr. Moi said since independence the community had been supporting Kenya African National Union (KANU) and should not abandon the ruling party at that crucial period of political transition. This was interpreted to mean strategic political calculation to ensure that the community remained politically relevant.

After killing Samoei [7] at the beginning of the twentieth century the arrogant British colonialists chopped off his head and fingers and took them alongside his leadership regalia which included a headgear, a spear, a sword and a pair of leather sandals. All these valuables were kept in British museums until 2010 when they were returned to Kenya and currently stored in a museum in Nandi Hills. It was during the cleansing ceremony of these items that Mr. William Ruto was blessed to lead the Nandi nation-state in its political adventures thus marking the generational change from *Sawe* to *Kaplelach* age-sets overstepping the *Kipkoimet* age-set.

During the electioneering period of the 4th March 2013 elections the *Talai* clan was split in the middle along CORD and JUBILEE political groupings with one section of elders loyal to Prime Minister Raila Odinga and another group loyal to Eldoret North MP William Ruto. The

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[7] Maina wa kinyatti. History of resistance in Kenya : 1884-2002, pg 49-56. Mau Mau Research Centre, 2008. New York, USA.

clan is believed to hold supernatural powers that could propel one to greater heights in leadership. And this is the reason why each one of the political leaders would have wanted to have control of the clansmen. Barnabas Korir the chairman of the professionals from the area observed that the clan had been misused by politicians who seek their elder's blessings to propel them to leadership positions in the past. However the community participates in politics individually irrespective of the clan position.

Political participation is hinged on four determinants. These are popular support by the population, popular believe on the cause, strategic political leadership and strategic organization. The common denominator for all is the population. The population represents the ground in which strategic political activities take place. The population forms the epicenter upon which all political actors compete for. The competition may physical through mobilization, psychological via manipulation and social through cultural activities. In final analysis the exercise of political participation power depends on the explicit agreement of the population or at worst its submissiveness.[8]

A political cause is championing of one side of a contradiction. That's there must exist a political problem. The cause for support in political participation lies in the import that finding supporters among the population is vital in establishing active or passive strategic participation. Acceptance of the cause is a huge asset in politics. This is because it attracts large numbers of supporters and repels the minimum of opponents. The cause must be long lasting especially in the eyes of the population. Leadership in political participation entails the assessment and determination of progress to be made in political situations. This forms the basis for control and

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[8] David Galula (1964). Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice. Praeger Security International. pg 4-70. Westport. London, UK.

conduct of maintaining influence on the vulnerable side of the population. It may also include giving responsibilities to subordinate leaders who have proved successful.

Success in strategic political participation ultimately depends on the ability of the actors to mobilize and organize the community into a viable political party. This party will appear in each village or urban centers. The reasons for organization are; a party is the instrument of politics, junior leaders finds areas to operate from thus influencing the common community members and links with the population are based on a single fragile decisions hence need to assure the population that they are essential through the organizational leaders.[9]

A strong political leadership derives its course on popular support from the community. Likewise, strong popular support ensures that strong leadership is identified from strong candidates from the community's youthful *ibinda*. Political cause is a strong determinant of both popular support and political leadership. This is based on the understanding that unless the community perceive the threat incumbent with its political survival. Political cause charts the way a community will endeavour to solve its political destiny. It also will inform on its political organization structure. Political organization structure informs on hierarchy of leadership influence. Political organization spells out the relationship between the political cause, political leadership and popular support. Political realism assumes that interests are to be maintained through the exercise of power and that the world is characterized by competing power bases or hegemonies.

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[9] Ibid pg.92.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This study used realism framework in its discussion. Realism offers explanations on how political units protect and preserve themselves in an anarchic environment in which dangers to their security and welfare are ever present and even when survival itself is not assured. It infers that there is no superior arbiter for a nation-state's conflicting claims and no superior authority with ability to enforce arbitration rules[10]. Realism as developed in 1930s is a theory in which the ordinary, familiar, or mundane aspects of life are represented in a straightforward or matter-of-fact manner that is presumed to reflect life as it actually is. It is Practical or pragmatic orientation that relies on hard facts, and considers things as they are and not on what they might or should be. In politics, realism is called real politic. It draws on the works of such writers as Hegel, Kant, and Marx.

Political realism is a theory of political philosophy that attempts to explain, model, and lay down political relations. It takes as its postulation that power is the most important end of political action whether in the domestic or international arena. The theory asserts that politicians struggle to maximize their power whether on the international or domestic stage. Nation states are seen as the primary agents that maximize or ought to maximize their power. This theory resolves into various shades depending on what the standard of the national interest is claimed to be and the moral acceptability of employing various means to desired ends. Several definitions may be offered as to what ought to comprise the national interest. More often than not the claims invoke the need to be economically and politically self-sufficient thereby reducing dependency on untrustworthy nation-states.

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[10] Lawson Stephanie. (2003). Quoting Frankel, 1996 in introducing I R pg 9. International Relations, Polity press, Cambridge UK.

The theory has a long history being evident in Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*. It was expanded on by Machiavelli in *The Prince* and others such as Thomas Hobbes, Spinoza, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In the late nineteenth century it underwent a new incarnation in the form of social Darwinism whose adherents explained it socially and hence political growth in terms of a struggle in which only the strongest cultures or polities would survive. Political realism assumes that interests are to be maintained through the exercise of power and that the world is characterized by competing power bases or hegemonies.[11]

There are six principles of political realism. One is that political realism believes that politics like society in general is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature. So in order to improve society it is first necessary to understand the laws by which the society lives. The operation of these laws being impervious to our preferences men will challenge them only at their risk of failure. Two is that the main indication that helps political realism to find its way through the landscape of international politics is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. This concept provides the link between reason of trying to understand international politics and the facts to be understood. It sets politics as an independent sphere of action and understanding apart from other spheres such as economics, ethics, aesthetics and religion. Without such a concept the theory of politics whether international or domestic would

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[11] In international politics, most political theorists emphasize the nation state as the relevant agent, whereas Marxists focus on classes. Prior to the French Revolution in which nationalism as a political doctrine truly entered the world's stage, political realism involved the political jurisdictions of ruling dynasties, whilst in the nineteenth century, nationalist sentiments focused realists' attentions on the development of the nation-state, a policy that was later extended to include imperialist ambitions on the part of the major Western powers-Britain and France, and even Belgium, Germany and the United States were influenced by imperialism. Nationalist political realism later extended into geo-political theories, which perceive the world to be divided into supra-national cultures, such as East and West, North and South, Old World and New World, or focusing on the pan-national continental aspirations of Africa, Asia, etc. Whilst the social Darwinist branch of political realism may claim that some nations are born to rule over others (being 'fitter' for the purpose, and echoing Aristotle's ruminations on slavery in Book 1 of The Politics), generally political realists focus on the need or ethic of ensuring that the relevant agent (politician, nation, culture) must ensure its own survival by securing its own needs and interests before it looks to the needs of others.

be altogether impossible for without it we could not distinguish between political and non-political facts.

Three is that realism assumes that its key concept of interest defined as power is commonly valid but it does not endow that concept with a meaning that is fixed. The idea of interest is indeed of the essence of politics and is unaffected by the circumstances of time and place. Thucydides born of the experiences of ancient Greece identified interests as the surest of bonds whether between nation-states or individuals. The only bond of union that endures among nation-states is the absence of all conflicting interests.

The fourth is that political realism is aware of the moral import of political action. It is also aware of the ineluctable apprehension between the moral command and the requirements of flourishing political action. And it is unwilling to gloss over and eradicate that tension and thus to conceal both the moral and the political issue by making it appear as though the harsh facts of politics were morally more satisfying and exacting than they actually are.

The fifth is that political realism refuses to recognize the moral aspirations of a particular nation-state with the moral laws that rule the universe. As it distinguishes between truth and opinion so it distinguishes between truth and idolatry. To know that nations are subject to the moral law is one thing while to pretend to know with certainty what is good and evil in the relations among nations is quite another. There is a world of disparity between the belief that all nations-states stand under the judgment of God inscrutable to the human mind and the sacrilegious certainty that God is always on one's side and that what one wills oneself cannot fail to be willed by God also. The sixth and last is the difference between political realism and other schools of thought as real and profound. Nonetheless, much the theory of political realism may have been misunderstood and misinterpreted. There is no gainsaying that its distinctive

intellectual and moral attitude to matters political is real. [12] The Nandi political history has been one of maintenance of nation-state through evaluation of strategic political activities that ensured community survival.

1.7 Hypotheses

1. The presence of charismatic leadership has shaped the Nandi strategic political participation.

2. The politics of Kenya since independence has had little effect on strategic political participation of the Nandi.

1.8 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to ascertain that the Nandi community has been a strong political participant in Kenya's politics. In order to meet this objective, I will endeavour to use the following specific objectives: to examine the origins of the Nandi community, to trace how the Nandi handled its community politics during pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial, before and after independence up to 2012 period, to assess the current political participation in the Nandi community and to explore other salient factors contributing to political participation by the Nandi.

1.9 Justification of the Study

The purpose of this research study is to carry out an in-depth analysis of political participation of the Nandi. This was conceptualized on the basis of continuous political migrations by the Nandi during electioneering period. Documented reference will bridge the

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[12] Extracted from Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace*, Fifth Edition, Revised, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978, pp. 4-15 found in https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/morg6.htm accessed on 24 Feb. 13.

information gap that has existed in Nandi community political participation. The findings will be used to make recommendations that will go a long way in understanding the Nandi community political participation behaviour and lessons learned used to predict strategic approaches to be employed during political activities in the country. The family of academia may further perform a quantitative research on this subject in order to validate these findings. These findings will inevitably be used to address strategic political alliances in Kenya.

