

**POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN KENYA: THE CASE OF THE LUO OF
GEM, SIAYA COUNTY, KENYA (1894-2020)**

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DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

Declaration by the Student

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

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DEDICATION

To my wife Rosa Kristabel Akoth, for providing endless spiritual and psychological encouragement during this work.

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I highly thank God and commend all those who contributed positively towards the success of this Thesis. It is of great honor to express hearty gratitude to my supervisors Dr. Fredrick Odede, and Dr George Odhiambo for their compassionate encouragement, support, dedication and guidance at every stage of Thesis development.

ABSTRACT

The pre-colonial African political set up was composed of centralised and decentralised political systems. With colonialism, new forms of politics of representation that placed the Africans at the periphery of representative politics emerged. This study is about the history of political participation of the Gem community in Kenyan politics, from 1894 to 2020. The study is guided by three objectives; to examine the evolution of the political organisation of Gem people up to 1894, investigate the history of Gem from the onset of colonial rule and analysed the participation of Gem people in Kenya's nationalist politics from 1964 to 2020. These discussions are based on the premise that since the pre-colonial period, the people of Gem have transformed politically, beginning as agents of colonial rule in Nyanza, through the collaboration of their pioneer leaders. While it could be generally accepted that it was as a result of these circumstances that a political awareness developed in the community, which in essence, affected the character of their politics throughout the post-colonial period, these political developments have not been addressed by historical research. Thus, the assumptions of the study were that the history of politics of the people of Gem could be traced from the pre-colonial period under the leadership of pioneer leaders like Rading Omolo, Odera Ulalo, Odera Akango, Mathew Onduso and chief Ndenda among others. New forms of representative politics emerged in Gem during the colonial period that affected or influenced the nature of their participation in nationalist politics in Kenya from 1964-2020. The study used the modernization state formation theory to examine the history of political transformation of the Gem community. Methodologically, the study used historical research design. The study was conducted in Gem, Siaya County. The respondents were purposively sampled using a snowballing technique. The study targeted representatives of clans in Gem with knowledge on the political history of the community. The sample size was 120 respondents drawn from 6 wards in Gem (South Gem, East Gem, North Gem, Central Gem, West and Yala Township). The sources of data included: oral sources, archival sources and secondary sources, and were corroborated to meet the reliability and objectivity of the research. Data was collected through oral interviews and focus group discussions. The study analysed and presented data through Qualitative Data Analysis. The major findings of the study were that there were signs of a semi-modern state structure among the Gem people prior to the arrival of British colonialists that made it possible for Nabongo Mumia of Wanga to nurture political association with Odera Ulalo and Odera Akango for collaboration with the British authorities. During the colonial period, new forms of representative politics emerged as follows; appointment of chiefs; colonial protests; representation in the Legislative council; formation of political associations; collaboration with the colonial administration; and democratic elections. Argwings Kodhek from Gem, made a selfless decision to donate his expertise to advocate for Mau Mau detainees. He also played a pivotal role in the Lancaster House Conference, where the independence constitution was drafted. During the same period, Mr. Benaiah Apolo Ohanga served as a minister for the British government in the colonial parliament. Other leaders in Gem like Grace Ogot were instrumental in championing the agenda of the KANU government while Ombaka contributed to the constitutional reform initiatives in the 1990s. The study concluded that after the establishment of colonial rule in Gem, new forms of representative politics emerged and hence contributed to the transformation of the political historiography of the Gem community in Siaya County, Kenya.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

KANU	Kenya African National Union
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KPU	Kenya People's Union 4. FORD - Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
ODM	Orange Democratic Party
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The transformation in political consciousness that occurred in African nations during the colonial era arose within the framework of the traditional political and social institutions that existed in those communities before colonialism (Murdock, 1967). There existed centralised and decentralised political systems in Africa. The Shongai Empire in Western Africa, the Luba kingdom in Central Africa, the Buganda and Ankole kingdoms in Eastern Africa, and the Ankole and Buganda kingdoms in Eastern Africa are all examples of the centralised governments with a hierarchical social structure. There were also civilizations that are acephalous, such as the Nuer of Sudan and the Konkomba of Ghana and Togo. In these cultures, it was assumed that there was no governmental organization that existed beyond the level of the village but in spite of the lack of a centralized state, these groups nonetheless adhered to a set of agreed rules when it came to settling disagreements and making decisions (Diamond, 1997).

These forms of political systems in Africa were vibrant. The majority of centralized kingdoms were established in what is now known as the "inter-lacustrine" region, which is located west of Lake Victoria (Sandbrook, & Barker, 1985). Interethnic connections in pre-colonial Kenya were characterized by trade and intermarriage. In addition, there was limited and infrequent fighting between the different ethnic groups. The natural vitality of the communities that were influenced by colonization was not significantly hampered by it; rather, it was given new form, meaning, and purpose as a result of the colonization process, which provided structure and direction to the ebb and flow of the numerous ethnicities that had settled there (Ndege, 2009).

Young, (1982) adds that the Berlin conference of 1884-1885 marked the start of the idea of western political representation in Africa. New forms of political representation emerged with colonialism which removed emphasis from the local communities to the colonial headquarters in the metropole. In examining governance and the transformation of politics of representation in various African countries, Saward (2005) observes that one of the most enduring legacies of colonialism in post-colonial Kenya is the continued existence of ethnic and clan differences, which are manifested not only in terms of group identity but also as a mobilizing force in the pursuit of economic interests.

The history of colonialism in Africa may be broken down into several eras marked by times of severe repression and dehumanization. The devastating effect that colonialism had on African politics was felt strongly in Kenya, as it was across the rest of the continent (Weseka, 2000). As a consequence of this, investigating the procedure of political transformation in Kenya has become one of the most all-encompassing and cutting-edge intellectual issues there is today. Colonialism was able to play a defining role in Africa because the continent's pre-colonial social and political history was so intricate that it provided little opportunity of organized resistance. This allowed colonialism to play a significant part in the history of the continent.

The colonial penetration into western Kenya and Nyanza, took place in June 1894 when the British established a protectorate over Uganda. This protectorate included the areas that are today known as Kisumu and Naivasha. In 1902, South Kavirondo and the remainder of what had once been a part of Uganda's Eastern region were included into the British East Africa Protectorate, which would eventually evolve into the nation of Kenya (Ochieng, 1974). Jo-Gem who lived along the northern caravan route in the 1890s, were attempting to extend their control over other communities in the region by acquiring weapons and luring desertions from the guards of the caravan (Londsdale, 1977).

Colonialism was carried out by the use of a complex strategy of inclusion and exclusion, which has, up to this point, been viewed primarily in authoritarian and prejudiced terms (Chelati Dirar, 2007). The colonial paradigm of rule by division (whether institutional or geographical) was widely adopted by colonialism throughout its time of existence. In this context, significant research should include political transformation and the growth of nationalist sentiment. According to Ziltener and Künzler (2013), having such an in-depth analysis is necessary in order to have a complete understanding of Kenyan nationalism. At the same time, it is essential to acknowledge that the period of colonial rule in Kenya was rife with a variety of ambiguities and inconsistencies, which resulted in the development of unique types of nationalism and political consciousness throughout the country. A better understanding of these complexities can help shed light on Kenya's political change and the post-colonial expressions that are related to it (Bermann, 1997).

The colonial regime's attempts to regulate components of a traditional society and mobilize it toward the construction of a colonial capitalist market were intertwined in the complex process of class formation during this time period. As a consequence of this, the ethnic bogeyman that haunts Kenyan politics is not readily explicable without taking into account the colonial institution and the impact it had on various ethnic groups (Kitching 1980, Leys 1975, Swainson 1977). The British colonialists assumed that Africans lived in tribes and that this meant that tribes should constitute the basis of colonial administration. As a result, the British colonialists arbitrarily based administrative boundaries and local government on cultural and linguistic lines.

This assumption led to the British colonialists basing administrative boundaries and local government on cultural and linguistic lines. This helped build the framework for the ethnic awareness that would later reveal itself in the political processes of Kenya after this point (Sandbrook 1985, pp 49-50). In pre-colonial Africa, there was little to no desire for the establishment of large-scale states, and individuals were more likely to identify politically depending on their ethnicity.

Antoine (2016) observes that representative democracy is the most common form of government across the world. This agrees with Pap's (2017) assertions that by electing a good representative the minority will be able to voice their grievances in an orderly manner. Cox and McCubbins (1986) and Cox (1997) expand the above observations by aptly mentioning that liberal democracy is aided or impeded by ethnic politics. On the other hand, Chandra (2004) argues that competition for wealth and power among various ethnic groups affect the institutionalisation of democracy. Ochieng (1974) observes that class and ethnic division during colonial rule had a considerable impact on new forms of African political organisation. This was because most of the African political activity was local within a single ethnic group. Similarly, Oyugi (1994) posits that political dissent also extended to religious forms and other groups which were seeking to get rid of the 'alien' chiefs imposed on them by the colonial regime in Africa after the establishment of colonial rule.

Due to increased demand for African representation, Eliud Mathu was appointed the first African representative in the legislative council in 1944. This also led to the formation of Kenya African Study Union (KASU), which was later rebranded Kenya

African Union (KAU), a political organisation and movement which represented the African grievances to the colonial government (Ochieng, 1990). In his book, "Not Yet Uhuru: An Autobiography," published in 1967, Oginga Odinga states that the Luo system of government was by consent and consultation from elders. Odinga concludes that the British changed this since they chose leaders who were unpopular among the people who could only be used to achieve the colonial aim.

The Luo are a distinct ethnic group that may be found living in the region around Lake Victoria. They speak a Nilotic language and have a Nilotic culture, and they consider themselves to be successful farmers, fisherman, and herders of cattle. The areas that get a higher average number of rainy days are home to the Bantu-speaking peoples that live to the north and south of them and who are now known as the Luyia and Gusii (Mwakikagile, 2007). Cultural identities in pre-colonial times were more changeable. In order for small colonial communities to flourish in the face of climatic unpredictability, they needed to be open to clientage and adoption, presumably along lines that were suggested by previous instances of marriage between different cultures (Eley, 1981).

Communities that were far smaller than these cultural confederations assured people's ability to meet their most fundamental needs. These groups coexisted and were cohesive enough to handle the exploitation and defense of their settlement areas without the need for a central government. They did this without the necessity for a central administration because they coexisted. Even though clans had a tendency to break up into smaller groupings, they nevertheless managed to cooperate with one another in their local surroundings. This was due to the fact that the majority of these areas were inhabited by clan groups that were connected via blood, marriage, or clientage (Eley, 1981).

A very small group of influential persons was responsible for arranging the political particulars of the British invasion in western Kenya. The British outpost in the region was known as Mumia's or Mumias. It got its name from the person who used to hold the position of nabongo for the Luyia Wanga tribe. Although it was mostly ceremonial and mediating in character, the nabongo was Nyanza's closest thing to an organized

chiefship. However, the Wanga clans granted it very little administrative authority, thus it was more of a figurehead than anything else (Lonsdale, 1977).

The settlement served as a hub for Swahili ivory-hunters and slave raiders from the Indian Ocean coast for a little more than twenty years prior to the arrival of the British. The influence of their commerce and weaponry had not yet been extremely severe because Nyanza was at the very edge of their commercial frontier. Although the Wanga may have gained a significant advantage from the coastmen's weapons, the Ugenya clans who were located to the south of the Wanga were the spearhead of the Luo colonization drive. The Jo-Gem clans were responsible for the dispersal of the Luhya clans in their territory, which was located to the north of the Wanga and straddled the roaring river Nzoia (Chitayi, 2015).

Commenting on the history of communities in central Nyanza, (Ochieng, 1975) maintains that some clans among the Luo in the region proved to be very dominative in the pre-colonial period, however, this situation changed with the coming of British rule in the region, as some of these clans like the Kadimo were now the conquered. This eventually, changed the socio-economic and politics of representation among the residents of the clan. The arrival of the British colonialists in Kenya, and particularly in Siaya county, brought changes in the politics of representation among the residents of different clans in central Nyanza because of the structural transformations that the British affected in local leadership.

Previous studies on political representation have often focused on national and regional representative politics. However, the political representation of the Gem community of Siaya, county, Kenya has hardly received any scholarly attention, for instance, to understand whether colonialism brought new forms of politics of representation among the Gem community within the context of colonial structures. This study fills the knowledge gap on political historiography among ethnic communities in the colonial period, which is useful in demonstrating the chronology of politics of representation during the colonial period. It is against this background that a study on the political transformation among the Gem community in Siaya County from the onset of colonialism was conducted.

Schiller's observation adds to the significance of this study. He states that in the late Nineteenth, Century Gem was fairly centralized. Led for a century in its fight for living space by the dominant Jo Karading lineage, [i.e., the family of Rading Omolo] strong paramount chiefs unified the location under their sway and had the clans co-operating in decision making (Schiller, 1982 p338). The outcomes of this study would serve as a standard against which to judge the contribution of Kenya's African communities on political change. This is founded on the notion that studies on political change will offer helpful insight into the roots of nationalism in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Literature on political transformation in Kenya has generally illuminated the primary sources of nationalism. Furthermore, there has been a generalization of the factors that have determined political transformation among the various communities in western Kenya, but very little research has been done to explain political transformation among the various ethnic communities in central Nyanza and identify the trajectory of political processes over the course of time from the colonial period to the post-colonial era. This has led to the generalization of the factors that determine political transformation.

Cognisant of this fact, the purpose of this study was to investigate the political transformation in Gem community, Siaya County, Kenya in the period between 1894 and 2020. This was done to provide a framework for evaluating the role that Africans played at a local level in nationalist movements and the distinctive characteristics of their political transformation since colonial rule. These discussions are based on the premise that ever since the beginning of colonialism, the people of Gem have not only been agents of colonial rule in Nyanza through the collaboration of their leaders, Odera Ulalo and Odera Akango, but they have also founded Young Kavirondo Association in 1922 through Jonathan Okwiri and Ezekiel Apindi to oppose the kipande system and heavy taxation.

Some of their representatives also made significant contributions in the struggle for multi-partism, legal representation of Mau Mau detainees, the Lancaster House deliberations and the drafting of the independence constitution. These developments formed the basis upon which this research was considered. It is generally believed that it is on the basis of this history that the character of politics in Gem has been shaped,

manifesting a blend of collaboration and resistance with government throughout the post-colonial period. This political argument has not been examined.

1.3 General Objective

The study investigated political transformation in the history of the people of Gem from 1894 to 2020.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- i. To investigate the political organisation of Gem people up to 1894
- ii. To examine the history of Gem during the colonial period
- iii. To analyse the participation of Gem people in Kenya's nationalist politics 1964-2020

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What was the nature of the political organization of Gem people in the pre-colonial period?
- ii. What was the nature of Gem history during the colonial period?
- iii. What was the nature of participation of Gem people in Kenya's nationalist politics from 1964-1920?

1.5. Assumptions of the Study

The study will be premised on the assumptions that: -

- i. The environment in which the nationalist politics developed in Gem was also shaped by the pre-colonial social, economic and political organization.
- ii. The nature of ethnic politics among the people of Gem before 1918 was influenced by the relations of their leaders and the colonial authority in Nyanza.
- iii. Colonial policies influenced the nature of political participation of Gem people after the Second World War.
- iv. The people of Gem have made significant contributions in Kenya's nationalist politics since independence

1.6. Justification and Significance of the Study

This was a study of political transformation. It was a subject that had been extensively dealt with by both historians and political scientists. This had been done through a general orientation, either by examining protests against European rule at a national and continental level, or through focusing on particular areas and communities almost at the exclusion of others. While these studies were important, there was more need to explore the relationships among Africans during this time at the local level.

For most Africans it was the locality and local issues which dominated their concerns throughout the years of alien rule. This study narrowed down the unit of focus to the people of Gem in Siaya County to hopefully provide a more detailed account of the community's participation in political transformation from the colonial period. The study examined the patterns of the precolonial past which had been ignored by elitist studies that stress modern features of political development, and their dependence on European ideas and organizational models.

In so doing, the study contributed to a fuller understanding of political historiography in Kenya by examining the experience of one locality, namely, the people of Gem. This was done with a wider embracing analysis of the events at the national level. The study was, therefore, necessitated by the fact that Gem people had not adequately been brought into the picture of state formation. They had been portrayed as if they played no role at all towards Kenya's road to independence.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This study undertook an inquiry on political transformation among the people of Gem. Though 1894 was indicated as the earliest starting point in the study, it remains flexible. The study probed the changes in the precolonial society that could have continued to impact on the later politics in the area. This involved, where necessary, an examination of the period before 1894. The significance of 1894, however, was that it served as a time when Western Kenya was brought under the British administration. This was the year when Sir Colville, the first commissioner of the newly established government of the Uganda Protectorate, established an administrative post at Mumias with Sir Frederick Valet Spire in charge. The Year 1894, hence was an appropriate period for it marked the beginning of the British colonial rule in Nyanza which

included the people of Gem. The year 2020, on the other hand, served as a convenient date to end our investigation and analysis to cover political developments that have transpired to date.

1.8. Limitations and Delimitation of the Study

The study was limited to the stated geographical region Gem sub-county. However, in some circumstances, the researcher will be forced to collect data from a respondent away from Gem based on their knowledge level. During the data collection process, the researcher is expecting to face challenges like memory lapse from the elderly respondents which might limit acquisition of expected information. Use of other forms of data instruments or methods such as focused group discussions and secondary sources will be significant for triangulation. However, the study will be expected to revisit such respondents and link all the responses received. During rainy seasons, accessing the interior villages becomes difficult due to harsh weather conditions as a result of muddy roads. However, these challenges will be solved by providing adequate time especially during dry seasons. The study intends to employ oral interviews in obtaining information from respondents.

1.9 Literature Review

Since the beginning of time, Kenya's diversified population has been successfully adjusting to the demands of its environment (Ndege, 2009). As a consequence of this, there was little to no impetus for the formation of large-scale nations. Instead, the most important political unit was a network of houses that were intimately connected to one another. The communal constructions were extremely segmented or acephalous. The prevalence of centralized kingdoms was highest in the interlacustrine region, which is located to the west of Lake Victoria. In Kenya before it was colonized, the ethnic lines that divided settlements were not always clear. Interethnic relations were characterized by the presence of things like commerce and intermarriage, in addition to the occasional outbreak of violence.

The Luo people of Gem in western Kenya, although being an acephalous group, have significant historical connections to the wanga, the rulers of a centralized state. During the period of independence, some Luhya clans from western province ended up among the Luo of Gem, and vice versa. This created a complex historical development that

needs to be addressed in terms of its implications on the political transformation of the people of Gem in Nyanza from the time of colonialism to the present day (Ogot, 2000). Throughout the history of migration and settlement, several ethnic groups had regular periods of growth and decline in population. There is hardly a single facet of civilization that has stayed the same. Colonialism did nothing to stifle the societies' inherent energy; rather, it gave it new shape, meaning, and purpose by giving it new forms of expression. Studies of colonialism and its aftereffects continue to be popular among academics (Kitching, 1980; Mamdani, 1996; Wrigley, 1965; Wolff, 1974), but some people argue that the impact of colonialism on individual groups in western Kenya has not been studied. This is despite the fact that studies of colonialism and its aftereffects remain popular among academics. It is indicated that it is vital to analyze the colonial experience in western Kenya in order to comprehend the political change that has occurred among the tribes in Nyanza. It is possible, in some regions of Nyanza, to see the lingering impacts of colonialism in the way that the politics of the region have developed after independence (Ogot, 2000).

As the historical period of colonial rule continued, there were thus typically more reasons for Africans to rebel. As time went on and British punitive expeditions mounted, some of the Luo people of Nyanza learnt from the errors that their northern cousins had made and made peace with the British without ever having started war. They did this by learning from their relatives in the north. While this was going on, the Jo-Gem and Gusii peoples, who lived to the north and south of Nyanza, respectively, continued to be subjected to severe punishment at the hands of a government that was becoming more and more capable of carrying it out. The British colonization of Nyanza offers a startlingly pure case study of the operational elements that contribute to political accumulation on a day-to-day basis. Local people did not pose a threat to British interests in eastern Africa because their land was not desired by white settlers (at least not until 1903) and because it was not believed to contain any minerals of immediate importance. In addition, white settlers did not arrive in the region until after 1903. (Ogot, 2000).

When colonial soldiers attacked some regions of Nyanza, the indigenous people living there fought back with violence, which resulted in many of their own people being driven from their homes. The indigenous people of a nation progressively lost their

freedom in the aftermath of an invasion by colonial powers as a result of the replacement of indigenous leaders by colonial authority. This was one of the many ironies that came with British colonial power. Indirect British control was founded on a meaningless platitude, and it often led to the recruitment of British collaborators and porters into leadership positions, with varying effects on regional and local politics as a consequence of these individuals' presence in such roles (Mamdani, 1996). Colonial control over Chiefs' councils, native courts, and local native councils reshaped the political landscape of Nyanza by installing leaders and institutions with the express purpose of maintaining Africans' inferior status under colonial rule. This reshaping occurred as a result of the installation of leaders and institutions with the express purpose of maintaining Africans' inferior status. They were adopted for a variety of reasons, including the imposition of administrative fees on Africans, which was cited as one of those causes. Therefore, order was maintained in order to serve the interests of British capitalist accumulation (Mamdani, 1996).

Over the course of time, the British authority expanded to the point that it became the dominant force in Nyanza. During this same period of time, the nature of the relationship that the British had with the African communities that made up Nyanza transformed from one of coexistence to one of dominance. In order to go from a position of coexistence to one of control, the British Empire passed through the stages of ascendancy and dominance (Lonsdale, 1977). Throughout the many phases or epochs, the relative prominence of the component traits changed in various ways. The geographical borders of British authority were more limited with each consecutive time, further defining who was considered to be inside the pale and who was considered to be outside of it (Lonsdale, 1977).

Changes of a fundamental kind have taken place in the political climate of Nyanza ever since the termination of the authority of colonial rule. Because political shifts have been influenced by factors on both the regional and national levels, it is essential to examine these phenomena in the contexts in which they have arisen (Chabal and Daloz 1999). Formal political institutions and processes in Africa have gotten the lion's share of focus on political change on the continent. This is because formal political institutions and processes in Africa have higher visibility and are more easily quantifiable. Institutions and procedures are essential in politics in every region of the

globe; nonetheless, they are not enough to explain everything. Because of this, it is very important to think about the processes that maintained and formed the local political institutions, specifically the responsibilities that ethnic groups and their leaders played in maintaining the political system (Chabal and Daloz) (1999).

In order to gain Kenya's political independence, many diverse socioeconomic forces, including individual and corporate actors, ethnic and religious communities, regional and transregional actors, and others, battled on many distinct fronts. Despite the fact that many various identities were represented in the battle for independence, they all discovered a common ground in anticolonial nationalism and tapped into a spirit of solidarity that echoed the proverb "we either hang together or be hanged individually." It was easy to feel the passion that the anticolonial patriots had for their cause (Nasong'o, 2016).

There were two primary pillars that served as the foundation for the philosophy that guided the resistance movement. The first component was political, and it had to do with defending the independence of both the monarchy and the general populace. Because of colonization, Africans no longer have the opportunity to determine whatever components of their culture they wish to change, nor do they have the capacity to make choices about their own governance. Communities in Nyanza, along with the rest of Kenya, experienced a loss of control, independence, and cultural identity as a result of colonial rule. The people of Nyanza opposed British colonialism in part because their political position was in such a precarious state at the time.

It is possible that we may turn to religion to discuss the second component of the ideology held by the African resistance movements in Nyanza. Because of the principles that are expressed in Africans' traditional religious scriptures, Africans were able to institutionalize their resistance against colonialism. In Nyanza, the local rulers' power was maintained in large part because of the contributions of religious leaders. In most cases, communities preserved their autonomy via the use of religious emblems and concepts. In fact, the question of governmental power was intricately linked with the rituals and symbols of religious practice (Ranger, 1987). The introduction of a new form of governance brought about by the colonization of Nyanza stirred up the indigenous people's religious and cultural values. A crucial addition to the debate of

Nyanza's political transition would be an investigation of religious beliefs and actions as a political and social endeavor to maintain their heritage. This would be done as part of an attempt to protect the heritage of the Gem community.

T.O. Ranger's book from 1996 investigates the link between the pre-colonial political systems of East and Central Africa and the growth of current mass nationalism. Even though very few studies have shown this, he believes that there is a connection between the political structures that existed in East and Central Africa before colonialism and the mass nationalism that exists there now. He goes on to suggest that the heritage of African political institutions that existed before colonial rule had an impact on the environment in which contemporary African politics formed. On the other hand, Lonsdale (1981) examines the early stages of the political transition that took place in East Africa. In spite of the fact that the political elite as well as European ideas and organizational patterns have garnered the majority of the attention in academic circles, he maintains that traditional pre-colonial institutions played an important role in the development of national movements. He is of the opinion that an excessive focus on the past distorts history and obscures the role that Africa played in the process of political transformation. These articles are necessary for the study of the subject. The broad generalizations made by these academics will be put to the test in this study that we will be doing.

See Mazrui and Tidy for a comprehensive review of the research on the political transition that occurred in Africa following the end of colonial control (1984). The implications of their research for an examination of African nationalism and politics cannot be overstated. Their emphasis on study on a continental scale, on the other hand, obscures essential details that are only seen when viewed up close. The political shift in Kenya has piqued the attention of a significant number of scholars on both the domestic and international levels. As a direct consequence of this, some groups in Kenya have been given a disproportionate amount of attention in studies and works that focus on the concept of political change. Indeed, Kaggia's (1975) essays on nationalism in Kikuyu society and in the societies of other people in central Kenya provide evidence that this is the case. In the first, the Mau Mau Movement is analyzed, and it is described as "militant nationalism embracing direct action in pursuit of a new political and social order."

The writers trace the beginnings of political groups such as the East African Association, the Young Kikuyu Association, and the Kikuyu Central Association all the way back to the very first act of resistance against colonialism (hereafter KCA). In spite of the fact that these issues are pertinent to the research at hand, the writers concentrate an excessive amount of focus on Kikuyu nationalism without making any serious attempt to relate it to a wider Kenyan nationalist sentiment. On the other hand, Kaggia's writings give the impression that Kenyans who were not members of the Kikuyu Society were submissive to British authority and eager to acknowledge the supremacy of the colonial power. This was the case when Kenya was under British administration. The general observation made by Kaggia does not establish or invalidate the hypothesis that the absence of antagonism shown by certain communities against the colonial authority is an indicator of submission and acceptance of that control. These two aspects had a significant role in determining the nature of politics in the communities that participated in both resistance and collaboration, albeit in very different ways. It would seem that Kaggia agrees with some of Muriuki's points of view (1971).

It is possible that the rise of African nationalism began in Nyanza as a reaction to the sufferings that its people endured when they were under the yoke of colonial power. A number of components of colonial policy, including racial discrimination, forced labor, excessive taxation, and the confiscation of land, all led to the rising discontentment among Africa's populace (Maddox, 2019). Many people living in Africa came to loathe their colonial masters and the system that was in place because of the racism and tyranny that they were forced to endure. Even though it is generally accepted that these issues impact the whole of the Kenyan population, it is essential to pay attention to the specific conditions that are present among the groups that pique our interest. Because of this, it is of even more significance to investigate the causes of the many divergent reactions shown by Jo-Gem inhabitants in response to British colonization (Maddox, 2019).

The nationalism movement on the African continent has always been under the sway of the region's elites. It is a response to the oppression and exploitation by foreign powers, as well as the development of a new sort of political and social entity that is fitted to the local environment (Kedourie, 1971). Even though this group of highly educated Africans did a lot to spread the spirit of nationalism, it has been assumed in debates

about political reform in Kenya that the elites of the country's political parties all share the same views. This is despite the fact that they did a lot to spread the spirit of nationalism. It would be intriguing to explore the role that local elites play in the politics of the Jo-Gem region of Kenya in order to provide light on the political transformation that is now taking place in that region. Education provided by missionaries resulted in the formation of a new elite that was intellectually and practically separate from the local intellectuals of the region. In addition to this, the beginnings of a new "industrial class" were emerging (Falola, 2001).

1.10 Theoretical Framework

In this study, the researcher analyzed the political development of the Gem people after 1894 through the lens of the concept of modern state creation. This theory examines, beginning with the age of colonialism, the factors that support the establishment of modern states across Africa. This perspective was profoundly influenced by the events that surrounded decolonization, which prepared the path for the construction of modern states with substantial bureaucracies and territorial sovereignty. Despite the fact that many African kingdoms were unsuccessful during the colonial period, there were contemporary state formations present in some of these nations before colonization, according to certain historians (Tilly, 1991).

The first stage in constructing a contemporary state is addressing the question, "What is a state?" According to John Ruggie, it is a method of exercising legal authority over the place that is physically occupied. According to him, the geographical exclusivity that exists in modern systems of power is a defining characteristic of these systems. This phenomenon is characterized by a consolidation of authority as well as a hardening of the borders between the public and private realms, as well as those between the personal and the professional. The use of sanctioned force inside a community is a monopoly that is held by the central authority; as a result, the public sphere is created when this power is used. Both domestically and globally, this is shown by the government's ability to maintain the law, and internationally, this is demonstrated by the government's unique right to declare and wage war (Johnston, 1982).

In stark contrast, many post-colonial nations in developing countries operate more like "virtual" states than they do like traditional ones. The present expectations and notions

of what a state should be are considerably different from the rising nations, particularly in Africa. These expectations and ideals are quite distinct from the emerging states. The countries and governments of Africa are dysfunctional due to difficulties such as unclear office authority, incompetent and corrupt government institutions, and the prevalence of self-enrichment and petty power conflicts. These factors have contributed to the continent's overall lack of development. There are parts of the country that are no longer governed by the state and are instead ruled by warlords or by anarchy inside the country (Ruggie, 1993).

Despite the fact that they are more accurately referred to as "quasi-states," the countries of Africa are considered to be states by the international community. As an expression of anti-colonial and self-determination ideas that were widespread in the 20th century, these pseudo-nations were founded, and as such, they are legal remnants of a more tolerant international legal and political context. Because of fundamentally different approaches to state development, the "statehood" of European countries and African quasi-states is on a completely different level from one another. The establishment of European nation-states was the result of a protracted historical process that included the adoption of new ways of thinking about the world on the basis of material, strategic, and social elements. The idea of sovereignty developed naturally as a consequence of centuries of warfare and rejection, as well as the collapse of political and social institutions. A new level of awareness was triggered as a result of these transformations, which affected disciplines as varied as art and politics (Martin, 2019).

On the other hand, the quasi-states of Africa came into being as a result of unilateral decolonization. Former imperialists "gave" sovereignty from the outside by drawing artificial boundaries between countries (Jackson, 1987). Some African societies were able to establish their domination and political authority with the entrance of new technology, such as iron tools, spears, agricultural equipment, and weapons. This allowed them to expand their territory and increase their political influence. For instance, this took place when the armies of Samourai Touré and Mirambo were given their first access to guns. In place of the King of Ndongo stood a chunk of iron with the name Ngola. The presence of this symbol of authority provides evidence that the rise of the Ndongo civilisation occurred at the same time as iron technology became widely

available. By arming his Ruga-Ruga mercenaries, Mirambo was able to consolidate his position as a power broker while also expanding his influence (Nyanchoga et al., 2008). During the time of colonial rule, the primary concern of the vast majority of African communities was ensuring their continued existence. People tended to be rather traditional, maintaining a strict adherence to established customs and protocols. During this era, land served as both the most important asset and the most important productive resource; hence, wealth was measured in terms of the amount of land that an individual owned. This time period was distinguished by the agrarian and feudal systems of society. During this time period, a person's social rank was largely dependent on the financial standing of their family, and individual progress was severely constrained. The feudal lords and military commanders of a society were the ones in charge. The worlds of business and money did not have a big impact, but only to a smaller degree than one would anticipate. People were unable to use their imaginations or experiment with new ideas because they were barred from doing so. As a result, they conformed tightly to preexisting standards and seldom questioned those (Haralambos, 2008).

When European administrators went during the period of independence, they simply left; new African rulers were not acceptable replacements since they lacked similar skill in administering a contemporary government. This is due to the fact that colonial administrations were essentially just smaller versions of city governments that were backed by imperial power. As a result, modern states have begun to exhibit characteristics that were formerly reserved for quasi-states. For instance, once the Belgians abandoned the Congo in the 1960s, the nation fell apart and required assistance in order to be held together. Instead of deriving from colonies reaching the point where they fit the factual requirements for statehood, decolonization occurred as a result of a rapid and widespread shift in perceptions of the validity of colonialism, which ultimately led to the complete elimination of colonialism. This resulted in the elimination of colonialism (Scott, 2017).

1.11 Research methodology

This chapter describes methods and procedures to be used in this study. It is the research plan and basic methodological details that are intended to be applied in the study within the research period. They include; research design, area of study, study population, sampling methods and procedure, study instruments, data collection

methods and procedure and ways in which the data will be analyzed and presented as a thesis.

1.12 Research Design

This study used historical research design. Historical method is the collection of techniques and guidelines that historians use to research and write histories of the past. Secondary sources, primary sources and material evidence such as those derived from archaeology may all be drawn on, and the historian's skill lies in identifying these sources, evaluating their relative authority, and combining their testimony appropriately in order to construct an accurate and reliable picture of past events and environments (Mugenda,2003). Historical research design guided investigations on the political transformation of Gem People from the pre- colonial period to 2022.

1.13 Area of Study

Geographically, Gem sub-county borders Luanda Sub- County to the East, Mumias Sub- County to the north, Ugunja Sub- County to the North-West, Siaya Sub- County to the West, Bondo sub-county to the South –West, Rarieda Sub- County to the South and Seme Sub- County to the East. Gem has an area of 353 squares Km, with 6 wards: Namely, North, Gem, West Gem, East Gem, Central Gem, South Gem and Yala Township. Gem is one of three constituencies in Siaya District. Siaya is one of 12 Districts that make up Nyanza Province in the West of Kenya. Gem can be divided into the Yala and Wagai administrative divisions. Wagai has an area of 193.3 km² and includes 5 locations and 18 sub-locations. Yala has an area of 209.8 km² and has 4 locations and 19 sub-locations.

The average population density of Wagai division is 289 per km² and of Yala 410 per km² giving an overall population density for Gem of 352 people per km² and an overall population of about 142,000 over a total area of 403.1 km². Siaya district as a whole has an area of 1520 km² lying between 1140 and 1400m above sea level. It is dissected by the equator. The Nzoia and Yala rivers cut through Siaya District and enter Lake Victoria through the Yala Swamp.

The site was found to be convenient and appropriate because of the prior knowledge of the study area by the researcher thus will be necessary when sourcing for information.

It is also more accessible for the study thus advantageous because of the limited time and resources available for the research.

1.14 Study Population

This study targeted both finite and infinite populations within Siaya County. Populations expected to be investigated are not only the individual residence of about 160,675 people according to the National Population Census of 2009 (KNPHC, 2019). This population is unevenly distributed within ten wards with a total population of 51,904 registered voters. The wards are, Anyiko / Sauri (2,361), Central Gem (7,109), East Gem (4,891), Jina (1,890), Marenyo (2,375), North Gem (8,463), Nyamnina (4,173), South Gem (6,442), Wagai North (8,381), and Wagai South (5,819).

From the population of registered voter's respondents were purposively targeted for key informant interviews and Focus Group Discussions. This formed the finite population because they were predetermined (Koul, 1980). Such included people believed to have information on social and political developments in Gem since independence and earlier histories on organization of the community. Infinite populations were individuals and organizations that were arrived at in the process of research through snowball sampling techniques. Their numbers were determined by the time the data saturation was realized especially when data started to repeat itself.

1.15 Sampling Method, Procedure and Size

Sampling is the process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they were selected. (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999) According to Singleton et al (1988:137) sampling design refers to that part of the research plan that indicates how cases are to be selected for observation. Kerlinger (1964) asserts that sampling is taking part of a portion of the population as a representation of the population. The population was divided into ten clusters: Anyiko / Sauri, Central Gem, East Gem, Jina, Marenyo, North Gem, Nyamnina, South Gem, Wagai North, and Wagai. Purposive and snowball sampling methods were used to select fifteen respondents from each ward for key informant interviews, thus 150 key informant interviews were conducted. Care was exercised to ensure that there is proportional representation from the selected wards in terms of gender.

1.16 Methods and Tools of Data Collection

The study commenced with a pilot study with 10 respondents from the ten wards in Gem constituency. These were selected purposively based on their experience and knowledge of political transformation in Gem. These respondents were not included in the final research

1.16.1 Key Informant Interviews

This involved getting in-depth information from Key Informants that is, seeking people who have privileged information. Interview schedules and focus group discussion guides were used to gather primary data from informants. Personal or group interviews were conducted by having a one-to-one personal encounter with the informants in their own environment. Interviews were mostly conducted at homes of the informants but in some cases in their offices to ensure that such interviews are conducted at natural settings devoid of interference from any quarter. During interviews, researchers and respondents had the opportunity to clarify issues that appeared ambiguous on the topic under study. The question guides improved the accuracy, reliability and validity of the data collected (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996: 232). Due to its outstanding flexibility and the fact that the respondents are known to have knowledge and experience on the history and politics of Gem, key informant interviews were adopted with a high response rate.

1.16.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion involved a group of between 6-10 people who share similar ideology and understanding on issues of political transformation in Gem constituency. In this method the investigator asked the group systematic questions based on the research themes as contained in the guide. One FDG was conducted which consisted of representatives from each ward.

During the Key Informant Interviews and Focus Group Discussion, some challenging situations and conditions such as time consumption, expenses incurred, and the slow nature of the instrument in data collection may be experienced. At times the intended informants may not avail themselves during the interviews. Such challenges were resolved by corroborating primary and secondary data. Archival information was also useful in providing valuable data on the political history of Gem people.

1.17 Research Instruments

Interview schedule and focus group discussion guides were used to gather primary data from oral informants. Interview schedule was used to gain an understanding of people's understanding of political developments in Gem constituency from the independence period and to relate with developments during the colonial period.

1.18 Data Collection Procedure

Both primary and secondary sources were used to supplement each other in this investigation. Books, journals, magazines, articles, unpublished theses, seminar papers, and periodicals are counted as secondary sources for this investigation. These came from various libraries, including academic ones. The textual resources available at these libraries will provide valuable secondary data for the study. They were screened and examined thoroughly to remove as much subjectivity as possible.

The archives were the primary source for the majority of the collected primary documents. The Kenyan government's archives, as well as those of the several provinces, as well as those of private citizens, community organizations, churches, and other institutions, were among those consulted. Political Association reports, Native Affairs reports, Provincial and District Annual Reports, Colonial Government Publications, Confidential reports, diaries, and microfilms are just a few examples of the kind of documents that may be found at the Kenya National Archives. These are accounts written by those who were there or who saw the event unfold. We researched in secret libraries while out on the field. Church records, school records, municipal records, and commercial records were all included. The Kisumu district and provincial archives were looked at. Both the Kisumu National Museum and the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Museum proved useful here.

It's possible that most of the knowledge gleaned from the past is subjective and tainted by bias and prejudice. The "official perspective," which is not always right, may also be reflected in them. As a result, it was essential to verify the accuracy of the information using other data, particularly secondary and oral sources.

Interviews were conducted in Siaya County to get first-hand accounts of locals' experiences in order to utilize oral data as the main source. An initial pool of possible

interviewees would be selected using a stratified random selection technique before any interviews were ever conducted. The list was put together using data collected from many sources, including libraries and archives. However, throughout time, this list evolved as new informants were added or the names of the dead were crossed off. The leaders of the numerous political and social groups, other members of these organizations, leaders from outside the region, and the educated intelligentsia of the area were the four types of informants.