1.10 Methodology

This was a retrospective qualitative research study in which much of the information used in this paper has been sourced from previous books and other works published on the history of the Nandi people. A self administered questionnaire was used to corroborate and get an inside feeling of the Nandi people send through the e-mail. The questionnaire was non-discriminative in terms of gender and age. The limited time available for undertaking this paper necessitated the desktop approach. The internet served as a key information resource as many scholars and researchers post their works on the web for ease of public access. This research utilized the following resources; library facilities with access to internet, Assistant researchers and interviewers, Computer and secretarial services, Means of transport, and Stationery. As the bibliography section will attest the authors discovered numerous colonial documents held at the national archives related to history of the Nandi community. However these works do not contain any information on strategic political participation by the Nandi nation - state.

1.11 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research paper seeks to provide explanation of strategic political participation taking into account both individual and community background factors. It will determine the fraction of

the variations in strategic political participation caused by several factors and what portion of the variations accrued to the individual and community level characteristics. This index has been used as independent variable specifying what factors account for dependent variables.

The limitations that arose during the course of my research included limited research time due to heavy commitment of the course, the research area not having been researched by many scholars hence very little information in terms of books and research papers available for analysis and literature review and lastly limited time to test and commission suitable questionnaire for the collection of information. The foregoing limitations notwithstanding, all efforts have been put to ensure that the research is as thorough as possible, and that the information used in writing the paper is as relevant to the stated objectives.

1.12 Chapter Outline

The chapter outline of this study is structured as follows:

a.   **Chapter One:**   Ethnicity and political participation in Kenya.

b.   **Chapter Two:**   The Nandi political participation role.

c.   **Chapter Three:**   Nandi strategic political participation.

d.   **Chapter Four:**   Analysis of the Nandi political participation.

e.   **Chapter Five:**   Conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: THE NANDI POLITICAL PARTICIPATION ROLE

2.1   Pre-Colonial and Colonial Period

During pre-colonial times land was communally owned and traditional rights and obligations ensured direct access to all. Colonialism disrupted these relationships. Colonial authorities assumed that all land to which private ownership could not be established by documentary evidence was ownerless.[13]   By the late 19th century the Nandi dominated a large region stretching from Naivasha to the slopes of Mt. Elgon and from Nakuru's Menengai crater through Molo and Tinderet to the boundaries of the Kakamega forest as documented in reports found in books and maps of early travelers. For example in 1893 one of the railway survey parties of the Uganda Railway led by Major MacDonald reported meeting a Platoon of well equipped Nandi in Mau forest on their way to Tugen. The Nandi resisted or defended their territory against the British invasion for eleven years. When the Uganda railway reached their territory they frequently attacked it. The ultimate order for the immediate elimination of the Nandi menace came directly from the British cabinet in 1905. Nothing was allowed to stand in the way of the railway project.

British colonialism in Kenya was not merely administrative. Rather it was accompanied by massive and widespread land alienation for the benefit of settler agriculture. As a result the best agricultural land in the White Highlands and the adjacent rangelands were taken from the Africans without compensation and parceled out to white settlers. Colonial legislation was enacted to legalize this process. As a result, whole communities lost valuable land that they had occupied over generations. The customary land tenure systems under which Africans had

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[13] Okoth Ogendo, 1999, the Land Question in Kenya: Critical Issues on The Eve of the 21st Century, pg 10. FID East Africa, Nairobi, Kenya

guaranteed claims over the land they occupied were supplanted by the registration of individual title holders under the colonial system. The colonial government parceled out more than 7 million acres of land including some of the most fertile land in Kenya and earmarked them for cultivation by Europeans. These areas came to be known as the white highlands. These developments were the beginning of land problems in Kenya. In its enthusiastic European settlement the colonial state paid little attention to the rights of Africans to land. The crown lands ordinance of 1902 gave the commissioner of the protectorate power to grant land to European immigrants.

Crown land was defined as all public land in the East Africa protectorate, which was subjected to the control of the King of the United Kingdom.[14] Thus during the early colonial period the colonial state endeavoured to alienate African land for European settlement. It was also assumed that Africans had no right to unoccupied land and there was much waste land available for European settlement. By asserting that the crown and not the African people had original title to land the colonial government alienated vast lands from the African societies. Land alienation was undertaken through direct seizure, conquest and pressure on chiefs, trickery, swindling and every other means open to the colonialist.[15]

The railway had to be secured from the Nandi damaging guerrilla activities. The British organized one of the strongest punitive forces to be employed in East Africa. With their superior weapons and the killing of Koitalel Barbarian Arap Samoei, the Nandi Orkoyot, the Nandi were subdued. Thereafter a peace conference was held on 15th December 1905 at Muhoroni.

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[14] John Lonsdale (1989) "The Conquest state 1895-1906" in Ochieng W.R. (ed). A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980,pg 67-84. Evans Brothers, Nairobi.
[15] William, R. Ochieng. An Outline History of the Rift Valley Pg 55-108. East Africa Literature Bureau (1975)., Nairobi. Pg 55-108.

Meinertzhagen, General Manning, (overall commander of the area) and Sir James Hayes Sadler, Governor of the East Africa protectorate attended the conference. Also present were Nandi Chiefs. These were Nandi men randomly picked by the colonial officers. They held no political office in Nandi and had no authority to represent the Nandi. The terms of the conference were that by 15th January, 1906 the Nandi were expected to have moved to a reserve whose boundaries were drawn by the colonial government and that force would be employed to compel the Nandi to move to the reserve if they failed to move.

The Nandi were not willing to move and second operation to forcibly move the Nandi started on January 1906. The colonial forces swept from the extreme Eastern end of Tinderet and slowly but methodically burnt every hut, destroyed all crops and seized every cow or goat found in this region. According to the official records the casualty state was two thousand five hundred Nandi were killed and six wounded.[16] This shattered the belief held by the Nandi that burning of a house lived in by people would lead to madness. This area which was allocated to European settlement and later covered in tea estates was in 1906 heavily populated and owned by the Nandi of Kap Chepkendi and Kamelilo territorial units. On the whole history of the illegal occupation of Kenya by the British there was no more brazier example of land robbery with violence than the stolen land of Tinderet.[17] In total some 1,250 square miles of the most fertile and productive land in Nandi was alienated. The drawing of the reserve boundaries also made the Nandi to lose much land on the Uasin Gishu plateau. By late 19th century the plateau acted as grazing land for the Nandi, Keiyo, Marakwet and Pokot. The plateau was annexed by the

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[16]Tanui (1996) Agriculture in Nandi under Colonial Rule 1895-1963,m-phil Thesis, Moi university, pg 81-82. Eldoret, Kenya.
[17] A.T Matson. The Nandi resistance to British rule: 1890-1906, pg 1-36. East Africa Publishing House 1972. Nairobi, Kenya.

colonial government as part of the European white highlands. The Nandi who lived in the plateau were moved to the reserve and strict controls imposed on their movements.[18]

Land alienation did not end in 1906. A government treaty of 1907 promised the Nandi that land within the reserve was theirs forever. However, the promise was broken in 1919. The colonial state alienated one seventh of the remaining Nandi reserve for the settlement of demobilized British soldiers. Land was alienated in the north western part of the territory in Kipkaren and Sarora region and in the South which was Kaimosi area.

The Nandi received the second alienation of their land with a lot of uneasiness. They were scared that they would end up losing all their land. Under the leadership of a new Orkoyot, Barserion Arap Manyei, the son of Koitalel Arap Samoei, the Nandi organized an uprising to coincide with the handing over ceremony (*saketab eito*) of 1923. There was considerable unrest but three days before the ceremony, Barserion Arap Manyei was arrested and exiled to Meru. The Nandi district commissioner C.S. Hemsted justified the alienation of Nandi land in 1920 by reporting that the alienated land from the reserve was not beneficially occupied or required by the Nandi community. However, pressure on land in Nandi reserve became a serious matter especially as the community tried to keep the numbers of their cattle at a sufficient level.[19] Due to the shortage of land in the reserve some Nandi moved to the white highlands to become squatters. Squatting was a system whereby the European land holder allowed African families to reside and cultivate plots and graze their animals in his land in return for a certain amount of labour each year. Land alienation in Nandi led to the success of European settlers in acquiring labour. The settlers had demanded that more reserves be created and the size of the existing

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[18] International Journal of Arts and Education - Vol.1, Issue, 2, pp.27-32, December, 2011
[19] Regina Oboler. Women, Power and Economic Changes: The Nandi of Kenya pg 146-156. Literature Bureau, 1989 Nairobi, Kenya.

reserves be reduced not because they needed more land but because they hoped to force more Africans into the labour market.[20]

The colonial authorities were also convinced that the availability of enough land in the reserve was responsible for the low turnout of labour and the reduction of this land would force Africans to seek employment on European farms. This is clearly stated by the Nandi district commissioner after the alienation of land for the soldier settlement scheme that the alienation of land was a direct cause of an increase number of natives looking for pasturage for their herds in European farms on the ground that the latter did not contain grazing sufficient for their herds. Land alienation led to a marked intensification of population pressure upon the scarce land in the reserve. African resentment began to grow and there were petitions demanding the return of alienated land. This culminated in the Kenya land Commission (Carter Commission) of 1932 to1934. The Nandi who testified before this commission showed their discontent in losing their land. For example, Chief Elijah Cheruiyot told the commission at Kapsabet in October 16th 1932 that all salt licks given to the Nandi after fighting had been taken away. He wondered whether the colonial government considered them as friends or enemies still. Besides that, he notified them that the Nandi had been rendered so poor that all growing men had gone out to the shamba.[21] From the above concerns it is clear that land shortage was acute in Nandi and many young men were moving to the white highlands for employment. Cater commission did not solve land problem but rather formalized the existing land situation. By 1938 there were signs of unrest in Nandi. However, the outbreak of the Second World War intervened. In the late 1940s the

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[20] Wrigley, C.C. "Kenya: The Patterns of Economic Life, 1902-1945" in Harlow V. and Chilver E. M. (eds). History of East African Vol. II,pg. 230.Oxford Publishers, 1965. Oxford, UK.
[21] Republic of Kenya. Carter Land Commissioner of 1934, Government Printers, pg 2077. Nairobi, (1934) Kenya.

process of individual land ownership occurred in Nandi. Official encouragement played a major role in changing land tenure in Nandi reserve.

The District commissioner H.R. Carver encouraged male individual enclosure of land in northern part of Nandi from 1943 to 1945. He argued that land enclosure would improve farming and also be the basis of orderly development of land in Mosop. On the other hand the district commissioner was encouraging individual land enclosures in the northern part of Nandi reserve in order to forestall the disasters that would be caused by allowing squatter stock to drift back to the reserve. [22] Nandi reserve was already showing signs of soil deterioration Nandi squatters in Uasin Gishu who consisted largely of the Nandi who kept large numbers of cattle. There were plans to return excess squatter's stock to the reserve. There were differences in the amount of land enclosed by individuals in Nandi. Protestant church leaders, chiefs and headmen benefited from the initial enclosure of land. These leaders used their knowledge and positions to acquire large farms at the expense of members of the community.

The expansion of settler agriculture led to the need to reduce squatter stock and squatters who had old sons needed land to settle. Rules were imposed on the squatters aimed at reducing their cattle and making them assume some characteristics of migrant labour force. However, the majority were unable to adjust to the new rules leading to the termination of their contracts. Nandi squatters in Uasin Gishu were adversely affected by this move. The squatters of the Uasin Gishu plateau who were mainly pastoralist faced termination of their contract after 1946. [23] In 1957 the African District Council in Kapsabet was informed by the District Commissioner that due to the unsatisfactory work of many Nandi and Elgeyo squatters they were losing their

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[22] DC/NDI/5/2/KNA International Journal of Arts and Education - Vol.1, Issue, 2, pp.27-32, December, 2011.
[23] Atieno Odhiambo "the Invention of Kenya" in Ogot, B.A. and Ochieng' W.R. (eds) Decolonization and Independence in Kenya: 1940-1993, pg 28, East .Africa .Educational .Publishers. 1995 . Nairobi, kenya.

contracts in Uasin Gishu and Nandi Hill's farms and Kikuyu squatters were being employed in their place. The problem was not so much the efficiency of the Nandi and Elgeyo squatters, after all they had worked for white settlers for over 20 years. The problem was to be found in the number of their stock which was expansive.

In the 1950s there was acute shortage of land in Nandi reserve. Many of the former squatters had difficulty in finding land within the reserve. In 1954, Sarora settlement scheme was started by the colonial government. The scheme had six thousand five hundred acres of land curved from land which had been alienated for ex-service men in 1919. This did not alleviate the land problem in Nandi reserve. On 15th January 1956, the district committee closed Nandi reserve border so as to stop the return of squatters and their cattle from the white highlands. By then there were around 60,000 Nandi men who owned no land in the reserve. Most of them sought land in other places including Tanganyika, Uganda, Laikipia and Taita Taveta. Movement from one place to another in the colonial period (especially with livestock) needed permits yet colonial evidence on the Nandi movement to the new regions is hard to come by. Lack of land in the reserve greatly contributed to the Nandi Diaspora.

Shortage of land pressed on in the Nandi reserve. In 1957 the then African Legislative Council representative Mr. Daniel Arap Moi requested the Secretary of State for the return of the unoccupied parts of Tinderet which consisted of a large part of the alienated land of the Nandi community. However, the request was not honoured. From the above it is clear that land alienation, individual enclosure, return of the squatters and population growth had caused land shortages in Nandi. The colonial state was not willing to provide further room for expansion. Rather it was interested in implementing the Swynnerton plan provisions in the northern part of the reserve neighbouring Uasin Gishu. The aim was to curb the squatter stock problem. The

demarcation of boundaries in Ndalat and Mutwot took place between 1954 and 1955 the survey of the boundaries began in 1956. In 1958, Ndalat and Mutwot became the first areas in Nandi reserve to complete land registration.

In 1959 the colonial government allowed Kenyans to form political parties. Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) were formed in 1960. The land issue was probably the single most explosive issue on the independence agenda. The area of most controversy was the Rift Valley.[24] KADU wanted land to be returned to the indigenous population under a federalist system of government. KANU on the other favoured the keeping of former white highlands under the control of the centralized government. KANU wanted to forestall local legislation restricting land transfer to people from other Provinces. In the 1963 elections KANU won and Jomo Kenyatta became the President in 1964.

2.2   The Nandi Political Participation 1963-1992

At independence many white settlers decided to return to Britain, others found their way to Rhodesia and Canada. Although the precise number of Nandi squatters is unknown it is clearly a problem that dates back to the colonial period when Africans were declared Tenants at Will of the Crown following the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915. Most of the displaced Nandi peasants never got back their land after independence owing to the limitations of the post-colonial land resettlement policy. The beginning of the 1960s ushered in a period of idealism and hope in Kenya. The period demonstrated and exposed the weaknesses and limits of the political

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[24] Gitu Muigai. Ethnicity and Renewal of competitive politics in Kenya. In Clickman H. (ed). Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa pg 166. The African studies Association press 1995. Atlanta, Georgia, USA.

arrangements. Kenya made many land mistakes other countries were making. Key among the issues was corruption, dictatorships and poor economic growth orchestrated by bad leadership.[25]

After independence the Kenyatta government opted for a land resettlement programme based on a "willing buyer-willing seller" system rather than direct land repossession and redistribution. However, two serious shortcomings undermined this land resettlement program. First, the market-based system required mobilization of financial resources which many of the landless did not have. Kenyatta's government bought land from the settlers using a loan from the British government and sold to Kenyans. Using the political and economic leverage available to them during the Kenyatta regime the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru communities took advantage of the situation and formed many land buying companies such as Nyakinyua. These companies facilitated the settlement of hundreds of thousands of Kikuyu in the Rift Valley in the period between 1960 and 1970. Bates argues that the kikuyu were forced to migrate out of their traditional areas as a result of white settlers and settled in the rift valley.

They were the first to embrace capitalism and were able to exploit opportunities created by the independence government. They were, for example, the leading beneficiaries of small holder credit schemes and held the majority of senior civil service jobs as a result of their education opportunities. Thus tribal animosities were heightened by the policy of returning land to Africans after independence, when the kikuyu are said to have benefited disproportionately. The very rich kikuyu who bought land directly from the settlers never thought of accommodating the common man who lost land to the white settlers. A government minister reported to have justified the bloody evictions of kikuyu from Maasai land as a correction of historical wrongs.

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[25] Kiwanuka semakula. From colonialism to independence: Colonial impact and the rise of new social classes pg 120-121. Kenya Literature Bureau. (1973). Nairobi, Kenya.

This venture was supported by the then Vice President Daniel Arap Moi who comes from the Tugen community who were not affected by land battles.

By co-operating with the Kikuyu the Kalenjin in effect accepted a coalition that would require compromises on the land question in the Rift Valley in the hope of gaining access to state patronage a scenario that repeated itself in 2013 general elections. Moi saw the defence of the Kikuyu expansionism into the Rift Valley as a way of showing gratitude to Kenyatta for having elevated him for a high office in cabinet reshuffle of 1968.[26] The settlement of this people continued in spite of opposition by the indigenous ethnic groups of the Rift Valley. The Nandi in particular protested in a more dramatic manner especially the 1969 meeting in Nandi Hills in what came to be known as the "Nandi hills declaration". The gathering of political leaders protested what they regarded as an invasion of their ancestral land by outsiders. This was led by KANU politicians led by Jean Marie Seroney who knew that the land situation in the Rift Valley had remained volatile since the colonial period and it was like a volcano waiting to erupt. They exploited the situation by urging the indigenous communities of the Rift Valley to evict other ethnic groups. KANU manipulated the land related grievances in the Rift Valley and Nandi in particular for their own political gains and for strategic political considerations.