In order to choose interviewees, we looked for (a) prior mention in relevant documents (c) Elderly persons who are generally regarded and respected by the rest of the community due to their ability to remember specific topics in the people's history, as shown by (b) mention by other oral informants. Those in close touch with these potential informants were sought with the assistance of local chiefs and village elders. Interviews were easier to conduct thanks to a question guideline (Appendix 1). The questions posed were meant as loose guidelines for the information that would be covered. They changed based on how well-informed the sources were and how long they took to respond.

Due to the expansive scope of our study, we had to recruit and train a team of research guides and assistants to help us cover all the ground we needed to. The validity and dependability of the findings from the oral study were checked against other data. With this information, the research was able to analyze and understand the part played by the political shift in Gem.

1.19 Data Analysis and Presentation

The research employed historical design to analyze and evaluate data. Using this approach, we can learn things about the past that no one else knows. In order to analyze and provide explanations for collected data, the logical historical technique combined historical context with logic (Onimonde, 1985). Furthermore, it allowed for the analysis and interpretation of historical events, trends, and experiences via critical inquiry, careful weighing of evidence about the reliability of historical sources, and the application of the results of such an analysis (Peter, 1996:57). As a result, the methodology has given the field a more respectable scientific or professional veneer (Aseka, 1995).

When researching social phenomena in the past, it's important to go deeper than just memorizing dates and names of people involved. In order to define the structure and coherence of a social phenomenon, it is necessary to use facts to demonstrate the historical uniqueness of the phenomenon in terms of its component parts and of the interactions between these elements (Aseka, 1989). In an effort to create an authentically historical work, the study strictly adhered to this methodology.

1.20 Ethical Consideration

All participants gave their informed permission before being recruited. Informants were encouraged to voice any reservations or questions they had about the research. Participants were not required to take part. There was no coercion or intimidation of the sources of information. Researchers also made sure their sources were OK with having their identities included in the final report. The offices of the chiefs and the Sub-County Commissioner were also contacted for permission. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University gave the researcher permission to conduct the research. No potentially embarrassing or harmful questions were allowed to be asked of respondents. Informants who declined to discuss male-female dynamics were given due respect. The researcher took precautions against plagiarism by properly attributing any ideas or concepts used in the study that were not originally developed by the researcher.

When interviewees requested anonymity or privacy about some aspects of the subject under investigation, the researcher respected their wishes and did not share their responses with anyone else. As a result, pseudo-codes were used to protect the identity of some of the informants, particularly with regards to material that may be embarrassing to them. Subjects participated voluntarily, and their informed permission was taken into account. Before going out into the field, the research assistants who participated with data collecting received extensive training on any ethical considerations that may arise.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF GEM PEOPLE UPTO 1894

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed account of the people of Gem's socio-economic and political system prior to their contact with colonialism and covers the migration and settlement of the various clans in Gem, particularly after their dispersal from Got Ramogi between 1500 and 1800 A.D. These institutions are analysed in order to establish their influence on the nature of colonial interaction with the community in central Kavirondo during the early stages of colonial rule.

2.2 Migration and Settlement of Gem clans

Gem people are a subset of the Luo people who migrated from Got Ramogi under several leaders into their present territory. According to Mr. Ojwang, a Kaudha clan elder, Jo-Gem arrived in Kenya as part of the Joka Omolo group from Uganda. The Omolo group, including Joka Jok and Joka Owiny, were the sons of Ramogi Ajwang, Kenya's legendary Luo father. They traveled via Samia on their way to Ramogi, where they settled around 1550 A.D. According to Ogutu (1975), Omolo was the father of Ochielo, who later gave birth to Ragem (Gem) and Ragenya (Ugenya).

In support of the findings, (Ogot, 2006) stated that, during their movement to Kenya, Joka- Omolo comprised Nyandguogi (Asembo), Wango Dibo (Wanga of Mumias), Ochielo and Matar. Jo-Gem people and Jo-Ugenya were later led by Ochielo, son of Omolo to Ramogi hills from Samia. It emerged that the major group of the Omolo cluster who were Jo-Gem settled in Kadimo (Yimbo) where they sojourned for a while before Sakwa and Alego clans moved eastwards around 1789 and 1800 (Were 1975).

The predecessors of the community were Kwenda, Anyanga and Ojuodhi who came at different times at Got Ramogi. According to an informant, Ojuodhi was adopted by Anyanga and co-opted into the community. Ojuodhi is alleged to have come from Wadama, a Bantu clan in Uganda. Ojuodhi was nephew to Oremo, the wife of Gem. Ojuodhi came with a large group Bantu associates outnumbered by the Anyanga clan in Got Ramogi. It is claimed that since Anyanga clan welcomed Ojuodhi to stay with them it led to misfortune to the clan because as generations progressed, the Anyanga clan slowly lost their identity to Ojuodhi, particularly as the Ojuodhi clan created room

for Bantu families to settle and live with them. These Bantu clans were subsequently assimilated into the community (FGD 9: 4 /3/2021).

According to an informant, around 1700 A.D, Jo-Gem dispersed from Ramogi to Barding in Alego in three clans, Kwenda, Ojuodhi and Anyanga. They moved to Barding as one group led by Rading Omolo. Barding therefore gained its name from Rading Omolo who led the group from Ramogi. From Barding the descendants of Ragem (Gem) dispersed into two directions following an attack and looting of their livestock from Jo-Alego and Sakwa both from Joka- Owiny cluster. One group led by Orome Ayuo of the Kwenda clan moved to Kathomo while the other group led by Rading Omolo passed through Rangala to Ndere to Nyamninia where they attacked and dispersed the Kisa people and settled at Nyamninia” (O. I, OM 1: 11 /03/ 2021).

According (KII, 23/1/2021), the group led by Orome Ayuo from Kwenda sub-clan were the custodians of symbols of authority, the spear and fly whisk. These items were handed over by their ancestral father-Kwenda to future leaders of the community. As the people of Gem moved into different directions according to their clans, they met resistance and, on many occasions, war erupted leading to retreat or surrender. For example, in their conflict with Sakwa people, Jo- Gem were dispersed by Jo-Sakwa from Nyabenge to Yath Olalo in Kaudha. According to Ogot (2006) Jo-Alego later joined forces with Jo-Sakwa and pushed Jo-Gem into their present homeland between 1810 and 1830 where they found a well-watered fertile area that was already occupied by, among others, Jo-Umswa (Abamswa) and Jo-Kisa Abakisa. They spent much of the nineteenth Century fighting to expand their settlement in the region.

According to an informant, Rading Omolo was anointed to be the community spokesman and political leader of entire Gem but Ayieko was obligated by tradition as an elder and the custodian of the spear, fly whisk and shield which were symbols of authority (KII, EL5: 24/1/2021).

2.3 Political Organisation of Gem people in the pre-colonial period (1902-1920)

After occupying their current homeland, the community settled in distinct territories according to their clans and nurtured a decentralized system of government with clans as the basic unit of political authority. The clan leaders were expected to be *thwondi* (courageous man). These *thwondi* (strong men) were to reflect strong backing from the kinsmen and a strong bond from their families. Oral traditions indicates that the major clans in Gem are Ojuodhi, Anyanga

Ojuodhi and Kwenda. However, the assimilated clans who are believed to be of Abaluyhia origin, for instance, Kamayuje (Usuha) and Umani did not evolve independent political systems but formed part of the political units of the clans where they were assimilated (FGD1:23 /1/ 2021).

The community has been led by leaders from the Kagola sub-clan of Ojuodhi clan. Before the fragmentation of the major clans in Gem, the pioneer leader of the entire community was Rading Omolo from Ojuodhi clan. He was later succeeded by Odera Rangira, Oloo Ramoya and Odera Ulalo by the time of colonial rule. According to Mzee Obare, Odera Rangira took the mantle of leadership from Rading Omolo and led Gem people to war with the Kisa people who occupied Lundha, Sirandu and Ukaya by that time. Odera Rangira was also a magician and could predict whether they were going to win or lose in the war. Through his leadership, some Kisa clans (Luhyia) collaborated with Gem people while others moved to join other Bantu sub-tribes in Western Kenya (O.I. EA 10: 20 /1/ 2021).

It is said that the war between Kisa and Gem took place at Malanga, but after the war the Uluhowe clan of Kisa surrendered and submitted to Gem people and continued to live with Gem people occupying Udura and Utura in North Wanga. Today the region is presently identified with Ndere, Mutumbu, Malanga and Sawagongo in North Gem (Obare, Elder 18th February, 2021). This war took place at Sigulu where Kisa people killed Okaka Sigulu, one of the warriors of Gem. Later, the people of Kisa were forced to make an oath of non-violence. However, on refusing to surrender and fight, the people of Kisa were defeated and their land taken by the descendants of Opiya, Adhaya, Ochola and Odongo. These sub-clans identify with leaders like Odera Akango and Odera Ulalo (O.I, EGO19: 22/1/ 2021).

According to Ojwando, Gem people also made an alliance with the Yiro community Kanyiwuor, Umani and Kamung'are. During that time the Umani people occupied the region of Murumba to Sigose (O.I. EW 6: 18/1/ 2021). Oral report also indicates that apart from collaboration, the people of Gem prepared a group of energetic men in case of attack from their neighbours. Mr. Opiata said: "Gem people attacked Umswa in as much as they had lived amicably for a long time. This occurred when the youth from some of the assimilated clans (Umswa) like the Uhoware developed bad behavior of livestock raids from Gem people. Uhoware defended themselves leading to war where they were defeated and later forced to join the Wanga and where they were assimilated. Amongst the Wanga, they are today identified as the Abamswa (O.I. AH1: 12/3/2021). Sakwa people had conflict with the people of Gem but after the conflicts some of the Sakwa clans were assimilated in Gem and today forms two sub-locations namely; Kaudha west and Kaudha East. Kaudha West is inhabited by Kabor sub-clan and Konyango sub-clan, while Kabura (*Yath olalo*) and Kamlugo form Kaudha East. The Sakwa people abandoned their ancestral title of Sakwa and adopted the Gem title. An informant remarked:

"When the Sakwa people had pushed Gem people past Nyabenge, some intermarriage occurred between Gem people. Otiang married Nono Nyar-Udha. This marriage enhanced a tight bond between Kaudha and Kotiang of Kanyikwaya in Gem". (O.I. JN 1: 13/3/ 2021).

Politics and leadership of pre-colonial Jo-Gem depended on strong men who were majorly Jobilo (priests-diviners) who led them to war of conquest and defended the people against attack from enemies. Most of them gained respect and support from the group. Oral tradition states that Ojuodhi was adopted by Anyang and accepted him as a brother. He was from wadam clam of Uganda and nephew of Oremo, the wife of Gem. Later he brought his people who outnumbered Anyanga clan. This led later generation to refer to Ojuodhi clan as *tipo* (shadow) which all weak people took refuge. It was said so because Anyanga clan slowly lost their identity to Ojuodhi. At the same time, it was Ojuodhi people who gave room for many communities' Bantu people to settle and live with them in Gem. However, all groups of people whether descendants of Gem or assimilated in Gem were under the paramount leadership of Ojuodhi, Focus group discussion (FGD 6: 28/2/2021).

Pre-colonial political Gem leadership depended mostly on hierarchy of leadership inherited from the children and grandchildren of Rading Omolo. These leaders were expected to be charismatic, courageous, skilled soldier's which made them very popular and acceptable by other clans. For example, as stated in the previous sub- topic, as Gem people were passing through Alego they were under the leadership of Rading Omolo a descendant of Ojuodhi and Orome Ayuo who, however most orders came from Rading' Omolo. Therefore, through his leadership high skill in commanding his people in war, Gem was able to overpower nearly all their enemies who attempted to attack them (FGD 7:28/3/2021).

For example, Gem overpowered the following and made them get assimilated: Umani Umswa, Usula, Umgore, Ulswa, Kamlago, Umaluwe, Umalando, Irumbi, and Uhoware. All were sub-clan Isukha, Sammia, Banyore, Idaho and Kisa (Bantu). They are currently found in East, North and Central Gem. They surrendered to Ojuodhi and were accepted even though they retained their names as a way of identity; so, Gem people referred to them as Jomwa (strange people).

Other groups which surrendered to Kwenda clan included: Usiandha, Uwino and Uchiwe, they also retained their ancestral names but refer to themselves as Jo-Gem. The most vital point to be noted is that it was the Jo Umswa (Umswa people who lended hand to Jo-Gem (Gem people) in stopping the Alego people from attacking them. At the same time, they found Kamng'are living at Lwala Kochola and in the southern Gem, were the Kisumu people. When Gem people were fighting with the Kisumu people Kamng'are supported the Kisumu people. However, when Kisumu were defeated by Jo-Gem (Gem people) they were scattered all over. Some of the Kamng'are moved with Kisumu people (they are found in Kisumu Karateng), some joined Alego people (Alego- Kalou), others moved to Samia (they live at Akek), while some were assimilated amongst Ojuodhi clan (KII, EL23: 26 / 03 / 2021).

Rading Omolo led Gem people Ramogi hills through Barding to settle in their present land (Gem). It is estimated that Rading Omolo ruled for a period of three decades. He is the longest serving leader of Gem from the time when Kojuodhi leaders had already fused the role of hereditary *ruoth* (chief of the clan Custer). The events of the nineteenth Century inevitably altered the structure and nature of the Gem community

even further. Since present-day Gem territory was well populated by both Luhya and Luo speaking communities. When the Jo-Gem arrived, the latter had to fight all the way if they wished to gain control of land (Ogot, 2006).

According to Ogot (2009), by the time Jo-Gem were on their exodus towards their present-day land from Ramogi hill a kind of Chiefdom had emerged. Its genesis has been dated by historians to the later seventeenth century. This was the period when the chiefly “Ojuodhi maximal lineage entered Western Kenya accompanied by a few Bantu followers and joined their “brothers”, Jo-Kwenda and Jo-Anyanga, who represented an advance Group of Jo-Gem, who were already living in the Yimbo-Usonga area. These are the three main clans that constitute the present-day Gem community. The authority of their leader “Ojuodhi” was apparently based on possession of bracelet which his followers Jo-Kwenda and Jo-Anyanga, all recognised as a legitimate symbol of authority-and of the three pair of pots in which he kept medicine to control the rain, the wind, and the army worms.

According to tradition, his following is also said to have been somewhat larger than the entire population of Jo-Anyanga and Kwenda combined. During the succeeding four generations or so, the status of his descendants was further enhanced by two developments. First, the Jo- Anyanga, who owned a sacred spear of Gem that was essential for successful rituals, were absorbed in to the Jo-Kojuodhi “Maximal” lineage which, in a typical way was also absorbing the descendants of Ojuodhi non-Luo followers while the spear was kept by the Anyanga lineage; it came to be seen as the property of the Jo-Kojuodhi as a whole. Second, by the time Rading Omolo, the leader of his clan in the late eighteenth century, the descendants of Ojuodhi had become *jobilo*. The growing competition for territory, especially in the late eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries, seems to have strengthened the position of a class of men known as *Jobilo*, or priest –diviners (Ogot, 2006).

After the death of Rading Omolo, his eldest son Odera Rangira took the mantle to lead Gem people. He fought the Sakwa (Kamayunje), Kisa, Usuha and Uhaware who settled among the Adhaya in Ojuodhi. After his death his son Oloo Ramoya led Gem people but he died when his sons were young. Therefore, Odera Ulalo was empowered by the Council of elders to lead Gem people. Odera Ulalo was the son of Omole and Omole

was the son of Rading Omolo. Odera Ulalo was the leader who welcomed the British in Gem. It should be clearly understood that from the time Gem people settled in the land they occupy today to the time of colonial period Gem was predominantly led by only one clan which was mainly Ojuodhi clan, Kagola sub group of Adhaya. Ojuodhi had four sons namely; Okwiri, Odongo Achier, Adhaya and Opiya. Adhaya also married two wives; Akwany Nya Ragak and Agola Nyar Ragak but it was only the second wife (Agola) which dominated the leadership in Gem. (Ojodo, KII, 6th/03/2021).

According to the FGD, Gem had a clan council court (Buch Dhoot) which was obliged to settle domestic issues. A council of elders existed in the clan which was responsible for settling intra-family disputes called Doho. Clans were grouped together to form Oganda headed by a chief elder (Ruoth). The family was the lowest unit and its head was the father who was referred to as Jaduong. There existed a council of elders (Buch Piny) which consisted of representatives from each clan and mainly settled inter-clan disputes. There was a class of warriors (Thuondi) headed by a war leader (Osumba Mrwayi) and its main responsibility was to defend the community. The Gem people were decentralized in the manner their leadership was based on two major leaders; mainly Ojuodhi and Kwenda until the advent of European encounters they were being led by a single leader. However, these leaders were continuously influenced by diviners, medicine men, healers and rainmakers, focus group discussion (FGD 8: 3/3/2021).

Originally the Luo seemed to have lived under a form of patriarchal clan system. The migrations, warfare, conquests, and the subsequent assimilation of non-Luo elements led to development of a different political structure with an aim of inclusion of all assimilated clans in the new *piny*. Clans and lineage became widely scattered; and gradually both kinship and chiefship principles began to be applied to political organization in these areas where a kind of chiefship was deeply rooted. The emergence of the ruothship in Gem created a symbolic figure of royalty possessing a jural political leadership of the *piny*. The holder of this office was treated with total reverence due to the fact that he held the position of a prophet, *Jabilo*; when the ruothship (*piny*) a hierarchy of chiefs developed, focus group discussion (Ogot, 2009).

It should be noted clearly that Omole was a brother of Oloo Ramoya who led Gem people after the death of Rading Omolo was the father of Oloo Ramoya led Gem people. It believed that through good military organization, Oloo Ramoya (the father of Odera Akango) succeeded in protecting the boundaries of Gem people from attack from their enemies. At the eve of the colonial period the main sages who could be traced were the likes of Odera Ulalo who was the son of Omole. He never led Gem people because his elder brother Oloo Ramoya was in power but after his death, Odera Ulalo who was the son of his brother led Gem people. Odera Ulalo had strong men who led in war against his enemies and led to his success in war. Example of such great soldiers is Poka wuod Okumu (Poka son of Okumu) who led in the war against Umuri in 1891 just a few years before the arrival of colonial authority in the region Focus group discussion (FGD 10: 7/03 /2021).

Professor Ogot's observation is supported by the observation of one of earliest British administrators in the area, G.A.S, Northcote, who wrote about the traditional chief thus: Each chief subdivided his territory, placing each portion under a sub-chief'. Anthropologists agree that some Luo had developed embryonic forms of centralized chiefship while others lived in classical examples of decentralized, loosely organized political units. Some had chiefship, which went back for ten or more generations, each chief being succeeded by his son, or by a very close agent who was subsequently considered to be his son. In other Luo sub-tribes there was no such routinized lead and people maintained their unity virtue of their common enmity against neighbouring subgroups, and their affiliation to a lineage which embraced most of them. The effective leaders of such sub-groups were the most successful warriors; such leaders also became highly feared prophets (Ogot, 2009).

Therefore, it may be assumed that there is a common agreement along the line of Gem leadership concerning the rule of a specific clan to the fifth generation. Gem people were under one leadership as they arrived at Ramogi hill, from there they were under two leaders who led them to their present land. However due to demand for consolidated strength they were under one leadership. This consolidated power continued until the time of arrival of colonialism in Kenya. At the same time the consolidation of power in Gem was guided by most trusted people who were magicians. This gives a clear show that Gem people were well organized as early as the

17th Century as they had formed a political system which was being controlled by one leader. Below is a family tree which explains how the three clans that formed *Jogem* (Gem people) were related.

Figure: 2.1 Family tree of Kwenda clan of Gem

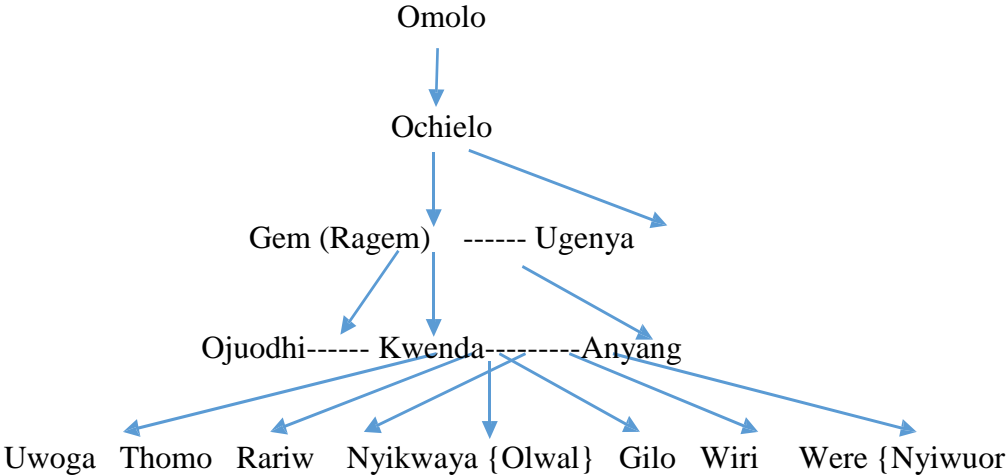


Figure: 2.2 Family Tree of Anyanga clan of Gem

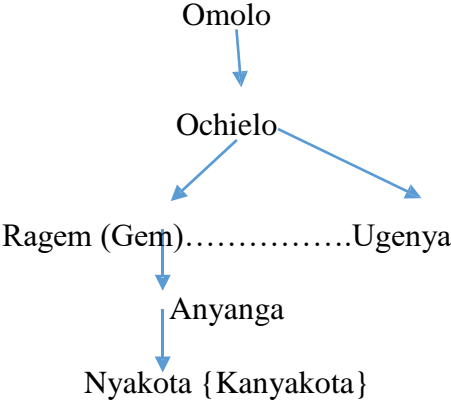
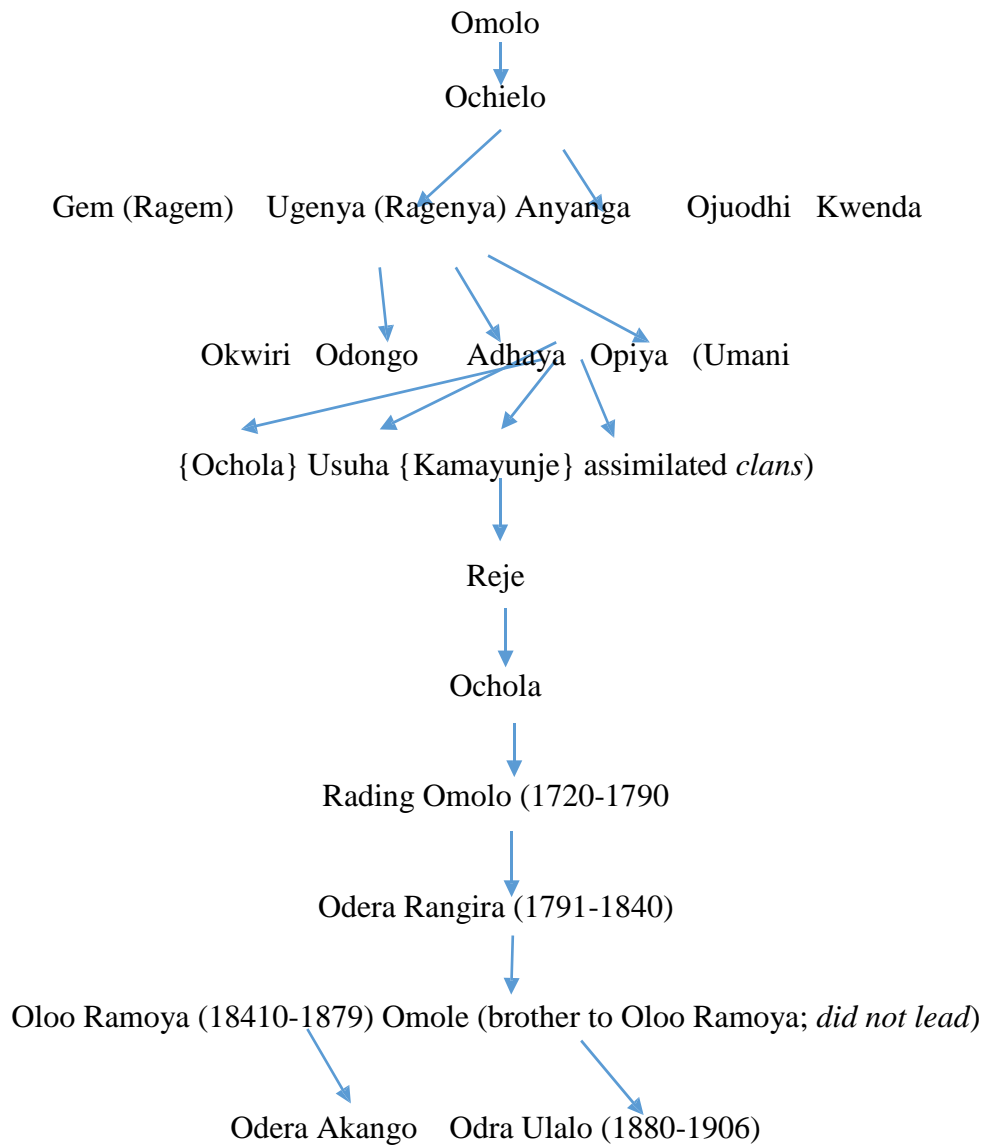


Figure 2.3: Family tree of Gem leaders in the line of Ojuodhi clan of Gem



Source: (*Dhoudi moko mag Luo* by Malik Ogutu Were page184)

2.3.1 Social organization of Gem people in the pre-colonial period

The Gem clans occupied distinct settlements where they lived in fortified homesteads. Gunda- bur was a fortified homestead which comprised many huts and families. The members of Gunda Bur were expected to be members of one sub-clan encircled with a hole which was dug all-round the home and then it had a euphorbia (ojuok) fence and the hole covered with thorns. The entrance (rangach) was closed with logs (okol) and thrones (kuthe) at night. (Sourced from Gem council of elders Barnding' village, East Gem, focus group discussion, FGD 2: 19/2/2021).

In the line of Leadership and authority Mr. Menje remarked that medicine men (jobilo), in Gem formed a powerful class of leaders who could manipulate decisions made by Gem people using the faith in unseen forces. However, the Gem leaders never identified themselves as Jobilo nor did those whom they led called them so. But in reality, they were associated with owning supernatural powers, hence, enjoyed a special place in the clan. They could cleanse ill-omen from unforeseen disasters such as epidemics and protect homes from external attacks. Their potent magic gave Gem warriors courage as they believed that their magicians could blind-fold the enemies during wars. They were consulted by clan elders and other leaders for protection from natural disasters and by clan members on when to attack enemies. They could manipulate the outcome of the war in their favour. Jobilo therefore, acted as fore-tellers and diviners (KII, EL 6: 25/1 /2021)

In support of the already gathered information (Ogot, 2009) observed that *Jabilo* (singular), was an important person, because it was felt that he could use his *bilo* (medicine) and prophetic talents to protect his community from enemy attack and ensure the success of its warriors; raids. Moreover, since it was believed that their powers came from God (Nyasaye or Were) Himself and from the spirit that "Possessed" them, these men also often had the "perceived" power and prestige needed to arbitrate quarrels successfully and, when necessary, impose their decision. Consequently, the abler *Jabilo* could become men of great authority and rain makers. Thus, by the time they were moving into Gem. From the year 1820 onwards, Jo-Gem had already started following a policy of planting out relatively small lineage-based colonies that, with the ritual support of the Ojuodhi jobilo and the coordinated military

support of their kinsmen, proceeded to conquer the surrounding area. As a result, the earlier inhabitants were gradually compelled to retreat eastward (Ogot, 2006).

Apart from magicians (*jobilo*) who had extraordinary powers to protect, heal and predict events using magic, Gem clan also had medicine men called *jonawi* who used their magic to kill others. While *jobilo* in Gem were respected out of awe, *jonawi* (malevolent magicians), *jojuogi* (night runners), and *jo-sihoho* (women with bad eyes), who would cause one's stomach to swell before the victim died, were literally feared. The magicians had extraordinary powers and could protect and heal people using magic, but *jonawi* used their magic to kill people and to destabilize other people's homes. *Jobilo* could be consulted by leaders and household heads to protect their homes from man-made or natural disasters, and by clan members on issues of public interest such as, when to attack an enemy. They could manipulate the outcome of war in their favour and acted as fore-tellers and diviners (KII, EL9: 9 / 2 /2021)

According to (FGD4, Uriri North West Gem 26/2/2021) from Mareny sub-location in East Gem, there were some linguistic traces of Bantu interaction with Gem people. For example, the names like Marenyo and Jina were the Banyore dialects which were adopted by Gem people after they had displaced them and occupied their land. The words like Mareny in Luhya are *hurenya* (being tired), Jina is *Lichina* (stones). The Luhya fought with the Gem people and surrendered at Mareny when they were tired because the place was full of rocks and stones. And when asked they responded; *hurenya hulwa lichina* (we are tired because of stones). But the Gem people thought that the place was called Marenyo and Lichina. Even in present day some Gem native still adopt Luhya names like Okinda, is articulated as *Ochinda* (meaning lice), in Luo is *onywogo*; *Magoha* in Luhya, which in Luo is Yugi, (rubbish) all those indicate that there are element Luhya in Gem. In spite of coexisting with the other non-Luo in Gem, the native still maintain the Luo customer. The granaries were used as stores for keeping cereals and other food crops. The granaries of a home had symbolized food stability in a homestead among Gem people" (KII, EL 27: 7 /4/2021).

Mr. Onjak emphasized that Gem homes were fenced using euphorbia which was also regarded as a sacred live fence. When asked whether the manner in which they constructed this home had been influenced by the Banyore. They responded that they

believed their method protected it and could not give room for any new custom and tradition from anywhere to penetrate. They confirmed their point by pointing at homes around that place to indicate the truth in what they said. The Banyore hails from Bunyore which is a locality in the Vihiga district in the former western province of Kenya. This area is largely inhabited by Nilotic- Luhya who speak the Olunyole dialect of Nilo-Saharan Luhya language of the Western Kenya Bantu. The local language of the place is called Ebunyole and its people as the Abanyore (KII, ExC1: 11/1/2021).

From oral interview session, Mr. Ayuo explained that many household heads knew of this secret visit and so whenever a husband wanted to go to any of his wives' houses, he sent his stool early in the day into that very house as a warning that nobody should attempt to sneak into that house that night.

“The household head would never sneak into his home in the evening, he never eavesdropped but approached the gate or door calling out loudly or whistling, so that whoever would have sneaked in had enough time to escape quietly” (O.I, EA 13: 21 /1/ 2021).

According to the Banyore, cattle shade was constructed in the middle of the home where all family members could offer protection to all animals. Each and every woman had her own granary where she kept their farm produce. One member emphasized that the old man was expected to have a separate room where they gathered as old men in their serious discussion. The old man could also relax in that hut if did not want to go to any woman's house. Each and every home had to keep a cock which was a symbol of strength and authority of the family. When asked the place of girls in regard to the construction of houses, the response indicated that girls were not considered worthy to have a space in their parents' home since they were to mature and join other communities. When asked if they would help those who married their daughters with a place to build their homes they said that it was possible to do that. All the above mentioned activities were adopted by the Luo of Gem sub-county focus group discussion (FGD 25/1/, 2021).

According to (FGD 1: 23 /1/2021), the intermarriage between Ayieko the daughter of Nganyi the rainmaker from Banyore (Luhya). The girl was married to Odera Ulalo who was the Ruoth of Gem people. This marriage was properly utilized by the Bunyore leader by the name Nganyi during the time when the Umuri clan of the Luhya attacked

his people by burning Banyore homes and killing many Banyore. He approached Odera Ulalo and requested him to lend hand in disciplining the Umuri people. Gem people responded through Odera Ulalo to support his in-law by fighting the Umuri people. Odera managed to push them as far as past Luanda (which is present-day Luanda market). Odera Ulalo built a home there. His home was protected by a walled fence made of big stones (*lwendni*). That is why the Banyore are referred to by the Gem people and other people from the Seme, Uyoma, Asembo, Alego and Sakwa as Joto-Kodera, meaning people who hail from the backyard of Odera's homestead. (FGD 5: 27/2/2021).

Around the 18th century the clan restriction became difficult to observe and people were now restricted to marry only from any clan but not their sub clan. For example, a man from the Ojuodhi clan was only at liberty to marry any woman from the Kwenda or Anyanga clan. However, this condition was relaxed when the population of Gem people increased. Responding to the question to ascertain the application of inter-clan marriage today, this was the response: At present, one is allowed to marry from any sub-clan within Ojuodhi, Anyanga or Kwenda sub-clans. However, what is forbidden is the marriage between the sub-clan members. For instance, a man from the Nyikwaya clan is forbidden to marry a woman from the Nyikwaya clans. Likewise, there was no room for inter-marriage between relatives (O.I, EU 1: 11 /1/2021).

2.3.2 Mixed Identity of Jo-Gem

Some informants indicated that Jo-Gem are locally referred to as *Jomwa or Bantu* by other Luo speakers who neighbor them. This could be attributed to the fact that there were many communities found in Gem which are related to Bantu speakers. For instance, "Usuha were immigrants from Sakwa Kamayuje but were assimilated in Gem during the war between Gem and Kisa. The Usuha people (Bantu) were welcomed by Olwande, one of the elders and retained their identity in Gem. At the same time Gem was joined by Umani to push the Banyore Eastwards to Emusire among the Abasotso, but some of them surrendered and took Gem identity. Another group which was assimilated in Gem was Uhaware which was a conglomeration of many different Bantu clans including; Ulawa, Umlago, Umaluwe, Irumbi, Umalando and Usiye. These people came from the island of Uware in Lake Victoria into Gem territory but were dispersed by Kisa people but on the arrival of Gem people, they retreated and

surrendered to join the Gem people. There are also remnants of other Luo clans in Gem for instance, Kisumu, Nyakach, Kano, Ugenya, Alego, Sakwa, Asembo, and Yimbo. Most of them are found in South Gem (O.I, EKRR26: 26 /1 /2021).

When the people settled in their present area, other Bantu clans like; Kisa, Ulugalo, Usindhha, Ukusira, Ugungu, Urumbi, Umani Uhoware had already occupied the region North River Yala between 1780 and 1890. These groups were pushed away in different periods by different clans and families. For example; Ojuodhi clan fought the Ulugalo, Kisa, Usiandha, and Umani. At the same time, Jo-Kochola and Kanyikwaya of Kwenda pushed Ukusira, Ugungu, and Urumbi, who surrendered at Omindo hill along the bank of River Yala. The Joka-Ogola pushed Kisumu people and seme people. However, those who surrendered remained in Gem and adopted Gem identity but retained their cultures and names (KII, EL7: 26/1/ 2021).

What appeared to be the actual cause of conflicts between Gem people and neighbouring communities was apparently the struggle for resources such as land and water. According to the South Gem council of elders, during their interrogations, they said that it was not true that things just happened spontaneously. They confirmed that the oral tradition of the Gem community asserts that since there were around seven major wars that were fought before the people settled in their present home. Some of these wars were as follows: The war between Gem and Umswa, the war between Gem and Kisumu, the war between Gem and Kisa, the war between Gem and Seme, the war between Gem and Sakwa and lastly was the Gem and Umuri (Banyore). The oral traditions estimate these wars were fought from around 1700 to about 1904 South-Gem Council of Elders, (FGD3: 25 /2/2021).

To crown all information given by other respondents about how Gem people encountered other communities they found in Gem, retired Chief Johanes Ojodo indicated that when Kisumu people had been pushed from *Pap Nyadiel* they crossed River Yala at *Wath Kudho*. The place literally did not have any name. However, when the Kisumu people realized that it was the only shallow part of River Yala where people could cross on foot, they collected thorns and blocked the entrance from the two opposite sides of the river. When Gem people came to attack them, they were blocked by the thorns and were unable to attack Kisumu people. After three years the Nyikwaya

clan led by Oyomba cleared the thorns and crossed the river so they called the place Kudho (Kudho Market). Jo- Kisumu were later dispersed to Lela in Kisumu County. The place where the Kisumu people lived was named (*gunda Marera*) (KII, EL8: 26 /1/2021).

Within the homestead, there were houses of wives and cottages for children on both sides of the gate. The first wife's house was built at the centre of the home with its door directly facing the gate, while the second wife's house was built on the left side and the third wife's house located on the right-hand side of the house of the first wife. Virtually in all homesteads, regardless of whether they were polygamous or not, there was duol or abila in front of the *odmikayi* (first wife's house). It is here where the head of the homestead received and entertained his visitors, friends and ate with his sons as he gave them instructions and informal education. It was usually built close to the cattle shed, kund-dhok, which had to be located on the left side of od-mikayi. Junior houses within Gem homestead included son's houses, sons' cottages, structures for small animals such as goats, sheep and calves. The sons' houses were alternated just like those of the wives, though differently in that all first-born children from all houses in Gem built cottages on the left side of the gate, while all second born sons built theirs on the right side of the homestead (KII, EL 18: 23/2/ 2021).

Gem people constructed storage structures for grains called *dero*, where millet, sorghum, maize and nuts were kept. Every woman had her granary or granaries, depending on her strength and effort. The head of the homestead also had his granary called mondo, which would be stocked with grains from his own garden, usually sealed and safeguarded, only opened when a needy person came for assistance. If a wife had cleared her stores, the grain from mondo was dished out sparingly as it was meant to be a food security measure for the family, only to be used as the last option, based on specific demands and cooperation of individual wives (KII, EL19: 18 /2/2021).

As early as 1890s, Gem people had started carrying out trade links within and with her neighbours and beyond their territorial boundaries with communities such as Jo-Sakwa, Jo-Asembo, Jo Uyoma (Uyoma people), and beyond its frontiers. Gem people were self-reliant in many of the items they needed, but sometimes local resources could not suffice the local demand or, if the supply of local produce exceeded their local needs,

then trade with neighbours became necessary. Gem people kept cattle, goats, sheep and chicken and practiced fishing, which provided most of the local raw materials needed. The animals supported skin-based industries while hunting of wild animals provided some of the socially valuable objects for making shields, okumba, while cattle, goat and sheep skins were used for making drums and traditional blankets, shoes, strengthening handles of knives and other cutting instruments, as well as, weapons such as spears, and kuot among others (KII, EL20: 24 3/ 2021).

In agreement with the former respondent another elder said that by late 1890s, wild animals were still abundantly available in the locality and Gem men were sharpshooters, hence, animal skins could be availed sufficiently according to local demands of the time. Due to factors such as population increase, land registration and consolidation, pasture land declined and the numbers of wild animals reduced considerably. The apparent changes in weather conditions along the Lake Victoria region, possibly caused by reckless cutting of vegetation, led to a remarkable decrease in animal numbers and subsequent reduction in the supply of animal skins as trade items. This necessitated an organized trade with neighboring communities in order to obtain much needed skins to sustain local industries. Occasionally, Gem hunting teams crossed into Sakwa on hunting sprees, thus, leading to inter-clan conflicts (KII, EL21: 24 / 3/2021).

Another elder concerned with them but also stated that as late as 1894s, wild animals such as elephants, leopards and even cheetahs were abundant in the former Siaya District, and hence trade items needed were such as ivory, buffalo and leopard skins which were required for the making ornaments such as ronge and okumba respectively, were obtained through trade interactions with neighbouring clans. Other animal products, which Gem people got through trade included ostrich eggs used for decorations in rituals and ceremonies, and, feathers of different types of birds were used to decorate hats such as osimbo while whisks from animals such as donkeys and cattle were used as orengo (KII, EL 22: 26 / 3/2021).