2.3   Nandi Political Participation during multi-party Era

The country of Kenya was ruled by the iron-fisted hands of two men in succession from 1963 to 1992: Jomo Kenyatta (1963-1978) and Daniel Moi (1978-1992). In 1991 the government of Kenya African National Union (KANU) repealed section 1A of the constitution to allow the country to entre multi-party politics. Mr. Moi won the first multi-party elections of 1992 ending

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[26] Gitu Muigai. Jomo Kenyatta and the rise of the Ethno-nationalist state in Kenya : ethnicity and democracy in Africa, pg 200-217. The African Studies Association Press, 1995. Atlanta, Georgia, USA

his second term in 2002. In 2002 there was a change in that the ruling political party KANU that had ruled the country since independence collapsed. It collapsed beneath a new political party comprising of an alliance that had been formed between all of the major Kenyan tribes. This political stakeholder was named the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC).   The election victory was a landslide. Mr. Mwai Kibaki of the NARC won 62% of the vote on a platform of fighting corruption, forming a coalition government that shared power amongst the various tribes, and changing the constitution within 100 days of being elected to limit the executive power that had ballooned over the previous four decade. All People across Kenya from all tribes felt hope that the country's government was finally on the verge of a system of governance that would have accountability through shared power. Yet within weeks of the election the Memorandum Of Understanding (MOU) that forged the tribal factions into the NARC alliance and that got Kibaki elected had effectively collapsed. The agreement in the MOU to share power within the cabinet did not occur as four key positions that were to be created including that of a Prime Minister position did not materialize forward. Kibaki from the Kikuyu tribe broke his election promise and filled many key appointed positions with fellow tribesmen thus following in the footsteps of his presidential predecessors by selecting people for appointed positions primarily through tribal bias. This in turn led to discrimination of many people of other tribes who were more qualified. Whether the decision to keep the massive executive power that Kibaki had campaigned to reform was premeditated or whether he succumbed to certain pressures by his fellow tribesmen to hoard power within the tribe once in office may never be known. The result was the same in that the disintegration of the NARC party and the broken promises of a shared government and new constitution. The Nandi persons who had supported the Alliance felt cheated and were very resentful. The Nandi community was left tasting what could have been and frustrated over what

should have resulted from the new government coming to power in 2002. This frustration fuelled the violence that took place after the election in 2007.

In 2007 the opposition party Orange Democratic Party (ODM) sold an attractive political campaign package that sought to address historical land injustices, unemployment, inequitable resource sharing and poverty through a radical constitutional transformation in a new constitution. ODM projected to tackle the land problem through clauses in the famous Bomas draft captured under devolution and land chapters with specific plans to form a National Land Commission to address the issue of landlessness and historical injustices of expropriation of land by colonial and post colonial powers. When ODM lost in the 2007 closely contested elections, ethnic clashes erupted in the Rift Valley affecting Nandi district once again. These ethnic clashes were the worst ever experienced in Kenya. For the first time it spread to urban areas such as Kapsabet and Eldoret. Non-Nandi communities lost their lives, homes and property. And many more fled their homes. The divisive politics of identity has arisen to articulate resentment of inability of the Nandi nation-state to exist independently.

CHAPTER 3: NANDI STRATEGIC POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

3.1   The Nandi

The Nandi are noted for their tall slim stature. On average, his height ranges from 5½ ft to 6½ ft with occasional short persons of 5ft and tall 7ft. He is also noted for the dark skin complexion. A majority has long jaw with narrow face structure. They also exhibit long white teeth. His morphology is that of long narrow torso with narrow pelvis and thin legs. He is brave, honest and courteous. He has great respect and loyalty to age-set and elderly.

He is deeply religious with strong believe in supernatural deity given different names such as *Asis, Chepkoiyo, Chepanamuni, Chepkeliensogol,* and *Cheptalel.* He adheres to cults and believes such as traditional rites of passage of circumcision and marriage. He exhibits distinguishable traits of political-economic independence through herding of cattle and military organization. Cattle raiding were practiced as a hobby. Nonetheless, he was not adventurous unless seeking new conquests to enrich his hegemonic power due to fear of the unknown. The Nandi practiced spying before any major commitments for example, before war, new partnerships, marriages, and rains or draughts. He would engage in elaborate spying work in order to gain information about his adversaries and the environment. He is not a communal person in that he did not live in congregations. He is a great sportsman, a culture he inherited from harvest festivals. Both athletics and jumps are practiced. He abhorred *tengek* (what might lead to a curse), anything or activity that may bring misfortune to his children or community.

3.2   Reasons for Political Isolation

Since the establishment of British rule the Nandi have been contained in relatively small districts where they were cut off by European farms from easy communication with other tribes

with whom they had ethnic affinities. Even when the government was represented by solitary district commissioner closer personal ties were established with district officers than was often possible in many of the larger districts. The population was almost entirely composed of a single tribe with the result that there had been no jealousy, feuds and power struggles that bedeviled the administration of more mixed districts such as north and Elgon Nyanza. Political parties had sometimes originated as a result of ethnic minorities trying to assert their claims or of majorities seeking to entrench or improve their commanding position in a district. Such parties in Nandi could have reflected differences within the tribe and not differences between different clans.

The geographical situation of Nandi also had a considerable bearing on the slow growth of political consciousness. Distance from Nairobi discouraged contact with politically minded individuals in and from the capital. It engendered among the conservative countrymen a suspicion of organizations based in Nairobi, and Eldoret being neither an African town in the sense in which this term can be applied to Nairobi and Kisumu nor a centre of intensive political nor trade union activity. By a combination of Nandi exclusiveness and poor transport faculties, the Nandi had little communication for many years with tribes with whom they have no common language, background and pursuits. Most of the contacts made in past had been between individuals or small groups with the occasional larger gatherings connected with mission, school and sporting activities.

Several traits in the Nandi character have tended to make them wary of politicians and to encourage them to seek satisfaction in their conservative way of life without bothering with politics. Their pastoral background and military achievements have made the Nandi proud, independent and suspicious of innovations. They need to be convinced individually before approving a course of action, an attitude of mind which is not calculated to facilitate the efforts

of a politician seeking recruits among a people who are not outgoing but temperament and practical. The Nandi are not as fond as their Nyanza neighbours of attending large gatherings and the social life of the tribe largely revolves round the domestic or *kokwet* beer pot. With the exception of the post-war cattle auctions, markets were never an important feature of social intercourse as in Bantu society and women meeting were very rarely held until well into the 1950s. When Nandi collect together in any numbers for definite purposes such as church function and official barazas the speed with which they disperse after the business has been concluded is caused in part by a wish to get home before the onset of the afternoon rain. It also provides an illuminating sidelight on Nandi temperament and sense of priorities.

One effect of the non-gregarious nature of the Nandi male is that little reach is given to a would-be orator to practice his arts. On the other hand one of the disadvantages arising from this trait has been to retard the development of organizational aptitudes a deficiency which has been much in evidence whenever attempts have been made to assemble people for political or other purposes. A complementary characteristic which is the aloofness shown by the Nandi in relations their neighbours and with people they meet outside the district has tend to restrict the reception of novel ideas on the political and other matters. Because of this characteristic the Nandi have maintained many of their traditions for a long time and almost all the modification to the tribal canon have come from within and not as result of outside influences. Differences and grievances arising in this closed society have been voiced without hesitation or fear. This has saved the Nandi from the secret society and oath-taking which has sometimes been a feature of political development in other tribes.

Certain aspects of the Nandi tribal organization which have discouraged the promotion of sectional interests have also discouraged the formation of party organizations. These were; one,

the absence of a central authority bent on maintaining its privileges as opposed by combinations of those seeking to obtain similar privileges for themselves and the weakness of lineage and clan affiliations, two, the consequent absence of rivalry lead to friendly disposition with occasional cooperativeness such as the reactions that existed between *bororiosiek* in their autonomous territorial sections and thirdly, the egalitarian nature of Nandi society in matters of status and leadership opportunities. The one feature of Nandi organization which could and in a few cases did cut across local loyalties and produce a tribe-wide reaction to government policies or to prodding's from the *laibon* was the age set system. Movements created by age-set agitation were generally short-lived, and quickly subsided under the conservative impact of local opinion and the opposition of members of other and usually older age-sets. Furthermore the dispersal of members of an age-set throughout the district made it difficult for its leaders to organize and sustain a protest movement through formation of political parties.

The Nandi who were literate in Swahili or English were assured of positions in local or central government or with the missionary society. Because of the shortage of trained staff it was often possible to find a satisfying job for the unconventional youth who might otherwise have been tempted to dabble in politics.[27] Political activity in many districts as centered to a large extent on teachers. In Nandi this did not happen for many years as the teachers formed a small, dispersed and unorganized class lacking leaders of the requisite ability and stature to mould their colleagues into a critical minority.[28]

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[27] E.g. Jonathan Arap Maiyo, who reputedly headed a deputation to the laibon when he was a *kiptaiyat* of the Chumo age-set; he was branch treasurer of the Kenya African study union in 1944, and in the early 1950s became interested in politics through his connections in the north nyanza. He was made a chief in 1956 and was vice-chairman of the A.D.C. when he was killed (with Chief Elijah Chepkwony) in a road accident in June 1961.

[28] Apart from a strike n1947, when the protesters imitated Martin Luther by nailing their demands on the headmaster's door, the Kapsabet School was remarkably free from incidents, and the same is true of the mission

The Nandi are justifiably proud of their record in the army, police and prison services. Recruiting allocations were always oversubscribed and nearly every family has relatives serving in the security forces.[29] Ex-servicemen's associations took a militant part in nationalist movement in some colonies but the Nandi soldiers tended to follow the example of their European counterpart and formed a loyal and stable element in the tribe. This attitude was not demonstrated very strongly in the British legion, except at the moving annual reunion of the ex-Askaris but was noticeable in more personal and informal ways in several aspects of district life.

When Nandi sought employment outside the services they favoured occupations that kept them apart from other tribes. Large numbers were employed as squatters on European farms, where they lived a more traditional life than their fellows in the Nandi district.[30] The squatter system also encouraged closer personal relationships between master and man than labourers were housed in camps. The result was that friendly relations have generally existed between European farmers and their Nandi employees. Many employers found they shared much more common ground in the Nandi than with some of their other workers. This was particularly the case where employers had fought beside the Nandi in the KAR. Although stresses have occurred at times as result of stock theft and cattle trespass the same friendly attitude was also evident the district where leaders in various field were often former headmen in European farms.

Nandi women who earned their living outside the district as children's nurses, prostitutes, and the trusted wives of settlers quickly settled down when they returned home and often maintained friendly connection with their former employers. Men returning to the district after

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establishments. A Kapsabet old boys association was formed in 1950, but this met infrequently and made no impact in the district.