However, the FGD emphasized that clay for smearing walls and floors of houses was mainly imported from Sakwa, Got Kachieng area, as Gem soils were basically black-cotton clay soil which cracked easily. Clay from the Chamagaha area in Sakwa was

useful for making pots of different sizes and types and smoking pipes. Iron for making iron tools such as axes, knives, adzes, traditional panga, ratong, all of which were hand tools used for small scale activities, and other implements, were imported from Samia in Busia District and from Got Regea in Siaya District. Iron was used for making all iron-based objects of industrial and domestic utility such as tools, ornaments and weapons. Other items made from iron included arrow-heads, knives, iron harpoons, cow and goat bells, hoes, swords, pangas and fish hooks. Metals made of copper, silver and gold were rare but where they were available, they might have been imported through trade focus group discussion (FGD5: 27 /2/2021).

Another FGD talked of the importance of Indano falls is found in River Yala, which cuts across by dissecting Gem into the so called North and South of Yala River. Around the fall was a dense thicket with all sorts of aquatic vegetation full of fauna and flora. It believed that the red cock lived there and had the power to stick people with fire in the form of thunder and lightning. This site was associated with mystical forces associated with metaphysical power, where doctors, diviners and sorcerers visited to gain power, Luri elder in Gem. What was said to be existing in this place before the arrival of the colonial government was the sites which were set aside for scarification ritual to God, Focus group discussion East Gem (FGD3: 25 /2 / 2021).

In addition, according to members of Focus group discussion, (FGD3: 25/2/2021) those sites were revered and given special respect in regard to religious and cultural approach. Another unique factor was how these communities preserved those hills making them safer for the wild animals to use as their habitats. There were some herbs and traditional medicine which could only be found in those hills, for that reason those hills were protected and reserved as sacred sites. Gem people believed and worshipped a God whose name was known as Nyasaye or Were. The Nyasaye was referred to as “Nyakalaga” which means omnipresent. The God was worshiped through intermediaries (Jodolo) (FGD 1: 23/1/2021).

Confirming how Gem people believed in a powerful being who was perceived to hold some powers above human beings, God was believed to dwell in the holy places (Hembko). Examples of Hembko where Gem people could visit to offer sacrifices to God were: Rawalo hills, Onyanje hill, Nguge his, Luri hill, Omino hill, Regea hill,

Dudi hill and Indano falls in River Yala. Gem people believed that Indano fall was a dwelling home of the spirit of thunder. It was the place where witch doctors consulted the spirit of hailstone, thunder and lightning. The divine power which controlled the spirit from the river communicated to people through the ancestors, the dead and the living-dead. The deity who was supposed to give the answer, also, the place where it was given was situated in River Yala. This god of the river had metaphysical power and could be only recognized through the natural occurrence of traditional medicine men (KII, EL23: 26/3/2021).

At the same time the informant (KII EL 24,) agreed with what other informants as he emphasized that: “Gem was not well known in medicine skill however, the few well known medicine men were; Orek wuon Orama, Ogada, Oliech wuon Agina and Alara wuon Kaumba. These men might have borrowed the skill from Alego, for example, Oliech wuon Agina borrowed the rain making skill from the Nganyi clan in Bunyore where his grandmother hailed from. Oliech whose grandparents migrated from Regea to Ndiru in South Gem around 1880 was well known for sending hailstone, storm thunder and lightning and enjoyed reverence from his skill by clients who consulted him during dry spells.

He said that Indano fall in River Yala was the only site with metaphysical power where people could visit when an ostracized and the sick patient got healed after receiving treatment at the shrine. The site was economically viable for getting unique aquatic plants which were needed to treat lightning victims and control of thunder, lightning, hailstones and drought, therefore Gem people cherished the Indano area. The name Indano is Luhya dialect which means a fall” (KII, EL24: 27/4/2021).

2.3.3 Economic organization of Gem people in pre-colonial period

According to (KII EL 14:15/2/2021) Gem people depended heavily on hunting and gathering to supplement their source food supplies during their settlement. They could be referred to as sedentary hunters and gatherers since they had permanent settlements, cultivated crops and kept livestock. Gem men hunted both big and small game. Some of the animals hunted by Gem men included hare (apuoyo), gazelle (ngau), antelope (mwanda), ant-eaters (muok), porcupine (chiew), warthog (mbidhi), hippopotamus (rawo) and leopard (kwach). Leopards were not eaten but their skins were used to make

dresses of elders of social standing for ceremonial occasions. They were also displayed on walls of prominent people in the community as ornaments or trophies. Leopard claws were worn as charms, to keep away evil spirits and tied on waists of children or people with prolonged illnesses.

The hunted birds like awendo (guinea fowl), aywer, aluru (quail) (, and Udo (Ostrich) for meat and decoration. For example, ostrich guinea fowl feathers were used for decoration of Kondo (hut) which was worn as a regalia during funeral ceremonies, coronation of leaders or dancing ceremonies. Birds such as chicken and atudo (ducks) were domesticated for food as they provided delicacy. However, some birds were hunted for ritual functions as he explained that:

“Hawk meat was not eaten but its bones were used by traditional medicine men as charms to protect children from witchcraft. Osimbo, a bird with long feathers, had special value for traditional dancers as its feathers were fixed on men’s huts as a symbol of authority” (KII, EL15, 18 /2/ 2021).

Hunting and gathering as a socio-economic activity, is as old as mankind, whether in Africa, Eurasia or the Americas. Hunting techniques advanced with improvements in tool-making technologies, which enabled mankind to gain the ability to kill a wide variety of animals for meat supplies and greens, through the invention of sophisticated tools, and fire, which enabled him to get other materials such as skins, horns, birds’ feathers and bones, used for various purposes. Through these evolutionary processes, man became smaller in size, with smaller teeth but higher cranial capacity. From socializing around fires at night, advancements in communication technology developed. Hunters ventured into new areas to search for more food supplies, hence, the migratory nature of man, exploring new environments, has lived with man to date.

The Gem people used to engage in trade and exchanged the various commodities with the Banyore, Asembo and Seme people at Luanda which is the present day Luanda market. Before the arrival of the British as the colonial administrator, these people practiced barter trade (exchange of goods with goods). In doing so Gem people exchanged animals, animal products with iron tools with the Banyore. Umuri sub-tribe of the Banyore people was well skilled in pottery and basketry which they exchanged with the Gem who acted as middlemen between the Luo of Asembo who lived along Lake Victoria. Since the Luanda area was very strategic for the three groups as a

meeting point, they regularly converged there to exchange their goods. However, on most occasions some people also preferred moving with their commodities from home to home across their boundaries. In addition to trade people practiced small scale pastoralism even though they had adopted crop production in which they participated in the form of subsistence production, focus group discussion FGD4, 26/2/ 2021).

According to one the key informant, Gem people who settled in the Southern Gem along River Yala majorly depended on livestock keeping. This was due to the fact that the area was not fertile enough to sustain crop production. It was believed that even in the areas where topography was generally gentle sloping towards the River Yala, there was frequent attack from hippopotamus which made life very difficult. These wild animals used to roam at night as they moved to homes to destroy the few crops they could come across, this led to food shortage in the region. The northern side of Gem was somehow hilly and was best for crop production, this means that the two regions of Gem had economic strength in food production. Most neighbours from Seme, Uyoma, Asembo, Sakwa and Alego used to buy cereals during drought because the land received rain throughout the year. Hence this encouraged coexistence and interdependence between north and south Gem (FGD, 10: 7/03/2021).

CHAPTER THREE:
THE HISTORY OF GEM IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the establishment and consolidation of colonial rule in Gem, as part of Central Kavirondo, in the period of 1894-1918. It focuses mainly on the political structures of Gem community before the establishment of colonial rule, the role of Chiefs with particular reference to collaborative activities of Odera Ulalo and Odera Akango, systems of colonial administration and the establishment of structures of local government and subsequent reaction to colonial rule

3.2 The Establishment of Colonial Rule in Central Nyanza

In the year 1883, Joseph Thomson embarked on a voyage that would go down in Maasailand history (PC/NZA.1/4, 1908-9, KNA, Mungeam, 1966:2). In December of 1883, he arrived in Mumias, but he barely remained there for two days, despite the lavish welcome that Mumia had prepared for him in order to earn his comradeship (Thomson, 1962:160, Osogo, 1962:77). Two years later, in 1885, Mumias entrusted Bishop James Hannington with the leadership of the Church Missionary Society station in Uganda, which had been founded eight years previously. This station was formed in 1873. (Osogo, 1975: 11). In spite of Mumia's pleadings and warnings that he would be executed if he invaded Buganda from the east, he hastily boarded a plane and headed towards Uganda. The bishop was ultimately put to death as a result of his defiance of the regulations that restricted admittance into Buganda.

The two excursions, on the other hand, stimulated additional European expeditions over Kenya into Uganda since they coincided with the time when the European scramble for Africa was in its most intense and important phase. The "sphere of influence" philosophy that was included in the Berlin Accord of 1884-85 required the British government to expand and solidify its position in the area before it was too late to do so (Hobley, 1970:68; Salim, 1973:54, Van Zwanenberg, 1976:124). As a result of the situation, the official viewpoint of the British government shifted, and William Mackinnon's business, the British East Africa Association, was awarded a royal charter (Van Zwanenberg, 1976: 115). Only one year before, in 1887, the British government had rejected the charter's application and declined to give it. Mackinnon's firm was

renamed the Imperial British East Africa Company not long after it was founded (IBEACo.).

It was expected of the corporation, which had a primary focus on business, to govern and maintain the British presence in the interior of East Africa (Ochieng, 1985:85, Owino, 1993:144). It started its task by delegating two officials, Fredrick Jackson and Ernest Gedge, to develop the path that would be the safest and most economically feasible between the Coast and Uganda. This route could be utilized for any purpose (Dealing, 1974:301). As part of their mission, the two individuals were tasked with locating and populating reasonably priced and safe rest stops along the route. They came to Mumias in 1889 and discovered that it was suitable for their needs after doing so (Were, 1967a: 16 1-162). It was via Mumias that the British influence, which had hitherto been mostly restricted to Uganda, progressively started to extend into western Kenya.

This influence increased with the signing of the Heligoland Treaty in 1890. At that time, the Germans publicly acknowledged Uganda and Kenya as being a part of the "sphere of influence" that the British held. Therefore, the British occupation first began in Uganda and then moved to Kenya through that country. As an unintended consequence of the treaty, the Siayan people found themselves subject to the law of the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, in spite of the pact, the British government did not immediately seize control of their "sphere of influence" from the IBEACo. However, the business was having serious issues with its finances, administration, transportation, and military (Mungeam, 1966: 9-10, Salim, 1973:69, Ochieng, 1974:72 and 1985:86). In a nutshell, the firm was unable to administrate the region (PC/NZA. 1/4, 1908-9, KNA). It was unable to pay its debts and ceased operations in 1894 (Salim, 1973:72; Arap Ng'eny, 1970:112; Low, 1982:5) and the British government took authority of the area (Salim,1973:72).

The British government announced their intention to establish a protectorate over Uganda in June of that year. At the time, Uganda's Eastern Province included both the Nyanza and Western Provinces of Kenya. After that, they started to beef up their presence and expand the amount of influence they had over Uganda and Kenya. To begin, however, even the government was no more equipped for the duty of

administration than had been the IBEACo since it lacked its administrators (Mungeam, 1966:20; Low, 1982:5). This was due to the fact that the IBEACo had lacked its administrators. As a result of this, Colonel Colville was obliged to send his valet, Fredrick Spire, to establish a British administrative presence in Mumias (Lonsdale, 1964:98). Ogot (1967:232), Dealing (1974:308), Esese (1990:191), and Owino (1993:147) all made similar observations. An administrative substation was founded in Mumias around the year 1894 by Colonel Henry Colville, the first Commissioner of the new government of the Uganda protectorate. Sir Frederick Spire was the first officer to be sent there (Dealing, 1974:308).

According to Ogot (1963:249), Mungeam (1966:7), and Ochieng' (1985:88), Europeans of the time considered that Uganda was more essential to their interests than Kenya. As a consequence of this, Mumias was used by the Europeans solely as a stopping point on their way from the coast to Uganda. His arrival, despite the fact that he was merely a Valet, marked the beginning of the establishment of British power in Western Kenya, with Mumias serving as the main administrative station. Spire's administration barely lasted for half a year, during which time he did not have any significant contact with the Luo, with the exception of Kitoto of Kano (Schiller, 1983:270-271; Jalang'o-Ndeda, 1991:84). His position was taken up by C.W. Hobley in February 1895, and he stayed in that role until 1903. Following Hobley's arrival in Mumias, the number of British administrators stationed in the surrounding region expanded significantly. It was just a matter of time until the Luo of Siaya were placed under the effective rule of the colonial government.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the British efforts in Nyanza up to about the year 1897 were primarily focused on the protection of communication routes. The real demands on labor were not very heavy. Even the political goals were constrained by the resources available in the military. However, in 1897 there was a mutiny among the Sudanese soldiers, and in Uganda there was an insurrection. After first being put in jeopardy, the British position was eventually significantly strengthened. New soldiers and supplies were hastily brought to the site, and this event marked the beginning of a period in which aggressive dominance was exercised over Nyanza. As a consequence of this, an increasing number of porters were required from a populace that was hesitant to offer such labor (in order to serve the expanded military installation in Uganda).

Indeed, the expedition that Hopley's government led against Alego (Siaya) in September 1898 was one of the first ones to be carried out in direct reaction to a refusal to furnish labor (Jalang'o-Ndeda, 1991:87). In addition, Hopley started to require labor as a sign of submission on this particular trip as well as the majority of following expeditions (Stictcher, 1985: 12 Jalang'o-Ndeda, 1991:87).

It is possible to date the commencement of colonial control in Gem to coincide with the entrance of European administration staff in Central Nyanza in 1896. In particular, C.W. Hopley (Bwana Obilo) was an important figure at this time. This followed the proclamation of the British Protectorate in 1895, which saw the designation of all of Luoland as an eastern region of Uganda. As a result, this event saw the demarcation of all of Luoland. The boundary stayed the same until Kenya was made a colony in 1920, at which point it was redrawn to reflect the current Kenya–Uganda border. But to the people who lived there, the moment that signaled the beginning of British administration being imposed on Luoland was when the boundaries between the subtribes, which had been shifting from month to month, were permanently fixed and a new name, "location," was given to the various "pinje" that were inhabited by the subtribes. These "in Central Nyanza were Nyakach, Kano, Kisumu, Kajulu, Seme, Asembo, Sakwa, Uyoma, Yimbo, Gem, Alego and Ugenya.

Boundaries were drawn along lines that were agreed upon by the chiefs of the surrounding communities. This was typically done quite freely, as there was usually very little pressure on land, and there was almost always a fairly wide stretch of land left for hunting, which also served as a buffer zone between one location and another. Anyone who settled in this area and constructed a house would be in constant danger of being attacked. Thus, the borders of each subtribe were precisely delineated, but since there had been prior wars, fighting persisted on an ad hoc basis. It was decided, in accordance with the principles of "indirect rule," which influenced the thinking of the administration, that the Luo, despite having a single language and intermarrying, were not a single social unit under one ruler like the Baganda, for example. This was because the Luo intermarried with each other. As a result, the super-chiefs for the whole of Central Nyanza were selected, with one assuming responsibility for the Western (*Podhochieng*) half and the other for the Eastern (*Wangchieng*) half of the territory. The ability to communicate in Swahili with members of the government was viewed as

one of the most important qualifications for these individuals, who were considered to have a high probability of becoming chiefs of all of Central Nyanza.

The administrators went to each region in search of the leaders who, in their opinion, commanded the most respect from the populace there. In turn, the chiefs, with the agreement of the government, picked a member of the most powerful clan in the region to serve as the Headmen for his "Gweng mar Dhoot," which literally translates to his clan territory. In each of the territories controlled by a clan, sub-Headmen were positioned as leaders according to the dominant lineage segment or clan. However, there were instances of irregularities, such as nepotism, but the representation was, to a large extent, comparable to the indigenous system. This proved to be an asset in maintaining the significance of the pre-existing lineage structure, which was guided by the principle of hereditary succession, in political activities.

The colonizers' representatives on the ground were the chiefs and the helpers who served them. Through them, a variety of actions were implemented, which ultimately led to the establishment of a system that consisted basically of paying tribute to Europeans in return for maintaining security in their positions and receiving military help in times of crisis. Taxes were imposed, mandatory labor was requested, and the chiefs and their subordinates recruited persons to work for the government or to work on the burgeoning fields and railroads. In addition to their administrative duties, chiefs and their "Jodong gweng" were also responsible for the administration of justice. Those chiefs who collaborated with the new authority were used as a weapon against those who did not, and some of those chiefs were able to settle old scores with their adversaries because of their ability to control the new power. Therefore, the consolidation of colonial administration differed significantly from one region to another, mostly dependent on the degree to which the indigenous leadership of that region collaborated with the colonizers. It is important to highlight that the initial encounter with Europeans and the beginning of administrative activities in the Siaya district took place in Gem. These developments gradually spread to the rest of the district.

This is best shown by the fact that Gem was responsible for the birth of Odera Ulalo, one of the two Central Nyanza super-chiefs, despite the fact that the specific system of

superchiefs in question was only in use for a brief amount of time before it was abandoned. After receiving orders from Bwana Obilo, Mumia sent a message to Odera Ulalo to inform the people of Seme, Sakwa, Asembo, Yimbo, and Uyoma to grind grain for the laborers working on the railway, which by this time had reached Lubwa in Rift Valley Province.

People from the Uyoma tribe in particular refused to heed the instruction, wondering how a guy could expect another male to mill grain for him like a woman does ("To dichwo waduni bende iregone kaka dhako:). As a consequence of this, a punishing expedition composed of askaris was sent to Uyoma. Although the askaris were responsible for the deaths of numerous persons and the theft of many heads of cattle, Uyema warriors were able to reclaim some of the animals via their dogged pursuit. After the Seme people battled the Askaris and blocked their direct approach to Kisumu, they collected the remaining livestock that the Askaris had managed to get away with and put them in the residence of Odera Ulalo. This indicates that there was overt opposition to the installation of colonial control in some areas of Central Nyanza. In contrast, there was clear cooperation with the Europeans in Gem, as demonstrated by the alliance with Mumia, who was a known collaborator. Therefore, a reciprocal interaction is hinted at by the meeting in Gem.

Only when applied to personalities like Odera Ulalo and Adhola of Asembo is the opinion that the Luo of Central Kavirondo did not provide any armed opposition to the European invasion (Ogot, 1964) true. Because of the danger posed by the Nandi, Kipsigis, and Gusiis, other Luo living south of Lake Victoria and in the surrounding area would have been glad to see them arrive. These groups often carried out raids on the Luo. However, in 1899, the Luo people who lived to the north of Lake Victoria and were strategically located, much like the Uyoma, began assaulting any and all European vessels that were traveling between Kisumu and Uganda. In addition, these organizations' requests for workers (porters, specifically) were greeted with an aggressive refusal to hire them.

Between the years 1898 and 1903, Hopley, together with his allies the Wanga, Maasai, Gem, and Asembo, organized military operations against many Luo peoples, including the Ugenya, Sakwa, Uyoma, Seme, Gem, and Alego. In the end, a peace agreement was

reached, and both sides made significant payments in the form of cattle. They were also instructed to provide merchants and travelers unrestricted movement across their regions and to generally respect the administration's directives. Their (the colonists') friends were rewarded with some of the animals that they had taken. Odera Ulalo, for instance, was a benefactor and utilized part of the loot to reinforce his relations with Adhola of Asembo (Jalang'o-Ndeda, 1991:89). This is only one example. In a nutshell, the establishment of colonial power in Central Kavirondo and Kenya in general was accomplished by military conquest and an extensive number of "pacification" missions that were intended against groups of people who resisted colonial rule. The Luo were ultimately coerced into submitting to colonial control by an overwhelming amount of force.

During Hopley's administration in Nyanza, the Uganda Railway was also constructed. This occurred at the same time. It began in Mombasa in the year 1895 and arrived in Kisumu in December 1901. And in the same year, Mumias had already begun to lose some of her previous prominence. Although it continued to function as an official station, the administrative offices were relocated to the lakeside railway center at Port Ugowe, which was renamed Kisumu not long thereafter due to the city's quickly growing significance. In the year 1902, the provinces of Kisumu and Naivasha were moved from Uganda to what was subsequently known as Kenya but was then known as the East African Protectorate.

However, it is necessary to point out that the instantaneous subjugation of the Gem people was primarily caused by the established chieftaincy, and in particular, the enterprising and ambitious individuals who were chiefs at the time colonial rule backed by greater force was being established. This is something that needs to be brought up because it is important to note. Odera Akango is a noteworthy example since he traveled to Uganda as early as 1915 and, upon his return, began organizing some type of formal education that placed an emphasis on the Christian faith as well as personal cleanliness. Young men, for example, were gathered together so that they might be instructed by previous askaris and house staff. They were required to wear shorts and shirts, and their parents were responsible for providing them with body cleaning soap. On Mondays, the young men and the elders went to the public meetings that Odera Akango hosted so that the youngsters could get knowledge about such types of

gatherings. He was a skilled farmer and sold his usually plentiful maize harvest in Kisumu by using his subjects as laborers and porters. He always had an abundance of maize. He constructed roads and planted trees along the sides of the highways employing forced labor, and he could not stand it when people loitered about or did nothing productive with their time.

These actions carried out by Odera Akango were, to say the very least, not just a fulfillment of the criteria of colonialism; rather, they were an expression of a more or less total conversion to the whims and wishes of the colonizers. Because it made their work and the accomplishment of their objectives much easier, the colonizers gradually established and maximized their use of linkages with Gem and other areas that had similar characteristics, in which their fundamental needs were being met and their ideas were being enthusiastically received. The construction of the Uganda Railway and the year 1901 when it reached Kisumu marked a significant turning point. This resulted in the first significant issue for the colonizers, who were immediately confronted with the challenge of determining how to make the colony pay for its goods and services.

It would be possible to repay the loan monies acquired from the British Treasury for the construction of the railway if the colony fulfilled its debts. However, and this is of the utmost importance, the yearly grants-in-aid that were provided by the Treasury in order to cover the costs of managing British East Africa had to be stopped. The white settlement was prescribed as the answer to the issue, and the actions done for its establishment and consolidation were what formed the links with the African territories while simultaneously spelling out their future.

In other words, the political system that was envisioned by those measures was one in which authority was monopolized by a European elite. Additionally, the economic system that was envisioned by those measures was one that restricted African participation to a limited range of subordinate roles. Finally, the social system that was envisioned by those measures was one that was stratified by race and "assumed" the inherent superiority of the imported culture over all forms of indigenous culture. When confronted with the Uganda Railway problem in the beginning phases, actions were made with the intention of satisfying the requirements or any other future steps,

particularly to encourage white settlement and dominance. This was the reasoning for developing an efficient administration as a matter of urgency in the first place.

Therefore, after the appointment of chiefs and their assistants in each area, as we have seen, the next logical step was opening up communication channels and erecting centers for administration and commerce primarily along these routes. This was done in accordance with the established sequence of events. The most important guiding concept that went into the planning of the communication channels was to ensure that the favorable connections that had already been created by the colonizers or their forerunners, the merchants and missionaries, would be maintained. The end purpose was to improve access to the various local populations, guarantee that they fulfilled the roles that they may be allocated, and have the ability to administer punishments for failing to cooperate if the situation required it.

In relation to the topic that we are researching, we discovered that a road leading to Busia, which is located on the Kenyan side of the Ugandan border, was built via Gem. In addition, a branch railway line leading to Butere in the Western Province was built, and it passed through Gem. Gem and the areas around it are home to some of the most important stops along both routes, including Masenc, Luanda, and Yala. The developing communications network may be analyzed in terms of the connections created with Mumia and in Uganda, in addition to the positive attitude discovered in Gem. It has been brought to everyone's attention that Odera Akang'o is working hard to sell maize and develop roads in Gem. But even before him, Odera Ulalo had finished the Luanda market in 1901. As a result, Gem, particularly the northern section of it, was left exposed for colonial maneuvers, whether they were favorable or bad owing to the ease of access. And it was because the colonizers strove to maximize the effects of first constructed links like Gem that colonial administration had a stronger influence and grew more diversified in comparison to other regions in Central Nyanza.

The Uganda Railway issue gave birth to a number of different measures, one of which was taxation. This action had immediate as well as far-reaching effects for the African people. The imposition of taxes, in particular on the African population, served two purposes: the first was to provide the settlers with the labor and capital they required, and the second was to generate revenue to finance settler-related needs, in particular the

construction of the essential infrastructure in their respective regions. Many of the minimal consumer products that Africans were able to buy were subject to import charges on top of the Hut tax, Poll tax, and other taxes that were enacted.

In any case, the mode of taxing in question is irrelevant to the issue at hand since it did not significantly vary from one region to another in this regard. The problem at hand is the fact that in order for people in Africa to fulfill their tax duties, they were progressively pressured to take part in economies that relied on cash. This entailed either cultivating crops for the market and obtaining the tax money or earning "currency" via the sale of one's labor, mostly to white settlers. Growing crops for the market and getting the tax money was the more desirable option. In addition, surplus commodities and livestock might be sold in order to generate revenue for tax payments. In addition, there was compelled labor in the form of public works labor and military conscription to meet the criteria for the number of soldiers needed during the war. Not to mention the virtual plundering of grain and livestock to meet the requirements for the amount of food needed during the war.

These behaviors, too, contributed in some way or another to African engagement in the cash economy; but, the consequences of these practices varied from one place to another, which added another dimension to the inequalities that existed between these locations. It was notably in conjunction with these activities that the colonizers utilized force, which was something that was present in all of the acts that were performed by the colonizers, particularly in the early phases of colonial administration. And it was this that ended up being the most important component in determining the final effects and the variances in those effects. However, in the long term, it was the objective of those who colonized the land that force should be employed less and less, and that colonialism should have a momentum of its own via the voluntary involvement of Africans in the cash economy. This was the intention of the colonizers. To achieve this goal, new types of crops that would primarily be farmed for financial gain were developed.

White maize, cotton, rice, simsim, cassava, groundnuts, sugarcane, and many types of vegetables were among the first crops to be cultivated in Nyanza somewhere in the 1920s. Cotton and maize were the two primary crops that the colonizers focused on

cultivating in Gem. The missionaries were the ones who were the pioneers for colonialism on this front, so the introduction of education, which went hand in hand with religion and health services, was one of the first things that occurred in African areas after colonialism was established. This was done to ensure that the economic role would be the primary one played. As early as 1914, the first group of students had finished their education, which consisted of four years, and had returned to the reserve in Central Nyanza to reestablish themselves there.

This involvement in the cash economy, which was not voluntary to begin with and was uneven depending on colonial interests at a particular point in time, as we have tried to show, is precisely what led to differential impacts of colonialism and subsequent differences in the socio-economic developments between areas such as Gem. This involvement in the cash economy was not voluntary to begin with, and it was uneven depending on colonial interests at a particular point in time. This was in part dependent on the reaction of the local people in a specific region, which was mostly determined by their economic situation. This was the case in a number of different areas.

Therefore, when considering the positive response in Gem, it is of utmost importance, for instance, to consider that the people of Gem had already begun cultivating crops when the Europeans arrived, and that they were required to cultivate maize, which is both a food crop and a cash crop, and which was adopted, eventually becoming a staple food of Africans. Another important consideration is that the Europeans required them to cultivate maize. Gem was clearly favored, and in point of fact, some of the key developments that resulted in greater social transformation in Central Nyanza, such as communications, school migration, etc., it is clearly evident -were greatly biased towards Gem. Gem was clearly favored, and it is a matter of fact that some of the key developments resulted in greater social transformation in Central Nyanza.

Another set of Europeans, the Christian missionaries, were also establishing their presence in the region at the same time that the British colonialists were spreading their tentacles farther into the Kavirondo. They also started converting people to Christianity while they were building schools. Because of this, Siaya had become a part of a much larger world, a colonial world that was built on a political and economic structure that was very different from the one that the people who lived there were used to.

3.3 System of Colonial Administration

According to Crowder (1964: 199), the system of indirect control was, with various changes, adopted wherever it was practicable throughout Britain's colonies in West Africa and also in her other African colonies. This was the case regardless of the location. However, in practice, the overarching goal of ruling through traditional political units on whom local government could be devolved was maintained. Subsequently, a system of democratically elected councils was formulated as most closely corresponding to the traditional method of delegating authority. This was achieved by maintaining the overall goal of ruling through traditional political units on whom local government could be devolved. In order for the British to effectively manage their colonial possessions despite having a small number of administrative staff members, they were forced to adopt the policy of incorporating the native administrative system into their own structure, or to create a system where there was previously none.

Therefore, the philosophy and organizational structure of African administration established the system of indirect rule, in which chiefs were considered accountable for the maintenance of social order and the provision of social services. In order to better advise chiefs, new councilors were hired, although the District Commissioner remained the ultimate decision-maker in all matters (Afigbo, 1962:160). It was necessary for the colonial state to devise an appropriate and effective method of recruiting and appointing chiefs into the system of local administration as part of the process of establishing and consolidating colonial rule in Central Nyanza.

This was one of the components of the overall process. This tactic was based on a custom policy whose philosophy was located directly in the logic of colonial power itself. This served as the justification for this technique. In order to conform to the requirements of the situation at the time, the British implemented this facet of indirect rule in some regions of East Africa and, later on, across the rest of Africa.

This indicates that the manner in which the colonial administration chose, trained, and appointed its African agents was the primary factor in determining the character of the government. Kenya was subdivided into a number of provinces by the British colonial authority, and these provinces were governed by foreign Provincial Commissioners

(PC). The provinces were further subdivided into district administrative units, which were led by District Commissioners who, like Provincial Commissioners, were expatriates. These District Commissioners were responsible for the administration of specific districts. The authority of the districts was further broken into divisions, which were likewise assigned to expatriate officials. After then, each division was further separated into areas that were ruled by African chiefs.

This suggests that the colonial administrative structure was designed in such a way that Europeans held the top leadership positions, while Africans were used at the lower leadership positions and worked under the supervision of European administrative officers. This was done so that Europeans could maintain control over the colony. When a Protectorate was formed over Uganda in July 1894, the territory to the east of Lake Victoria and all the way up to Naivasha was legally placed under British colonial jurisdiction. This is shown by a source from the archives known as KNA/DC/CN/1/6/1. The name of the province was eventually changed to the Eastern Province of Uganda Protectorate, which was also the name of the Nyanza region.

Nandi, Mau, Baringo, and Suk are the four districts that were officially established inside the province. Kisumu District was responsible for the Nyanza area. The district was divided into three divisions: The Nandi proper division, the South Kavirondo division, and the Ugaya division (where Kadimo clan is found). Between the years 1894 and 1903, colonial officials had very little interaction with the local population of the Nyanza area, despite the fact that the divisions existed on paper.

Kisumu, the capital and administrative center of the province, was the station of closest proximity. The British colonial administration in the Nyanza region began in earnest in January 1903, when a shipment of Union Jack flags was sent from the Provincial headquarters in Kisumu to the Karungu area. These flags were intended to be flown over all of the villages in the surrounding area in order to demonstrate that the Nyanza region was under the administration of the British colonial government. This results in Nyanza and the tribes that border it falling under the control of the colonial government.

The first chiefs were selected for the Nyanza area in the year 1902. At that point, the collection of taxes was their major responsibility. By the year 1907, many sites in the Nyanza area had already selected chiefs and headmen to their respective positions. A chief is a direct agent of the government in his area; his status is quite similar to that of a District Commissioner. This information was provided in an explanation of the chief's job that was included in a District Circular. Every chief in Kenya is responsible for a variety of different tasks and responsibilities as part of the post to which he was promoted (Outa O.I, 2019).

This view, that the chiefs are active to maintain a spirit of loyalty to the British Crown, and to inculcate such a spirit to see that all lawful orders are obeyed by the African inhabitants of his location, was corroborated by the archival source (KNA/DC/KSM/1/31/62) as well as the fact that the chiefs are active to maintain a spirit of loyalty to the British Crown. It is necessary for him to have a consistent personal interest in the collection of taxes. This suggests that a new type of politics of representation was introduced into the region. Initially, the chiefs were direct representatives of their people; however, after the establishment of the chief's office in Gem, this role shifted toward the colonial government. This suggests that a new form of politics of representation was introduced into the region. Because they were on the state payroll, chiefs became patrons of the colonial government. In addition to this, the chiefs served as the go-betweens between the colonial administration and the people of the colony.

Because of this, the chiefs were held responsible in front of their pay master. This suggests that the colonial leaders who were chosen to their positions never had a great deal of legitimacy, since their power gradually diminished over time. However, the essential legal structure on which the authority of chiefs depended was drawn from ordinances that were adopted before the First World War. This framework allowed for the progressive evolution of the chiefs' powers and responsibilities through time. An ordinance passed in 1902 assigned the chiefs with extensive responsibilities in three areas.

They were charged with upholding public order and faced the possibility of financial penalties in the event that disruptions occurred within their respective spheres of

authority. They were tasked for clearing the roads in their area, and they also had the authority to rule on more trivial matters. In 1912, these broad strokes were given a more distinct appearance. It was acceptable for chiefs to hire other people to aid them in maintaining order in the community. They had the ability to issue orders that prohibited the production of African liquor (kong'o), the hosting of drinking bouts, the growing of toxic plants like hemp, the carrying of weapons, and any behavior that was likely to incite a disturbance (KNA/DC/KSM/1/31/62).

The native tribunals and the local native councils were two further groups that were active in local government in Gem, as well as in other African places (KNA/PC/NZA/3/1/272). These bodies were also present in other African sites. Both entities were recognized by the colonial authority on the basis that it was understood that they had ruled large populations of Africans prior to the establishment of colonial rule. On the other hand, the requirements of the colonial administration and the authority of the chiefs were vividly represented in both institutions.

The Native Court Ordinance of 1897 required the government to supervise the judicial activities of tribunal authorities and gave them permission to use customary law, with the restriction that punishments could not be inhumane and convictions could not be obtained through witchcraft, torture, or other "barbarous practices." The Native Court Ordinance also mandated that the government monitor the judicial activities of tribunal authorities. These courts worked in a manner somewhat unlike that of the pre-colonial councils of elders that were responsible for conflict resolution. On the other hand, as a result of the countervailing authority held by Luo chiefs, these courts were unable to function properly in the Nyanza region and in other parts of Luo country. The officials in charge of the colonies never did find a satisfactory solution to this problem. The pre-colonial leaders of the Luo people had more influence than their colonial counterparts. According to Hopley (1965), leaders in pre-colonial periods often had greater authority than they do now.

The issue at hand was that participation in these native courts and local native councils was skewed to only embrace those clans who were tied to the chief of the moment in some manner, shape, or form. This was the source of the disagreement. The aforementioned change was not without its downsides, and in the end, it hampered

efforts to maintain ethnic control. As a direct consequence of this, the colonial administration was compelled to strengthen the authority of the elders. The pre-colonial political order was altered in a number of different ways as a result of the appointment of colonial chiefs, which occurred simultaneously with the foundation of colonial administration in Gem.

Once colonial control was established in a region, for instance, the standing of chiefs as well as their connection to the elders of the community underwent significant changes. According to Odhiambo and Outa, (O.I, 2019), during the time before colonial authority, councils of elders supported chiefs in resolving conflicts in their various territories. This was done before the advent of colonial administration. However, as a result of the creation of colonial administration, the role of elders was relegated to a secondary status in the newly established political order.

Elders were unable to participate in the day-to-day operations of the colonial government since this role needed a certain level of western education, which they did not possess. Youths who had been exposed to certain aspects of European culture and were able to provide chiefs with assistance in colonial administration filled their posts. These youths now occupied such roles. As a result of their transition from an independent status to one of subordination under the new political system, the position and authority of the pre-colonial chiefs who were maintained by the new political order saw significant shifts. On the one hand, Hopley (1965) notes that chiefs in pre-colonial periods were often more powerful than they are now due to the fact that they were able to have many marriages and the capacity to use military force.

On the other side, the council of elders was responsible for keeping a check on the powers that they had. The roles of chief were traditionally held by individuals who had inherited them; but, with the advent of colonial administration, chiefs began to be nominated by the colonial state, and they became direct representatives of the colonial government in the areas in which they were based. As a result of the fact that the chiefs were now answerable to the colonial state, they did not possess the same level of influence that they had in the time before colonial rule. This meant that they may be removed from their positions at any moment, and the colonial authority could even send them to prison if they behaved inappropriately. As a result, the introduction of the

colonial system brought to a decline in the level of leadership that existed among the Africans.

The 1910-1913 Nyanza Province Annual Report remarked:

The Jaluo (the Luo) chiefs seem to think that anything like a council will tend to diminish their authority, and they prefer to act independently in all matters or consultation with their retainers, relying on the government to support them in the event of opposition. Where we have a capable and energetic chief this despotic rule works well enough, but unfortunately very few of them bear out this description. The majority of them are either wanting in intelligence and power and accomplish nothing, or make use of their authority to enrich themselves at the expense of their people (KNA/PC/NZA/2/3).

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

3.3.1 Appointment of Chiefs

It is possible that, of all the colonial officials, African chiefs have been the most misunderstood, and that African historians, particularly those with a nationalist bent, have misread the acts that they took the most. While the positions and roles of District Officers (DOs), District Commissioners (DCs), and Provincial Commissioners (PCs) have been seen quite rightly as important parts of that chain of administrative machinery whose main duty was to establish colonialism in any one given colony, African colonial chiefs have been expected to have acted differently for some odd reasons. This is due to the fact that African colonial chiefs were given the title of "provincial commissioner."

For instance, African chiefs should have backed their relatives' desires to the fullest extent possible in their fight for political independence and socioeconomic emancipation. This would have been the right thing to do. Because many chiefs did not do this, they have been labeled as clamorous collaborators with the European colonialists as well as dictators, self-seekers, conservatives, swindlers, and terrorists of their people. In addition, the European colonialists have branded them as clamorous collaborators. But the aforementioned actions and responsibilities cannot be all that the

leaders had. They must have been very influential figures in the political and socioeconomic life of their people throughout that time period. The creation and growth of colonialism in Africa was the primary motivation for the founding of that agency, not the protection of African people. The chief served as the single most essential connection between his employers (the colonizers) and his immediate family and extended family (the colonised.). In the end, it was the chief who was the one who was responsible for representing the government to the populace.

His initial allegiance was, as one would expect, to the government because it was his job. To ask too much from each and every colonial chief by stating that they should have had first allegiance to their people and that they should have used their position to destroy the colonial administration would be unreasonable. Chiefs should have had their people's best interests at heart. It was possible that they bit the same hand that was responsible for their places and that nourished them. This would have been analogous to biting the hand that fed them. To comprehend how and why he carried out his responsibilities in the manner that he did, it is necessary to first gain an understanding of those responsibilities.

It is also important to keep in mind that the chief was torn between two types of expectations that were diametrically opposed to one another. The employer wanted the chief to promote colonialism, and Africans expected the same chief to protect them from colonialism. It is also essential to have an understanding of the rationale for the establishment of the role of chief by the European colonizers. It is to the credit of many chiefs that they were able, sometimes at the risk of losing their jobs, to advance the wishes of their people in matters regarding politics, education, and socio-economic matters. For this reason, chiefs ought to have a place that is unchanging in the annals of African history.

After the arrival of the British colonialists, the administration of their colonies was carried out according to the principle of indirect control. The British controlled via ancient political institutions and the leaders of the various tribes according to this norm. Smaller chiefdoms were merged with larger areas, and the privilege that natives had to remove bad chiefs from office and coordinate their punishment was taken away.

Indirect rule also altered the institutional forms and roles of existing tribal chiefs because they were now on the payroll of the British government.

This led to the breakdown of the mechanisms that were previously inherent in the pre-colonial governance structures because they loosened the chief's budget constraint and reduced the amount of political competition between chiefdoms and chiefs. This resulted in the breakdown of the mechanisms that were previously inherent in the pre-colonial governance structures. As a result, the customary powers held by the British were enlarged as a result of the colonial reforms (Branch, 2011). In the end, this resulted in changes to several institutions of local administration. Crowder (1968) writes that the Emir of the Northern Nigerian Kingdom of Kano received a regular income from the colonial government. This is an example of indirect authority, which was also present in the kingdom. As a result of the fact that the Emirs were paid for their services by the British, it was anticipated that they would carry out the duties of administration in addition to enforcing British mandates. The British mandated that the chiefs "keep order" and collect taxes from the residents of the territory they controlled. One such method by which the chiefs earned more money was by serving as judges in a court that had been established by the British authority. Busia (1967) notes that in the Asante Kingdom of Ghana, during the pre-colonial era, the Asante chief received tribute from the people he ruled. However, this changed with colonization as they began receiving payment from the other sources, specifically the British administration. Busia (1967) notes that the Asante chiefs received tribute from the people they ruled. The purpose of this was to give the impression to the chiefs that they were now employed by the British government by the wages that they received. After the British had established their control in Africa, they were confronted with limited administrative personnel that could be utilized to run their colonies. This presented a challenge for the British. As a result, the British government decided to implement a strategy that called for the incorporation of an existing native administrative system or the establishment of a new system in areas where none previously existed. In order to provide the Gem heads, who were working under the supervision of the District Commissioner, with advice, new people were hired (Magak O.I, 2019). This indicates that the colonizers, such as the British, were required to designate some local leaders in order to aid in the governance of the newly acquired lands under the supervision of the District Commissioner.

After receiving instructions from the Gem colonial government, the British administration started providing wages for the colony's nominated leaders (Achando O.I, 2019). This was confirmed by the archival source KNA/PC/NZA/2/3: Annual report 1905-1015. In this document, the Provincial commissioner reported that the primary goal of establishing a Native Treasury was to create a source from which the salaries of Native Administration personnel, such as chiefs, would be paid. This information was used to corroborate what had previously been stated. This meant that from the beginning of colonialism, the Gem chiefs were directly given salary by the colonial administration in their capacity as local colonial administrators. This continued until the end of colonialism.

Traditionally, the people who lived in Gem were required to pay homage to the chiefs in exchange for the services they provided, which included things like serving as judges in the traditional courts in Yala and welcoming new villages into the Gem community (Okaka O.I, 2019). Since the colonial administration was responsible for paying the chiefs, this meant that the chiefs could now collect revenue regardless of whether or not the government was providing services. It also meant that across the Gem clan, which was living under British colonial control at the time, the chiefs were no longer paid only for the services they provided to the people in their constituency. Because of this, the chiefs were no longer entirely accountable to the people they governed, which led to a reduction in the overall quality of the services they provided.

The British came up with techniques of recruiting and installing Gem chiefs into its administrative system at the local level in order to reinforce their colonial power over the Gem clan. This was done at the local level (Outa O.I, 2019). As was previously said, this was quite similar to the indirect rule that the British used for administrative purposes in some regions of East Africa and, later on, across the rest of Africa. This suggests that the nomination of the chief was highly crucial for the colonial administration in order to ensure that the colonial policies were executed in the territories that were under the control of the colonial rule.

During the time period under examination, disagreements over the nomination of chiefs developed between the administration of the protectorate and the formation of the Gem chiefdom, which was led by the Gem chief. For example, there were disagreements

between those living in Gem, people who identified as Protestant, and people who identified as Catholic, mostly about appointments that were based on religious affiliation (Odongo O.I, 2019). The citizens of Gem had some negative things to say about the practice of recruiting colonial leaders. According to Ochanda O.I. (2019), the members of the Gem clan attempted to exert their influence on the recruiting process in order to guarantee that the outcome would be favorable to them. Because of this, the installation of chiefs was a political process that included both the colonial government and the Gem people. As a consequence, there were significant tensions between the two competing groups throughout this time.

As a result of the introduction of colonial control in Gem, the chiefs of Gem were granted additional rights, which were not available to the members of the other Bantu clans in Gem. It was recorded through oral sources that during the historical period in question, there were no other ways for people to work their way up the British hierarchy of leadership, hence the position of chief was one that was greatly desired by individuals. Chiefs were also responsible for making choices on appointments, which ensured that the Gem people's interests were taken into account (Odongo O.I, 2019).

On the other hand, the colonial authorities were worried about the sort of person to be selected as a chief because of the influence that came with such appointments. This was owing to the fact that such posts came with such responsibilities. In addition to this, this was done to guarantee that the appropriate administrative staff would be selected so that the colonial policy could be carried out effectively at the colony's lower levels (KNA/PC/NZA/2/3). This indicates that the authorities of the colony were aware of the one who was going to be designated as the head among the Gem. This was due to the fact that such an appointment came with a significant amount of influence over the person.

In a memorandum that was sent to the Provincial and District Commissioners in 1910 by the secretary to the Administration, the necessity of eliciting the desires of the people before making recommendations to the governor for the selection and appointment of chiefs and headmen was emphasized. The memorandum emphasized that administrative officers should never lose sight of the fact that if men were artificially raised above their fellows or forced upon the people they were expected to govern, they generally proved unsatisfactory, and with time would have to be deposed,

causing the native authority to be entirely undermined (KNA/DC/CN/3/1/13). This was emphasized as a point that administrative officers should never lose sight of. This was supported by Magak (O.I, 2019), who stated that chiefs were respected not only because they were imposed on the people in the Nyanza region, but also because some of them took advantage of their position to exploit their subjects. Magak said that this was one of the reasons why chiefs were respected. This was also the case within the Gem clan, as shown by the fact that the Chief Odera Akango of the Gem clan did not hesitate to utilize his authority for personal gain at the cost of the Gem people, as suggested by the information obtained from oral sources.

3.3.2 Odera Ulalo

An interview with a key informant that took place on May 15, 2020 in the community of Kanyadet, Kenya, indicated that Odera Akango was born about 1880 to Oloo Ramoya. In Gem, he was a member of the Ojuodhi clan and the Kagola subclan. The Gem people who made their home in the area around Yimbo were of the Ojuodhi clan, and they held the position of governing clan. His grandfather, Oloo Ramoya, was a pioneering figure in the neighborhood, and his father followed in his footsteps. Oloo Ramoya passed away in the year 1888, long before British colonialists had a presence in the area. Because Odera Akang'o was still quite young when he passed away, his son, Odera Ulalo, whose father was Mole and who was also a sibling of Oloo Ramoya, succeeded his father.

Around the year 1890, British colonists made their way to Gem from the kingdom of Wanga. It was King Nabongo Mumia of Wanga, who served as a mediator between the British and the Gem people. The rapport that developed between the Wanga community and the Gem community was to the advantage of the British. According to Magak (O.I, 2019), Odera Ulalo's mother came from a clan in Wanga. This information was provided by Magak. He went on to say that Odera Ulalo had also married the daughter of Nganyi, who was the head of the Banyore people. As a result, he was able to expand his power and influence over Luanda and Maseno, which are located near the border of Kisumu. In addition, Odera Ulalo was able to comprehend a few phrases in both Kiswahili and Luhya; as a result, the British saw him as an ideal candidate to help them maintain control of the area (KII, Exc.3, 12/1/2021). The British government required leadership from a highly powerful community that was capable of seizing the

initiative to influence other leaders of the Luo clan located across the area and bringing them into compliance.

Because of this, Odera Ulalo responded favorably to the request by granting the British caravan permission to take a break at the encampment that he maintained in Luanda. In return, the British assisted Odera Ulalo in enhancing the infrastructure of his administrative camp and provided assistance to him in this endeavor. It was suggested that Nubian mercenaries armed with firearms may provide him with some kind of protection. They made use of the natural resources that were readily accessible, which included the abundance of boulders in the area, to create a wall that encircled his camp and had eight entrances for further protection. Because of the nature of the stone perimeter wall, the location was given the name Luanda, which translates to "rock." On the other hand, the Banyore who lived in the area were known as Jotok-ko Odera, which means "those who came from Lord Odera's house" (Onyango, O.I, EGI 8: /21/ 1 /2021).

According to Ogot, (2006), Odera Ulalo constructed a sizable walled settlement at Luanda, which had eight gates. This village was situated at the same spot as the modern-day Ebusakami School in Bunyore in Vihiga County. Previously, people referred to it as Luanda-kodera. He was furnished with Elite Marine Soldiers who joined him on the trips that brought him to different sites like Kisumu, Mumias, Maharani, Uyoma, Asembo, and even Nandi. The Nubian Soldiers were recruited from Uganda to defend the house, while the Elite Marine Soldiers accompanied him on the tours. The caravan that was traveling from Mombasa or Nairobi to Uganda now stopped in his hamlet to swap trade products and rejuvenate the area. In addition to Mudhune and Odera Akango, two more Gem leaders, Ogada Odera and Mathayo Onduso, were chosen to follow Odera Ulalo on his administrative and military itineraries. Mudhune was also chosen to accompany Odera Akango. These famous Ojuodhi clan members were all Colonial Chiefs, with the exception of Mudhune, who did not rise through the ranks of the Ojuodhi hierarchy until much later. All of these leaders belonged to the Ojuodhi clan.

C.W. Hobley, a British administrator, was ordered to move from Mumias to establish a new headquarter of Nyanza Province at Kisumu in 1900. When he arrived in Kisumu,

he appointed Odera Ulalo Chief of several pinje (multilinear territory), including Asembo, Sakwa, Uyoma, Gem, Gem, Seme, and Kisumu. This occurred as the Uganda railway steadily approached Lake Victoria. During this time, they constructed a new administrative post, which subsequently blossomed into the town of Kisumu that we know today, in collaboration with Hobley.

When the colonial authorities arrived in Gem, the Ojuodhi clan provided a firm foundation for the city's government. In those days, Odera Ulalo worked in conjunction with Nganyi, the head of the Banyore, in order to exert authority over the Umuri (Luhya sub-clan) community. Additionally, he worked along with Nabongo Mumia of the Wanga Kingdom to subdue the Iromurumba clan, a Bantu group that lived near the boundary between North Gem and the Wanga Kingdom. Because of the friendly connection that existed between the inhabitants of Gem and the Wanga Kingdom, the British were able to quickly and easily establish a foothold in Gem. (Focused Group Discussion with the South Gem Elders (FGD 4: February 26, 2021).

Mzee Ogweno whose father worked with Odera Ulalo stated that:

Odera Ulalo was the pillar of the interaction and political transformation of Jo-Gem this was due to the major role he played at the advent of the arrival of the British from Uganda. He succeeded in allying with Nganyi when the Umuri clan rebelled against him, he fought them and put them under his control. He was rewarded by Nganyi who married off his daughter by the name Ayieko who later became the mother of Mathayo Onduso (the third colonial chief of Jo-Gem). After Odera Ulalo had welcomed the British in Central Nyanza through the intervention of Nganyi, his father-in-law who had been sent by Nabongo Mumia. The British made him a leader who controlled Gem, Uyoma, Asembo, Sakwa, Alego, Ugenya, Gem, Seme, Kisumu and Kano. This means that he was controlling all central Nyanza leaders (KII, EM 3: 16 /1/ 2021).

In addition, the British taught Odera Ulalo how to wield a rifle and provided him with horses to boost his mobility. Both of these actions were taken by the British. They helped him construct a safe haven between Maseno and Luanda by providing their assistance (the place currently found in Vihiga County). During the conflict that took place in Seme's Nyatigo hills, he had a great deal of success in aiding the British in subduing the local populace. During the course of the mission, a famous warrior from Seme known as Wadege was taken out at Nyatigo. Prior to his death, Wadege had

dispatched one Gem soldier in addition to a Somalian and a Maasai. Jo-Seme capitulated as soon as he passed away.

Odera Ulalo was able to achieve success in all of the missions he commanded thanks to the assistance of the Wanga troops, as well as the company of Somali and Nubian soldiers who had been commissioned to wield weapons. Odera Ulalo was crowned a Paramount Chief to be in command of Luo-Nyanza (KII, EXC 4:11/3/2021) This came about as a direct result of the patterns that his conquests had established. The British discovered an easy approach to subdue towns in central Nyanza who were resistant to their rule by using the power of Odera Ulalo. He recruited his nephew, Ndeda, who eventually succeeded him as leader when he passed away, demonstrating his deftness in selecting future leaders who would follow in his footsteps. Odera Ulalo had influence over the colonial recruitment and appointment of chiefs and headmen in Central Nyanza. In addition, practically all of the early appointed leaders were his kin (KII, EXC2 12 /1/2021).

Mr. Elijah Ochieng, a key informant who is also the son of a colonial chief named Jairo Owino, stated that Bwana Obilo Nyochola (Mr. Hobley) told Nabongo Mumia to tell the people of Western and Nyanza to grind flour and to send workers who were working under the company that was constructing Uganda Railway to do so. Mr. Hobley was in charge of the construction of Uganda Railway. At that point, the building of the railway had already reached the Lumbwa; Molo region. The message was finally delivered to Seme, Sakwa, Asembo Gem, and Uyoma after being passed on from Nabongo Mumia to Odera Ulalo, who in turn passed it on to Nabongo Mumia (the area under his jurisdiction). On the other hand, when the people of Uyoma learned this knowledge, they discussed it amongst themselves and asked, "To dichwo wadwani bende iregone Kaka dhako?" (Can a guy pretend to be a woman so that he can grind grain for another male?) During those times, the Uyoma people had never had a confrontational meeting with a white man. However, they had heard rumors and conjecture that white people could murder people with guns from a great distance away (KII, EXC 5:14/3/2021). This information had reached them via murmurs and rumors. In order to provide further light on the manner in which the British retaliated against the populations who made an effort to resist them, an informant made the following statement:

The Calvary of a multitude of soldiers arrived in Uyoma led by Gem soldiers under the command of Odera Ulalo and soldiers from Asembo Kanyikela. Among the soldiers were Maasai, Somalians, and Nubians together with British soldiers. The Uyoma people resisted by confronting them and in killing one Maasai soldier from the colonial time. Immediately Mboga who was one of the strong men from Uyoma had killed the Maasai, the colonial soldiers became more furious and raided every home burning raiding animals and killing people who attempted to resist. During those days there was an old man by the name "Oluoch Abaki ", who married a woman from the Gem Ojuodhi clan whose name was Abul nyar Agina. Thinking that they would be spared by Gem people they took refuge in Oluochs' home. Since there were a multitude of soldiers, they attacked the home and when Oluoch came out wearing green leaves which was by that time a symbol of peace, he was shot on the chest and killed instantly. Other soldiers who were killed in the Uyoma raid included Oluga Dipondo, Malugo Kombe, Ogundo Liech, Ogutu Anyieche and Monye (O.I, EY4: 17/2/ 2021).

This painted a very clear picture of how the Gem people played an extremely important role in the foundation of colonial power in the Central Nyanza region. As a gesture of support for what other informants had reported, another informant withdrew. This informant stated that several Uyoma troops had crept ahead of the colonial squad and ambushed the colonial soldiers. Molo Liech, also known as "the extremely giant powerful soldier that the Uyoma people counted on," was one of the valiant Uyoma warriors mentioned here, along with Otieno Osogo and others.

Suddenly, Otieno Osogo was recognized and shot once in the chest. Almost immediately after that, Omolo Liech crept in from the other side and grabbed a spear with the intention of spearing the district commission member who was holding a gun and staring ahead. He was fortunate enough to be discovered by Ndeda, who is a nephew of Odera Ulalo. Ndeda stole the rifle out of the hands of the District Commissioner, pointed it at Omolo Liech, and fired shots into his legs. He wailed as he dropped to the ground, and then a second round was fired at him, ultimately taking his life. During the chaos that ensued, a few brave Uyoma men were able to prevent the stolen animals from falling into the hands of the colonial forces. When other locals learned about the colonial incursions, they banded together and made an attempt to attack the colonists as they traveled through their country; however, their effort was

unsuccessful since the colonists were armed with rudimentary weapons (Orek, KII, EXC 6: 2/5/ 2021).

Odera Ulalo embarked on a number of journeys around the central region of Nyanza in order to assure the success of the colonial endeavors. He went to the Kibos train station, which was filled with stores that Asians had established to sell imported goods and purchase things from the locals. The Indian merchants presented the porters, troops, and commanders who had gone on safari with him with the items that they would use as a kind of payment in kind. Beads and ready-made clothing were two examples of the sorts of things that fell into this category back in those days. The numerous varieties of textiles that were available at the time were collectively referred to as "Japan" since they had been imported from Japan.

The most sought-after beads were the blue ones that were referred to as "nyamach" in Dholuo. Because of their aesthetically pleasing appearance, these beads were mostly worn by ladies. In order for Africans to successfully accept modernity, they were strongly pushed to dress in clothing. The custom of "nanga," which refers to the habit of donning garments, is said to have originated in Luoland as a result of this arrangement. Soon, those who wore clothes, known as "Jonanga," established a distinct social class from the rest of the inhabitants in society, known as the "naked ones" (O.I, EY4: 17/2/ 2021).

Other Asians who settled in Kibos and owned land through government leasehold included Bosawaram, son to Kalooram; Gulam Mohammed; Haribhai Patel; Chotabhai Patel; Chunibhar Patel; and other Sikhs, including Inder Singh and Sodeagar Singh; Jumna Dass Karami owned a piece of land in the same area and later sold it to Allidina Visram. Chanan Singh, Kisan Singh, and Kala Singh were three examples of Sikhs who worked the land in Kibos and were farmers. The term "Black Singh" is derived from the Gujerat word "Kala," which translates to "Black" in English. All Sikhs were referred to by the Africans as Kalasinga, which is a corruption of the words Khala and Singh. This name is neither African or Asian; rather, it is a combination of the two that was accepted by both Asian and African cultures as a method of deconstructing Asian names in order to make them more suitable for use in African contexts. This name does not exist in either Africa or Asia. (Ogot, 2003).

Following the raid in Uyoma, the British began treating Gem people with a new political perspective as a direct result of this event. For example, as a result of this raid, a new chief was crowned to assist the existing Paramount Chief Odera Ulalo in his leadership of the locals. One instructive instance was when the DC dealt with the matter of Ndeda. Took Ndeda's personal crown beret, put it on his head, and instantly proclaimed him to be a chief due to the fact that Ndeda had shot Omolo Liech in order to save his life. Instantly. This move did not sit well with the Ojuodhi clan since Ndeda hailed from the Uoga branch of the Kwenda clan, which did not belong to the dynasty. The Europeans had a favorable impression of Gem because they considered them to be the most civilized among Kenya's black population at the time. The human resources of the Gem people were exploited by the British colonial overlords since the Gem people chose to lend their services to the British (KII, Exp 7: 2/5/2021).

During these attacks, the colonial troops were compensated with cattle from the stolen animals as a kind of payment for their services. The majority of Gem troops who were awarded stayed optimistic and remained loyal to the British throughout the conflict. However, given that the sun had already set and that it was already dark, the British handed everything over to Odera Ulalo in order for him to transport them to Kisumu the next week. This was done since it was already dark. But unfortunately, some individuals perpetrated a deception by disguising certain animals rather than guiding them to Odera Ulalos' house in Uranga. This resulted in poor luck. After one month, the British were not prepared to collect the animal since they did not have enough room in their facilities to maintain the creatures. Because Odera Ulalo also lacked storage space, he gave the animal to a few trustworthy individuals and asked them to look after it on his behalf. Unfortunately, when the British requested the animal from Odera Ulalo, he was unable to return the majority of the animal. At Uranga, he took his own life because of fear of being punished by the British for the missing animals (KII, EL 36: 26/4/ 2021).

In the year 1896, a punitive expedition against the Umira Kager tribe, which was commanded by Gero, was conducted in support of the Wanga king Mumia in Ugenya. During the British expedition that targeted the dissident settlements, a Maxim rifle swiftly murdered more than 200 individuals in a short amount of time. Because of the influence of Nabongo Mumia, Gem participated in the conflict by giving their support

to the British. During an expedition that took place in 1899 against Sakwa, Seme, and Uyoma sites, C.W. Hobley was the leader. The expedition was successful in capturing around 10,000 sheep and goats in addition to 2,500 cattle.

The next year, as a result of the British seeing a great deal of potential in him, he was elevated to the post of paramount chief in command of Central Nyanza. He maintained this position until the year that he passed away, which was 1905. However, Odera Ulalo passed away in 1905, when Odera Akango was still a young adult. At that time, his close cousin Odera Sande from the Kagola sub-clan seized control as a headman, and Ndeda, who was Odera Ulalo's nephew, was anointed the chief of Gem. It is speculated that Ndeda was crowned by the British during the military expedition in Uyoma when he snatched a rifle from the DO and short Omolo who were sneaking from the bush to spear the DC (District Commissioner) (KII, EL 25: 27/3/2021). Ndeda is said to have done this while the British were present.

3.3.3 Chief Odera Akango

In 1911, the Colonial Government sent Odera Akang'o, the Ruoth (leader), along with a group of other exceptionally bright young people to Kampala, Uganda, in order for them to acquire fundamental literacy skills. He was taken aback by everything he saw in Uganda, but the agricultural techniques, the way people dressed, the cleanliness, and the formal education system were the things that stood out the most to him. As a result, upon arriving back in his hometown, he immediately set in motion the execution of an imposed policy. In North Gem, where he served as a headman, he saw to it that his people were given the opportunity to participate in a program that would teach them proper cleanliness, clothing, and education. This was the year that he was advanced to the position of sub-chief, with responsibility for North Gem.

Two years later, in 1912, he was promoted to the position of taking report of the whole Gem, and he submitted his findings to the District Commissioner of Kisumu. Even though he was a subordinate to other chiefs, he was very well-liked to the point that even his superiors feared him. This was due to the fact that his report was trusted due to the fact that he was an articulate speaker and excellent writer (KII, EL28: 8/4/2021). Ojuodhi and Kwenda were two of the most influential clans in the Gem community, and between 1911 and 1918, the colonial authority had to deal with two significant

leadership disputes between the two clans. It was difficult to determine the precise motivation for the animosity that existed between these two groups of people. The colonial authorities came up with the idea to form North Gem and South Gem by dividing the area along the River Yala. This was intended to be a short-term solution. Mathew Onduso became the leader of South Gem, while Ogada, Odera Sande, and Odera Akango served as the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and headmen of North Gem, respectively. South Gem was ruled by Mathew Onduso.

Odera Akango was more educated than his superiors due to the fact that he had been to Uganda on many occasions. He had a habit of enforcing laws even outside of the region that was under his purview, which led to a struggle for authority between him and Ogada. When the district commissioner brought all of the Chiefs and Headmen to a meeting, the gap became more obvious. During the meeting, Odera Akango arrived at the location of the event extremely early and extended a warm greeting to the District Commissioner. Ogada's tardiness caused the DC's ire, and at the same time, a report reached his office indicating that Odera Akango was carrying out the responsibilities of the chief by coercing youngsters to attend school. The second allegation was that he was caning adults who refused to purchase clothing from him and beating indigenous who were forced to sow crops in accordance with recommendations. Ogada was demoted and Odera Akango was promoted to the position of Chief of Gem as a result of the District Commissioner taking advantage of Ogada's tardiness (KII, EL 26: 2/4/2021).

In 1915, Odera Akango paid a visit to King Kabaka of Uganda. During his stay, he observed that the people of Uganda were attired in Kanzus, that women and children were well-mannered and clean, and that young people were attending school to learn how to read and write. He traveled there in response to an invitation sent to him by the adorable bishop J.J. Willis to attend the consecration of the Namirembe Cathedral. Upon his return, he issued a decree mandating that all adult males must wear kanzu and that all parents must ensure that their children attend school. Those parents who did not cooperate were taken into custody and given the cane. The indigenous people of the area referred to this as "Nanga Odera," which literally translates to "the civilisation started by Odera." He established a school in his community on the site that is now occupied by St. Mary's Yala (focus group discussion (FGD 7, 2/3/2021).

The colonial authority was successful in introducing new crops such as simsim, cotton, maize, ground nuts, bananas, and beans under the chiefdom of Odera Akango, which lasted from 1918 to 1921. However, Gem was struck by a string of deadly famines as well as human and cattle illnesses that resulted in the horrific famine of Ong'ong'a' in the year 1889 as well as rinderpest, Opamo in the year 1890, and the famine of Odila in the year 1897. These events led to the famines. The Gem society was rendered defenseless against the impending colonial invasion as a result of these disastrous encounters (FDG 6: 28/ 2/ 2021). Because of the First World War, colonial efforts were halted between 1914 and 1918. These years are known as the "interrupted years."

There were a significant number of young people who served in the armed forces, either as soldiers or as carrier police. Former soldiers Elijah Ochieng, Timothy Abwao, Robert Odima, Opere, and Oji Rariw are all excellent instances of former soldiers. At the same time, a second drought started, which led to a lack of food and a famine called aronga', which was followed by an outbreak of plague caused by flies called omboto.

Odera Akang'o was notorious for his intolerance of slackness, as stated by the Kenya news agency information for development (KNA, October 24, 2021). Some historians have characterized him as a benign dictator. He is largely recognized for introducing compulsory schooling and promoting environmental protection in Gem. This is one of the reasons why he is referred to as a "benevolent dictator." Along the highways and roads, he planted eucalyptus trees. Yala, Sirembe, and Lundha are some of the places you may visit to observe some of these trees. Because of this effort, the British rulers decided to transfer him to Teso to govern over the people there. Chief Odera Akango maintained his own personal security force, the purpose of which was to investigate all of the ongoing projects and assure the cooperation of the local populace. Because he formed a private court for the purpose of resolving all issues, the area was given the name Yala, which derives from the Luo word "Yala," which means "judge me." (FGD 4:26 /2/ 2021).

As a result of the Teso community's refusal to accept him, Gem hero (Odera Akang'o) was subjected to allegations and counter accusations while he was in Teso. The Teso elders repeatedly accused Odera Akango of raping their women, stealing their animals, and raising their taxes via the use of delegations that they sent to the district

commissioner and the provincial commissioner. At this point in time, Teso, the people had come to the conclusion that they would violate the commands provided by Odera Akango. A group of investigators were sent to Teso Land by the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza in order to carry out an exhaustive inquiry into the claims.

Following the conclusion of the inquiry, it was determined that all of the allegations were correct. Therefore, Odera Akango was taken to a colonial court and proved guilty. He was then jailed at Kismayu Island in Somalia, where he became ill while still in jail and was transferred to Nairobi prison for treatment. However, just as he was about to be released, an inmate who he had facilitated his arrest and jailing hit him with a blunt object on the head. And died (KII, EL 29: 8/ 4/2021). Ochieng is thankful that Odera Akango created roads and bridges, schools, dams, and wells, and encouraged agriculture in Gem for the purpose of contributing to the social and economic growth of his people.

In addition to this, he fought against some of the most deplorable elements of colonialism, such as the mistreatment of Africans by Europeans, the theft of their land, and the repression of African culture. Odera Akango acknowledged the significance of the contributions made by other chiefs, such as Odindo and Ogada of Siaya, Kasina Ndoo of Migwani (Kitui), Koinange Mbiyu of Kambaa, Musa Nyandusi of Nyaribari, Onsongo, Ooga, and Zachariah Angwenyi of Bogetutu (Kittu), Hezron Ombasa. Furley provides further backing for the stance that Ochieng has adopted, which is quite helpful. Furley has shown the positive role of chiefs and other elders in mainland Tanzania who, in the inter-war period, led the Local Native Authorities there to build their elementary schools from their treasuries by touching on all three of the territories that make up East Africa. This was accomplished by the Local Native Authorities. When it came to Uganda, it was the kings and chiefs who were the ones who were opposed to the implementation of technical education and who sought, expedited, and perpetuated the expansion of academic education in the protectorate. In particular, Furley shows that the history of prominent missionary and secular schools in Uganda between the years 1900 and 1940, such as Kisubi, Namilyango, Mengo, Budo, Hoima, and Busoga, is inextricably linked with the efforts of the Kabaka of Buganda, the Mukamas of Toro and Bunyoro, and the Kyabazingas of Busoga.

As was the case with Ochieng, Furley also lists the other chiefs who did not place a particularly high priority on the education of their subjects. In some of these regions, the development of contemporary educational institutions trailed behind for a very long period. During a significant portion of the colonial era in Uganda, this was the state of affairs among the Langi, Acholi, and Iteso peoples. Mumia of North Nyanza, Kinyanjui of Kiambu, and numerous Akamba leaders in Kenya before the World War were all opposed to the idea of bringing education to their respective people. However, these chiefs' opposition to education did not lie with the practice of schooling in and of itself. The religious framework, more than the schooling itself, was what some of the chiefs found objectionable about the arrangement. A significant number of them quickly approached the government in search of secular schools. This was especially the case beginning in the middle of the 1920s, with the establishment of local native councils, which had previously not existed. A significant number of Chiefs joined the LNCs, which played a significant role in the promotion of many new forms of schools and education. The discovery was made that some chiefs were more progressive than others in terms of their concern for and genuine engagement in the advancement of Africans when they were under the rule of colonial powers.

3.3.4 Mathew Onduso (1915-1919)

In accordance with the FGD5 of 27/2/2021, Mathayo Onduso, a member of the Ojuodhi clan, was promoted to the role of chief in order to take Odera Akango's place. He had come to the conclusion that now was the appropriate moment to exact revenge on the Kwenda tribe. It was important to him that they demonstrate that the Ojuodhi clan is still more powerful than the Kwenda clan. As a consequence of this, he assembled the Ojuodhi clan to take punitive actions against the Kwenda clan, which ran against the wishes of the colonial rulers.

He was accused of being immoral and corrupt, and as a result, he was barred from practicing law. Because of this, animosity and competition for control flared up again between the Ojuodhi tribe and the Kwenda clan. Mathayo Onduso rose to the position as chief of Gem, despite his inhumane treatment of Kwenda tribes. After the case was brought to the attention of the District Commissioner in Kisumu and an investigation on the matter was conducted, Mathayo Onduso was demoted, and Ndeda was reinstated

as the chief of the entire location. He was responsible for leading the looting of resources belonging to the Kwenda clan.

Because Ndeda came from the Kwenda clan, which was considered to be an inferior tribe, the inter-clan enmity between the Ojuodhi clan and the Kwenda clan was reignited. The town of Gem was eventually split into two distinct regions in the year 1937: North Gem and South Gem, with the border running along the Yala River. The Kwenda clans of South Gem designated North Gem as their territory, and their chief camp was located in Ramula (FGD 10: /7/3/2021). The chief's office of North Gem was situated in Nyamninia. The region was ruled by the Ojuodhi and Anyanga clans.

However, prior to his dismissal as a chief, Onduso established two offices, one at Akala and the other at Wagai. Both of these offices are still in existence today. Because Onduso was from the Ojuodhi clan and was also the son of the previous chief Odera Ulalo and the daughter of the previous Banyore chief Nganyi, he had many advantages as a leader. In addition, Onduso's mother was the daughter of the prior Banyore chief Nganyi. Chief Onduso was responsible for a number of significant accomplishments, including the building of bridges across the rivers Dhene, Kudho Luore, Gogwa, and Osira, as well as the Uranga-Odendo road. He also instructed the locals to clear the roads every morning and planted Siala trees along the roadways. In addition to that, he pioneered the cultivation of new crops such as maize, simsim, ground nuts, and green grams. In addition to this, he coerced individuals into conserving the water catchment area (KII, EL 30: 12/4/ 2021).

Even though Onduso aligns with various different development programs, he treated the Kwenda tribe in a very unforgiving manner. For instance, it was his customary practice to extract more taxes from his subjects, as well as to kidnap young ladies by coercion, even if they were already married. During tours, he stole animals, particularly calves, from the residences that were located along the route. To make matters much more difficult, he used to need kids to transport his mother on a stretcher whenever the latter went on a trip of any kind. And every time her mother went to a new house, everyone there felt obligated to throw a party for her and shower her with gifts on the way to the next house. Lazarus Okumbe was the one who brought the matter of Onduso's inappropriate behavior to the attention of the District Commissioner of

Kisumu. The DC issued an order to investigate the allegations of corruption, and the allegations were found to be true (FGD 10: 7/3/2021).

The inter-clan conflict between the Kwenda and Ojuodhi clans made it clear to the colonial authority that Gem was heading in the direction of being uncontrollable. The British colonial authority had a hard time deciding which clan they could rely on to designate acceptable leaders to pursue their programs because of the difficulty in making this decision. At the same time, they had to deal with the difficulty of mediating disagreements amongst the heads of the rival clans (FGD, EL32: 23/4/2021).

3.3.5 Political changes in Gem between 1920 and 1945

During this time period, Ndeda was named the second colonial chief and assumed his position (1920-1925). Despite the fact that the British colonial authorities were aware that the Joko-juodhi, who were mostly members of the Kagola sub-clan, comprised Gem's ruling elite, they did not intervene. After the sudden death of Odera Ulalo, the British were unable to simply obtain a new leader to succeed as a Ruoth (leader) from the reigning clan. As a result, they were unsuccessful. Ndeda, a member of the Kwenda Clan of the Uoga sub-clan, was the only one in whom they had faith. The fact that Ndeda was Odera Ulalo's nephew was the sole reason the Ojuodhi clan recognized him as a member of their family. After receiving his crown from John Ainsworth, who was serving as the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza at the time, in 1908, he relocated to Wagai and started an office there (present day Wagai divisional headquarter). However, the Ojuodhi clan, who at the time were the natives of the Wagai region, did not make him feel welcome. They told him he couldn't apply since he wasn't from the Known governing can, and as a result, they made him search for a new place to set down. (FGD 9: 4/3/2021).

According to the majority of observers, Chief Ndeda carried on with the colonial responsibilities that had been begun by his predecessor. He urged people to clean the pathways in front of their houses and to put plants there. He also pushed people to adopt Christianity as a new religion while simultaneously improving environmental cleanliness by instructing people to remove bushes in an effort to reduce the spread of malaria. In addition, he encouraged people to accept Christianity as a new religion. Because some people valued batter commerce but dreaded the use of coins and rupees,

he worked to increase tax collection while also encouraging the indigenous people to accept the usage of money.

This was necessary because some people valued barter trade. According to the findings of a focus group discussion (FGD 8: 3/3/2021) and unambiguous observation, all of the attempts that Chief Ndeda took to establish his value to the people of the Ojuodhi clan were unsuccessful, and they continued to accuse him of being incompetent. Because of this, he decided to retire early in order to make room for one of their own, a reputed member of the ruling class named Ojuodhi.

3.3.6 Chief Ndeda (1925-35)

Ndeda was granted a second opportunity at leadership at the time when Odera Sande and Ogada were in control of North Gem, which at the time was a territory held by the Ojuodhi clan. Due to the fact that he was a member of the Kwenda clan's Uwoga subclan, he was reinstated to his position as chief of the Southern Gem (Kwenda) clan. Because of this, Gem ended up being split in half at the River Yala. At this point in time, the level of clan factor between North Gem (Ojuodhi) and South Gem was at its highest point of escalation (Kwenda). Because they feared being isolated from their clan heads, the families that had been severed from their groups remained dissatisfied and unsettled after the break. Even though Ndeda was given the responsibility of leading South Gem and being in control of the area, the Ojuodhi clan, whose members were stationed around the territory's boundaries, did not accept him as their leader and resisted his efforts.

When Ndeda assumed his position as Chief of Gem, he accepted the role of leadership. He established his base of operations in Wagai, which is now the location of the Wagai Primary school. Since Wagai was located in the realm of the Ojuodhi clan, which falls under the Ginga subclan, Ndeda was driven out of his camp in Wagai after being pursued there. Because of the division between the clans, he was pursued. They stated in quotation, "Okewo ok nyal telonwa; Ndeda en Jauoga mawuok e dhood Kwenda" Our nephew, Ndeda, is not qualified to lead this group. His ancestry is tied to the Kwenda clan. This was because Ndeda's mother was a sister of Odera Ulalo, who was Ndeda's father's brother (the first chief of Gem). After a period of about two years, between the years 1925 and 1935, Gem was subdivided into two separate sites. Because

of this decision, the colonialists were forced to install Ndeda as the chief in command of the Kwenda tribe and move his camp from Wagai to Akala, according to the Wambusa focus group discussion (FGD 2 /19/2/2021). Since he was a member of the Kwenda clan, they believed that he was unqualified to reign over them. As a result, he moved his base of operations from Wagai, which is currently the location of the Wagai sub-county Office, to Akala (now, Akala Police station and Health Centre).

Because unfavorable attitudes against the clan persisted, Ndeda had no choice but to find somewhere else to live far from Wagai (Which was the land of Ginga people of Ojuodhi). Later on, he took the decision to move his tent from Wagai Akala, which is the location of the present-day Akala Police station, where Oluoch wuon Buoro had greeted him. The Akala market was established as a direct result of his presence in Akala. Ndeda was also successful in advancing agricultural growth in the territory under his control. He worked hard until the colonial administration forced him into retirement in 1937, when Gem was once again consolidated as a single Location (KII, ERB21: 22 /1/ 2021). He did a good job up to that point.

The following is an example of one of Ndeda's accomplishments, which contributed to the crucial role he played in the colonial government: The inhabitants of Uyoma, commanded by Omolo, met the invaders as they were carrying out the raid. When the District Commissioner noticed that Omolo and his crew were not ready to submit, he pulled his gun and repeatedly terrified them. This continued until Omolo and his squad finally capitulated. During the commotion, Ndeda grabbed the gun out of the hand of one of the district commissioners and pointed it at Omolo, resulting in the latter's instantaneous death. The District Commissioner immediately removed his crowned cape, placed it on Ndeda's head, and said, "This is also a chief of Gem!"

Some naughty individuals from Gem, who were among those who were supporting their leader Odera Ulalo, devised a plan to hide some animals as they traveled to Kisumu when they were traveling to Port Fluoresce. These people were aiding Odera Ulalo. When the caravan arrived in Kisumu, the DC saw that one of the animals was missing and immediately sent Ojango to Chief Odera Ulalo to inquire about the whereabouts of the missing animals. Focus group discussion (FGD 1: 23/1/2021)

revealed that Odera Ulalo took his own life after coming to the conclusion that he would not be able to get the animals.

3.3.7 Chief Jairo Owino

As was highlighted by the retired Chief Elijah Ochieng who was his biological son that: Before the appointment of Jairo Owino clan wrangling in leadership threatened to imperil the political change of Gem location. Jairo Owino served as a Gem chief between the years of 1938 and 1945. Jairo Owino, a former senior chief, was born in the Umani clan at the Luri Village Central Gem Location in the year 1887. After completing his education at Maseno School, he began his working career as a Marine Soldier at Port Florence (Kisumu).

Subsequently, he was moved to the District Commissioner's office to serve as a Translator of Luo Kavirondo's office. The power struggle for supremacy in the Gem site between the Ojuodhi clan and the Kwenda clan reached its zenith during this time period. Because the British authorities had an early dependence on leaders from Gem, it was difficult for them to gain control of the territory and put it under their authority. The officials of the British colonial government arranged for Jairo Owino to run for the post of Chief of the Gem location and brought him here to compete. In 1939, he was the one who brought peace to the feud between the Ojuodhi tribe and the Kwenda clan. The British government had come to the conclusion that the colony required a powerful local leader in order to fulfill its primary mission of providing the government with food and financial support in preparation for the impending Second World War. During this time, the site was being attacked by both the Ke-otonglo (hunger for ten cent coins) and the det-bonyo (locust) (KII, Exc, 3: 12/1/2021). Gem location was also being targeted by both of these pests. Peace was maintained between Ojuodhi and Kwenda under the reign of Chief Jairo Owino, who ruled throughout that time period.