[29] Candidates at recruiting parades were often accompanied by fathers or brothers who had served in the K.A.R.

[30] Squatters proved more responsive to the blandishment and threats of the laibons and Maotik than their fellow tribesmen in the district.

employment outside also had no difficulty to tribal conditions. If they did they were quickly put in their place or nearly ignored. The paid employment favoured by Nandi was usually in occupations that for many years were not subject to trade union control. Where unions did existed the Nandi showed little interest in their activities and were reluctant to pay union dues to organizers and branch official who were invariably members of alien tribes. It is a significant comment on their attitude towards industrial relations that the kipande question never became a major controversial issue among the Nandi.

Very few Nandi were employed as artisans a class of workers who is often disposed to concern him with industrial or political rights. Before the last war Nandi traders could be counted. After the war there was a flood of applications of shops on the markets that were established in 1949 to gather for returning Askaris. Few of the applicants became full time traders and the majority soon found they lacked the flair, organizing ability, experience and connections required for success in the field, and that paid employment or development of their holdings provided more profitable and convention scope for the endeavours.[31]

The formation of locational councils in 1950 provided another forum for the airing of grievances as well as experience in the organization of local affairs. About the same time there was a large increase in other organization, such as church, school, market and water committees, community development groups and maendeleo ya wanawake, which provided opportunities for the public spirited to develop their talents for leadership and to learn the elements of cooperation, organization and concerns about the council. Poor communications, organizational deficiencies and scarcity of people sharing the same interests also discouraged the promotion of societies for

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[31] The small, long established Asian trading community was largely concentrated in Kapsabet, and contrived to maintain generally friendly relations with the Nandi.

the furtherance of sectional objectives. Despite the popularity of this procedure in other areas, the formation of tribal welfare association was never considered in Nandi. One of the reasons for this was possibly that the Nandi had no need to establish and proclaim their identity as a tribe, whereas the various sections of the districts were tribal welfare associations had been formed had failed to establish a similar identity in pre-colonial days.

Although most of the credit for the absence of political activity was due to the attitudes adopted by the Nandi and the leadership given to the tribe by chiefs and councilors, recognition must also be given to the patience and understanding of administrate and departmental officers and to the respect and affection they showed for the people they served. Possibly unusual feature of the Nandi sense has been the long periods for which departmental officers served in the district. Warwick Guy was able to identify himself with, and to stimulate, the aspiration of Nandi cattle owners from 1931-1949, and the post-war period four departmental officers served with the Nandi for periods of 10 or more years. None of the district commissioners had stayed as long as this but changes was few during two critical periods in the early 30s and during the decade before independence.

3.3   Strategic Political Participation

This research paper aims to explain political participation by the Nandi since pre-independence to 2012 and its characterization. Political participation is described as one of the basic conditions of functioning democracy and the quality of democracy and its ability to connect citizens with the political leaders has become an important political issue in today's society. The opening argument of this research paper asserts that current political participation research has not offered a satisfying answer to the question presented about the Nandi

community. This research determined on strategic Political participation indicators such as mobilization, voting, participation in litigation, signing petitions, buying or boycotting political products, taking part in protests or demonstrations, attending political meetings, contacting politicians or discussing politics, donating money for campaign work, registering as a voter and contacting the media. When explaining political participation, the literature refers to individual resources such as money, education, political values, and activity in the community that are seen as the main determinants of popular participation in politics.

This research does not contradict the significant role played by these factors but at the same time it warns that these factors alone cannot account for the whole puzzle of political participation by the Nandi people. It argues that there seems to be other circumstances that have had an indisputable influence on political participation since pre-colonial period up to 2012. Therefore an appropriate point of view has to be introduced to the political participation research. The most important goal of this research paper is to answer what these appropriate factors are, and what role they have played compared to the usual explanations and predicting future strategic political participation in Kenya.

The individual Nandi characteristics cannot account for differences among the Nandi community as there is very similar distribution of demographic factors within the territory. Separately, there seems to be politico-socio-cultural networks that are sufficient to explain background distinction because they are the channels through which people become available for strategic political participation mobilization. These channels such as membership in society's clan or *oret* relatives are rather stable over time. However, the fact that people are available through them does not necessarily mean that these channels are employed permanently.

Therefore the overall context of strategic political participation has to be taken into account to explain political process as a whole.

3.4 Determinants of the Nandi Strategic Political Participation

In order to give an explanation of strategic political participation by the Nandi community the paper draws on the both written historical literature and unwritten knowledge as its source. Authors working within this approach have introduced a widely applied tool for the study of history of social movements and popular contention. This is the concept of Political Opportunity Structure (POS). The political opportunities can be defined as reliable but not necessarily formal or permanent magnitude of the political environment that provides incentives for people to undertake communal action by affecting their prospects for success or failure.[32]

The political relationships among Nandi political actors have influenced strategic political participation. The constitution of political actors is not been stable and changed as fast as prevailing political conditions dictated. From the standpoint of this factor it can be explained that changes in strategic political participation over time kept the overall framework of the particular polity constant. Variations over time in conventional participation have pressured the decisions of political elites such as politicians, interest groups and activists to mobilize citizens for political activities. Citizens have been mobilized directly through politico-socio-cultural networks. Together with mobilizing channels politicians and activists also used various discursive strategies that were aimed at persuading citizens to take part. The major argument about the influence of political actor's constitution is that people are not mobilized all the time.

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[32] A great discussion accompanies this concept. Some authors criticize its ambiguity or its unsatisfactory application, or question its explanatory power (Gamson and Meyer 1996: 275, Goodwin and Jasper 2003); others work on clarification of this concept (Kriesi 2004, McAdam 1996, Meyer 2004, Meyer and Minkoff 2004, Tarrow 1996). movement/contentious mobilization in one country (Costain 1992, Tarrow 1989, McAdam 1982, Meyer and Minkoff 2004).

Both political parties and social movements are likely to mobilize citizens only in specific situations when it suits them. Furthermore leaders are more likely to mobilize citizens when decisions or conflicts are near communal declarations. Four dimensions of strategic political participation opportunities are distinguishable. These are; one is the increasing access to strategic political participation as expressed by elections as the best example. Two is the shifting of political alignments which imply political instability and possibility of change of the principal party. Three is the prospect of finding powerful allies and fourth is divided elites which mean the presence of higher number of independent political actors. These four dimensions have been experienced by the community through its strategic political history at various periods.

This study is based on four dimensions of political elites' configuration. It hypothesizes that the opening of Political Opportunity Structure (POS) in these dimensions will increase overall political participation in both moderates and elitist groups in the community. The more competitive the political process is the higher the level of strategic political participation by the perceived disadvantage by the Nandi community. This scenario was created by a feeling that the community would lose out to the bigger Kenyan communities both economically and geographically through alienation of their only means of livelihood which is land.

The high rate of instable political parties in Kenya especially after independence has seen a rise in strategic political alignments which in essence increased the level of political participation by the Nandi either individually or communally. This political anomalism has been common during periods of potential party conflicts. A good example is when the Nandi moved to United Democratic Movement party (UDM) and later to United Republican Party (URP) after the Orange Democratic Movement party (ODM) fall out after the 2008 general elections. This followed the movement out of conflicts in KANU which could not be solved amicably.

The privileged prospect of dominant political allies has endeared the Nandi to practice strategic political participation. This has been evident since the time of the British defeat when the community chose to cooperate than to war continually with the stronger opponent. Later the Nandi strategically abandoned the KADU party to join KANU after independence when it emerged that it was weaker compared to it. The Nandi has enjoyed political elitism since independence. The configuration of political actors alone has not explained fully political participation, particularly in case of Kalenjin cross-country variation. Individual communities have not differed not only in who is in power or in the results of elections, but also the overall context in which participation took place has had a significant impact. This overall context is deeply rooted in the national polity that is characteristic by specific institutional settings and national political culture. A good example is KANU party which held its followers in awe for over four decades.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF THE NANDI POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

4.1   The Nandi as a "Prince"

Machiavelli is the only political thinker whose name has come into common use for designating a kind of politics which exists and will continue to exist independently of his influence. His politics were guided exclusively by considerations of expediency that used all means, whether fair or foul, iron or poison for achieving the ends. The end was being the enhancement of one's country or fatherland never the less using the fatherland in the service of the self-aggrandizement of the politician or statesman or one's party. The Nandi nation-state since their arrival in Kenya has portrayed the tendency to hold firmly their territories. Initially the warlike tactics were used against neighbouring communities in order to ensure state survival and not expansion. This research paper will use the Machiavelli's prince to enhance the description of the research findings. This is reinforced by his views of how leaders are to manage their nation-state acquisition and monopoly of power.

Niccolò Machiavelli was Italian diplomat, historian and political theorist. His book *The Prince* is every so often claimed to be one of the first workings of modern philosophy. More so the modern political philosophy in which the valuable truth is taken to be more important than any theoretical ideal. The descriptions within *The Prince* have the general theme of accepting that the aims of princes such as glory and survival, can justify the use of immoral means to achieve those ends. Machiavelli emphasizes the need for realism as opposed to idealism. This is so since he who neglects what is done for what ought to be done will sooner affects his ruin than his preservation. This was the stack naked truth that engulfed the Nandi nation-state during their refusal to heed warnings of Koitalel Arap Samoei before their defeat by the colonial power. The

same fate faced them after the general elections of 2007 when it decided to wage war against communities in their territories. William Ruto is still awaiting trial by ICC for the chaos that followed the election. The price was too high for the community in both instances.