The fact that the Chief was from the Umani clan, which had been integrated into the Ojuodhi culture before the colonial era, contributed to the maintenance of this peace. On the other hand, the Kwenda clan considered him to be a Jadak (a foreigner) in Gem and, as a result, a coward. When the mantle of leadership was passed to Ndeda, who was from Kwenda, it became difficult for them to accept since the Ruoth (Chiefs) who led the Gem people were from the Ojuodhi tribe. The British were given the

opportunity to investigate whether or not they could bring Gem back together as a single place thanks to this situation.

Between the years 1894 and 1905, Gem was unified. In the years 1905–1911, Gem was directed by Odera Ulalo (of the Ojuodhi tribe), and in the years 1911–1915, it was directed by Ndeda (of the Kwenda clan). In the year 1915, Gem was led by Ogada (Ojuodhi) as a chief of Gem, with the assistance of Odera Sande (Ojuodhi) as the Assistant-chief and Odera Akango (Ojuodhi) as a headman in the North Gem and Mathayo Onduso in the South Gem. However, Odera Akango (Ojuodhi) was later promoted to the position of Paramount chief and transferred to the whole Gem under Mathayo Onduso's (Ojuodhi clan's) leadership throughout the years 1918 and 1919. Between the years 1920 and 1925, Ndeda (Kwenda) resumed his position as Chief of both Ogada North Gem and South Gem (Kwenda) (Ojuodhi). Between the years 1925 and 1937, Mbidha was in charge of North (Ojuodhi), while Nyang'or was in charge of South Gem (Kwenda).

As a result, Jairo Owino Jaumani majadak nene oyombo eyiero bi obedo Rudh Gem duto (an immigrant from Umani) won the election and was given the opportunity to serve as the Chief of United Gem (KII, Exc, 3. 12/1/2021). In 1938, the authorities of the British colony ordered elections to be held, and the indigenous were instructed to line up behind the candidate they believed would best represent their interests. It was between Ogada, son of Odera Ulalo (of the Ojuodhi tribe), and Jairo Owino that this conversation took place (from Umani-Ochola). As a result of the fact that the Umani clan is the assimilated clan within the Ojuodhi clan, Jairo Owino was backed by Kwenda and certain Ojuodhi can. This was due to the fact that Jairo Owino was seen to be a neutral competitor. In the end, he was elected leader of the Uniting church in 1938, and he served in that capacity until his death in 1947.

The new chief had been quite successful in bringing peace to the area, which made the colonial authority very pleased. People who lived in Gem also shared the opinion that the region should continue to function as a single entity governed by a single chief. Because he was in power through the worldwide pandemics of the First World War and the Great Depression, he played an essential role in the region's production of carrier

corps and troops for the Second World War. After he passed away, Zakayo Ochieng of the Ojuodhi clan took control of Gem during the years 1948 and 1952.

In 1952, Chief Otambo, a member of the Ojuodhi tribe of Ja-Ulumbi, was in charge of Gem (of Ulumbi village). However, after serving for a period of six months, he was removed from office on the grounds that he was suspected of corruption, had political leanings, and was connected to the theft of animals. It was at this time that a countrywide curfew was imposed owing to Mau-Mau, which made the British very sensitive to minute details; as a result, they needed Chiefs who were integral and meticulous. Therefore, Nicanor Oyugi was in charge of Gem during the years 1952 and 1955. (Ojuodhi Ginga-Wagai). Zakayo Opundo served as the leader of Gem from 1956 to 1968. (Ojuodhi- Ulolo Sinaga). In 1969, Gem was split in two, with Joab Okuon serving as leader of the southern half and James Wambani in charge of the northern half, according to a focus group discussion (FGD 11: 10/3/2021).

3.4 The Establishment of Christianity

Another group of Europeans, the Christian Missionaries, were also growing into the region at the same time as the British colonialists were spreading their tentacles farther into the Nyanza. By the year 1907, there were missionaries from four different faiths serving in Nyanza. The Church Missionary Society, the Mill Hill Missionary at Kisumu, which was established in 1904, the South African Compound and Industrial Mission, which was established in 1905, and the Independent Nilotic Mission, which was established in 1906. (1906). Every one of them was involved in evangelistic educational and industrial activities; for instance, they created schools and started converting people to Christianity. They worked in factories. Therefore, the Luo of Nyanza had become a part of a much larger world, a colonial world that was built on a very different political and economic structure than the one that the native people of the area were used to (Ochieng et al, 2020).

After some time had passed, the Protestant church began to associate with the colonial administration. This was due to the fact that when Christianity was introduced to Gem, the rulers had already converted to the Protestant faith, and the British colonial state was itself Protestant in orientation (Odongo O.I, 2019). During the time when colonialists were establishing their government in the same area, Christian missionaries

began arriving in Gem. Gem was located in the Inland Empire. This district was first given the name Kisumu in 1902, when Uganda handed over control of the area to Kenya. However, following border changes in 1920, the district's name was changed to central Kavirondo. 1948 saw the district get its current name, Central Nyanza. At first, it was up to the missionaries to teach the people who lived in Africa and improve their educational opportunities.

One of the characteristics of a missionary education was that it was often at a primary level. Religion, writing, reading, hygiene, and mathematics were some of the disciplines that were covered in class. It used a more industrial and technical approach, with the goal of educating Africans to become professionals in fields like shoe repair, carpentry, and agricultural assistance. It was affiliated with a specific religion and sought to instill principles, in particular those of the Church Missionary Society. The primary goals of the missionaries might be summed up as the propagation of the Christian gospel and the establishment of educational institutions within the communities in which they had established churches. In 1906, a church was erected in Maseno and a school was introduced at the church property in 1907. The sons and relatives of local leaders were among the first pupils to enroll at the newly opened school (O.I, EGO 19: /22/1/ 2021).

Before the year 1864, Gem had no idea what rinderpest was, but at the time, Egypt was experiencing its worst outbreak of the illness. However, the first recorded case of the disease in East Africa was found in Somalia in the year 1889. It was around this period when the Jarachar, also known as the "White man," appeared in Gem. This illness wiped off livestock, leaving many households unable to rely on them for their livelihood. At this point in time, Jo-Gem had modified their strategy with regard to means of subsistence. They were driven to devote all of their efforts to grain production in order to ensure their continued existence, giving credence to the adage that "necessity is the mother of innovation." The surviving animals were attacked by yamo, which is also known as anthrax, which came close to destroying the livestock industry entirely. Sleeping sickness was a widespread epidemic that occurred in the years 1899, 1890, and 1907 and was responsible for the deaths of a large number of people (KII, EXC 2: 12 /1/ 2021).

However, one of the most significant contributions that missionaries have made to the field of education is the development of curricula that place a focus on trades such as agriculture, tailoring, masonry, and carpentry. The government of the British colony in Gem actively supported and promoted a drive to increase the number of obedient citizens who participated in formal education programs. They educated African teachers so that they could staff the Bush Schools (schools that are located in rural locations and consist of mud huts with grass-thatched roofs) as well as teach in independent schools. The African people established their own schools in order to preserve certain cultural norms, such as the practice of tooth extraction and polygamy. They want to be able to pursue further education despite the fact that the government and missionaries were only able to provide them with an education in trade and industry. They also want the ability to compete with people of other races for occupations that require white collar expertise. They made use of schools as a venue in which to express their concerns and to raise political consciousness in the areas in which they lived (O.I, EGO, 17: /1/2021).

In order to provide light on the nature of the Gem people's social status before the advent of the British, a respondent stated that:

Socially, Jo-Gem (Gem people) faced several changes immediately they started interacting with the British who were their colonizers. The British invasion of Gem came as a result of the intervention from Church missionaries with an aim of getting access to western Kenya. They had already seen light through the support of Nabongo Mumia of Wanga who had enjoyed support from the caravan from the coast. At the same time the Luo land was witnessing frequent attacks from pandemics from epidemics like *Ndira* (Cholera) and lethal hunger which was as a result of drought, the famine aka *Amiyi meru?* (Can I give you your mother)? The hunger was nick-named like that to alert the young ones to refrain from asking for food which was rare to get. At the same time, between 1885 and 1890 there was recurrent locust invasion which had devastated crops. Not forgetting a terrible famine, Ongonga, of 1889 that affected Gem region and its periphery which killed many people, and in 1890 the region was invaded rinderpest, apamo” (O.I, EG16: 22/1/2021, 2021).

Mr. Ochieng said, for the purpose of elucidation, that areas such as Uyoma, Gem, Alego, and Ugenya Uholo had been afflicted by illnesses, which had resulted in the deaths of a great number of inhabitants. At the same time, the number of people who were recruited to labor outside of the Gem area rose, as a result of the fact that a great

number of families that had been impacted by disasters agreed to provide their family members as a means of survival.

In 1906, the acting Nyanza Provincial Commissioner, H.B. Partington reported that there was a shortage of food in Western area as a result of a failure of the November rains. The whole local Lakeland region was already suffering from a catastrophic famine known as the Nyagori famine, which was responsible for the deaths of hundreds of people. According to the report made by the Provincial Commissioner, the Luo people were seen traveling in large numbers along the route that connects Kisumu and Mumias in the hopes of finding food. Uyoma, Alego, Sakwa, and Seme were all dependent on the Gem people for their food supply at the same time. (Ochieng, 'KII. EXC 2: 12/1/ 2021) Gem was endowed with two rainy seasons, a constant river, and other streams that never dried out even during lengthy spells of drought.

The fact that the information provided by (Ochieng et al, 2012) agreed with the recommendation made during the focus group discussion is made clear by the discovery made by the researchers (FGD, March, 10th 2021) Over the time of colonization, the Gem people were subjected to a number of changes, which had an impact on all spheres of their society, including the political, the economic, and the political. This occurred as a result of the fact that at those times, Gem was only available for allotment in the Kisumu District of the Nyanza region. The introduction of British colonialists to the area significantly altered the manner in which individuals from the Gem people interacted with those from other cultures. For instance, on December 20, 1901, the Uganda railway arrived at its final destination, the gulf of Lake Victoria, also known as Port-Florence.

This mark signified the end of the line. This was done as a gesture to honor the lady who was married to the engineer who supervised the crew that built the Uganda railway. In the year 1902, officials from the colonial administration began traveling around Gem in order to locate families who had shown themselves to be faithful. Those that were found were given the opportunity to become members of the missionary church (CMS) at the Maseno missionary center. Focus group discussion (FGD 4: 24 /2/ 2021) revealed that the identified faithful families were provided free clothing, which

led to the diehards identifying them as "Jonanga," which is Swahili for "people of cloths."

For instance, when Elija Ochieng was fourteen years old, his family who had moved to Rera village from Kisumu persuaded him to become a member of the Church of the Seventh-day Adventists (CMS). As a result, he was able to complete his primary school at Maseno School between the years 1910 and 1913. All residents of the Rera Sub-location, including Elijah Ochieng, Robert Odima, Ojii, and Abwao Ongiyo, were conscripted into service in the First World War in 1914. The British were the colonial authorities of Somalia, Burma, and Mauritius, and these people fought for the British. In 1919, when the war finally came to an end, Robert Odima and Elija Ochieng were very fortunate to make it back alive, while Ojii and Abwao perished in Burma (KII, EL33: 23 /4/2021).

Putting more emphasis, the respondent added:

“Kanene apenjo minwa higa manene onywolae kod dwe mar nywolna, nene oduokani, en odiochieng ma Sajni Meja Elija Ochieng nene Oduogo kod arus maduong koa Maseno gi kanisa mar CMS ma nene en 28/ 2/1928. Nene minwa omedo nyisa ni ya; Wuora manene nyinge Ojii nene Omak gi thwon kod Jowagunda mondo odhi e bita Kapodo en miaha. Kwom hawi marach nene ok Oduogo to nene otho kuro bange owadgi miluongo no Ojodo ema nene Olage bi onyuola”.

Translated as: When I questioned my mother about the day of my birth, she told me that I was born on the day that she was marrying Elija Ochieng, which was on February 28th, 1928. This phrase may also be translated as: Elijah Ochieng was a convert to the CMS who had just returned from Burma in Asia in 1920 after fighting in the military during World War I. He worked as a clerk for the colonial government in Kisumu. As a result, I went to him and asked him to tell me the day of his wedding; thus, this is how I learned my own birth date.

The information presented here may be seen as a crucial sign of the fact that the presence of British colonialists was a wave towards changing the attitude of Gem people toward Westernization (KII, EL34: 24/4/2021). This can be done by considering the information as a vital indicator. Between the years 1894 and 1960, the Gem people went through a number of significant societal shifts. These societal shifts may be

broken down into a few distinct categories, including Religion, Formal Education, Health, and Settling in New Places. A sub-location for administrative purposes was created in Mumias in 1894 by Henry Colvile, who was the first commissioner of the newly founded government of the Uganda Protectorate.

Fredrick Spire was the first colonial official to be assigned there. Spire's administration barely lasted for a half a year, during which time he did not develop any substantial contact with the Luo, with the exception of the meeting he had with Kitoto of Kano. C.W. Hobley, who succeeded him in 1895 and stayed in power until 1903, eventually took over the reins of the company. The administrative capabilities of the British government in the western area were significantly bolstered once Hobley arrived in Mumias. According to Ochieng' et al. (2012), this was the point at which colonial authority was imposed onto the Luo of Nyanza.

The presence of Jarachar, sometimes known as white men, in the area altered the social position of the Gem people, as stated by one of the more senior citizens from South Gem. For example, individuals were compelled to wear clothes and follow new guidelines about the health of the indigenous. These measures were taken in an effort to improve the overall health of the population. He said that he could recollect in great detail several songs that her grandmother, who was originally from Gem Kakwany, used to sing. Specifically, the song went like this:

Miya nanga aumrago koyo ng'ich. Miya nanga aumrago duk rach. (Give me cloth to cover my body during cold weather. Give me cloth to cover my body because it is bad to be necked.

This was significant evidence that the Gem people valued the introduction of textiles by the British administration (O.I, 12 /04/ 2021). [Original Information:] The fact that the Gem people were ready for the entrance of the British colonial authority in their territory was the most remarkable result that came out of the interaction between the Gem people and the British colonial authority. Because the Gem people's neighboring group, the Wanga, had provided them with some information about the British contact, they had been given the opportunity to prepare for the arrival of the white man, whom they saw as being a decent person. Psychologically, the Gem people had been prepared by their Ruoth Chief Odera Ulalo, who persisted in spreading the word of white visitors who are kind to Wanga people, known as jokaochwa (in-laws).

The Gem people had a firm confidence that the British would soon arrive to assist them in defending themselves against the Seme, Ugenya-Kager, and Alego people, all of whom had a history of robbing their dwellings. The most severe assault took place in South Gem, when members of the Seme tribe broke into the residence of Abuonji in Ndori village, set fire to the houses there, and stole all of the household's animals. Because of this, they were compelled to go to Rera Kamagere in search of security and out of fear that their assailants might return. Whoever they were, the arrival of white men serving as evangelists for the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Ng'iya Korenga and Mill Hill fathers serving as Roman Catholic missionaries at Aluor in 1913 marked the beginning of a period of calm in South Gem.

As a result of this state of things, the inhabitants of Gem rushed to join at least one of the two newly established denominations so that they might better safeguard themselves. The establishment of the Loch Nanga (colonial government) among the Gem people was directly responsible for the establishment of educational institutions in the area (O.I, EKA22: 22/1/2021). An image of the Gem people who resided in the Kavirondo district of Nyanza may be seen in the photo to the right. Because the entrance of Europeans in Gem signified the introduction of Christianity as a religion and formal education, one may get the idea that the presence of Europeans in Gem resulted in a new social set up among the Gem people.

In 1907, the Church Missionary Society opened the doors of its first church in Maseno. This church was named after the town. The Colonial Missionary Society put Gem in charge of the Maseno parish, which was also responsible for overseeing the Colonial Division Headquarters. It was decided that assistance would be given in expanding into new territory and putting this area under British rule. In 1894, Colonel Charles Colville, who was in charge of Administration in Buganda at the time, sent F. Spire to Mumias with the mission of establishing a station there. The next year, C.W. Hopley was appointed to the position of first Sub-commissioner of a permanent station at Mumias. Eventually, he started the process of establishing British authority over different areas of the Kavirondo (Ogot, 2009).

After some time, it was given the name Anglican Church. In 1906, missionaries from all over the world, including Hugh Osborn Sayville and Reverend John Jamieson

Willis, began arriving in Western Kenya. A fresh group of missionaries expanded their work into Vihiga, Western Kenya, where the Abamutsa, Abahando, and Abusakami People donated land to the missionaries for settlement after they had engaged with the local African people for a short length of time. Reverend Willis set up his abode in the chief Ogola wuod Ayieke's property under the shade of a tree. Ogola Ayieke was a regional leader who lived in this area.

The cornerstone of western civilisation was the Christian religion. F.R. Gerardus Bouma founded a lost camp in Aluor in 1913, the same year as the Mill Hill Missionary landed there. Aluor is located in Gem Sub-County in Western Kenya. This is a condensed version of Bouma's life story. F.R. Bouma was consecrated as a priest on September 20, 1902, after having been born in the Netherlands in 1879. In the 5th Caravan, which arrived in Mombasa on January 6, 1903, Bouma was also traveling with F.R. Wall and F.R. Condon. F.R. Bouma landed in Kisumu on January 19, 1904, which was then known as port Florence. He was going to join F.R. Van Den Berg there (Centenary, 2013).

F.R. Bouma had his first meeting with individuals who, on the one hand, lacked any kind of civilization, but who, on the other hand, were quite lovely, gentle, and possessed of many qualities. At this time, Port Florence was a town that everyone was talking about. On the other hand, there were also people from Goa (the Goans originated from Goa, the farthest part of India). They spoke Konkani, possessed trace amounts of Portuguese, Arab, and other mixed blood, yet were ethnically related to both their Indian neighbors and the Europeans who lived nearby. The impulse to bring Christianity to the inland regions was something that F.R. Bouma, like other missionaries, felt strongly. On September 20, 1902, Fr. Bouma, who had been born in the Netherlands in 1879, was called to the priesthood. On June 1, 1903, Bouma arrived in Mombasa together with Father Wall and Father Condon, who were traveling in the 5th Caravan.

In order to meet up with Father Den Berg, Bouma came to Kisumu (which was still called Port Florence at the time) on January 19, 1904. Fr. Bouma had his first encounters with people who, on the one hand, lacked any kind of civilization, but who, on the other hand, were extremely lovely, gentle, and possessed of many virtues. At

that point in time, Port Florence was considered a "town in Uganda." On the other hand, there were also the Goans, who originated in Goa, which is located in the extreme southwestern corner of India. On May 8, 1906, he landed at Ojola, which was located close to Maseno. It was more convenient for him to relocate south of Ojola given that the C.M.S was also arriving at Maseno from Mumias at the same time. In the year 1913, he met Oyamo at Ramula, which was known for its abundance of gold. However, he did not feel welcome there, so he continued his journey south. On June 5, 1913, he arrived in Aluor, where he was greeted by Mzee Awuor, who invited him into his home and allowed him to set up his tent there (the home was on a slightly raised ground).

After leaving the house of Awuor, he relocated to the house of Ogombe. Ogombe was originally from Kotiang, which is now a part of Kanyikwaya of the Kwenda tribe (the Bangla market, which can be seen just outside the entrance of Aluor Girls Secondary school). The word "I'm scared" comes from the Luo language, and the word "Aluor" refers to a forest that was dreaded due to the large number of snakes and dangerous creatures that lived there. Almost soon, he constructed Gem's first Christian church. As a result of this, in 1914 he established the first Catholic Mission School in the area, which was located in Aluor. This was the second school to open in the area, following the Maseno school. The location was just a few kilometers away from Ng'iya, where Bwana Orenge of C.M.S. also had his camp set up. At the Kenyatta sports field in Kisumu town is where the burial of Orenge may be found (Centenary, 2013)

During this historical period, there was competition between Protestant churches and Catholic churches for the attention and membership of new people. In 1926, Bouma was sent to Yala, where he established yet another Roman Catholic Church Parish. This relocation occurred as a result of colonial pressure and Ojuodhi's domination. In addition, he founded a missionary school in Gem Parish, which later became the First Secondary School in the parish and was run by the Mill Hill Missionaries. It was at this school that he contracted typhoid fever, which ultimately led to his death on November 7th, 1929. The two churches continued to be the only Catholic parishes in the area until 2003, when a third Catholic church was established in Nyagondo. Other parishes that were established from Aluor since 1913 include Rangala in 1919, F.R Bergmann was taken there in 1921, F.R Hazel (Othola) opened Mbaga parish in 1937, FR. Turnbull

and FR. Vergmanns established Sega parish on 1934, and FR. Bernard Verhey (Ayot) established Lwak parish in 1943 (Ochieng', 2012). Other parishes that were established from Aluor include Lwak.

In the year 1902, John Owalo began his faith as a Roman Catholic and joined the Scottish Mission in Kikuyu. Later, he joined the Christian Missionary Society at Maseno. In 1910, Owalo established the "Nomiya Luo Mission," also known as "the Luo mission that was entrusted to me." He asserted his status as a prophet and vindicated the divine nature of the three central figures of Christianity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. The establishment of a new Christian church in Africa posed a social problem for the colonial administration.

This was due to the fact that it was anticipated that the Africans would place more importance on their own indigenous church and turn away from the Church Missionary Society (CMS). However, this forecast was never realized. Already, members of the indigenous Church that had just been established were being persecuted by the colonial leaders. The only set of individuals who were willing to embrace the glory that came with the establishment of this church were those who had been rejected by society. Even though the first church was erected at Oboch, which was in Asembo location governed by Chief Adhola, close at the border of Gem and Asembo, Chief Ndeda of Gem was in command of Gem and Asembo at that time (Mwanda, KII, EL35, 24 /4/ 22021). (Mwanda, KII, EL35, 24 /4/ 22021).

As the Christian faith grew more widely spread across Gem, more and more residents of Gem converted to the faith. However, other Gem rebels from churches who were unhappy with the new religion resorted to taking use of existing religions of a similar kind, such as the "Mumbo" sect. This group was opposed to western concepts like education, religion, agriculture, and the use of Christian names. This group campaigned for a return to more conventional ways of living. In 1913, the Mumbo sect established its roots in the Alego Location in the Kisumu District of Central Nyanza. Onyango Dunde, a man in his middle years who practices traditional medicine, is credited with founding the organization. This guy from Alego Kogelo had been missing from the neighborhood for ten years, but when he finally resurfaced, he claimed that he had been consumed by a large beast when he was performing at Lake Kanyaboli's play.

The beast regurgitated him on the shore of Lake Victoria and told him that he would serve as His Mouth Piece going forward. When asked whether he would be able to reveal the name and nature of the Being, he answered that Mumbo was a Water God whose second home was in the Sun. When asked if he could be able to explain the nature of the Being, he stated that Mumbo was a Water God. He went on to say that the only way Mumbo could be identified was when he brought about catastrophes in the shape of Nyawawa (spirit hovering at night). The white guy with the god-hat, and in order for people to have peace, they had to reject anything that had to do with white people (Osewe, KII, and EL36: 26/4/ 2021).

To make matters even worse, he radicalized individuals by training them to reject putting on clothing in favor of staying in animal skins, refraining from taking baths, and allowing their hair to grow naturally without cutting it. This made the situation even worse. He said that white people did not come to assist the indigenous people of the backlands; rather, their goal was to eradicate the indigenous people and steal all of their resources. Everyone who opposed colonialism in Gem and the surrounding areas, such as Ugenya Sakwa, Asembo Uyoma, Imbo Seme Bunyore, and Kisii, loved him. This caused the colonialists to feel obligated to apprehend him and imprison him in Lamu in 1919 as a result of the fast development of the movement between 1914 and 1918, which occurred during the height of the First World War. At the same time, beginning in 1914, there was a concern of able-bodied men and women being kidnapped after they were jailed and taken by force to supply cheap labor at the settlement farms. This anxiety began in 1914. Between the years 1914 and 1934, when men were conscripted into the British army during World War I (also known as World War 1), the anxiety grew (KII, EL 3: 11/3/2021).

3.5 Reaction to the establishment of colonial rule in Gem

The Luo, who make up the vast bulk of the population in Central Nyanza, did not put up any kind of military opposition when the newcomers arrived. The individuals who lived in the Nyanza area during the German colonization of Tanzania between the years 1884 and 1898 may very well have arrived at the same conclusion as those people today. In the Central Kavirondo District Annual Report of 1909, an archival source stated that during the colonial period, "it was not possible to mention a clan within a day's march of the Anglo-German border that was not punished forcibly by the

government of German East Africa" (KNA/PC/NZA/2/3). This information was found in the Central Kavirondo District Annual Report of 1909. It has also been suggested that this was the result of injunctions against such resistance that had been issued by their diviners (jobilo) in the days before the arrival of Europeans. These diviners had tremendous authority in those days.

The arrival of wondrous 'red strangers,' who were said to have sprung from the lake, had been prophesied by them, and the people were cautioned not to show any enmity to the invaders lest they incur the wrath of ancestors. The ancestors were thought to have been able to see into the future. As a result, the people of Luo greeted the Europeans with open arms and worked closely with the government in every manner imaginable. For example, the powerful Luo chief Odera Ulalo provided unwavering support to Hobley in his endeavor to conquer the warlike Nandi. Hobley's mission was to bring peace to the Nandi (Hobley). Africans responded negatively to being conscripted into the labor force against their will since Central Nyanza was considered to be a source of low-cost labor. As soon as possible, the headmen, district officers, and other government officials got to work constructing government labor camps and collecting the hut tax. However, Africans living in the district were first confused by the program of labor recruitment, and their response to the policy was sluggish and did not take the form of overtly hostile opposition.

This was most likely the result of the interaction of three factors: I) the administration of John Ainsworth as the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza from 1907 to 1910; (ii) the influence of the missionaries, particularly that of the Reverend J. J. Willis and his team at Maseno; and (iii) the intervention of the 1914-18 war, which demanded concerted action against the Germans (Annual Report, Central Nyanza, 1913, Kisumu). As a form of resistance, several clans in southern Gem declined to cooperate with British colonial officials like the chiefs. This was particularly true of the portions of the Gem society that were governed by chiefs. People that displayed this mentality often did not cooperate with the colonial authorities when it came to issues like western education, Christianity, and the new agricultural practices that were implemented by the colonial authority.

During that time, such regions were often disregarded and disregarded by the colonial authority, and they were typically behind in the pace of progress (Jeje O.I, 2019). This demonstrates that the local people of Gem, as well as the majority of other regions in Nyanza, did not take up weapons in order to fight back against the British colonizers, indicating that their attitude to the British invasion was one of passivity. In the same vein as the reaction of many Luos in the area, the Gem people's response was one of composure. By the year 1907, there were missionaries from four different faiths serving in Central Nyanza. The Mill Hill Mission in Kisumu, which was established in 1904, the Independent Nilotic Mission, which was established in 1906, the Church Missionary Society, which was established in 1906, and the South African Compound and Industrial Mission all began operations around this time (1905).

They were all involved in various kinds of activity, including evangelistic effort, educational work, and industrial work. The C.M.S., which had its headquarters at Maseno, which is about 27 kilometers (17 miles) north of Kisumu, was both the most significant and influential of these missions. The Reverend J. J. Willis, who would later become the Bishop of Uganda, was the one who established the center. In 1907, during a conference of the representatives of Protestant missionary societies working in Nyanza, it was decided that Central Nyanza "should be regarded as the special sphere of the C.M.S." This led to the elimination of the healthy missionary rivalry that had previously promoted growth in Districts such as North Nyanza. This is a truth that has certainly had an effect on the pace of advancement in Central Nyanza (Proceedings of the C.M.S. for Africa and the East Africa Region) (1907-8). The teachings of C.M.S. missionaries led to a pervasive attitude of submission among their followers.

This had a role in shaping the manner in which they responded to colonial power. In addition, the scorn that the missionaries showed for African traditions and literature, as well as their insistence that Christianity was the only religion with any validity, caused the African to feel embarrassed of his history. He had feelings of inferiority, yet he dared to challenge the methods of the white man. He was told that the only way to salvation was to embrace Christianity and whatever political and social future Europeans could prescribe for him. This was in addition to adopting Christianity. As a result, the goal of both the government and the missionaries was to cultivate docile

Africans who had the belief that the white man was always right and was morally superior.

However, this "unholy alliance" between church and government was challenged by two groups in the Central Nyanza region. These actions constitute the district's very first act of defiance against the ideology known as "Westernism." John Owalo, who had previously been a Roman Catholic, then joined Mission at Kikuyu, and then the C.M.S. Maseno said that he had a direct summons from God to form his own religion. John Owalo also stated that he had previously been a member of the C.M.S. at Maseno. Following some controversy, the P.C. Nyanza (Ainsworth) gave him permission to launch a mission since his teaching did not pose a threat to the established order.

Therefore, in the year 1910, Owalo established the Nomia Luo Mission (which literally translates to "the Luo mis was given to me"), announced himself to be a Prophet, and rejected the divinity of Christ. Within the next several years, he amassed a following of over 110,000 people in the district, established his own elementary schools, and pushed for the establishment of both local councils and a high school that was independent from the influence of Europeans. His influence expanded across Gem and other regions of Luo-land, encouraging hostility to the work of missionaries. The second movement was far more radical than the previous one, and it had a wider range of political implications. This was the Mumbo Cult, which had its beginnings in the Alego area in the year 1913. A certain Onyango Dunde said that he was spat out unharmed after being consumed by a lake snake from Lake Victoria, which, after a little period of time, had once again eaten him whole. After that, the snake went on to address Onyango with the following words:

I am the God Mumbo whose two homes are in the Sun and in the Lake. I have chosen you to be my mouth-piece. Go out and tell all Africans... that from henceforth I am their God. Those whom I chose personally and also those who acknowledge me, will live forever in plenty.... The Christian religion is rotten and so is its practice of making its believers wear clothes. My followers must let their hair grow-never cutting it. Their clothes shall be the skins of goats and cattle and they must never wash. All Europeans are your enemies, but the time is shortly coming when they will all disappear from our country.

Anti-European and anti-missionary activities in Gem and other parts of Central Nyanza were most likely inspired by this movement, which was both fanatical and non

programmatically in its approach. The leaders of this movement advocated for a return to the traditional African way of life and a total rejection of everything European. They promised a new 'golden era' that would be realized as a consequence of a total change of the society. This transition was to take place when the current one is over. It didn't take long for Mumboism to make its way over Lake Victoria and into South Nyanza, where it was brought by an individual named Mosi Auma, who was from a Kabondo region close to Kissi Township. Mumboism had originated in Alego. And between the years 1914 and 1918, this highly subversive movement gained such momentum that the government was forced to take drastic steps to suppress it. This was especially important considering that the period coincided with the First World War, which was being fought only a few miles away in German East Africa at the time. Mr. Campbell, the District Commissioner for South Nyanza, argued in his report to the Chief Secretary, in which he recommended the use of ruthless methods to stamp out the cult, that Mumboism was politically dangerous and, as a result, needed to be dealt with severely. In his report, he recommended the use of ruthless methods to stamp out the cult. It is thus self-evident that the history of African nationalism I have to be traced back to these two movements that had their start before the World War.

The 1914–18 conflict served as Gem's new administrative apparatus's initiation into the world of rigorous competition. Not only were the Africans being asked to participate in a foreign conflict, but they were also being expected to make significant sacrifices for it. The Carrier Corps was in constant need of more soldiers to fill available positions. Around nine thousand soldiers came from the district to serve in the military in only one single year (1917-18). Additionally, the villagers supplied butcher animals in exchange for goods. Over 2,000 head of cattle were donated by the locals during that time period. And to make conditions even more difficult for those who stayed at home rather than working outside the house, in 1916 the Hut and Poll Tax (the Poll Tax had been implemented in 1909) were raised. All of these tribulations were patiently suffered by the people in Gem, just as they were in other parts of Central Nyanza; in addition, the chiefs and the people, with the exception of the Mumboites, showed unwavering devotion to the government for the whole of the war.

The lessons learned throughout the conflict were going to be useful in other aspects as well. It was as if the Europeans were pulled back down to earth from the skies and

turned from supermen into men as a result of the encounter, as seen through the eyes of the Africans. Before the war of 1914–18, Europeans were not only feared, but they were also viewed as some marvelous tiny gods whose character and constitution were distinct from that of regular humans. This perception persisted even after the war ended. But the conflict ended up changing everything. During the course of the conflict, the European and African troops shared everything from meals to showers to sleeping quarters and even the battlefield. The Africans quickly realized that the white man was not a supernatural being despite popular belief to the contrary. Additionally, many European volunteers were taught the tactics of contemporary combat by African warrant and non-commissioned officers.

The African was realizing that the European did not know all there was to know about everything. "No one, in those days would say bluntly that these African warrant-officers were our superiors, but that was the fact; and they dealt with us, while they taught us our business, tactfully and sensibly, in order that they were respected and obeyed," said Sir Philip Mitchell, who was one of these European volunteers. The bulk of these Africans who had found their skills were demobilized and forgotten at the conclusion of the war (the majority returned to the rural regions to lick their wounds), while the Mitchells were elevated to positions of greater responsibility. It should not come as a surprise that many of these troops felt that they had been treated unfairly and were therefore resentful. Later on, those Africans who served in the Second World War were going to be subjected to the exact same heartless treatment.

The typical result of these wartime experiences was the unmasking of the white man, which was followed by the deflation of his ego; on the other hand, the African ego was greatly inflated. The returning porters and soldiers disseminated the new perspectives of the white man, and a significant portion of the self-assurance and aggressiveness that the Africans in Kenya exhibited in the 1990s could be attributed, in large part, to the newly acquired information. According to Dr. H. R. A. Philp has stated, "the events of the years from 1914 to 1918 were such as to successfully rouse the Kenya native from the slumber of millennia." [Citation needed] Africans in Central Nyanza responded angrily to the repressive practices that were being implemented there. s. The Young Kavirondo Association was a political pressure organization that was established in

1991 and was led by Jonathan Okwiri, Benjamin Owuor, and Simeon Nyende, all of whom were referred to as "Mission Boys."

It is important to note that the graduates of mission schools had a dual role in the early history of Kenya. This is something that should not be overlooked. On the one hand, they were instrumental in the dissemination of Western ideas and Western methods among Africans, and on the other, they were the foundation of the early resistance to colonial control. The Association blasted the rising taxes, government labor camps, and the kipande system in a vehement manner. During their official visits of the District, the District Commissioner and the District Officers requested and got from the local Africans, the vast majority of whom lived in poverty, free food as well as free cattle, sheep, chickens, and eggs.

As payment, the African men, women, and children were forced to labor for free on public projects. Adult African males were not exempt from this obligation. And although the government was keen to raise taxes, salaries for Africans were decreased, and there was no comparable growth in the social services that were given for Africans. The territory of Muhoroni, which had previously been a part of Luoland, was partitioned off and handed to the settlers. Dr. Arthur, who works for the Church of Scotland Mission, gave this unjust action his full backing and support. The settlers and the missionaries seemed to have quite similar goals, so what separated them apart? Mr. H. R. Montgomery, District Commissioner for Central Nyanza, subsequently agreed that it was "obvious" that the Luo had complaints, and that some of those complaints were "real."

At a gathering that took place in Nyahera on the 7th of February 1922, the Senior Commissioner was presented with a memorandum from the Association that detailed the complaints of the members. In the memorandum, it was asked that the Native Registration system and the system of central labor camps be eliminated. Additionally, it was requested that the Hut and Poll Tax be reduced, that the compensation of chiefs be increased, and that a Paramount Chief be appointed for the district. The fact that the Association wanted ownership documents for the African reserves was even more innovative considering the historical period. A request was made for a government school in Nyanza that was free from the influence of missionaries; lastly, the

organization made a vehement protest against the replacement of the term 'Protectorate' with the previous designation.

Political unrest persisted unabatedly due to the fact that the government disregarded these legitimate requests as unimportant. At a public meeting held in Nyahera on May 25, 1922, the Chief Native Commissioner made an unsuccessful effort to allay the fears of the Association. On July 8, 1922, Sir Edward Northey, the Governor of Kenya, met with the Association at the same location in order to explain government policy to the members. These regular public meetings between senior government officials and African pressure groups were necessary because there was as of yet no intermediate body between the local councils and the Central Government in which the Africans could air their grievances and seek solutions for them.

These regular public meetings between senior government officials and African pressure groups were necessary because of this. Sir Edward's answers, while evasive on some points, revealed how successful the Association and other African organizations in the Colony had been in persuading the Government to reconsider its so-called Native Policy. Although Sir Edward was evasive on some points, his answers revealed how successful the Association and other African organizations in the Colony had been. At this meeting, the Governor made the following announcements: (1) that the central labor camps would be eliminated; (2) that the Hut and Poll Tax would be cut from i6s. to 12s; and (3) that there would be consideration given to establishing a government school inside the district.

It is indicative of how disillusioned many of those involved already were that the founders of the Association, who themselves were products of the mission schools, were so eager to eliminate missionary influence from African education. It also demonstrates a desire on the part of the Association to meet the wishes of the leaders of the Nomia Luo Mission, who from the very beginning had demanded a Government School in which they would be able to send their children. Moreover, it demonstrates a desire on the part of the Association to meet the wishes of the Nomia Luo Mission. Concerning the issue of title documents, Northey reiterated the promise that had previously been made by the Secretary of State, which was that the Luo would not be disturbed and that the boundaries of their Reserve would be gazetted. This promise had

been made by the Secretary of State. According to him, this would be sufficient to serve as the title, and as a result, there were no plans to issue titles for individual holdings. The response of the Governor is crucial in light of what happened later in history.

It is important to note that between the years 1921 and 1939, it was the leaders of the Luo people who advocated for the introduction of private land tenure, while the government supported the traditional African notion of community ownership. This fact is noteworthy. But after 1995, things have gone in the opposite direction: the administration has used every possible means, short of compulsion, to convince the Luo to accept the system of individual holdings, while the Luo have used every possible pretext to resist the introduction of such a system. In other words, the Luo are the ones who have been using every possible pretext.

By 1960, the resistance to individual tenure had reached such a fever pitch that the only way for politicians to garner more votes was to embrace land fragmentation, despite the fact that this went against their better judgment. The Governor addressed the Association and emphasized that the transition from the term "Protectorate" to "Colony" had absolutely nothing to do with the implementation of the Registration system or the increase in revenue. In point of fact, the Annexation Order of 1920 and the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 had, in effect, rendered Africans tenants-at-will of the Crown.

Both of these pieces of legislation were passed in 1920. The political atmosphere was much improved as a result of these talks with top members of the Administration. By the year 1930, Piny Owacho had grown into such a formidable political pressure organization that the government gave considerable consideration to the perspectives the group held on a wide range of significant issues. It campaigned vehemently for the elimination of all forms of forced labor, and it never let up in its efforts to convince the government that educating Africans should be included among the government's primary responsibilities. And insofar as Central Nyanza was concerned, Piny Owacho was successful in maintaining a united opposition.

This was accomplished through the organization's well-known public meetings, which took place on a regular basis at Lundha in Gem, as well as through the use of symbols like membership badges. This kept the government on its toes. It also exerted a lot of effort to steer people in the right direction, and much of the development that was made in the district up until 1939 may be attributed, at least in some degree, to the Association's forward-thinking perspective. Owen is responsible for giving structure and direction to a great deal of the political and administrative challenges that are present in Africa in general, and in Nyanza in particular.

This is an irrefutable reality. The presence of missionaries is a significant factor that must be taken into account in the governance of Central Nyanza. In 1923, he recognized the importance of Africans in the Province having a voice on issues pertaining to social justice. As a result, he transformed the Young Kavirondo Association into the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association, an organization that was formerly a trade union and is now a political pressure group. The new association's goal was to establish cooperative relationships between members of the Christian community, government officials, and tribal leaders. All of the chiefs, all of the D.C.s, and all of the missionaries were going to be members of the Association on an ex-officio basis.

Religion and tribalism quickly tore the Association apart, creating a Luo K.T.W.A. and a Bantu K.T.W.A. in 1924. Archdeacon Owen continued to serve as the President of the K.T.W.A. in Central Nyanza, which later became more often referred to as Piny Owacho (the Voice of the People). The government's intention in providing financial assistance to Piny Owacho was that the Association would steer clear of political activity in favor of focusing primarily on charity activities. However, the government quickly lost hope in the plan. Even after the formation of the Local Native Council in 1922, on which the Association maintained a strong presence, the Association continued to not only advocate for particular causes but also to petition the Chief Native Commissioner on its own, bypassing either the Local Native Council or the District of Columbia in the process.

In 1925, the District Commissioner Montgomery felt it was important to provide a cautionary note in his Annual Report. In a written statement, he said, "The K.T.W.A. is

not the best influence and must be observed." Even more precise information was provided by the Chief Native Commissioner. The Association [the K.T.W.A.] is undoubtedly capable of much good if carefully directed, but its activities appear to be chiefly political and of a nature likely to damage the reputation of the Association, for natives use these meetings for airing grievances, often imaginary, rather than going to their administrative officers. In his official report from 1927, he wrote: "The Association [the K.T.W.A.] is undoubtedly capable of much good if carefully directed." This is a particularly undesirable development for an Association that has direct ties to a missionary group.

Several organizations, such as the Kenya African Union, the Ramogi African Welfare Association, the Nyanza Ex-Soldiers Association, and the Luo Union, as well as a large number of clan and sub-clan welfare organizations, were established in order to provide a forum for the airing of African complaints. Even the dormant Piny Owacho was brought back to life. However, the K.A.U. and the Luo Union were the only two of these organizations that had any sway in the district.

3.6 Political Associations/Parties

According to Ochieng et al. (2012), the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) was one of the oldest political organisations with members hailing from north and central Nyanza. YKA was created by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and its members included grads of Maseno School. The Europeans, out of concern of the political roads that might be opened by this relationship, searched for a method to render the politics in western Kenya irrelevant. Archdeacon Walter Owen infiltrated the Young Communists of America (YCA) and co-opted its leaders, transforming the organization into a social welfare group.

After the transformation, the organization is now known as the Young Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association (KTWA). After a few years of extensive campaigns for promoting general hygiene in Western Kenya, including encouraging the digging and use of pit latrines, KTWA split into two, with the young Abaluhya boys forming their own North Kavirondo Taxpayers and Welfare Association (NKTWA) under the patronage of the DC of North Kavirondo. These campaigns were carried out under the auspices of the District Commissioner of North Kavirondo.

Both Headman Paul Agoi of Maragoli and Chief Mulama of Marama served in the roles of Chairman and Vice Chairman, respectively, of the organization. Jeremiah Awuori, who had been one of YKTWA's founders in the past, was co-opted to serve as the organization's treasurer. However, while being a project of the colonial authority, NKTWA maintained the same policies as its Luo counterparts. The Association did not handle the problem in North Kavirondo in a bold and combative manner. Instead, it sought ways to interact with the colonial authority via the channels of the local native councils, where it was represented. It advocated strongly for the former chief of Marama, Mulama, to be elevated to the position of paramount chief (KNA / PC / NZA /3/20/17/2/ 1930).

The North Kavirondo Central Association (NKCA) was established in 1933 with the purpose of campaigning against the so-called "gold rush" in Kakamega as well as land grabbing and other concerns. It was led by Andrea Jumba, who served as Chairman, Lumadede Kisala, who served as Vice Chairman, and Erasto Ligalaba, who served as Vice Chairman (Secretary). The development of associations between the Banyore of Vihiga County and the Luo of Gem sub county between the years 1933 and 1939 (DC / KSM / 1/21/20/ 1935-1944) has been credited for hastening the connection between the two groups. These local organisations served as platforms for the presentation and mobilization of grassroots opposition to policies that were widely seen as being punitive. They also served as a stepping stone for Africans who would later establish themselves in national political roles.

Esau Khamati Oriedo, who was born in 1888 and passed away in 1992, was one of the great characters. In the year 1904, he established the Church of God Kima Mission, and in the year 1904, he also established the Anglican Church Ebwali in Bunyore. In addition, he participated in the establishment of the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association in 1923, together with Zablun Aduwo Nanyonje, a member of the Luo gem community. In the latter part of the 1930s, he established the Luhya branch of the North Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association in order to escape the Luo rule (Ogot, 2003).

In the 1930s, he joined the Native Council of North Nyanza and the Kenya African Union, which would later transform into the Kenya African National Union (KANU).

This was the party that would go on to form the first African Government of Kenya upon the country's independence in 1963 (British Colonial Office of the Government of Great Britain, The Crown). Colonial Annual report on the Social and Economic Progress of People in Kenya Colony and Protectorate 1931, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931. [Colonial] Annual report on the Social and Economic Progress of People in Kenya Colony and Protectorate 1931.

The government of the colony referred to Gem Location's economy as the "colonial economy," and it was constructed on the basis of three primary forecasts. It sought to extract taxes from the indigenous people, as well as human labor and food output. The colonial administration imposed a hut tax and a poll tax on the native people of New Zealand so that they could maintain financial stability (KNA/PC/NZA/1/6). The native chiefs and headmen were responsible for collecting these taxes.

The 1902 Ordinance obligated the Chiefs to carry out three primary obligations, which were as follows: They were accountable for maintaining public order and risked financial penalties if disturbances occurred within the territory over which they had control. They were tasked with constructing the roads and bridges, as well as maintaining their cleanliness, so that travelers could easily reach their location of choice. The Odera Akango Road, which extended along the Sirembe-Kodiaga Road, and the Onduso Road, which extended along the Bar-Kalare, Siala, and Odendo Road, are two good examples. In addition to that, it was required of them to listen to and decide on minor jurisdictions.

As a result of the 1912 Ordinance, the duties of Chiefs and Headmen were significantly increased. It was decided that in order to maintain law and order, Chiefs and Headmen should be allowed to hire other people to help them in their duties. In turn, chiefs were supposed to help European District officials and tax collectors collect taxes in their respective districts. The brewing of changaa and buzaa, the conducting of drinking bouts, the growing of toxic plants, the carrying of guns, and any behavior that may lead to a riot could all be subject to restrictions that the chiefs could issue as orders. According to the findings of a focus group discussion (F.G.D., 19/3/2021), in addition to these powers, the chief had the authority to compel any number of able-bodied persons to do labor on public works, often without payment.

Cotton and coffee were first grown at Gem site in 1910 as part of a test crop in a designated area known as an experimental plot. The seeds of maize, simsim, and groundnuts were given out for free to the indigenous so that they may grow them in their gardens. It is believed that Chief Odera Akango would collect pieces of harvested simsim, which would then be traced to Kisumu and sold to Indians there. Following in the footsteps of the Administration were groups of Arabs, Indians, and Somalians who set up business in a variety of locations around the area. They offered a variety of goods for sale, including blankets, blankets, blankets, bicycles, blankets, beads, and salt. The traditional method of exchanging goods and services for money finally replaced the bartering system. According to a focus group discussion (F.G.D3 25/2/2021), the Asians built stores in key places where they purchased items from the indigenous people, including hides, skin, cattle, cotton, ghee, and sisal. The amount of the tax, on the other hand, was decreased by the British colonial rulers after World War I. The worldwide economic slump of the 1920s contributed to World War I. Later on, a higher tax load was imposed with the imposition of the Poll Tax, which was then followed by the imposition of the local Native Council Rates in 1926 and the Location Rates in 1946, respectively. Both the affluent and the poor contributed the same amount to the Rate and the Poll Tax. It should be noted that the collection of taxes was carried out in a callous way, and that tax defaulters were subjected to severe punishment. Colonial administrative authorities conducted regular safaris to the area of Gem, accompanied by their tax and revenue clerks and tribal police, in order to either extract taxes that had already been collected by chiefs or to supervise such collection (KII, EXC2: 12/1/2021).

Before the District officials embarked on their safaris to begin the task, all of the tax collecting centers inside the areas were mapped out. It was customary for chiefs and headmen to be accompanied by their clerks, who were supposed to be hardworking individuals who maintained a neat appearance and were devoted to their employers. Those officials and askaris raced to their Location and sub-locations to collect taxes, and they often confiscated animals belonging to those who were unable to obtain the necessary amount of tax money. This activity would occasionally take place at night, when the bulk of taxpayers were inside their homes (KII, EXC3:12/1/2021). This is because taxpayers often conceal themselves in the surrounding vegetation during the day.

The information that was gathered from the focus group discussion that took place on February 25, 2021 (FGD 3: 25/2/2021) is consistent with what was stated in Ochieng et al. (2012), which states that Odera Ulalo appointed his kinsmen to serve as headmen and security men in charge of his administrative camps. They were tasked with governing all clans inside the Gem Chiefdom and reporting their activities to Odera Ulalo, who then reported their activities to the District Commissioner in Kisumu. Around the year 1907, members from the Uyoma ethnic group in the Kisumu area revolted against being loyal to the British Colonial authority. In order to carry out an operation in Uyoma, the district commissioner traveled there with the assistance of Odera Ulalo, the Gem Chief. Ndeda, who was Odera Ulalo's nephew, was given the responsibility of leading the legionary force from Gem to Uyoma. In the presence of Nubians, Somalians, and Olukuyaba from Nabongo Mumia, the District Commissioner rode up on a horse and stole a number of livestock and goats.

The inhabitants of Uyoma, commanded by Omolo, met the invaders as they were carrying out the raid. When the District Commissioner noticed that Omolo and his crew were not ready to submit, he pulled his gun and repeatedly terrified them. This continued until Omolo and his squad finally capitulated. During the commotion, Ndeda grabbed the gun out of the hand of one of the district commissioners and pointed it at Omolo, resulting in the latter's instantaneous death. The District Commissioner immediately removed his crowned cape, placed it on Ndeda's head, and said, "This is also a chief of Gem!" Some naughty individuals from Gem, who were among those who were supporting their leader Odera Ulalo, devised a plan to hide some animals as they traveled to Kisumu when they were traveling to Port Fluoresce. These people were aiding Odera Ulalo. When the caravan arrived in Kisumu, the DC saw that one of the animals was missing and immediately sent Ojango to Chief Odera Ulalo to inquire about the whereabouts of the missing animals. Focus group discussion (FGD 5: /27/2/2021) revealed that Odera Ulalo took his own life after realizing that he would not be able to retrieve the animals.

It was decided that Ndeda would take up the role of Chief of Gem. He established his base of operations in Wagai, which is now the location of the Wagai Primary school. Since Wagai was located in the realm of the Ojuodhi clan, which falls under the Ginga subclan, Ndeda was driven out of his compound in Wagai after being pursued there.

Because of the division between the clans, he was pursued. They stated in quotation, "Okewo ok nyal telonwa Ndeda en Jauoga ma Jakwenda" Ndeda was the only one who was able to continue leading Kwenda, and he moved his camp from Wagai to Akala. FGD 8: 3/3/2021.

In the early 20th century, there was a rise in the demand for goods such as jiggery, Uganda hoes, salt, and Mwanza and Kampala ghee. This led to an expansion of trade in the early 20th century. By 1911, trade was booming as a result of the rising economic needs of the populace. This was especially true for those who lived in close proximity to the various market centers (Kisumu District Annual Report, 1906- 1907, KNA). The development of markets resulted in uneven distribution of value, which led to the accumulation of surplus value. The agricultural sector of Siaya's economy was slowly but surely being pushed to the background in favor of the new economy. Ogweno Wuon Oluoch was successful in persuading Ndeda to relocate his camp to Akala, which is located inside the Kwenda clan's jurisdiction. Because Ndeda was from the same tribe, he decided to take the land that was handed to him and establish the new camp at Akala. Nearby the Akala market may be found the modern-day Akala hospital as well as the Akala police station.

According to the Kisumu District Quarterly Report, ending 31st March 1911 (KNA / PC/NZA/1/6), Chief Ndeda worked along with his headmen, Oguna and Adiedo. Ogada was given the position of leader of the Ojuodhi tribe, while Odera Akango was given the role of headman. Ogada was Odera Rangira's son through a previous marriage. Around the year 1914, the colonial District Commissioner of Kisumu sent an invitation to all of the local leaders to attend a gathering known as a baraza. The purpose of this gathering was for the District Commissioner to meet the native leaders of all clans of Gem together with their chiefs. These leaders were Ogada, Ndeda, Odera Akango, Odera Sande, Oguna and Adiedo. Ogada arrived late to the conference, which is a real shame. The delay made him unhappy, which prompted him to declare Odera Akango as the Chief of the entire Gem, and Ogada was demoted to a headman. Later, Ogada was transferred to Kiboswa as a headman, and Jairo Owino was appointed as the new headman of Odera Akango. Jairo Owino was appointed as the new headman of Odera Akango.

During that time period, the British government actively pushed improvements in agricultural productivity with the goal of enhancing the country's ability to provide enough food supplies during World War I. The availability of laborers was emphasized due to the fact that plantation chores required young, active males. The migration of workers caused significant shifts in the relationship between younger men and their elders as well as between younger men and women. Because there were fewer males around, it fell to the women to take on a greater share of the responsibility for bearing children and managing the day-to-day affairs of the household. In addition to tending the land and fulfilling other home responsibilities, members of the family must also engage in small commerce in order to ensure their families' continued existence. Because the climate in Gem was conducive to crop production, these colonial Chiefs pushed all Gem farmers to purchase Ox-ploughs from Kisumu in order to boost food output (FGD 8: 3/3/2021).

(KII, EXC 1: 14/1/2021) claims that the partitioning of the territory made some progress toward achieving peace. While Ogada remained the leader of North Gem to look after the Ojuodhi tribe, Nyang'or was promoted to the position of Ruoth of South Gem and given responsibility for the Kwenda clan. Since then, Gem has never been governed by only one chief at a time. During those times, the positions of Chief and Assistant Chief were held by the following individuals: Jairo Owino, Daniel Owiti (the father of Horace Ongili Owiti, a former Member of Parliament for Gem constituency), and Daniel Owiti. In the year 1890, the Imperial British East Africa Company founded the first court in British East Africa. A.C.W. Jenner was appointed to the position of the court's first judge. 1895 saw the founding of the East Africa Protectorate, complete with its own Consular Court to accommodate British and other international citizens.

However, in 1897, the "Her Majesty's court of East Africa," which would eventually be called "the High Court of East Africa," became the first court in the territory to have the authority to hear cases involving any and all residents of the region. The operation of the judicial system proceeded as follows: It was possible for the Chief Native Commissioner to establish, oversee, and administer the tribunals. At the division level in each district, African tribunals comparable to those on the district level were formed. The Governor was given permission to select a Liwali at the seashore who would be responsible for mediating disputes among the Muslim community. It was possible to

submit an appeal against the judgments of tribunals with the D.O. (District/Divisional Officers), D.C. (District Commissioner), or PC (Provincial Commissioner), but the Supreme Court was the court of last resort. In legal proceedings in which parties who were not African were engaged, the administration of justice was given to judges and magistrates who were not African. Local Tribunal Courts (LTC) were formed at the grassroots level to deal with minor offenses like family squabbles, witchcraft, and problems between clans (KNA/PC/NZA/1/6 /1911).

Those who were granted the ability to exercise jurisprudence included the Chiefs, Headmen, and certain of the Chief's appointments. They were instructed to choose a focal location within the surrounding region to act as a court where people came together. In Bunyore, which is located in Vihiga County Seme of Kisumu, the local tribunal court was held in a spot similar to Ramula market, which is located in Gem Sub County. The Ramula market was the location where the Gem community would meet to work out their differences with the Umuri people. It is situated along the Akala Luanda road in Gem Sub-County at the time when the office of the area District officer (DO) was located in Maseno (KNA/PC/NZA/3/20/17/2).

3.7 Labour supply from 1900 to 1918

The first people to come and make a home in Kenya during the year 1900 belonged to people of a variety of racial and national backgrounds and arrived in the country from a variety of nations under the protection of her Highness Queen of England. Between the years 1906 and 1910, the master and servant ordinance, which was enacted as a kind of labor compulsion, progressively acquired solidity. It is believed that there were more than 600 settlers in the area at the time of the event. They were tasked with locating land that was rich in fertility and searching for Africans who were willing to work on such fields. The Master and Servants Ordinance was a piece of legislation that was passed in 1906 in order to provide the settlers with a means of bolstering their claims. This was done so that the settlers could better defend their claims. In the same year, this Ordinance was written into the law book of East Africa, and it remained in effect there until the 1950s.

The establishment of such an ordinance raises problems about both its usefulness to the colonists and its effect on the Africans. Not only was the Master and Servant Ordinance

of 1906 a tool to govern labor recruitment in colonial Kenya, but it was also a weapon to subdue the African employees. The ordinance was passed in 1906. The term "shot" refers to a method of exerting control over labor in colonial Kenya. Contracts were the means through which the relationship dynamics between masters and laborers were brought under control. The latter was communicated in two distinct ways: verbally and in written form. Under the Master and Servant Ordinance of 1906, verbal contracts were often used in the process of establishing labor relations between masters and their employees (O. I, EKO 27: 27/ 1/ 2021).

In 1908, the official recruitment strategy led to the establishment of professional labor recruiting, a service for which settlers were required to remain. These people worked on a contract basis and traveled to rural regions in order to acquire or charge a commission on each guy hired by an employer. They were independent contractors. Abuse of this mechanism began almost immediately. Some of the recruiters engaged in intimidating behavior with chiefs, while others pretended to be government officials (Huxley, 1935: 213). They would sometimes pay the chiefs and headmen to recruit, which resulted in the labor recruiting industry being a source of revenue for these individuals. Africans responded by refusing to be hired, quitting their jobs, or working less effectively as a collective whole. Along the routes used by migrants, the government has set up rest stops and prepared facilities for transporting people. The existence of economically viable alternatives to wage labor made social cohesion a need for success.

An excellent illustration of this may be seen in Gem, where it was hypothesized by the headman Odera Akango that the forces that drove the men of Gem to labor were either individual voluntarism or group solidarity. He made this statement because he knew that if they wanted to reduce their tax liability (both their poll tax and their hut tax), they could do so by working on their own farms in their immediate area. There was plenty of land in Gem, and Odera Akango had been successful in instituting the cultivation of individual family plots of millet, sorghum, and simsim, all of which were mostly sold to the local Indians. In the meanwhile, Gem had already acquired the knowledge necessary to cultivate beans and sweet potatoes, both of which were staples in African households and each of which had its own output. In its early phases, capitalism was unable to compete with local production; as a result, foreign farmers

were reliant on state and community initiatives to persuade Gem people to accept migrants' labor service, according to a focus group discussion (FGD 07/04/ 2021).

In 1919, it was estimated that there were around 25.000 able-bodied males in Nyanza who were looking for unskilled jobs but were not coming out freely as was anticipated (political record book, 1909-KNA). Labor issues had already surfaced, thus the temporary commissioner, John Ianswarth, suggested that private persons be allowed to hire their own personnel either directly or via land agency. This was one of his recommendations. In 1910, the Central Kavirondo District saw an upsurge in the need for laborers. This was due to the region's main position as a producer of simsim and groundnuts, both of which were in great demand on the colonial market. For instance, simsim was farmed in enormous quantities in Gem. In spite of this, concerns persisted regarding the possibility of a drop in production as a result of the fact that the majority of the workforce had been removed from the area. In an effort to force labor recruiters to source their workforce from other regions, Mr. Ianswarth recommended that recruiting agencies should stop removing young, able-bodied men from areas that were prime producers of simsim and groundnuts (Gem) at a time when cultivation and agriculture showed such promise (Political Record Book, December 2010).

By 1912, an ordinance passed by the Native Authority required individuals to make themselves available for labor. It specified that all Africans were responsible for up to 60 days of compulsory paid labor for public purposes each year. This obligation might be fulfilled annually. This piece of law gave public authorities and leaders the authority to recruit labor from the "reserves," which they might use for either public purposes or to help settle settlers. They were employed as potters by administrative officials and missionaries, as well as employees of Indian merchants, and they worked on the construction of roads. Some of the employees were sent to work in public work departments, the building of a railway branch in Magadi, sisal plantations, and water works along the coast. The Kavirondo area did not go through any systematic land claims, and as a result, it has become the greatest labor reservoir in Kenya. Because of the risk of malaria and sleeping sickness, as well as the climate's ability to sustain European colonization, land could not be alienated. Due to the intimate working conditions between Chief Odera Akango and colonialists, Gem was the region that was most adversely impacted by the First World War. The Settlement of Kavirondo was

one of the locations that provided the majority of the laborer before the war (Nyanza Annual Report 1906 and 1907).

By September of 1912, there was a consistent rise in the number of young people willingly entering paid labor (PC NZA/1/7, 1911-1912, KNA). This trend has been going on for some time. In 1914, the United States entered the First World War, which led to an increase in the need for labor. More individuals were coerced into serving as carrier police and into laboring on settlers' farms against their will. The authority of conscription as well as the ability to penalize workers who invaded their territory was given to district officials and chiefs by the colonial administration. Both the Native registration ordinance and the Native official ordinance both need to be passed. The nature of things and the cohesiveness of the state during the years 1914–1917 can only be likened to the worst time of the slave trade and slavery (Cokumu 2012).

The regulation of the labor system was the motivation for the introduction of kipande in 1920. It was developed as a device to keep trucks of the labor supply from the African site, and it was intended to trace individuals who left work as one of its primary aims. These are the three primary goals that the kipande system was intended to achieve. Last but not least, it limits employees' flexibility in terms of switching jobs (employer). This was due to the fact that the wage that was promised to the kipande was to be the salary that was offered by the subsequent employer. The kipande system placed an African worker at a disadvantage since it prevented him from being able to negotiate a better salary at his subsequent place of employment.

This resulted in the worker being paid less. Because it encouraged the uniformity of low salaries that were to be earned by Africans, the system was exploitative. If Kipande went missing or anybody escaped from their task, they were both met with the servitor's penalty. Because of this, the intake of labor in European farms and government sectors was, to a considerable part, supervised and controlled not by the Northey Circulars, (1919), but rather by this unified system of labor appointment. Despite this, the number of people living in Africa remained on the increase up until the 1920s. As time went on, the use of coercion to get people to labor decreased in frequency and severity. Since that time, population pressure combined with taxes has assured that there are sufficient

Africans available to work on European farms (KII, EL10: 10/2/ 2021). [Citation needed]

The settlement of colonial gold prospectors on South Gem beginning in the year 1930 brought about a paradigm shift in the rural social and political structure. The laborers from Rera were hired by the Pioneer Company, which the residents of Rera referred to as Panyako. These employees were working at the gold mine. During this time period, a settlement and compensation program for employees was established in the Kudho region, although it was given the name Panyako. The freshly constructed floating bridge, known as an odheso, which was used to transport people over the Yala River was a fortunate boon for the indigenous people who lived there. After determining that there was a lack of gold in the area, the gold miners eventually moved to Kitale in the year 1945. Men like Nyangao Oyombe are examples of those who went with them. They departed from Gem with a large number of young men to go to Kitale, which is where he migrated to engage in farming. Mr. Johanes Owak, who was persuaded to follow the trend, eventually consented to relocate to Nyahururu in order to work as a farm laborer there in the year 1950. From 1950 to 1963, when the Europeans left, he worked there as the farm manager (KII, EXC12 11/2/2021).

3.8 Colonial Policy on Revenue collection between 1900 and 1963

The colonial authority in Kenya was well aware from the very beginning of the need of having a currency that could be used for the payment of taxes in addition to serving other functions. Up to the year 1910, the tax that was imposed might be paid in cash, in labor, or in kind. The second possibility was open to consideration given that the Indian rupee has been in use from the year 1898. However, circulation of the money remained sluggish until 1901, when formal African taxation was introduced and the colonial authority mandated that all taxes had to be paid in cash. After that year, circulation of the currency increased significantly. In June of 1905, the colonial administration adopted the East African and Uganda (currency) Order in Council, which governed the use of the rupee and the minting of coin. The purpose of this action was to accomplish the aim stated above. The rupee continued to be used as the primary currency in the colonial state up until 1921, when it was replaced by the shilling by the East Africa Currency Board (EACB).

During the building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway from Mombasa to Kisumu, an impetus was provided to the widespread usage of the Indian currency as a medium of commerce. This incentive was supplied by the British. Odera Akango' and Ndeda Gem locals were coerced into using cash by the colonial Chiefs. This occurred in both of these communities. Gem people are said to have been the first of the local groups in Nyanza province to accept the Indian rupee and the EACB money, according to a Focus Group Discussion (FGD 5:27/2/2021), which was prompted by the efforts that were made by the leaders of the Gem people. During this time, Gem functioned as an administrative location under the jurisdiction of the Kisumu District. The connection between the Gem people and other neighboring populations, including the Asembo, Seme, Sakwa Alego Kisumu, and Bunyore people, who had numerous clashes with the Gem people in the past, changed dramatically during the colonial period.

In addition to boosting agricultural output in the area, the propagation of the Christian faith was followed by the establishment of formal educational institutions soon after schools were opened. The presence of Asian people in Yala and Luanda, as well as in peripheral market areas like the Akala market, contributes to an improvement in the Gem people's economic power (KII, EXCL16: 13/1/2021). Africans were able to obtain money to pay taxes through the sale of grains and other agricultural produce in regions where there were nearby markets. In addition, Gem people were encouraged to sell livestock such as sheep, goats, chicken, ghee, hides, and skin in exchange for currency to facilitate payment of hut tax. This allowed Africans to obtain money needed to pay taxes. One of the strategies that the state used in order to get employees at low wages was the periodic rise in the rate of the poll tax.

Legislation, the sale of land, compulsion by leaders, and even outright violence were some of the other means by which the Gem people were compelled to leave their homes and find employment. The imposition of taxes brought in difficult living circumstances for the populace, as tax defaulters risked having their houses, crops, and grain stores burned down. As a consequence of this, the people of Gem saw taxation as a violent incursion into the life of locals owing to the fact that the severe manner of revenue collection used by the government offered no direct advantages to the people who paid taxes while also causing the natives to suffer. The Gem people had a deep-

seated animosity for the tax collectors, the majority of whom were district heads and clerks (O.I., END 23: 22/1/2021).

During the First World War, which lasted from 1914 to 1919, a new occurrence regarding tax collecting emerged. After the First World War, Africans faced an increasing demand from the colonial administration for poll tax and land to settle the discharged war veterans, which led to a further escalation of their dissatisfaction with the situation. After that, in 1918, the position of Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) was established in order to deal with African problems, notably the problem of African Taxation. This was accomplished. Because of John Ainsworth's previous experience working with Africans under company control and during his time as Provincial Commissioner in Nyanza Province, he was selected to serve as the first Chief Negotiator and Conciliator (CNC). When he served as the Provincial Commissioner of Nyanza from 1906 to 1914, he was essential in the effective implementation of the hut and poll taxes across the province. This achievement was due in large part to his efforts. However, the settlers did not trust Ainsworth because they believed that he was on the side of the locals. In the process of forming the Local Native Council and communicating African perspectives on taxation policy, the CNC was to play a pivotal role in both of these endeavors (LNC).

During this time, the Local Native Tribunal Court was established in Ramula to serve some areas of Central Nyanza, including sections of Gem, Seme, Alego Bunyore Uyoma, Gem, Sakwa, and Asembo. Its jurisdiction extended to these areas. For instance, Chief Odindo of Asembo, as well as Assistant Chiefs Owiti, Adiedo, and Ndeda of Gem, used to congregate in Ramula Court to decide the disputes of small offenders, according to a focus group discussion (FGD 24: 23/1/2021). According to the oral history that has been passed down via these communities, the British forced the Luo people who had been living in the Luanda area to go back to the current Gem sub-county in order to make room for the placement of the marketplace.

Later on, the neighborhood around Luanda was taken over by Indian businesses (Duka wala). After some time had passed, the area was settled by people of many ethnicities, including Luo, Luhya, Asians, Arabs, Nubians, and Europeans who were on mission. The market, railway station, and line in Luanda eventually became the sole gateway to

a number of other locations. Tobias Ajinja, a resident of Ndiru village in Gem sub-county, claims that the Luanda market has been of great assistance to the people of Gem for a very long time. He said that his mother had sent him to that market to sell simsim to the Banyore and the Asians when he was younger. In return, he promised to bring back some bananas and pots (O.I. EKR26: 23/1/ 2021).

The Ordinance of 1902 assigned the chiefs three areas of duty, one of which was to preserve public order, and the indigenous might be penalized if there were any disturbances in the regions of Jurisdiction that the chiefs were responsible for. They were obligated to construct the roads and bridges, as well as maintain their cleanliness. Additionally, it was the chief's responsibility to hear and decide on instances involving minor violations of law. They were granted further rights, such as the ability to pass ordinances, which didn't happen until 1912. The ordinance passed in 1912 gave the Chiefs and Headmen the authority to hire additional people to help them in preserving law and order and gave them responsibility for doing so. At the same time, chiefs were anticipated to serve as the district officer's personal aides (who was a European). They were responsible for collecting taxes and remitting the money to the District Officer, who then delivered the money to the district commissioner on behalf of the district officer.

The other powers that were given to the chiefs included the ability to issue orders that restricted the brewing of changaa and busser, the holding of drinking bouts, the cultivation of poisonous weeds, the carrying of arms, and any conduct that could lead to a riot (Elijah Ochieng, son of colonial chief Jairo Owino, the colonial chief (KII, EKO 27: 23/1/2021)). Ex-Chief Mr. Clement Chiaji stated, in agreement with the initial respondent, that in addition to the powers that have already been mentioned, the chiefs were also empowered to call out any number of able-bodied persons to work as a laborer on public work, sully without pay. This was stated by the Ex-Chief Mr. Clement Chiaji. In the year 1910, cotton, coffee, and the seeds of experimental plants like maize, simsim, and groundnut were given out for free to the locals so that they may plant them in their gardens. Arabs, Indians, and Somalians were among those that assisted the administration in its efforts to establish businesses in different locations around the area. They offered a variety of goods for sale, including blankets, blankets, blankets, bicycles, beads, salt, and textiles.

The Asians built stores in Ndere, Luanda, and Asembo-Bay where they purchased from the Gem locals hides and skins, cattle, cotton, ghee, and sisal (Chiaji, KII, EWAG 28: 23/1/ 2021). The ancient barter system was gradually superseded by the money system. In answer to the question of taxes, Mr. Rajula, who had firsthand experience with colonial life, said that the tax burden was lightened in the year 1920. This happened as a result of the Great Depression, which was brought on by the aftermath of the First World War, which took place from 1914 and 1919. The tax burden, however, became much more onerous with the introduction of the poll tax in Gem in 1926, which was then followed by the introduction of Local Native Council Rates and Locational Rates in 1946. Both the wealthy and the impoverished contributed the same amount to the Poll Tax and the Rates.

It should be noted that the collection of taxes was carried out in a callous way, and that tax defaulters were subjected to severe punishment. Colonial administrative officers, accompanied by their tax and revenue clerks and Tribal Police, made periodic safaris to the various places of Nyanza in order to either take taxes that had already been collected by chiefs or to supervise the collection of such taxes. Prior to the District officers to the tax collection centers, within the locations, Chiefs and Headmen, also accompanied by their clerks and askaris, hurried their sub-location for tax, often taking away for sale livestock that belonged to those who were unable to raise tax money. This occurred before the district officers arrived at the tax collection centers. This activity would occasionally take place at night, when the bulk of taxpayers were inside their homes, since they would typically hide during the day (Rajula, O.I., EGI 29: 23 /1 / 2021).

When it came time to collect taxes, the District Officers did not hesitate to call upon the assistance of the Tribal Police. For instance, beginning on the 22nd of June in 1928, this brand-new innovation was put through its paces in a test setting. According to H.R. Montgomery, the District Commissioner for Central Nyanza, 10 of these tribal policemen were sent to North Ugenya since that region was notoriously terrible at tax collection. He made a note in his journal that the policeman did an excellent job since they were able to collect more than 1,200 shillings throughout the course of the week. This occurrence resulted in the imprisonment of seventeen defaulters and the sale of a few livestock (Safari Diary 1926- 28PC/NZa3/NZA/ 3/1?233). During their travels, the

District Officers maintained a list of everyone who was exempt from paying taxes, including those who had passed away, those who were working outside their places, those who were incarcerated, and those who owed back taxes according to the table below.

Table 3.1: Record of Taxation in Gem (12th May, 1930)

Sub-location	Exempted	Deceased	At work	Prison	Paid	Outstanding	Tax Due
North Gem	14	7	50	6	Sh. 641	Sh.12	Sh.494
South Gem	22	2	30	8	Sh. 334	Sh.10	Sh.310

Source: KNA Safari Diary 1925-29 PC/NZA/ 3/1/233.

Through the Hut and Poll tax, the British Crown on purpose and knowingly initiated the implementation of tax law in Kenya. However, they did so while utterly disregarding tax principles. The imposition of this tax was done, in part, with the intention of luring members of the African population into the global capitalist labor market. The contribution tax continued to play a significant role in the labor system, both as a substantial source of state income and as a method of indirect coercion against workers. The intended result of the tax weapon, which was to coerce more Africans into wage work, was achieved (Waris, 2007).

It had to be drilled into people's heads that the hut tax and the poll tax were rudimentary forms of wealth taxation that merely acted as proxies for property ratings in rural regions. For example, the more your income was, the higher your contribution was. Since colonialism and poorly intended efforts at "civilization" were the motivation behind this kind of taxation, it did not adhere to any of the well-established principles or major motivations of taxes. At first look, it could seem that the primary goal was to transform the social structure and economic models of Africa into something more capitalist in orientation; however, this is not the case (Mutemi, 2015).

The following is a statement from the financial report that reflects the tax return:

“The people of Kano who have from time to time moved to the North of the Railway line between Kibos and Kibigori and who have on many occasions been warned that they could not occupy the land there are to be removed within the next few days by Mr. Farrent, Assistant District Commissioner, who is

proceeding there for that purpose. This matter has already been the subject of correspondence and all the facts of the case are on record.”

With the exception of four locations, all sub-districts show an increase in the number of huts counted (Hut Tax, 1910-1911). In every case these increases may be accounted for by the natural growth of the population and by the increased inefficiency of the census. Bunyore (location No.7) which shows an increase of 1223 huts was very badly counted last year and a large increase was anticipated. In Asembo, Seme, Sagam and Kajulu there is a decrease in the number of huts. These are all Luo locations and the decrease is little difficult to account for. I think, however, that carelessness in the registration last year accounts for this. Although a decrease of huts is shown this year in all cases but one, there is an increase in the actual amount of tax collected as compared with last year. As regards the huts uncollected this year, the balances are in most so small as to be perfectly well accounted for by deaths, removals and poverty.

The only substantial balances outstanding are in Tiriki Nyangori and South Maragoli. As you are aware their locations have always been backward in paying their Hut Tax, and although they have not paid in full this year, they have paid a considerably larger sum than previously.

Other Revenues

It will be noted that substantial decreases are shown under the following heads.

“Miscellaneous Licenses”.

This is accounted for by being shown this year on a separate return as revenue collected by the conservancy.

“Rents of Land other than Forest Areas”

Is also shown as collected by the conservancy, i.e “Hut Rate”. A part of the decrease is also to be attributed to the fact that some rents formerly collected by this office are now paid directly to the land offices.

“Fees of Court.” The whole of the sum of Rd.4468.31 shown last year less Rs.109 was revenue from the Town registries’ court at Kisumu and Nakuru. Revenue from this source has been omitted altogether this year as it does not concern this office.

Prior to the beginning of the Second World War in 1930, a number of political associations began to form in the country of Kenya. These organizations were formed

with the intention of combating the unfair practices of the colonial government. The people were dissatisfied with the treatment they were receiving from the colonial authority, which led to the development of agitations for social transformation. The first political groups in Kenya were established by Kenyans who had the opportunity to go to school and who had paid work at the time. Colonial workers who were stationed in Nairobi, Central Kenya, and Western Kenya were the ones who first established the societies. These associations advocated for a variety of causes, including opposition to the Kipande system, poor salaries, forced labor, the seizure of land by settlers, uncertain land tenure, and taxation (Onyango, O.I, ER 11: 20/ 1 /2021).

In the month of July 1923, Archdeacon Owen was elected to the presidency of the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA). Owen had the impression that the requests made by YKA would not be well received by the authorities. Therefore, he was successful in shifting the emphasis of the group away from political demands and toward welfare issues. The Kavirondo Taxpayers' Welfare Association (KTWA) emphasized the need of working together with the authorities from the government. Owen was given the role of president for the first time, while the Provincial Commissioner and the District Commissioners were given the vice president positions.

In 1944, the Kenya African Union (KAU) was established for the aim of providing Eliud Mathu with advice upon his candidacy to the Legco. Later on in the same year, the government demanded that the party alter its name, and it eventually became known as the Kenya African Study Union, which is now led by James Gichuru. Other authorities were W.W.W. Awori as the treasurer, Francis Hamisi as the secretary, and Joseph Otiende as the vice president (treasurer). The leadership of the KAU came from members of every significant ethnic group in Kenya. It did this through publishing a newspaper known as Sauti ya Mwafrica, which served as a means of communication with the populace. The publication detailed a variety of complaints, including those about political persecution, poor pay, land alienation, and color bars (KII, EXCL16: 13/1/2021).

During this time, Gem functioned as an administrative location under the jurisdiction of the Kisumu District. The connection between the Gem people and other neighboring populations, including the Asembo, Seme, Sakwa Alego Kisumu, and Bunyore people,

who had numerous clashes with the Gem people in the past, changed dramatically during the colonial period. In addition to boosting agricultural output in the area, the propagation of the Christian faith was followed by the establishment of formal educational institutions soon after schools were opened. The presence of Asian people in Yala and Luanda, as well as in peripheral market areas like the Akala market, contributes to an improvement in the Gem people's economic power (KII, EXCL16: 13/1/2021).

Alterations were also made to the economic system so that it would better serve the purposes of colonial powers. The building of the Uganda Railway, which began in Mombasa in, was an important aspect of the colonial activities that took place in the nation. European settlers began coming to the country in the year 1896. However, the first formal encouragement to white settlement was provided during the time when Charles Eliot was serving as a commissioner. This occurred at this time. Around the year 1904, people from South Africa started migrating to this area. This was the first of numerous government-sponsored European settlement plans that were to become a prominent element throughout the history of Kenya. These initiatives were to leave their stamp on the nation's history. They were quickly followed by additional immigrants from Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada who, on the whole, brought more capital than the immigrants who came before them (Ogot, 1974).

According to the geo-logarithm used by the British at the start of the colonial era, Western Kenya was included into the territory of Uganda. The British proclaimed Buganda to be under their protectorate in April of 1894. This protectorate was shortly expanded to encompass the Kisumu and Naivasha area, which later became Uganda's Eastern Province in the year 1900. However, Western Kenya was not considered much more than a supply zone for the road leading to Uganda until 1902, when the Eastern Province of Uganda was moved from Uganda to the territory that is now known as Kenya. In 1894, Colonel Charles Colville, who was in charge of Administration in Buganda at the time, delegated F. Spire to construct an administrative station in Mumias. This was done with the intention of bringing it under strong control. The following year, C.W. Hobley was posted as the first sub-commissioner of the Eastern province to relieve Spire. He was also tasked with building a permanent station at Mumias and gradually beginning to establish British administration over the various

sections of the tribes who were collectively known as Kavirondo. Spire was relieved of his duties in the following year (Ochieng et al, 2012).