In *The Prince* Machiavelli does not explain what he thinks the best ethical or political goals are except the control of one's own fortune as opposed to waiting to see what chance brings. He took it for granted that would-be leaders naturally aim at glory or honor. He associated these goals with a need for virtue and prudence in a leader and saw such virtues as essential to good politics and indeed the common good.[33] The Nandi people after the defeat by British forces embraced collaboration as a way of ensuring its communities viability. They accepted he reserves without much struggle. During this period the leadership organization and the cause for maintaining peace was paramount. This political strategy was later to turn positive because the community was saved from hard colonial labour and was treated well.

Machiavelli's generalization that there were several virtuous Roman ways to hold a newly acquired province is comparable to the period before the independent when the Nandi realized it was being given its own political autonomy back. Due to uncertainty inherent with new political developments the community decided to join the minority party with the white settlers. The strategy here was that the white were well understood by the common persons whereas the national parties available were not known and may be detrimental to the nation-state survival. Therefore it became apparent to deal with the lesser power than increasing their power nationally through newer political parties. In terms of strategic political participation emphasis was placed on remaining with known present problems and avoids unknown future political

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[33] Machiavelli N. Chapter 15.: The Prince, Gutenberg.org, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1232/1232-h/1232-h.htm#2HCH0015, retrieved 24 Feb, 13.

turbulences. In all their calculations the community feared domination by the perceived larger tribes who were well organized politically and had to be avoided as much as possible.

Machiavelli writes that reforming an existing order is one of the most treacherous and thorny things a prince can do. The reason is that people are naturally resistant to change, fear of the unknown and reform out comes. Two reasons exist to explain this phenomenon. One is that those who benefited from the old order will resist change very fiercely. Two is that by contrast those who stand to benefit from the new order will be less fierce in their support because the new order is unfamiliar and they are not certain if it will live up to its promises. It is against this background that the Nandi are usually reluctant to adventure new social territories. They will wait until they are completely sure of their undertakings. But once convinced that the undertaking is good they always accept it and never turn back. Inevitably many people have been disappointed while trying to make the Nandi people their followers. This was the bitter lesson Raila Odinga realized too late while vying for the presidency of Kenya in 2013 general elections when the Nandi who supported him in 2007 general elections shifted supported to jubilee coalition en mass. CORD received 99,148 (18.7%) votes against JUBILLEE'S 430,155 (81.3%).[34] While Machiavelli makes a point that bringing new benefits to a conquered people will not be enough to cancel the memory of old injuries, the Nandi are still embittered by the loss of the former general election in which they had strategically voted to the last man to ODM.

In order to become a prince, there must be a selection of one's fellow citizens. Civic principalities do not require real high caliber personality but only fortunate wisdom. Machiavelli breaks this case into two basic types depending upon which section of the populace supports the

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[34] The IEBC summary of 2013 presidential results declared on 9 March 13 found in Daily Nation of Friday, March 15, 2013 advertiser's announcement, page 5. Nairobi, Kenya.

new leader. One is the support by the respected community leaders or those who wish to command the people. According to Machiavelli this is an unstable situation which must be avoided after the initial coming to power. This seems to be case that faced former president Moi as he battled the succession of late founding president in 1976. Strategically he appeared harmless and therefore he was supported by those who thought he was a passing cloud.[35] There are two types of influential people that are encountered as the nation-state ponders its organization. The Nandi used political strategy at *oret* level to bind itself its leader. In doing so the community distinguished two types of leadership influencing community members. The first type is those who are greedy and those who are focused on the community's good. The second type is those who are not bound to the new leader. After 2007 it became apparent that the princedom needed strength and wisdom in order to strategically defend itself through dependence on credible allies. This time round it abandoned ODM for TNA which was central Kenya heavy. However, the nation-state is prepared and the people trained on looking out for any dangers lurking in the JUBILLEE coalition.

Machiavelli discusses the ways and means a state can defend itself. The two most indispensable fundamentals whether old or new are sound laws and strong military forces. A self-sufficient princedom is one who can meet any enemy on the battlefield. Strategically the Nandi has no problem here. The community is war-like and reacts violently to too little provocation or behaviour that is deemed disrespectful to the community. It is also noted for its ability to going to war independently and does not involve other friendly communities in war activities. It stood strongly by the use of mercenary raids of its opponents using innovativeness

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[35] A Political Overview of Post-Colonial Kenya, 1963-2002 description by Professor Munene in his Historical Reflections on Kenya: Intellectual Adventurism, Politics and International Relations. Pp 115-140. University of Nairobi press. Nairobi, Kenya.

and natural personal experience. The young *ibinda warriors* were well disciplined, brave, and loyal being motivated by community integrity. Through war as hereditary princedom trait the Nandi maintains its hegemonic power. The Nandi therefore learnt how best to protect his territory and advance upon its survival. Physically these young are great sportsmen traversing the landscape of their territories with ease. They are also warned against idleness. The Nandi are praised for reliable keeping of their word. What is yes is yes even in severe pain. They are compassionate, faithful to his word, guileless, and devout. And indeed he should be so because the Nandi fears *tengek* or sin so much as described in the book of Deuteronomy. But his disposition should be such that if he needs to be the opposite he knows how.

Strategic Political participation is always about power and Machiavelli asserts that it is wiser to choose a winning side rather than to be neutral. Reasons cited include joining winning allies in which cases you enjoy the benefits of their win benefit whether or not you have more power than they have and two, if you are more powerful then your allies are under your command. If your allies are stronger, they will always feel a certain obligation to you for your help, and thirdly, if your side loses, you still have an ally in the loser. In conclusion, the most important virtue is having the wisdom to discern what ventures will come with the most reward and then pursuing them courageously. Before independence the Nandi allied itself with KADU and lost miserably. However, KANU ceded political power to KADU because it was not ready to lead. Thereafter KADU with Nandi membership merged with KANU strategically in order to strengthen itself. The Nandi community despite being slow in adventure often takes great political risks. Leaders such as Henry Kosgei sally Kosgei, Chelagat Mutai and lately William Ruto took risks against the political establishment. This concept was echoed by Machiavelli that encouraging risk taking as a reaction to risk itself.

4.2   Political Participation Strategies

Although the Nandi put up a stiffer and more protracted fight against the acceptance of British rule than any other Kenyan tribe, the punishment meted out to them between 1895 and 1906 did not create any lasting resentment against the conquerors. The Nandi acknowledged they had lost in their struggle against the British just like other tribes had lost to the Nandi in pre-colonial times. No attempt was made at the time, or ever since to excuse their defeat or to question the manner in which it was brought about. The only exception to this general statement is their condemnation of the methods allegedly employed during the interview between Koitalel and the captain Meinertzhagen in October 1905 that lead to the death of the Laibon (*Orkoyot*). Other incidents during the punitive expeditions were accepted as normal happenings in the course of military operations including even the attacks on the caves on the Nandi escarpments being similar to those raids they had undertaken on the Mt Elgon cave-dwellers before.

When hundreds of Nandi warriors returned from the 1914-18 war, they quickly resumed their places in community and gave little trouble to administration. Almost all the Nandi volunteers were illiterate with the exception of a few herdsmen and cart drivers. The majority of the Nandi served under their own Non Commissioned Officers in their self contained units such as the Nandi scouts and they seemed to have enjoyed the change from the monotonous life that had been their lot since the British occupation of their country. They earned the respect of their officers and the Europeans earned similar commendation from the Nandi. Outstanding soldiers such as Lieutenant Mabruk of the Nandi scouts were given permanent posts when the war was over. When political unrest and agitation were causing concern in the Kikuyu and Kamba districts between the wars and when the Kavirondo taxpayer's welfare association and other

organization were providing a platform for the expression of grievances in Nyanza, Nandi remained generally quiet and unaffected by strings in other districts. Nandi leaders protested openly and forcibly when occasion demanded but even the land question which was the root cause of political activity among the kikuyu and Kamba[36] did not lead to the formation of party in a tribe which had lost more land for white settlement. Much more concern was expressed in the thirties over the numbers of emigrants from the kikuyu and Nyanza district who sought employment on the Nandi hills and Uasin Gishu farms as labourers and traders. But neither anxiety on this account nor disappointment at the findings of the land commission was sufficiently acute to induce the Nandi to secure the eviction of interlopers from farms in the neighbouring districts.

Askaris returning from the 1939-45 war were convinced the Nandi and their kinsmen should combine to form a strong tribal group, so that claims for government help would not be prejudiced by comparison with those put forward by the larger Bantu and Nilotic tribal groupings. Several attempts were made to set up a provincial council,[37] and to incorporate the Kipsigis and Nyango'ori areas into rift valley province. These attempts were not prosecuted by their sponsors with much vigour because of the administration's reluctance to alter the provincial boundaries and because of the lukewarm support of the people at large.

John Chemallans nominations to a seat in legislative council in 1948 was a source of pride to the Nandi but he failed to keep in touch with the district leaders and made no efforts to

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[36] The figure of 1950 square miles given in the Kenya land commission report (1031) did not include the Nandi Hills, Tindiret, Songhor and Nyando valley areas, because the commission considered that this question had been settled by the chief's agreement to the Nandi native reserve boundaries in 1907 and 1910 (1047).

[37] L.N.Cs in the rift valley province sent delegates to a joint meeting after the war but the experiment was discontinued after a few years. A kipsigis proposal that Nandi should be incorporated in nyanza province was rejected because the Nandi felt they could not leave the Elgeiyo in the rift valley province. The location of secondary school in Kipsigis in preference to Nandi strained relations between the two tribes for a time.

organize a party as a means of strengthening his hand in Nairobi or of furthering the aspiration of his constituents. He was rebuked by the African District Council (A.D.C.) in February 1950 for his shortcomings and criticized for his equivocal attitude towards the government's policy of encouraging inter-penetration among the tribes which had led to an alarming influx of Nyanza people into the Kipsigis district.