In addition to the information that was acquired, it turned out that the Luanda market was the only location where individuals from Gem could get school uniforms and other types of clothing. The speaker noted that the Asians hired Gem people to work as tailors with the intention of selling their wares as interpreters. The Banyore and the Luo Gem people used to participate in local commerce with one another. They traded goods such as animals, cereals, rugs, ropes, and fish with the Banyore people. In exchange, the Banyore traded goods such as jars, grinding stones, bananas, baskets, potatoes, and vegetables with our people. Because of commerce, the Luanda market was strategically positioned to become the most important gathering area, where people could freely sell their goods with one another. In 1935, Butere was connected to the rest of the world via train. The economic well-being of Gem people was boosted by the construction of a railway line that went from Kisumu to Butere and passed through both the Luanda market and the Yala market (O.I, ENYG 30: 23/ 1/2021).

Trans-ethnic relationships and social networking were fostered by the commerce that took place between the marketplaces of Luanda and Butere during the colonial period. Both communities profited from an increase in social capital and networks as a result of these connections, in addition to the economic advantages brought about by those relationships. These included social support, solidarity between communities, collaboration among individuals, and the promotion of commerce despite clan rivalries in Gem. The building of the railway line that went from Kisumu to Butere in 1935 resulted in an improvement to the communication system in Gem since it made it possible for products to be delivered from Mombasa to their ultimate destination. Many residents of Gem were able to make the journey from Yala in Gem and Luanda (which borders Vihiga County) to cities like Nakuru, Nairobi, and Mombasa in search of work opportunities. Native people in Gem were able to make greater economic and intellectual strides as a result of their utilization of the railway. As a direct consequence of this, Gem people had an edge when applying for official jobs in colonial offices and farms (O.I., ERA 20 23/1/ 2021).

3.9 Contribution of Gem people in National Development between 1945 and 1963

The background of persons who originated from Gem and engaged in parliamentary representation in Kenya is highlighted in the history of parliamentary representation during the colonial era. This history focuses on Kenya. Apollo Ohanga was the first notable individual from Gem to serve in the colonial legislative colonial parliament in the year. He did so in the colonial parliament. In 1947, he was given a seat in the Kenya Legislative Council thanks to a nomination. In 1954, he was appointed to the position of cabinet minister in the Ministry of Community Development and Rehabilitation, which he held until 1957, making him the first black Kenyan to hold such a position during the colonial era. His parents had been absorbed in Gem, and his grandparents' placenta had been buried in the Gem Regea highlands, which are located in Siaya District, Nyanza province, Kenya. He was an immigrant from Ugenya.

He was born to Ongewe Okelo, who passed away, and Alicia Obura, who also passed away. It was 1913 when he was born in Got Regea, which is located in Gem Sub County inside Siaya County. Following his successful completion of the Common Entrance Examination in 1927, he enrolled in Maseno School the following year in 1928. At Maseno, the late Carey Francis acknowledged Mr. Ohanga's one-of-a-kind aptitude, and within two years, Mr. Ohanga had completed all of the requirements for his secondary school and teacher training education. After that, in 1931, he enrolled in Alliance High School to complete his senior year of secondary education, and the following year, in 1933, he was accepted into university. Focus group discussion (FGD4: 26/1/ 2021).

In addition, Benaiah Apollo Ohanga entered the Civil Service and worked as an Education Officer in the Ministry of Education before moving on to the Ministry of Home Affairs, where he was in charge of overseeing schools that had been granted permission to teach. During his time working for the government, he was very involved in several labor movements and unions, including the Civil Servants Union. He also served as the first President of the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU). Through the efforts of Apollo Ohanga to further their education, a large number of children and teenagers from Gem and the surrounding areas enrolled in Maseno School. At the same time, they took use of the chance to develop stronger relationships with British colonists than other Kenyans. He is the one who encouraged the majority of

former students of Maseno to get involved in political struggles for independence. From the Gem Focus group conversation (FGD 23/2/2021), more elites like Argwings Kodhek, Omolo Okero, Okeno Osare, and Bethuel Ogot developed thanks to Apollo Ohanga.

He served as the cabinet minister of Community Development and Rehabilitation from the years 1954 to 1957. His tenure spanned the years 1954 to 1957. As a consequence of this, he decided to cease his participation in the political process on the local level when the British left to make way for independence. The members engaged the colonial government through the welfare associations. For instance, on November 18th, 1947, the Kisumu branch of the Abaluya Welfare Association wrote a protest letter to the then-DC of the central Nyanza complaining about representation and membership in the local Government. The Luo Union was established in 1946 by a new generation of missionary-educated elites who had nothing to do with the politics of the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), the old Boys (alumni) of the Maseno School. These elites had been educated at the Maseno School. They included Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Walter Odede, and Achieng Oneko, who started to demand for a bigger organization than previously that would assist unify the communities. This organization would help unite the communities (Ochieng et al., 2012).

A political stalemate prevailed in Kenya for a period of two years after the proclamation of a state of emergency in the country. After the arrest of the Kapenguria Six, Central Nyanza's Walter Odede was appointed interim president of the Kenya African Union (KAU). This is a key fact to keep in mind (Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei, Kungu Karumba, Fred Kubai, Achieng Oneko, and Bildad Kaggia). Argwings Kodhek was one of the other Nyanzan officials working for the KAU. And Tom Mboya. In March of 1953, Walter Odede was taken into custody, and by June of the same year, KAU was declared illegal. During this time period, African political organisations were not permitted to carry out their daily operations. It is noteworthy to note that the educated elite from Nyanza were already participating in national politics at that point in time. And when African political parties were unable to operate because of the state of emergency, the void was filled by the African Labour Federation (AFL), which was led by Tom Mboya. Despite its limited capacity, the AFL assumed an increasingly important national role in voicing African political aspirations (Ogot, 2003).

The Lyttelton Constitution was amended in 1954 to permit the establishment of a multi-racial Council of Ministers, which resulted in the nomination of B.A. Ohanga, another educated elite hailing from Nyanza, to the position of Minister of Community Development. The selection of Mr. Ohanga as Nyanza's new governor triggered political competition among the region's most powerful elites. On the one hand, there were those who supported the idea of multiracialism, such as Ohanga, and on the other hand, there were those who strongly opposed multiracialism, such as Odinga. Mr. Ohanga was partially criticized by this group for accepting nomination to the Legislative Council in place of Odede.

In the absence of any national political party, Mr. Ohanga, along with other members of the Legislative Council, quickly felt the need for some kind of leading Luo from the Central Nyanza District to consider the establishment of a Central Nyanza Political Association having as its political platform the support of a constitution for this Association. This need was shared by other members of the Legislative Council. Although the Central Nyanza-ADA was officially registered in 1956, the organization did not develop into the authoritative political entity that its founders had envisioned it becoming. In point of fact, by the time the year came to a close, it had all but disappeared. It was a commonly held belief that the Luo Union was established in 1946 by a group of newly emerged, mission-educated elite who had nothing to do with the politics of the time (YKA- Kavirono). Old Boys graduates of Maseno School like as Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Walter Odede, and Aching Oneko started to push for a bigger organization, one that would help unify the entire Luo community (Ochieng' et al., 2012). These individuals were part of the movement that called for a larger organization.

Apollo Ohanga was the first notable person from Gem to serve in the colonial legislative colonial parliament in 1947. He did so in the capacity of a member. His parents had been absorbed in Gem, and his grandparents' placenta had been buried in the Gem Regea highlands, which are located in Siaya District, Nyanza province, Kenya. He was an immigrant from Ugenya. He was born to Ongewe Okelo, who passed away, and Alicia Obura, who also passed away. Because his ancestors did not have blood links with the other Gem clans, people referred to them as slaves when linking them to the Ojuodhi clan, who harbored them. This is because his ancestors did

not have blood ties with the other Gem clans. He was the first person of African descent to hold the position of cabinet minister in the colonial administration of Kenya. During the Colonial Era in Kenya, Apollo Ohanga was the first black Kenyan to serve as a cabinet minister. He was born in 1913 in Got Regea, which is located in Siaya, which is located in the province of Nyanza.

Apollo Ohanga was the son of the late Ongwen Okelo and Alicia Obura (Ochieng'). Both of his parents have now passed away. In 1927, after successfully completing the Common Entrance Examination, he enrolled in Maseno School. In 1928 at Maseno School, the late Carr Francis identified his one-of-a-kind skill, and within two years after that discovery, he graduated. Mr. Ohanga has completed all of his final requirements for his secondary education and teacher training. After that, in 1931, he enrolled in Alliance High School to complete his senior year of secondary school, and the following year, 1933, he was accepted into university. Carrey Francis, on the other hand, was able to convince him to assist him in the training of teachers at Maseno Central School. He had a strong appreciation for music and was a skilled organist. In acknowledgment of his superior abilities, he was promoted to the same level as a graduate teacher in 1943 (Ogot, 2003).

A political stalemate prevailed in Kenya for a period of two years after the proclamation of the State of Emergency in the country. The arrest of the Kapenguria Six—Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei, Kungu Karumba, Fred Kubia, and Achieng' Oneko and Bildad Kaggia—led to the election of Walter Odede, a native of central Nyanza, as president of the Kenya African Union (KAU). This is a crucial fact to keep in mind. Other Nyanza residents who served in official capacities for the KAU were Argwings Kodhek and Tomb Mboya. In March of 1953, Walter Odede was taken into custody, and by June of the same year, the KAU was declared illegal.

During this time period, African political organisations were not permitted to carry out their daily operations. It is noteworthy to note that the educated elite from Nyanza were already participating in national politics at that point in time. And when African political parties were unable to operate because of the State of Emergency, the void was filled by the African Labour Federation (AFL), which was led by Tom Mboya. Despite its limited capacity, the AFL assumed an increasingly important nationality role in

voicing African political aspirations. The Lyttelton Constitution of 1954 allowed for the development of a multi-racial Council of Ministers, which ultimately led to the nomination of B.A. Ohanga, another educated elite hailing from Nyanza, to the position of Minister of Community Development. It was the appointment of Mr. Ohanga that stoked the flames of political competition among Nyanza's most powerful citizens. On the one hand, there were those who supported the idea of multiracialism, such as Ohanga; on the other hand, there were those who strongly opposed multiracialism, such as Odinga; Mr. Ohanga was singled out for particular criticism by this group for accepting nomination to the Legislative Council in place of Mr. Odede (Ogot, 2003).

Due to the lack of any major political party on the national level, Mr. Ohanga, along with the other members of the Legislative Council, quickly realized that he needed some form of community organization to back him up. Nearing the conclusion in 1955, he convened a gathering of influential Luo from the Central Nyanza District to discuss the possibility of establishing a Central Nyanza Political Association. The association would use support for a multi-racial government as its political platform. During this conference, a committee was established to be responsible for writing the association's constitution. Although it was established in 1956 as the Central Nyanza Political Association, which would eventually become known as the African District Association Central Nyanza-ADA, the organization did not develop into the authoritative political entity that its founders had anticipated it would. In point of fact, by the end of the year, it had all but ceased operations (Ogot, 2003).

The African Democratic Association (ADA) was resurrected into being with the promulgation of the Legislative Council (African Representation) Ordinance in 1956 and the subsequent understanding by Africans that a General Election would take place early in 1957. In the District, Mr. Oginga was going to run against Mr. Ohanga as an opponent. Since Odinga was the successor of Mr. Odede, he was able to capture ADA and use it to his advantage in order to win the support of the intelligentsia and the urban dwellers; as a result, he was able to defeat Mr. Ohanga in these elections. Odinga won the majority of the votes cast by conservatives by leveraging his influence as the outgoing Ker of the Luo Union.

On the other side, Lawrence Oguda was successful in gaining election in the South Nyanza District. ADA (Central Nyanza) was quite active during the year of 1957. Meetings were held all around the district, and Mr. Odinga made excellent use of the opportunity to present his political ideas to the locals at these gatherings. During the year 1960, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) came into being. The ADA reorganized itself and became a branch of the party in the Central Nyanza region. In addition, the ADA, much like the other political groups for the district that had emerged in Kenya between the years 1955 and 1960, believed that its primary responsibility was to provide people of the district with services. KANU was, in a significant degree, nothing more than an aggregation of the several District organizations that had developed in the orbit of certain individuals. African political movements in Nyanza, as in the rest of Kenya, performed one useful function: they forced the British government to abandon the assumptions that had been in place during the interwar period and to accept the goal of parliamentary democracy, along with all of the implications that this goal entails (Ogot, 2003).

Based on this condensed examination of the colonial administration among the Luo, it is clear that the Luo, on all fronts (economic, political, social, and even intellectual), were in a mood of change and revolution. They were accepting new challenges, demonstrating an ability at adaptation and modification, fighting back against racist doctrines, and, most importantly, changing their economy and politics to suit the socio-economic realities of the day. For instance, we have shown that the Luo opposed the arrival of colonial power in their land with a combination of military resistance and diplomacy in order to preserve their independence. Because of this, we get to the conclusion that the establishment of colonial power in Nyanza and Kenya in general was accomplished via the use of armed conquest; the use of force was the primary factor that convinced the Luo to submit to colonial rule (KII, KRD22: 22/1/2021).

In order to ensure their own existence, the Luo were adaptable to western modes of life and willing to learn them when colonization became unavoidable. And from the very beginning, the only way to acquire this knowledge was via the missionary schools and churches that were spread across the land. Therefore, it was from these churches and schools that the first African intelligentsia emerged. This intelligentsia had a broader world view than the traditional world view that had been prevalent up until this point.

As a result, they played a leading role in the propagation of Western ideas and Western ways among Africans.

Throughout the process, a multitude of factors interacted with one another, including the missionary, the settler, the migrant laborer, the businessman, the administrator, the traditionalist, the colonial office, and most importantly, the "westernized" Africans, who not only formed the early opposition to the colonizers but also played an essential part in the transformation of the traditional society. And afterwards, with the assistance of the Luo Union and its many other agencies, such as LUTATCO and Ramogi Press, the Luo were successful in building a powerful Luo country, whose contribution to the annals of liberation history in Kenya is illustrious. Under the Luo people of western Kenya, three separate elite classes emerged as a result of the complex interplay between western and African modes of life that occurred within the context of colonial rule (KII, EK 14: 21 /2/2021).

The first faction was nationalists, who exerted pressure on the colonial authority in order to effect change and reform. They included individuals such as Walter Odede (aka Rachilo), who was the second nominated African to the Legislative council; Apollo Ohanga (aka Bawo), from North Gem, who became the first African minister in the Colonial Government; Achieng' Oneko (aka Nyakech), who was detained alongside Jomo Kenyatta as part of the Kapenguria Six; Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (aka Rapinda), who became the first vice The second category of people who were considered to be members of the elite were professionals. The majority of these professionals were teachers who had worked at mission schools such as Maseno, Yala, Alliance, and Mang'u. Among them were Timothy Omondo, also known as Abanja; Mariko Ombaka, also known as Thee; Herbert Magowi, also known as Nyidho; Hezekiah Ougo Ochieng'; Paul Mboya, also known as Olwal Ja- Nyakongo; Isaac Okwiri, also known as Jusa; and lecturers at university colleges: David Wasowo, Reuben Ogendero, Bethwel Allan Ogot, Simeon Ominde (aka P.O. The World). Antony Mito, also known as Ja-Manywanda, Pius Olima, also known as Anditi Ja-Karachuonyo, William Oswera, also known as Auka Ja-Gem, and Ogola Opot, also known as Ogunyo, were among the musicians that were a part of the third group of elites. They caused the people of Luo to rejoice, sing, and dance (Ochieng et al, 2012).

As a result of the efforts of one person from Gem's land, the colonialists decided to nominate Gem as a colonial springboard. Gem emerged in the forefront of constructive activity in the colonial springboard. It just so happened that Apolo Ohanga served as the Secretary of the Language committee for the Nilotic languages between the years 1946 and 1947. During the period of colonial rule in Kenya, this individual had a highly important national position. He was able to evaluate every communication coming from the Nilotic language group. In 1947, he was put up by the colonial authorities to serve on the Kenya Legislative Council as a result of their perception of him as an educated neutral loyalist. When he was promoted to the position of Minister for Community Development and Rehabilitation in Kenya in 1954, a position he maintained until 1957, he made history by being the first African in the country's history to occupy a Cabinet seat. After that, he entered the public sector and is now working as an Education Officer for the Ministry of Education.

After that, he entered the Civil Service and began working as an Education officer at the Ministry of Education. Subsequently, he went to the Ministry of Home Affairs and took over responsibility for recognized schools there. During his time working in the Civil Service, he was very engaged in the Trade Union Movement. He held the positions of President of the Civil Servants Union and the first President of the Central Organization of Trade Union when he was in those roles (COTU). In 1972, the year he retired from the Civil Service, he was appointed Chief Executive of the Kenya Senior Civil Servant Association. During the course of his trip, he stopped at a number of different countries across the world, including India, Germany, the United States of America, and Great Britain on many occasions.

3.9.1 Political Career of Benaiah Apolo Ohanga

He served as the cabinet minister of Community Development and Rehabilitation from the years 1954 to 1957. His tenure spanned the years 1954 to 1957. As a consequence of this, he decided to cease his participation in the political process on the local level when the British left to make way for independence. The members engaged the colonial government through the welfare associations. For instance, on November 18th, 1947, the Kisumu branch of the Abaluya Welfare Association wrote a protest letter to the then-DC of the central Nyanza complaining about representation and membership in the local Government. The Luo Union was established in 1946 by a new generation

of missionary-educated elites who had nothing to do with the politics of the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), the old Boys (alumni) of the Maseno School. These elites had been educated at the Maseno School. They included Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Walter Odede, and Achieng Oneko, who started to demand for a bigger organization than previously that would assist unify the communities. This organization would help unite the communities (Ochieng et al., 2012).

It was a commonly held belief that the Luo Union was established in 1946 by a group of newly emerged, mission-educated elite who had nothing to do with the politics of the time (YKA-Kavirondo). Old Boys (alumni) of Maseno School like Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Walter Odede, and Aching Oneko started to push for a wider organization, one that would assist unify the greater Luo community, Ochieng' et al., among other people. This demand was made by the Old Boys of Maseno School (2012). One of the major schools of thought among the respondents, on the other hand, stated that the colonial political wave also entered via the locals and employees of the rural plantations. During this time, the nation was going through a tough economic time as a direct consequence of the effects that World War II had on the economy. The colonial authority actively solicited and supported the participation of young men in the role of manual workers on plantations and farms. His main points were:

“I was influenced to accept the offer of recruitment as a *Nyapara* at Lord Delamere farm at Nyahuru since by that time I had acquired basic education of standard eight in 1948. I had a challenge of working for the British in the land where Mau Mau was in its center stage between 1948 and 1952, (Ojodo ex-chief, KII, EXC2: 12 /1 /2021).

According to Ochieng et al. (2012), colonialists were responsible for the introduction of a new political wave. At first, some communities rejected this new political wave; nevertheless, they were eventually compelled to embrace it. Other communities worked along with colonialists. The fact that several colonies fought for their own political independence is another sign of this. On the other hand, this is a broad approach that leads to a generalization of the problems. The discovery uncovered a shift in the political tendencies of the colonial government, which resulted in the colonial concern being centered on the suppression of all native activities linked with bigger populations such as Kikuyu, Luhya, and Luo. Even though they had an effect on the cohesiveness of subcultural groups such as clans, the British government chose to ignore a number of

concerns that went against their interests. According to the findings of the research, which investigated the historical relationship between colonial intervention and the inter-clan link, those clans in Gem that had chiefs who openly worked with the British were granted a significant number of advantages. (O.I, EK14:21/1/ 2021) The Gem people were the subjects of a research that looked at the effects that colonialism had on them.

The era beginning in 1945 and ending in 1963 came to be known as the time of political transformation on a continental scale that routed nationally and locally. However, there were sporadic occurrences of certain collective political movements in various parts of Kenya in the shape of resistive organizations. More political activities were highly noticeable in big cities in Kenya, and these places tended to be the country's political epicenters. Political movements formed in informal settlement areas along ethnic lines immediately after the conclusion of the Second World War. These movements quickly took on a global dimension and increased their level of fury. In contrast to the claims of others, Gem underwent a political transformation during this time period as a result of the scholastic progress of its residents and their participation in activities that were not limited to the local level. Proponents of national political development in Kenya included major characters such as Apolo Ohanga, Argwings Kodhek, Isaac Omolo Okero, and Professor Wasawo, whose political actions were copied by other politicians who were emerging (Okelo, O.I, EK14, 21 /1/2021). (Okelo, O.I., EK14, 21 /1/2021).

3.9.2 Argwings Kodhek

Argwings Kodhek was involved in political struggles throughout Kenya's history, from the colonial era through the early days of the nation's independence. After the K.A.U. was outlawed, he began his political career in Nairobi, which was at the time under a state of emergency. In Nairobi, he joined the trade unions. He established the Nairobi African District Congress (NADC), which was ultimately unsuccessful in its competition with Tom Mboya's Nairobi People Congress (NPC). The defeat caused him to lose interest in urban politics, and once they gained their independence, he refocused his political efforts on Luo Nyanza. In addition to that, he was one of the legal minds behind the Kenya African Union (KANU) at the Lancaster House Conference, where he assisted in dealing with the legal consequences of the situation. As a consequence of this, he was acknowledged by individuals such as D.O.

Makasembo, Tom Mboya, and Jaramogi Oginga as Luo leaders. (Originally published in Nation on Saturday, January 26, 2019; most recent version published on June 28, 2021).

Politically, Argwings Kodhek was known as the Mau Mau lawyer and champion of human rights by colonialists. Argwings Kodhek was active in the Mau Mau movement. 1923 saw the birth of Argwings Kodhek in the North Gem community of Malang Village. He studied at St. Mary Yala earned his Cambridge Certificate there and later attended St. Mary's Kisubi College. After moving back to Kenya, he began his career as an educator at Kapsabet School, where he remained until 1947. Argwings Kodhek first met Daniel Moi in Kapsabet School, which is also where the two of them taught together. In 1957, during the height of the Mau-Mau struggle, he was the first Kenyan and the first African to operate a private legal business. Despite the fact that law at the time prohibited marriages between people of different races, he wed a white lady whose name was Mavis Tate (Ogot, 2003).

Kodhek attended Makerere College from 1937 through 1940, earning a certificate in education there. Other notable leaders of East Africa, such as Milton Obote, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Kabaka Mutesa II, and Mwai Kibaki, had also attended this institution. This was his first experience with the outside world, during which he conversed with other Africans living in the area about the nature of colonialism on the African continent. This was his first exposure to the outside world. Later on, he was awarded a scholarship by the government to attend the University of Cardiff to study social science. However, due to his strong interest in the study of law, his scholarship was revoked after just one year. Despite this setback, he continued his legal education at the University of St. Andrews with the assistance of his parents' financial backing. He went on to become a barrister and was accepted into the prestigious Lanoline Inn, both of which were unthinkable accomplishments for an African at the time. Kodhek was the first person from East Africa to graduate with a degree in law, and he did it only a few months before Kenya declared a state of emergency (Ogot, 2003).

His graduation from law school occurred at the same time as Jomo Kenyatta's Kenya African Union (KAU) was being established in 1951. This organization claimed independence within three years. To the astonishment of his friends, Kodhek quit his

well-paying work in the United Kingdom in 1952 in order to go to Kenya and participate in the political battle there. During his time as a student in the United Kingdom, he took part in discussions and debates on topics like democracy, human rights, and equality; these are principles that he later worked to promote in his own nation. For example, he delivered a daring speech at Bahati (Nairobi) for Kenyan independence when he was fighting for democracy.

In the speech, he said, "This country has eight million Africans, and if we want freedom, we want it now." He was advocating for Kenya's independence at the time. In his role as a human rights activist, he maintained that human rights cannot be separated and that freedom cannot be applicable in Western countries but not in African countries. He insisted on adhering to the natural justice notion that is prevalent in the legal systems of Western nations and European countries in Africa. As a result, he committed himself to protecting Mau warriors and was quite successful in doing so. The majority of the cases were taken up by him as part of his pro bono work in the Colonial Courts in different locations in the Central and Nairobi provinces (O.I, EM7: 18/1/2021).

For example, he was successful in defending forty-eight individuals accused of participating in the Lari Massacre, which resulted in the death of Chief Luka Kahangara. According to Ogot (2003), he was successful in defending Waruru Kanja, who subsequently became an MP. and minister, from being convicted of capital crime. This prevented Waruru Kanja from being sentenced to death. During the conflict that led to the nation's independence. Infected Kodhek, Achieng Oneko, and Ekana Ereko are all examples of how the Mau Mau Movement has attempted to demonstrate its commitment to ethnic variety. Because of this, he was referred to as a "Mau Mau lawyer" by the western press, a reputation that was later discredited in 1957. In addition to this, he established a significant network with journalists and members of parliament in the UK, and he made use of these ties in order to bring the Hola Massacre to the attention of the international community at a time when the colonial authority attempted to cover it up. This was made possible by the House of Commons and press networks that he had developed when he was in the UK for school. He compared the Massacre to the concentration camps used by the Nazis, which caused outrage on a

global scale (O.I. EY4: 17/ 2/2021). His description of colonial atrocities done against African inmates on behalf of the British government led to widespread outrage.

In addition, once the political parties were outlawed, he followed in the footsteps of Mboya and other nationalists with worldwide links by becoming a member of the labor movement. Within the Workers' Union. Because of his training as a lawyer, he was able to advocate for better working conditions for Africans. In fact, after joining the state law office with Charles Njonjo, who later became the first African attorney general, he left in protest of equal work for equal pay because he was paid three times less than his European counterpart. This enabled him to advocate for better working conditions for Africans. Later, during the election that took place in 1957, he selected Mboya as an American Stooge as a reaction to the international link that he had, while putting himself in the role of a patriot. Kodhek did not align himself as a diplomat and rose to become minister of foreign affairs (O.I, EU 5: 18/ 1 /2021). During the time of the Cold War, he attempted to bridge the gap between Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Tom Mboya, who broadly speaking sympathized with the political standpoints of the USSR and the USA, respectively. However, he was unsuccessful in this endeavor.

The political actions of Argwings Kodhek, in general, encompassed the whole time period from the colonial era to the early days of independent Kenya. It was in Nairobi, under the period of emergency, that he first became involved in politics. At that time, he was a member of the trade unions following the KAU banner. He established the Nairobi African District Congress (NADC), which was unsuccessful in its competition with Tom Mboya's Nairobi Peoples Convection (NPC). Following the defeat, he lost interest in Urban Politics and refocused his political efforts on Luo Nyanza in preparation for the country's independence. During the Lancaster House meeting, he was also a member of the legal team of the Kenya African Union (KANU), where he assisted in dealing with legal problems. As a consequence of this, he was acknowledged by individuals such as D.O. Makasembo, Tom Mboya, and Jaramogi Oginga as a Luo leader (Odhiambo, 2003). Because of Argwings Kodhek Gem, which at the time of the colonial occupation was nothing more than a site, Argwings Kodhek Gem was thrust into the spotlight of world politics. On the eve of the departure of British colonialists from Kenya, Gem was the only site that had produced two warriors

who had a significant impact on national politics (O.I, EU5: 18/1/2021). These veterans were Apollo Ohanga and Argwings Kodhek.

3.9.3 Professor David Peter Simon Wasawo (17th May 1923-4th February 2014)

Born on May 17th, 1923 in Siaya County, Gem sub-county, Gem constituency, South Gem Location, Onyinyore sub-location, Professor David Simon Wasawo is a member of the Gem sub-county. Petro Onango Osare and Ana Omondi were his parents. He was an only child. As a result of the fact that his parents were among the first people to join CMS, he spent his early childhood years attending Sunday school at the Ramula CMS School and reading the Bible there. This was part of the sequence of missionary curriculum. In 1937, he enrolled at Maseno School, and from 1942 to 1943, he studied at Alliance High School, where he was taught by the mathematician Edward Carey Francis. Years later, when asked who the smartest student he had ever instructed was, Francis said, "By a long shot, David Wasawo." In 1944, Wasawo enrolled at Makere University, which at the time was the only institution in Uganda that awarded degrees only to African students.

Because of his intense concentration on biology and his outstanding academic performance, the headmaster of Makere College decided to fully sponsor Wasawo's enrollment at Oxford University in the United Kingdom. In 1951, he was the first person from East Africa to get a degree in a scientific discipline when he was presented with a Master of Arts in Zoology degree. Wasawo received his doctoral degree from the University of London in the year 1959. Early education among Gem natives was a positive gesture that other Gem natives, who placed a high value on education as the most important factor in achieving economic and political stability, might model after. When Wasawo finally got back from his travels in Europe, the majority of South Gem's indigenous people finally understood why it was so vital to have an education. According to what Zadock Oluoch, the first head teacher of Ramula primary school and Kambare intermediate, said, "Ber budho but buk ber biro bange; (B x7)," it is preferable to take your time and remain in close proximity to a book so that you would feel good later on. Luo was responsible for a lot of the administrative labor, but the bulk of the tasks came from Gem (O.I. EW6: 18/1/2021).

3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, we come to the conclusion that the club-like procedures that governed the behavior of chiefs in pre-colonial times were fundamentally changed as a result of the British government's indirect authority. Because of the salary provided to them by the British government, chiefs were no longer wholly reliant on the residents of their territories for their financial support. The political struggle that existed between the many chiefdoms was hampered as a result of British consolidation efforts. Political rivalry for the job of chief was also removed since the chief had access to the British resident, who crushed any attempts to topple him or to nominate a new chief. This led to the elimination of political competition for the position of chief.

The chiefs' incentives to be responsible to their residents were undermined as a consequence of the appeals for the Resident's protection, which led to rampant extortion as well as a flagrant contempt for the conventional constitutional checks. During the time of colonial rule, the constitutional safeguards that had been in existence before, during the time before colonial rule, were dismantled. And despite the fact that the political leaders under British colonial rule were the same ones that the citizens had chosen before colonial rule and who had been constrained before colonial rule, chiefs began acting in predatory ways to such an extent that corruption and bribery became the norm during the time of colonization.

The majority of Gem's pre-colonial ruodhi (chiefs), who, after the arrival of the colonial authority, cooperated with the new power and maintained their positions in the new political system, were able to keep their posts. In the new political structure, these kings were given additional authority as well as more prestige and money. The colonial government granted the Kadimo clan leaders the authority to enact tax schemes that were not only fraudulent but also arbitrary and exploitative. They indicated, via this conduct, that they were no longer serving the interests of their people, but rather, their own interests and the interests of their employers, the government of the colony in which they were employed.

It was also determined that there were no instances of colonial demonstrations among the Gem people against the colonial authority that was represented by the chiefs in Gem. This was confirmed by the findings of the investigation. In addition, members of

the Gem clan served as representatives on both the colonial government's Legislative Council and the local Native Council. Both of these bodies had been founded by the colonial administration in an effort to improve levels of participation across the colony.

CHAPTER FOUR: PARTICIPATION OF GEM PEOPLE IN KENYA'S NATIONALIST POLITICS (1964-2020)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the political concerns that have arisen in Gem from 1963 up to the year 2020, with a particular emphasis on the political leanings of clans and voting patterns. Within the scope of this investigation, the historical roots of the Luo ethnic component in Kenyan national politics are investigated. The emergence of the ethnic component may be traced back to the beginning of the social transition in the precolonial era. And this went down in a manner that was unique throughout the many Luo areas. The national leadership of Kenya, when the country gained its independence, provided a framework for the new patterns of social conduct. Policies were created by a new administration that was headed by Jomo Kenyatta. These policies provided all activities and districts with direction.

The Gem community eventually developed into a centralized organization with a shared hereditary leadership structure, in which clan loyalty played a significant part in the decision-making process. Gem, notably during the colonial era, enjoyed a greater degree of development, particularly in the fields of education, communications, and grain production; this growth helped to consolidate the preexisting clan structure. Following the establishment of elections, there has been a process of selective modernization in local politics, wherein both modern' and 'traditional' values have coexisted. This is the central contention of the study as a whole, and it is also the most important part of the argument.

Therefore, the institution of elections has not functioned only under the influence of ideals; rather, elections have been identified with western democracies, particularly the decisive role that parties play in electoral politics. Therefore, the initial organization of elections for independence in Kenya, which was supported by a strong commitment to nationalism, demonstrated what appeared to be a triumph of traditional elements over modernity in the election process. This was evidenced by the ascendancy of traditional forces of ethnicity or clanism in the politics that followed independence. In point of fact, even powerful nationalists in Gem, such as Argwings-Kodhek, had their influence stemmed from their ethnic background in Luoland. Because of the nature of politics in the post-independence period, they had no choice but to rely on this power base.

In this context, it is important to highlight the events that took place in 1966 and led to the establishment of the KPU as well as the abrupt transition to a one-party state in 1969. As a direct result of this, Luoland has been thrown into a crisis of leadership and political involvement, which is particularly noticeable in electoral politics. As a consequence of this, the Luo ethnic element has become a substantial, if not a vital, role in elections in almost all of seats in Luoland.

4.2 Social Transformation in Central Nyanza

The Siaya district was the Center of Central Nyanza district up to 1968. Siaya district has also historically been in the forefront of Luo political affairs. This may be traced back to the 1920s, with the beginning of organizations for nationalist struggle taking place concurrently in Central Province at the same time as it did elsewhere. The term *Piny Owacho* was merely a designation of the "unanimous and unified voice of "the Luo " against the evils of colonialism. This was the first nationalist movement of its kind, and it came to be known as Piny Owacho. The movement's leadership and its center of operations were both located in Central Nyanza.

In a similar fashion, Central Nyanza played an important part in other Luo political organizations that came into existence in the future, such as the Young Kavirondo Association, the Kavirondo Tazpayer's Welfare Association, the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation, the Luo Union (East Africa), and others. During the 1950s, there was a politically motivated opposition to the development policies that the colonial administration was enacting, such as land consolidation. This opposition began in the 1950s. The region of Central Nyanza was in the vanguard. Even outside of Luo-land, the bulk of renowned Luo leaders in many areas and organizations have throughout the years primarily originated from Central Nyanza. This trend has continued even after Luo-land was established.

This dominating position of Central Nyanza is mostly due to the socio-economic changes that were put in motion by colonization and which have had the impact throughout the course of time. Over time, more and more of its people made the transition from a pre-capitalist economy based on subsistence to a market one based on capitalism. Building a communications infrastructure that opened up the region and placed central Nyanza in a more advantageous position in comparison to the rest of Luo

country was the primary source of origins and the driving force behind this process. It was also the driving force behind this process. The British colonizers wanted to construct one colonial economic unit, therefore one of their goals was to build communication connections between Kenya and Uganda, as well as Tanganyika. This gave Tanganyika a more advantageous position than it would have otherwise had. A branch line to Butere was added to the main Mombasa-Kisumu railway line, and a major road leading towards Busia was built, both of which pass through Central Nyanza. Not to mention the potential of transit over the waters of Lake Victoria.

Because of this, Kisumu, the capital of Central Nyanza and indeed all of western Kenya, became the center of nearly all socioeconomic activity among the Luo people. Kisumu serves as the headquarters of Central Nyanza. Along these communication lines, there emerged a number of tiny centers, such as Yala, Luanda, and Maseno, amongst others. These centres were primarily used for purposes of small-scale retail commerce, and Asian merchants had a dominant position in them. On the other hand, Central Nyanza had a much bigger percentage of these than other regions. Furthermore, the introduction of economic change by colonial administrators in the form of new cash crops such as cotton, maize, etc. first occurred along communication routes for the ease of administration, or rather supervision, and eventual transportation for marketing purposes. This was done for the purpose of simplifying the process.

It should come as no surprise that this indicated that Central Nyanza, in general, and individuals who resided in these regions, in particular, had a head start in terms of economic progress. The new economic trend required the goods to be sold in Kisumu before they could be transported by rail to the port of Mombasa. This was an essential component of the new economic pattern. Because of this, people who lived in close proximity to these routes, in addition to starting to create goods for sale rather than just for their own sustenance, also served as porters of goods to Kisumu. On their way back, in addition to taking up a few fundamentals of the new style of commerce and exchange, they brought the numerous consumer products that were becoming more accessible in stores located in Kisumu.

The introduction of formal education, which was brought by the missionaries as part of a package along with Christianity and hospitals, was another major force in this social

transformation process. In particular, the building of more schools in the district, most notably two high schools, St. Mary's Yala and Maseno, which were for a long time the only high schools in Luoland, gave Central Nyanza a head start in the conversion to the new socio-economic system that the colonizers established. At first, the colonialists had to resort to the use of force in order to collect labor from C. Nyanza and other areas of western Kenya, which served as a labor reservoir for the colony.

However, with the adoption of new values, primarily as a result of education, a new trend that became much more significant was the voluntary urban migration to cities as far afield as Nairobi, Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, and Kampala in order to locate salaried employment. This migration occurred in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. In point of fact, at a later stage, the colonial government was faced with the task of controlling this unexpected rate of population movement and had to devise measures such as the "kipande (ID) system in order to stall the high rate of migration. However, it is to be expected all the same that regions such as C. Nyanza, which had been exposed for a longer time to the new social forces, especially education, had to have relatively higher levels of migration.

In any case, it is essential to keep in mind that the migrants, both on an individual and collective level, believed that their safety could be found in their homeland, where their families and other relatives continued to work the land. As a result, they frequently went back to their homes in the countryside, bringing with them to the cities the food that they had grown on their own farms in order to supplement their meager earnings. And when it came time for the migrant workers' whole time spent working in the city to come to an end, they left in order to return and make a permanent settlement on their own land, which is also where they were laid to rest after they passed away.

The migrants started emerging as a distinct group of "men of ideas" that automatically assumed leadership within the community as a result of the new values and goods they brought back home from their time spent outside their homeland. This was one of the most significant outcomes of their time spent outside their homeland. In addition, since they had a stake in the land, they took a strong interest in all of the events that occurred in their homeland. They organized themselves according to kinship, clans, localities, and other factors in order to advance and defend their interest in the land.

We should also unite with people engaged locally in the rural regions in government service, such as chiefs, agricultural workers, teachers, councilors, and so on. This is owing to their seeming mutual interest as men of ideas. In a somewhat different setting, students who attended boarding high schools began to organize themselves into various associations. These associations were formed on the basis of a single location, such as Gem, Alego, or Ugenya; clusters of locations that were close together, such as Sakwa, Uyoma, Asembo, Yimbo, and Seme; or Kisumu, Kano, and Nyakach, depending on the number of students who came from these areas. The student was exposed to a variety of local and other organizations, which they subsequently joined, particularly in the metropolitan regions, which saw an increase in the number of migrants as a result of their membership in such groups. However, it is important to note that these future men of ideas were also singled out as a distinct group within the community. This was especially the case as a result of the fact that they spent several weeks away from home and the tea parties that they organized during the summer specifically for themselves.

Due to the fact that they went through these experiences, it was unreasonable to anticipate that they would continue to be entirely tied to conventional standards, and one can see a weakening of the links that held their group tightly linked together. For those individuals, it was no longer practical to organize on the basis of locations, given their smaller numbers; however, they were all the same in that they had attained the coveted achievement of having reached the highest institution of learning. Another smaller clique emerged, and it was formed by those individuals who initially attended only Makerere, and later the three universities of East Africa. These were the thinkers and philosophers who made up the most important part of the group of men of ideas.

Their insistence in the late sixties that individuals who went to colleges in other countries, such as the United States of America or India, could not be members of their organization, the Luo Students League, provided even more evidence of the restrictive character of this group's clique (UEA). They held their annual dinner and dance, which was known as the Reunion and was formerly known as the Makerere dance. This event was a big deal for all of Luoland in the 1950s and 1960s, and nearly all of the highly educated and prominent Luo men and women traveled to Kisumu at the end of each year to attend it. This was due to the high regard in which the clique was held within

the community. This specific group distanced themselves farther from the larger society and became less constrained by the rules of traditional societies.