The first legislative council election in 1957 created in a sight and transitory interest in political affairs. The contest was between a Maasai and a Tugen and was decided in Daniel Arap Moi's favour on personal and tribal grounds. The solid support which the new member received from the electorate and in the absence of an acceptable rivals for his office made it unnecessary for Arap Moi to organize a political party in order to consolidate his position. The emergency far from providing an aspiring politician with an opportunity to form a party in the district confirmed the Nandi in their opinion that political parties were of necessity anti-government and that they were likely to lead to violence and to retard the progress of the tribe.

Occasional attempts were made by organizations outside the district to overcome what others possibly considered the stupid indifference in Nandi attitudes. Eliud Mathu had some initial success during his recruiting campaign for the Kenya African study union in 1944, but those who were induced to support the venture refused to send their five shillings subscription to the Nairobi headquarters but spent the money on stock and equipment for a cooperative shop at the Kapsabet School instead. Occasional meeting of the local branch of the union were held in the Local Native Council (L.N.C.) chamber until 1946. Minutes of these deliberations were sent to the district commissioner who was accused of refusing applications of trading licenses and of

discouraging the Nandi from buying buses and Lorries. At the end of 1946 the branch was closed by the fifteen members who attended the final meeting.[38]

Tribal association in Nairobi (the Kipsigis-Nandi union)[39] and the Nandi Elgeiyo squatters association and its successor and Eldoret II (the Kalenjin union) also tried to interest the Nandi in political matters but the response in the district to their overtures was discouraging. Few people attended the meetings that were called and even fewer were prepared to subscribe to the funds of the convening association. Sympathy was expressed for the unions' efforts to safe guard the welfare of the Nandi women outside the district but the townsmen attempts to interfere in the districts activities were strongly resented. The A.D.C.'s attitude towards any possible rivals to its leadership was clearly demonstrated in 1950 when a request to address the council from the chairman of the Kalenjin union, George Arap Katam, was rejected by the councilors. Neither of the tribal association succeeded in establishing branches in the district. The indifference displayed by the Nandi to these sporadic attempts to interest them in politics made easy for the administration to regard the frequent visits of politicians with self-control and to let them proceed without obstruction in the knowledge that the visitors would return whence they came and be quickly forgotten. Attitudes on political matters and organizations followed a similar pattern among other members of the group[40] who consequently provided no stimulus for the quickening of political consciousness among their Nandi kinsmen. Indifference to political organizations and distrust of politicians characterized Nandi reaction to tribal and national events until a few years before independence.

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[38] A.D.C. minutes were sent to K.A.U. in 1952. When the union applied to the district commissioner to hold meetings in the district in the same year, Nandi leaders were angry that prior reference had not been made to them.
[39] Recognised in May 1947 by the Nandi L.N.C., which sent its minute union for a time.
[40] the "Sabaut" movement among the Kalenjin tribes in the north and Elgon Nyanza was an exception but this made little impact on the Nandi

The threatened infiltration of alien tribes into the Nandi district and surrounding areas and the speed with which conditions were changing throughout the colony eventually brought home to the leaders the seriousness of the novel challenge they were called upon to face. After enjoying immunity from invasion in pre-colonial times and relative freedom from close association with other tribes for most of the colonial period the Nandi suddenly felt themselves confronted by a threat from politically active tribes who not only supported nationalism as against tribalism but also advocated freedom of access to unoccupied land. The shock was so great that many Nandi began to have doubts about the wisdom of the demand for one man one vote. The more perspective such as Isaac Koskei,[41] also realized that it would not be long before the Nandi would have to discuss their problems with African officials and that because of the slow start which the Nandi had made in academic education few of these officials would be Nandi or members of allied tribes.

The suddenness with which the Nandi leaders brought themselves belatedly to accept the changing circumstances was emphasized in the years immediately before independence by two uncharacteristic attempts to imitate processes that were taking place in other districts. The first of these was the move to secure the return of the few *laibon* who remained under restriction. Support for this demand came initially from traditionists and the young elements but it eventually gained widespread approval. No opposition was voiced by the Christian leaders who had taken a courageous stand against the *laibon* in the past. Some justified their change of mind on humanitarian grounds, a sentiment that had weighed lightly with them a few years before

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[41] Isaac had demonstrated outstanding qualities of leadership as a headman, councilor (later chairman of the A.D.C.) and as a member of the A.I.M., but he was not literate in English. Francis Biama, his counterpart among Catholics, suffered from similar disability.

when they had pressed the government to institute more rigorous controls[42] over the activities

and movements of the alien practitioners.[43] The Nandi had no other candidates for repatriation so

the *laibon* who hitherto had been regarded as Maasai rather than as fellow-tribesmen became the

beneficiaries of the colony-wide agitation for the return of tribal exiles.[44]

The second attempt to imitate processes that were taking place elsewhere was the efforts

that were made to build up the chief *laibon*, Barserion Arap Manyei as tribal leader despite the

censures on his conduct that had often been made in the past and the general condemnation of his

attempt in 1957[45] to raise the Nandi squatters in Laikipia.[46] Lacking an alternative champion to

rival the powerful leaders of political parties in other tribes the Nandi had no choice but to turn to

Arap Manyei. The attempt to create a charismatic leader was quietly dropped because it was not

in keeping with the character of a people who were not disposed to hero-worship or the

encouragement of personality cults. Both episodes suggest that the Nandi were caught

unprepared[47] by rapid changes which found them without a political organization of any sort to

provide them with guidance in their perplexity.

In the meantime improved communication and transport facilities together with an

increase in the number of people who had studied together in provincial and other institutions

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[42] In august 1952 the A.D.C. refused to recommend the abolition of laibon passes until the laibons showed better behaviour; in November 1955 all the councilors signed a petition to the governor asking for the laibons removal ordinance, 1934 to be extended to Nandi so that the laibons could be closely controlled. The councils decisions were partly in protest against the laibon practice of "naming wives", a procedure by which a laibon could secure any girl as a wife despite objections by her family or betrothed.

[43] Memorandum of objects and reasons for the laibons' removal (amendment and extended application) bill, 24 March 1956, and legal notice 276, 16 may, 1957.

[44] Memorandum of objects and reasons for the laibons' removal (amendment and extended application) bill, 24 March 1956, and legal notice 276, 16 may, 1957.

[45] Nandi response to the agitation for the return of other political exiles, most of whom were only names in Nandi, was "let's have a look at them and see what sort of people they are".

[46] A respected Nandi leader, Ex-Chief Willie ARAP Boit, was recalled to government service to help resolve the situation in Laikipia.

[47] A contributory factor was possibly that that the Nandi and the district officials felt that the government would not allow the Nandi to be swamped.

had strengthened the links between the Nandi and their kinsmen. The designation Kalenjin[48] was coined to describe the tribal group, a term which emphasized the aloofness characteristic of its constituent members. A rapidly growing awareness developed among the Kalenjin as it had twenty years earlier among some of their leaders that as a geographically separated sections they were numerically of little account compared with the larger more consolidated tribes. Whereas as a united group with a common purpose the tribal sections could form a powerful entity that could not easily be disregarded. In particular it was felt that the formation of a united front was essential if the Kalenjin were to benefit from the changes that were imminent and if the infiltration of other tribes into areas under Kalenjin occupation or in the Kalenjin sphere of influence was to successfully resisted.[49] Discussions had already taken place in most of the tribal areas about the formation of political parties that were unashamedly tribal in aim and composition. It was an easy step for the Nandi participants in these discussions to combine with their fellows in 1959 in order to launch the Kalenjin Political Alliance.

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[48] "I tell you" (because you understand my language). The term is said to have been coined in Nairobi or at the alliance high school.

[49] In May 1959 and august 1961 the nyangori sought the backing of the Nandi A.D.C. for the transfer of their location from nyanza to Nandi.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1   Conclusion and Recommendations

Even if one discards the notion of socialism as general human nature, it is nevertheless difficult to reject out of hand the dispute that humans are very much inclined to live within communities rather than as lonely individuals having little to make contact with others. And so we come to the claim of Aristotle that humans are by nature a socio-political animal. His philosophy of politics centered very much on the socio-political community. That is a community with the natural habitat of humans. Among the nation-states he studied there were democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, tyranny, monarchy and anarchy in which there is no formal authority within the state.

It has been shown that the Nandi nation-state before the arrival of the colonialist practiced democracy unique to the shared heritage through clans and age-sets. The descriptions painted an ethnic group with its own identity based on cultural elements of political participation consistent with how power transcended the community members. The humble literature has also shown that there was good system of administration of justice through the *kokwet* sittings. The basic understanding was based on the premise that all humans were intrinsically equal. Unlike in the prince, the Nandi nation-state leadership was alive to the principles of good morals, choosing of strategies for community survival more so when overpowered by stronger political competitors and application of human reason to socio-political problems.

We have seen that the interest which the Nandi were belatedly forced to take politics was created by four main factors namely, the intensification and speeding of up of developments within the tribe which had proceeded gradually over a period of years, the need for unity among

the separate sections of the Kalenjin groups, the fear of encroachment onto tribal lands, and the realization that after independence they would be governed centrally by a nationalist, anti-tribal government and locally by officials from other tribes. Their immediate response to the challenge was the formation of a tribally based party which received the virtually unanimous support of the people and which was directed by leaders whose characters and actions had met with general approbation for many years before the formation of a party had been envisaged.

The Nandi political history has been one of maintenance of nation-state through evaluation of strategic political activities that ensured community survival. Throughout history four major identifiable political terrains are established. There was the high politics of nation-state that existed during their conquest of their neighbouring communities in order to establish hegemonic power marking its historical territories. This period extended up to 1963 during which period the colonialist held on to their rational power.

Then there was the period of tyranny of property and class formation. The period transcends 1963 to 1990 during which time the community's political elites held leadership and gave direction on political activity. The political economy of the community went beyond the traditionally known clan leadership to the haves and have-nots. During these three decades the leaders who came into prominence and championed the Nandi hegemony through national politics were/are Marie Seroney, Chelagat Mutai, William Saina, Ezekiel Barngetuny and Henry Kosgei. This was followed by the deep politics of tribal alliances which has characterized the Nandi political scene since advent of multi party elections of 1992 period. During this era, the community tended to practice high stake politics of survival in order to ensure its survival and avoid political marginalization. In order to reduce the political competition in the territory by

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outsider communities, political evictions were deemed necessary. The period lasted up to the outcome election of 2007.

Finally, the political strategy of the community came into the fore after the disputed elections of 2007/2008. The community seemed to confront the international community through the ICC. The established modern protocols on human rights and international laws against all forms of discrimination became a reality to the Nandi political strategists. The little support received by the Nandi leaders during the process forced a re-thinking of its alliance to ODM party which had offered little political support. Hence the community strategists went back to its bitter political adversaries who also had similar predicament with international community. In the run up to the 2013 general elections Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta abandoned his old party KANU, and formed The National Alliance party (TNA) while Mr. William Ruto strategically formed the United Republican Party (URP). The two parties formed the Jubilee Alliance with Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta being the president and William Ruto being the running mate. The Nandi overwhelmingly voted for Jubilee Coalition which eventually won the 2013 general elections. This arrangement has ensured political relevance and survival to the Nandi political strategists. The traditional political social cultural generational change from *Kipkoimet* to *Kaplelach* age set was due also during their decade and it fitted well to the political scenario which is prevailing now. A quick analysis of the elected Kalenjin leadership proves this point right.

There's need to do a quantitative research analysis on strategic political participation in order to validate the findings of this qualitative analysis. This is more so due to the fact that more time is required to validate the dependant variables as indicators of reliable projections on political participation activities. These projections will determine prediction in the political participation during political periods. There is need to incorporate political-economy analysis in

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order to determine if land is equated to power by the Nandi. The basis for this is derived from the

perceived cooperation of the Nandi to those who respect land ownership and economic activities

from land leading to peaceful coexistence and to resentment and violence to those who do not

respect this concept.

Nandi Totems

The Nandi people have totems or oreet each identified by an 'animal' (*tiondo*), which no clan member could eat. The identification by *Oreet* helped prevent inbreeding since marriage within *Oreet* was largely not permitted. Clan symbols (*tiondo*) range from birds to wild animals to frogs to snakes and bees. It is claimed that *Kong'ony* (crested crane) was the first animal allocated a family. Hence Moi (*Kong'ony*) is regarded as the 'leader' and in child stories this is shown as the source of babies in a family. The jackal (*Kimageet, oreet ab Tungo, korap oor*) is claimed to have been the last *tiondo* to be allocated and comes along with several rules of favour. The *Tungo* girls are only ones allowed to retain their clan identity. The following are the known clans and their totems:

1.	Kiboiis	-	Lelwot, Solobchot
2.	Kabongen/ Kipkoitim	-	Belyot, Nyiritiet
3.	Kibomui	-	Cheptirgich, Ng'emuiyo
4.	Kipkenda	-	Egemik, Mororochoch
5.	Kapkoogos	-	Chepkokosiot
6.	Kipyegem	-	Moseet, Muryaat
7.	Talai	-	Ng'etundo
8.	Toiyoi	-	Bireech
9.	Kibaa	-	Ereen, Koroiit
10.	Kibasiso	-	Asista, Bung'ung'wet
11.	Chemur	-	Kiptusweet (Kibaoit Nebo Timiin)
12.	Kabii	-	Toreet

13.	Sogoom	-	Chepsireret
14.	Moekgong'ony	-	Kong'ony
15.	Moesoen	-	Moset
16	Kiptobkei	-	Chereret
17.	Kamwaigei	-	Taiwet
18.	Ungo	-	Kimageet

List of Nandi Rulers

1. Kipsegun.

2. Arap Kipsegun (Kipsegun's son).

3. Kopokoii (son of Kipsegun).

4. Torokut (son of Kopokoii).

5. Kipnyole (son of Torokat).

6. Koitalel Arap Samoei (son of Kipnyole).

7. Kipeles or Tamasun (also son of Kipnyole).

8. Misken Marasoi

Barsirian Arap Manyei (son of Koitalel Arap Samoei) reigned from 1919 to 1922 when he was detained by the British. The *Orkoigik* are believed to have originated as chief ritual leaders or priest but later emerged as leaders exercising both political and military authority. The position is hereditary and the dynasty descended from Maasai origins. The current families known to influence nandi thinking are Kap Marasoi, Kap Sanet, Kap Chesang, Kap Sogon, Kap Turugat and Kap Bingot.

LIST OF FIGURES

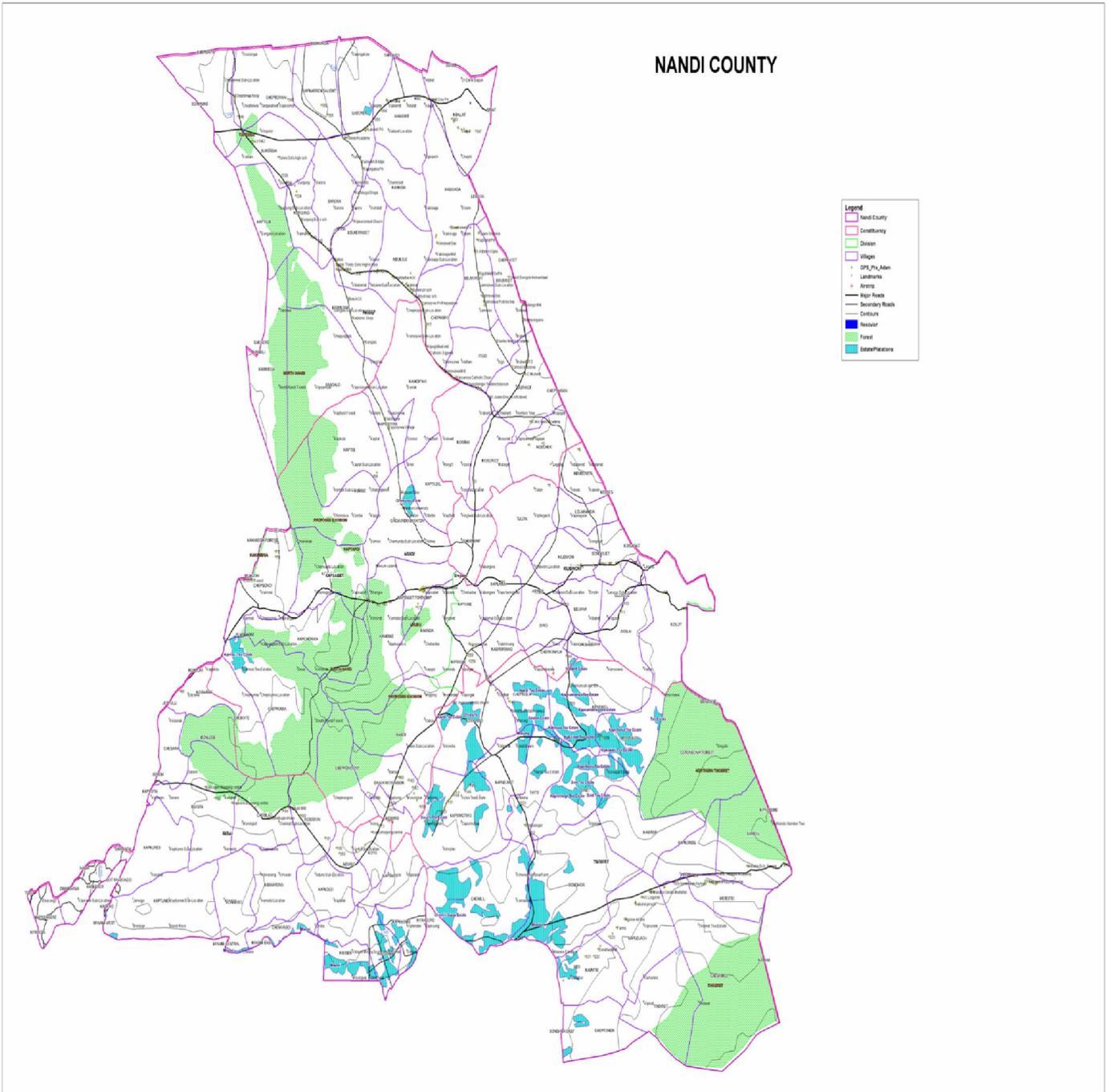| MONTH / ACTIVITIES	NOV 2012	DEC 2012	JAN 2013	FEB 2013	MAR 2013
Proposal writing	▰				
Feasibility study		▰			
Literature review			▰		
Refinement of research tools			▰	▰	
Data collection				▰	
Data collation & report writing				▰	▰
Documentation	▰	▰	▰	▰	▰

Figure 1: Timelines

Figure 2: Nandi County Map

Figure 3: Undated picture of Nandi warriors

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