The preceding descriptive study of social change demonstrates quite clearly that social transformation does not take place in a consistent manner, even in regions such as Luoland, which are thought to be places where tradition is believed to be maintained. This is simply due to the fact that change occurs in an inconsistent manner in rural regions, as was previously mentioned. Therefore, one may expect to see variances in social change even within the former Central Nyanza area, which is now known as the Gem district.

Beginning in 1963, Gem was a constituency that included two significant localities that were part of the Maseno Division of the Kisumu District. In 1968, a suggestion was made to establish Siaya District, which eventually led to the formation of the Yala division (FGD 2: 19/2/2021). After this, new locational borders were established between the years 1964 and 1978. This followed the previous step. There was dissatisfaction among the various clans as a result of the construction of new sites. Because certain clans saw them as the invention of the Ojuodhi clan, which at the time was the sole governing class, they were the only ones in power. The vast majority of resources for constituency development may be found in either North Gem or East Gem. Yala, which was located at the most southwestern point of Siaya County and Kakamega County, was chosen to serve as the district's administrative center. As a direct result of this, the police station was put in place in Yala right adjacent to the district officer's office.

This enhanced safety in the neighborhood has likely also led to an increase in the economic stability of the neighborhood, however this has come at the price of certain adjacent neighborhoods. People living in South Gem (Kanyikwaya), which is located on the boundary of Seme (Kisumu), Sakwa (Bondo), and Asembo, were among those who suffered the most devastating effects (Rarieda). The fact that the region was geographically separated from the administrative headquarters, the police station, the tarmacked roads, the railway, and the health services caused the area to continue to lag behind economically. To make matters even more difficult, the Ojuodhi people

continued to refer to Kanyikwaya and Kathomo (South Gem) as Jokwath, which is the Ojuodhi word for herders, according to a focus group discussion (FGD3: 25/1/2021).

Since the arrival of the railway station in Yala, the inhabitants of East Gem have maintained the tradition of proudly discriminating among members of their own clan. The nature of that particular sort of pride held by East Gem people exacerbated the tensions that already existed between South Gem people and East Gem people. People living in East and North Gem cherished the independence that came with the development of educated Kenyans. Additionally, the area benefited from the paved road that was part of the Trans-African highway, which helped to strengthen the contact between the indigenous people of the country and outsiders. The downsizing of the police station in Yala, which led to an increase in the number of Asians settling there as businessmen, created a chance for highbred social revolution in the area. According to the findings of a focus group discussion (FGD 2: 19/2/2021), the building of Yala white sugar contributed to an increase in the level of social contact in the area. In addition, the development of the plant increased the number of immigrants who settled in the area.

According to the FGD2; 19/2/2021, Gem voters from other regions, in addition to those who hailed from Ojuodhi (North and East Gem), continued to agitate for an equal share of allocation of constituency projects. They had been asking that there be an equivalent improvement in the infrastructure and distribution of social services, as well as an increase in education and the capacity to maintain food supplies. In spite of this, it is abundantly evident that none of these things ever occurred; rather, the districts that consistently produce political leaders have always been wealthier since the country's independence. To give you an example, agricultural production, which had historically been the responsibility of a certain functionary of the national government, was handed over to individual farmers so that they could make their own judgments. In the Gem focus group discussion (FGD 2: 19/2/2021), participants noted that the production of sugarcane and other resources was impacted by national and global factors that had an effect on the economic balance.

Because of the importance of wealth as a pathway to power, and the importance of political power as a pathway to acquire both wealth and access to state resources, the

same elites dominate both politics and economics and fight their battles in both spheres. This is because wealth is a pathway to power, and political power is a pathway to acquire both wealth and access to state resources. Political power may be converted into economic power by exercising control over the state; economic power can be converted into political power via the use of patronage politics. Corruption may be seen as a political, administrative, economic, and social phenomenon all at the same time.

The political pressure exerted by the Gem people has also had a significant impact on the macro-economic performance of the community. Investment and tourism are encouraged when ties are positive and there is convergence on international concerns. The provision of foreign assistance and financial support is a political process that is driven by the degree of alignment between the governing elite and Western interests, as well as the behaviors of the elite. This alignment is measured by the degree to which help is granted or withheld. The history of structural adjustment demonstrates that the decision to give or deny assistance has only a tangential relationship to the real changes that are implemented by governments. This was the topic of discussion during focus group discussion (FGD 2: 19/2/2021).

4.3 Gem Politics of 1963-1969

The most important aspect that was looked at was how the Gem people dealt with the advent of national independence in December 1963. The new political climate permeated the whole of the nation, and Gem quickly established himself as one of the key actors. Politicians in the 1960s played less of the role of advocates for clearly delineated ethnic groupings and more of the role of separatist propagandists. To argue that politicians all make the same sorts of assertions in a broad sense is, however, a very incorrect assumption to make. In Kenya, there were significant differences in the nature of ethnic claims made at the local, national, and grassroots levels, both between constituencies and within a single constituency over the course of time. These differences occurred at all levels: local, national, and grassroots. Discussions with focus groups, (First General Draft, January 19, 2021).

This is the time when the authority was transferred from the colonial administration to the government of Kenya, which was headed at the time by Jomo Kenyatta, who was elected as the president of Kenya. The Ojuodhi clan, together with the chief administrator, had a position of prominence in the political leadership of Gem, placing

it ahead of other clans. It is important to mention that the Kogola Sub-clan was the most powerful sub-clan in the Ojuodhi tribe. For instance, during the election for parliamentary representative, Beanie Apollo Ohangla, who had previously been nominated to legislative council by the British Colonial Administration, struggled to compete for the position of Gem constituency member of parliament. This was a challenge for him because of the nomination he had received. This was due to the concern of hostility with Argwings Kodhek, who had become renowned among local Kenyans for his work as a lawyer representing Mau-Mau veterans. He was also aware of the power struggle going on inside the Gem clan, which he knew would give his side a bad reputation among the other clan members. As a result, he made the decision to leave politics and instead entered the civil service, focus group discussion, and (FGD, May 10th 2021).

The other observation that was made during the focus group discussion on the 19th of April 2021 was that in March 1966, the Vice President, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, established an opposition party called Kenya Peoples Union (KPU), which adhered to a socialist policy. This was shown to be the case during the FGD. Members of the KPU were interested in seeing to it that the once White-held highlands were freely distributed among the landless. In 1969, however, authorities put a stop to this festivity. As a consequence of this, the Kenyan parliament decided in 1982 that the country should become a one-party state with KANU as the only political organization. This change was made in section 2a of the Kenyan constitution, which was eventually overturned in 1991 by Parliament; nonetheless, KANU continued to serve as the governing party after the change. (FGD7: 2/3/ 2021).

After this, Argwings Kodhek, a smart and talented lawyer from Malanga who belonged to the Ojuodhi clan, was favored and elected as the Member of Parliament of Gem in 1961. He did so because he was from Malanga. One of the ways in which contentious interactions between the Luo of Gem and Banyore manifested themselves in the post-independence era was in the delineation of administrative borders.

At 1.30 in the morning on February 24th, 1963, unknown individuals set fire to the residence of Argwings Kodhek, which was located in the Malanga sub-location. According to the findings of the early inquiry, the suspected criminals were local

Luhya individuals who made their homes in the sub-location. Argwings Kodhek, who frequently boasted that it was because of him that Malanga and Maliera sub-locations of North Gem had been retained in Gem in Central Nyanza against the demand by Butere MP, was said to have been the person who instigated the attack. It was said that the attack had been instigated by Kodhek. It was Hon. Martin Shikuku's intention to move the area over to Western Province. It is possible that the discontent of the Luhya, who had been separated from the bulk of their relatives in Western Province as a result of the border, was the primary motivating factor behind the act of arson (KNA, ADM / 18A-G 23/101 1969 Boundary Disputes).

One other cause of contention was found inside the Church Missionary Society, namely in the hierarchy of the organization. The primary disagreements and feelings of discontent were from members of the Bunyore community. These individuals said that although the missionary center was located on the border between Kisumu and Bunyore, it was still excessively controlled by Luo counterparts from the Maseno Diocese. To add some gravity to the situation, the Gem people were the most dominant of the groups. This unfavorable response began almost immediately after Kenya got its independence. For example, the border conflicts between Bunyore and Kisumu, Bunyore and Gem, and Bunyore and Seme reached their peak in the early 1960s (KNA / 1 A / 187, 1964:5).

As a direct result of this, the police were able to apprehend a combined total of 21 people in the Luanda and Miekhe regions. The bulk of individuals taken into custody were Banyore people hailing from the interior districts of Western Province, as opposed to Luhya people who were residents of the surrounding area. It was also said that they were brought there from the city of Maragoli, which is located in Western Province. There were also rumors going around that influential figures from western Kenya were responsible for the quick spread of negativity across the area. One of the people who have been connected to this occurrence is Martin Shikuku, who is said to have threatened the Luo community of Ruwe in Butere with forced circumcision and removal from the region at a meeting that took place on May 29, 1965 in Muhanda. This meeting took place on the same day. because tensions along the border were at an all-time high during that time period. Statements made by Shikuku were seen as very

harmful to the cohesion of different ethnic groups (KNA / ADM/ 1 A / 29/ 5/ 1965, REF/ C. 6 /7).

In a similar manner, in Maseno, the Member of Parliament for Emuhaya, Erick Khasakhala, was accused of inciting the ethnic conflict between the Luhya and the Luo around Maseno by financing the transportation of people from Western Province to conduct the exercise of burning Luo houses. This was done in order to incite the conflict between the Luhya and the Luo. It is believed that he incited the Luhya in Maseno to fight for the establishment of a new border between the Luo and the Luhya on February 4, 1963 at Koyonza (KNA / AD/ 28 / 4/12, 1963).

After the tragedy that transpired in 1969 and had an impact on the nation as well as his Luo community, things began to shift. As a result of the passing of Cabinet Ministers and MP of Gem Hon Argwings Kodhek in February 1968 and Mboya in July 1969, the Luo people of Nyanza backed Jaramogi Odinga in his efforts to promote Kenya People's Party politics (KPU). As was noted previously, Argwings Kodhek was the first African lawyer to operate in Kenya. Gem people were certain that only another lawyer could replace the position he had as the first African lawyer to work in Kenya. Okero and Wycliffe were the two Rading Omolo who emerged as a potential candidate and received support from incumbent President Jomo Kenyatta. The fact that Okero was a member of the Ojuodhi clan gave him an additional edge. Another candidate was a lawyer from the Ojuodhi clan who hailed from the same Malang village as Argwings Kodhek did. His name was Rading Omolo. The two competing candidates for the KANU party ticket, one of them was Rading Omolo (F.G.D February, 23rd 2021).

Wasonga Sijeyo, a former prisoner of the Mau-Mau movement who was imprisoned in Kamiti Maximum jail for inciting rebellion among young people against the colonialists, was a member of the opposition. In addition, he made a significant contribution to the fight for independence by being the person who brought Jomo Kenyatta and KANU into Nakuru at a time when the leaders of KADU had proclaimed the city to be off-limits to members of any other party. Wasonga Sijeyo had an edge in this race due to the fact that he had previously served as a senator for Nakuru Town, which gave him a deeper familiarity with the political climate of the nation. Sijeyo had an additional advantage given that he was running for office under the banner of the

KPU party ticket, which is a Luo-dominated party. Throughout the same period, candidates for the KPU made allegations during their campaign that Argwings Kodhek, Discussion in small groups with a focus (First Global Day, February 23, 2021).

The governing party used every strategy available to persuade Gem voters that the KPU candidate, who was one of the most ardent followers of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, was not worthy of their vote (the KANU rebel). During the election campaign, the party in power was worried about ways to entice Gem people with the promise of tasty fruits they would collect if they voted for KANU. Wasonga Sijeyo had two huddles in front of him that he needed to safely leap over, and this fact has to be grasped. The first of them was the fact that he did not originate from Ojuodhi (the ruling clan). Since he was from Niagara Jomwa (Bantu), an integrated clan that resided among the Karariw sub-tribe of the Kwenda clan, who lived in Siriwo in Central Gem, he was welcomed into their community. In contrast to all of those previously listed, he did not belong to any of the feuding clans, which turned out to be a benefit (Kwenda nor Ojuodhi).

The fact that he was just a carpenter with a low level of education in comparison to a lawyer was the second difficulty he faced. Isaac Omolo Okero was ahead in his election as Gem MP on a KPU ticket; however, Wasonga Sijeyo, who was from Siriwo Sub-location, beat him and won the poll. Since he was also from the Ojuodhi clan, which was where the late MP came from, he found favorable ground. Additionally, Omolo Okero was a member of the same clan. Even though he won the election, he was imprisoned together with Oginga Odinga and other KPU MPs, and as a result, he was unable to serve out the remainder of his tenure. Focus group discussion (F.G.D, February, 23rd 2021).

According to the findings of the Focus Group Discussion that took place on February 23rd, 2021, Gem Member of Parliament Mr. Wasonga Sijeyo did not serve as an area MP and did not finish his parliamentary term because of the heated political climate in Luo Nyanza. The majority of members of the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) who were serving in the national parliament at the time of the Kisumu massacre in 1969 were booted out of office as can be seen in the following list. This event caused them to lose their seats in the legislature. The Gem constituency was once again presented with a new obstacle, which was the question of how to locate an additional guy who could

satisfy the equation of clan segregation. These members of parliament, together with the member of parliament representing the Gem Constituency, were threatened with the possibility of losing their seats in parliament (Wasonga Sijeyo).

- Okuto Bala (Nyando)
- Ondiek Chilo (Nyakach)
- Joseph Mwasia Nthula (Iveti South)
- Bildad Kaggia (Kandara)
- Achieng Oneko (Nakuru)
- Luke Rarieya Obok (Alego)
- George Fredrick Oduya (Elgon West)
- John Odero-Sar (Ugenya)
- Oginga Odinga (Bondo)
- Tom Okello-Odong (Kisumu Rural)
- Wasonga Sijeyo (Gem)

The following were elected with KANU ticket to replace the detained MPs:

- Odongo Omamo (Bondo)
- Mathew Ogutu (Ugenya)
- Peter Okudo (Alego Usonga)
- Grace Onyango (Kisumu)
- Denis Akumu (Nyakach)
- Okiki Amayo (Karachuonyo)
- Lawrence Oguda (Migori)

The Consolidation of the Kenyatta State Jomo Kenyatta, Tom Mboya and their allies were now ready to strike against the Odinga faction and the radicals. They did so decisively, leaving them no choice but to leave KANU. The resulting period of multi-party competition never took a democratic form. The constitutional amendment that led to the Little General Election, the extension of detention without trial, the refusal to register the opposition to Kenya People's Union (KPU)'s branches, the banning of its meetings, the arrests and jailing of activists, and threats against KPU members all reflected a partisan state, both able and willing to eliminate opposition.¹ As a result, KANU drove the KPU back into its sole secure area, the party's ethnic heartland in Nyanza. This conflict alienated the Luo community from the Kenyatta state and created an antipathy between Kikuyu and Luo that was to endure for decades. An increasingly authoritarian and nepotistic governing elite appeared entrenched in power, buttressed by its ability to deliver growth and security. Western governments and businesses

remained supportive of Kenyatta and the Kenya model, focus group discussion (FGD 9; 4/3/2021).

The national economy was booming, backed by strong foreign investment, the shifter insurrection was defeated and, though there were warning signs of elite corruption and bureaucratic decline, these had not yet undermined the functioning of the state. With the Luo and the radicals driven out of power, the late 1960s began to entrench the advantages that the Kikuyu had recently reasserted in the exploitation of state resources. Bureaucratic centralism based around a powerful presidency was enshrined in both law and practice. The contest for the presidential succession continued but was now between the ‘Gatundu group’ of Kiambu insiders and Mboya and his allies. This second, lower-key power struggle ended with Mboya’s murder in 1969. This took Kenya into a dangerous period – mass ethnic violence or civil insurrection was a real possibility – that ended in mass detentions, the banning of Odinga’s opposition party and a return to single-party rule. But the government weathered these storm and closed out the 1960s in full control: Kenyatta’s rivals fully incorporated into the political system, dead or in detention (FGD 9; 4/3/2021).

The Formation of the Opposition and the State’s Response Unable to continue the fight from within, Odinga and his allies decided that constitutional opposition was their only recourse. They were too proud to beg Kenyatta for forgiveness and too popular to abandon a position they felt was just. A few days after the Limuru conference, a group of individuals, including pro-Odinga activist Oyangi Mbaja, applied to register a new political party: the Kenya People’s Union (KPU). However, the government was not ready to accept Odinga’s departure with equanimity. In March 1966, the government banned a series of his meetings, claiming he did not have meeting licenses. Soon after, Moi alleged that ‘foreign powers’ had poured money into Kenya to overthrow the government Focus group discussion (FGD 8: 3/3 2021).

Communist diplomats and journalists were expelled during March, a clearing-out of suspected spies or conduits of funds to Odinga. On 14 April 1966, Odinga finally resigned as vice- president, and one by one, he and his allies resigned from KANU. His resignation statement explained that he refused to be part of a government ruled by ‘underground masters’ serving foreign interests, and accused the Limuru conference of

being rigged.¹⁵ On 25 April, Luo Information and Broadcasting Minister Ramogi Acheng-Oneko also resigned, the only minister to join Odinga. He too attacked Kenyatta's government as no longer non-aligned, but capitalist and linked militarily with Britain, and rejected Kenyatta's policies on land, foreign affairs, federation and agriculture. On 26 April, Odinga announced that his group had joined the KPU. The goal of the KPU leadership was to create a more left-wing party, oppose the growing conservatism and Western orientation of the KANU leadership and restructure politics along class and socio-economic grounds. Odinga was forced into this position by the ideological, focus group discussion (FGD 10: 7/3/2021)

The three short years of multi-party activities were marred by more serious abuses conducted against a political party at any time before or since in Kenya's history. His Western patrons were compelled to tacitly endorse Kenyatta's tactics for survival. One-fifth of the parliamentary party totalling 31 MPs declared their loyalties to the KPU. Ten of them, including Kaggia, Acheng Oneko, Oprong Oduya, J. D. Kali, Zephaniah Anyone and Assistant Minister Tom Okelo-Odongo, were true 'radicals. Six more were allies and clients of Odinga from Central Nyanza, supporters since the days of Luo Thrift and Trading. More surprising, half the defectors were senators and MPs from pastoralist areas such as Baringo, who appeared to be backing Odinga more as a protest against government neglect than ideological sympathy (KII, EL 28; 7/4/ 2021). Okelo Odongo suggested he had the names of 62 MPs (more than a third of Parliament) who had agreed to cross the floor, but the government's harsh reaction soon whittled this number down. The initial plan was to force a general election by bringing down the government, but several allies such as Kamba assistant minister Gideon Mutiso changed their minds. Muliro and Martin Shikuku, too, were closet supporters but decided not to join Odinga. Ngei was a more overt ally. He refused to attend KANU parliamentary group meetings in this period, and several of his allies defected, but he did not take the jump himself, probably because he had been promised his ministerial post back. Assistant Minister Munyua Waiyaki (from Kiambu, but representing Mathare in Nairobi) resigned from the government but renounced his defection to the KPU at the last minute. The new party was even stronger in the trade union movement, although COTU itself remained under Mboya's control. Odinga's resignation from KANU was followed by that of 13 senior trade unionists, including COTU Deputy Secretary General Denis Akumu and Ochola Mak'Anyengo of the Petroleum and Oil

Workers' Union. COTU suspended and then sacked them all. The Dock Workers' Union and others duly walked out of COTU. Kenyatta did not intend to permit fair and open competition between KANU and the KPU, focus group discussion (FGD6: 28/2/2021).

The Little General Election took place between 11 and 26 June 1966. Polls were held in 10 Senate and 19 House seats. Voting was based on the 1962 register of voters, updated in 1965, using the unusual 'one ballot box per candidate' system that had been used in 1961. The KPU nominated all the MPs who had defected to contest their seats. Their KANU opponents were generally local notables with good party connections. The KPU, though weakened by the impact of recent government actions, still had the support of a wide sector of the country. There were KPU MPs in almost every district, although the party was strongest amongst the Luo of Central Nyanza. As well as its bedrock in the Luo, the views of Odinga, Kaggia and Achieng- Oneko had many supporters, while others were simply unhappy with Kenya's Western tilt (FGD6: 28/2/2021).

The government was particularly concerned by the KPU's potential support amongst former Mau-Mau supporters in the Kikuyu peasantry. In line with the views of the radicals since 1960 -1, the KPU's manifesto promised to nationalise foreign-owned industries and to 'break the foreigners' grip on the economy'. In the KPU's view, KANU's African socialism was 'neither African nor socialism. It is a cloak of the practice of total capitalism. The KPU criticised Kenyatta's land policy, neo-colonial influences and how KADU leaders had taken places in the KANU hierarchy. They called for the reallocation of resources to assist the poor and landless, and more cooperative settlement schemes, with land, seized without compensation or at the cost of the British (O.I, EXCL 16: 22/2/2021).

They accepted the irreversibility of land consolidation but demanded a ceiling on land holdings. Their manifesto had to be published abroad and smuggled into Kenya, as no local printer would touch it for fear of the consequences. In response, KANU defended its policies and achievements since independence. Its spokesmen pointed out that nationalization would only drain the country's coffers, defend individual property rights, and criticised the KPU's proposals as economically disastrous. The association,

which it had worked hard to establish, of radicalism with communism was well-mined. Indeed, both parties accused each other of being in the pay of foreign powers. With only 29 seats contested, there was no chance, even if the KPU won every seat, for it to form the next government (O.I., EXCL16: 22/2/2021).

In June 1969, Kenyatta announced that elections would be held within the year. Voter registration was finished by 30 September, with 3.7 million voters having completed the (voluntary) process. The KANU Governing Council nominated Kenyatta as its presidential candidate in August, while the KPU Delegates' Conference nominated Odinga in September. The Assembly approved the election regulations in early October, and the stage was set for the showdown. Observers believed that the KPU would win only 20–30 seats, mainly in Nyanza, the Coast and Western, notwithstanding recent disasters for the government. There was little chance of a fair election even in Nyanza, however, with all meetings of 10 or more people in Kisumu banned in September and the ban extended to the whole province in the run-up to the polls. Despite this, the government decided that it did not wish to take this chance (O.I., EXCL16: 22/2/2021).

As Kenyatta stepped onto the dais and began to speak, people began chanting, “Dume!” fighting broke out. Tear gas was used, and the Presidential Escort fired on the crowd. Calm was restored, but a furious Kenyatta returned to the microphone and continued to speak. He violently abused Odinga and the KPU, threatening that he would have them ‘crushed like a powder’, while Odinga traded taunts with the president. Journalists reported that Odinga then attempted to grab the microphone from Kenyatta and a full-scale riot began. The Presidential Escort and the GSU surrounded the president, shot their way through the ‘threatening’ crowd, and continued shooting for some miles outside the town. Many dozens were killed, including two police officers shot by the president’s security. Virtually all film of the incident was seized and destroyed. Although the official death toll was reported as 11, the new hospital was overflowing with corpses. Kenyatta never set foot in Kisumu again. President Escort Commander Bernard Njiiu later claimed that he narrowly prevented one of his men from killing Odinga. Within 24 hours, Odinga, the KPU MPs and all the remaining national party officials, 22 men in total, had been arrested and detained without trial (O.I., EXCL16: 22/2/2021).

Voice of Kenya announced: 'The cabinet is satisfied beyond any doubt that these men were the people behind the unruly demonstrations at Kisumu.' The state's position was that the trouble was the result of the 'wanton hot-headedness' of people who 'played with fire. On 28 October, Moi called for the banning of the KPU as a subversive organization and alleged there were plans to assassinate Kenyatta. On 30 October, only five weeks before the election, the registrar duly banned the party as 'dangerous to the good government of the Republic of Kenya'. A curfew was imposed in Central Nyanza and Siaya and hundreds were arrested. There was no significant violence, however, and no recorded deaths. Facing an uncompromising opponent, the Luo proved unwilling to take on the state directly. It had been sometimes claimed that the Kisumu incident (as it became known) was deliberately incited by the government as a pretext to ban the KPU. The timing was certainly convenient and the government was sensitive to the ethnic tensions and weakening of its authority that a contested election would cause. However, the anxious faces in photographs and the personal risk to Kenyatta during the incident make this unlikely. The government probably took the chance offered by an unexpected crisis (KII, EL 28; 7/4/ 2021).

The KPU's banning reflected Kenyatta's fury at his inability to crush his enemy politically. It also reflected his refusal to expose his rule to the democratic contest. Although the KPU had little chance of defeating KANU, the illusion of total control that the elites saw as essential to the maintenance of public order (and their place at the top) would have been shattered. Western reactions were muted. As long as Odinga remained on the stage, the existing regime had to be supported, warts and all. In contrast, the foreign radical press denounced the banning as an 'Obvious admission by the President of how utterly discredited he is in his own country and of how impossible it is for him to retain power by democratic means' (FGD 8: 3/3 2021).

Every incumbent Luo MP who was not in detention was defeated, including ministers Odero- Jowi and Ayodo. The Nyanza electorate voted for a new batch of educated, less-politicised leaders, including Siaya lawyer Isaac Omolo-Okero and lecturer William Omamo. In the Rift Valley, voters reaffirmed support for some outspoken MPs and Muliro and Seroney were victorious. In Western, Shikuku was re-elected in Butere, as were other critics of the government. Elsewhere, Ukambani saw Ngei's dominance reconfirmed. Mwai Kibaki became finance minister, replacing James Gichuru (who

moved to defence). Kenyatta appointed the ambitious Njoroge Mungai as foreign minister, restored as a ministry in its own right. There were six new faces in the Cabinet. Luo MPs Isaac Omolo-Okeru (Gem MP) and William Omamo from Odinga's Siaya District both received ministerial office. Ex-civil servant Juxon Shako became the Taita minister, and lecturer Zachary Onyonka replaced Lawrence Sagini as joint Gusii 'bosses. This was clear evidence that Gem was not excluded in the new national political change, however, Ojuodhi domination which had existed in Gem as early as the pre-colonial period was still alive and in force. (KII, EL 28; 7/4/ 2021).

During the made-by appointments, Kenyatta reaffirmed the 'tribal barons' method of rule. All large communities would have at least one representative. Apart from Kiambu, Nairobi and Odinga's dangerous Siaya, each ethno-regional group or subgroup would have one minister (in Ukambani for example, there was a minister for Machakos and a minister for Kitui), responsible for ensuring loyalty and patronage. If rejected by the voters, he would be replaced by the man who beat him, or if the newcomer was insufficiently 'clubbable', by another MP from the same district. At the same time in the line of legitimacy and opposition, although the KPU had been destroyed, the debate over Kenya's direction and the challenge to Kenyatta's rule from a more left-wing perspective continued. There was strong popular (and some elite) support for more socialism, egalitarianism and a Kenya-first populism fed by and focused on the continued dominance of nonAfricans. These legacies were often blurred and were particularly associated with the Luo, Marxist intellectuals and ex-Mau Mau supporters (KII, EL 20: 24/3/ 2021).

Since 1969, Kenyatta had done little to develop Luo Nyanza or to build up anti-Odinga Luo leaders and appeared to have washed his hands of the community entirely. Although he had released his enemy, Kenyatta ordered the press to give him no publicity. Five months later, on 8 September 1971, Odinga rejoined KANU and declared himself ready to stand for party elections. Despite two years in prison, Odinga appeared fit. He had recently bought a farm, which suggests that he retained substantial resources. The last four KPU leaders remained in jail, without trial or right of appeal. The Detainees Review Tribunal had recommended their release, but the government resisted.²⁰ Ochola Mak'Anyengo and Achola were not freed until 1974. Ex-minister Ramogi Achieng-Onyango remained incarcerated until 1975 when he finally agreed to

plead for clemency. Wasonga Sijeyo, the winner of the Gem by-election, remained in prison until Kenyatta's death (KII, EL 20: 24/3/ 2021).

In May 1975, the Assembly defeated government opposition to establish a third anti-corruption Select Committee; Martin Shikuku became its chairman, and for the first time in Kenya's history, all its members – including minister Omolo Okero – declared their wealth. However, the government soon undermined it, and on 24 June, Parliament killed the committee it had established only weeks before. Isaac Omolo-Okero (Luo) was elected chairman, while Moi allies took the other senior posts, with Robert Matano (Mijikenda) confirmed as secretary-general, Justus ole Tipis (Maasai) as treasurer, and Nathan Munoko (Luhya) as organising secretary. The remaining jobs were also allocated on provincial and ethnic lines. Oginga Odinga was barred from standing again, on the bizarre ground that his life membership certificate was fake. There was a widespread protest (including a claim by Masinde Muliro that the NEC had cleared Odinga's candidature, only to have it reversed from above) and prescient warnings that barring Odinga would only make him stronger (KII, EL 28; 7/4/ 2021).

The first months of Moi's presidency were a political honeymoon. Kenyans congratulated themselves on being the first black African state to transfer power peacefully and constitutionally from one president to another. Government Road in central Nairobi was renamed Moi Avenue in celebration. Outside the Kikuyu elites, the nation welcomed a younger, more vibrant and less Kikuyu-dominated government. Moi's openness and populism were a radical departure from the somnolent and regal days of Kenyatta's decline. Moi loved public appearances at schools and Harambee projects, and in the early months of his rule, he toured the country tirelessly, explaining the government's policies at open meetings (O.I., EXCL16:22/2/2021).

In Kiambaa, the candidate who 'beat' Karume himself denied he had won the polls, but Karume's name was still missing from the list of winners. The polls were rerun, but the individuals affected were unable to participate in the rest of the elections. The national polls that followed were orchestrated and every candidate was elected unopposed. Moi remained KANU president and Karanja replaced Kibaki. The other seats were again allocated on an ethno-regional basis, with (Luo) Minister Oloo-Aringo replacing Omolo-Okero as chairman and (Luhya) Mudavadi replacing Nabwera as secretary-

general. Similarly, (Maasai) Ntimama replaced Tipis as treasurer; one Kamba (Kalonzo Musyoka, a 35-year-old lawyer and Mutisya ally) replaced another; and the elderly Nyeri Kikuyu Davidson Kuguru replaced Kibaki (KII, EL 20: 24/3/ 2021).

Argwings Kodhek was the first Gem MP in 1963 and was the first independent Member of Parliament for Gem constituency in 1963. He was born in 1923 at Malanga village, Ojuodhi clan in Gem constituency. He was sent to a local mission school, St. Mary's Yala, and St Mary's College in Kiubi Uganda where he received his Cambridge School Certificate in 1935. In 1937, he enrolled at Makerere University College in Uganda where he graduated with a teaching degree in 1940. He would then spend some years teaching in the Nyanza and Rift Valley provinces. His journey in defence would start in 1947 when he was awarded a government scholarship to study social sciences at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, now Cardiff University. By then, the colonial government was not allowing Africans to study law- opting to give scholarships for education degrees (KII, EL 20: 24/3/ 2021).

Therefore, Argwings –Kodhek's appeal to the colonial administration to be permitted to study law was denied. Argwings –Kodhek applied to the colonial government to be allowed to study law; however, the request was denied. But the dogged Argwings-Kodhek enrolled in law school in addition to the Bachelor of Arts program that was mandated for him, and he earned both degrees in 1949, the first in law and the second in social science. In 1951, he was admitted as a member of the bar at Lincoln's Inn, London, which is recognized as one of the most prominent professional organizations in the United Kingdom and Wales (Barista). His graduation with a law degree occurred at the same time that Jomo Kenyatta had begun a whirlwind tour and popularized the Kenya African Union (KAU) with demands for independence and universal suffrage within three years (O.I., EXCL16: 22/2/2021). His graduation coincided with the time that Jomo Kenyatta had popularized the KAU.

It had been threatened with an ultimatum, and in 1951, the KAU especially its radical wing asked Peter Mbiru Koinange and Achieng Oneko to bring the last plea to Britain for a reform in the constitution. The radicals had warned that in the absence of them, there would be no room for compromise and only violence. In the wake of Nairobi's recent elevation to the status of city by King George VI, the settlers were calling for

more severe measures to be used against the terrorists. In addition to this, the government had increased the size and scope of its intelligence and security agencies, and Governor Sir Phillip Mitchell did not believe that KAU operations should be prohibited. Instead, just prior to June of that year, he initiated a campaign of repression against followers of the Kenya Land and Freedom Army, better known as Mau Mau. Argwings-Kodhek might have continued his successful legal career in London, but he decided instead to go back to his own land, which was on the cusp of experiencing political growth (KII, EL 28; 7/4/ 2021).

By September of 1952, the court had already placed more than 500 supporters of the Mau-Mau in jail, the majority of whom did not have legal representation. On October 7th of that same year, the militants had shot and killed senior chief Waruhiu Kungu, providing the new governor Sir Evelyn Baring with an excuse to declare a state of emergency. According to historian Bethuel Ogot's writing, "Almost single-handedly, Argwings Kodhek took on the difficult burden of protecting the rights of ordinary Kenyans at this vital moment." He maintained that human rights are indivisible and applicable everywhere, and that freedom cannot be acceptable in the West but inappropriate in Africa. Human rights and freedom cannot be appropriate in the West but inappropriate in Africa. Kenya was the destination of the Argwings-Kodhek flight that took place in 1952. At first, he looked for work at the chamber of the Attorney General, but he was offered a wage that was just a third of what Europeans working in the same grade were getting (KII, EXC4 11/3/2021).

After voicing his disapproval, he resigned from his position as an assistant attorney general and established his own practice at the Church House. At the time, he was the only African in Kenya to have a legal practice. Alongside Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Argwings –Kodhek was a member of the radical group that reorganized the national political system. Jaramogi's intention in establishing the Kenya African National Union (also known as Kanu) was to thwart Mboya, whose party was gaining ground at the time. It was here that he would receive acclaim for defending cases involving Mau-Mau, sparing several people, notably Waruru Kanja, off the gallows (KII, EXC4 11/3/2021).

As the only African criminal lawyer, he saw it as his responsibility to represent the Mau-Mau, and he did so with vigor as he traveled across the courts of Nairobi and Central Kenya, much to the disgust of colonial settlers and the establishment. Even the Western media disapproved of him and referred to him as the "Mau Mau lawyer," a name that was intended to be derogatory. Shortly after the Lari Massacre of 1953, in which 150 loyalists, including Chief Luka Kahangara, were killed, Argwings - Kodhek assisted 48 of those accused with successfully appealing their cases based on a legal technicality. It was in politics that he would establish himself as a radical voice, going up against Tom Mboya, a rising trade unionist who had the backing of the West, for the dominance of the political scene in Nairobi. Argwings-Kodhek, along with Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, was considered to be one of the radical movement's national politicians after the majority of the senior leaders who were the foundation of Kau were sent to prison.

Between the years 1953 and 1956, there was a prohibition on Africans forming political organizations. However, after the Lyttleton Constitution made provisions for increased African representation, the government lifted the prohibition and permitted the formation of political parties that were based in individual districts, with the exception of the Mount Kenya region. Argwings Kodhek formed the Kenya African National Congress (KANAC) as a result of this, but the government refused to register it unless he altered its name to the Nairobi District African Congress. Saturday, January 26th, courtesy of Nation Media Group (NMG, 2021).

Between the years 1953 and 1956, there was a prohibition on the creation of African political organizations; however, in 1956, the Lyttleton Constitution made it possible for district-based political parties to be established, with the exception of the Mount Kenya area. He would argue that he established the party in order to prevent Mboya and his "American friends" from becoming president. He would often use the phrase, "The Americans are not Mboya's buddies; they are his rulers." In order to win the election for the seat representing Nairobi, Argwings-Kodhek had to compete against Mboya, who had created the People's Convention Party (PCP). Mboya would often refer to European women as "Africa's public enemy number one" while speaking about Argwings-Irish Kodhek's wife during his political campaigns. Mboya having the upper hand because of his ties inside the trade unions, and since the majority of Kikuyu were

not permitted to vote, he defeated Argwings Kodhek by just a meager 395 votes (KII, EXC4 11/3/2021).

When Mboya was coming from Liberia on one occasion, he was confronted by a large mob of Argwings, who are followers of Kodhek, brandishing banners in his face. Six banners were unrolled as Mboya was exiting the airport and heading towards a cab that was waiting for him. "We have no interest in hearing your lectures or your subterranean falsehoods; even Americans are aware of who you are." It was at the home of Julius Gikonyo Kiano in Riruta, Nairobi, that a meeting was called for all elected leaders in 1960 to launch one national party. The formation of the Kenya African National Union (Kanu) was an effort by Jaramogi to stop Mboya, whose party was getting stronger. Jaramogi wanted to stop Mboya's party from getting stronger. At the conference, which had been convened by Jaramogi, everyone present had consented to register the Uhuru party. In subsequent years, the name was changed to KANU. The fear that the competition between Mboya's PCP and Argwings-party Kodhek might lead to bloodshed was the impetus for the gathering that took place in Limuru in May of 1960. (KII, EL 28; 7/4/ 2021).

Mboya "was interested in his ascension to power" by using his "unlimited supply of foreign money," as the author of his memoirs would explain in a later chapter of the book. Mboya's would-be father-in-law and respected elder Walter Odede was prevented by the Jaramogi camp from competing for the available seat in Central Nyanza on a Kanu ticket in order for the Jaramogi camp to nominate Argwings Kodhek instead. This was done in an effort to curb the power of Mboya's adversary. His detractors said that Argwings-Kodhek was just Jaramogi's "puppet," despite the fact that he won the election and went on to become an MP for Gem in the newly independent Kenya. At the Lancaster conference, he was one of the Kanu legal minds who were there. When the slaughter at Hola took place, it was Argwings-Kodhek who, with the help of his British friends, brought the issue to the attention of international journals. This is a crucial action that has largely been forgotten. In the House of Commons, it was his humor, his knowledge, and his eloquence that gained him fans (KII, Ojodo, Ex-colonial home gourd, May 23rd 2021).

CMG Argwings Kodhek was successful in his bid to become a member of parliament for Gem Constituency on a KANU ticket at the general election that took place in 1963. Argwings - Kodhek was given the position of assistant minister for defense by President Kenyatta in the year 1963. In 1966, he became a member of the Cabinet, first serving as the Minister of Natural Resources. The following year, 1967, he was promoted to the position of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. Argwings-Kodhek went through with the divorce from his Irish wife and married Joan Omondo in the middle of these events. On January 29, 1969, he was killed in an unsolved car accident that occurred on what is now known as the Argwings-Kodhek Road in Nairobi. (Originally published by Nation Media Group on January 26th, 2019)

Argwings-Kodhek was a prominent character on the national stage and had a deep dedication to the politics of the country, particularly the politics of independence. As a lawyer, he was an important participant in the defense of the Mau-Mau liberation warriors who came from Mount Kenya. Malanga dispensary, Marenny Ramula dispensary, Nyawara dispensary, and Rera dispensary were some of the new ones that he established during his time serving as an area MP for Gem. It was during his administration that the Yala police station first opened its doors. Sawagongo Secondary school and a few new Harambee schools, such as Maliera junior secondary school and Kambare primary school, were among the institutions he established during his nearly one-term tenure as mayor of Gem, and they are largely credited with his improvement of the city's educational system. (Discussion from the Focus group held at the Harambee secondary school (FGD 8: 3/3 2021).

At the time of Argwings Kodhek's unfortunate passing, Jogem had a great deal of optimism over the direction his political career would take. It took place at a period when Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and President Jomo Kenyatta were engaged in an increasingly heated political dispute at the national level. Argwings Kodhek made a number of efforts to bring the two parties together, but those individuals who had declared that they were enjoying the political vacuum that was created as a result of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's defection tried very hard to dissuade him. Things got to the point that even prominent Luo leaders, like Tom Mboya, were uneasy about the efforts that Argwings Kodhek was making to bring Jaramogi back to the governing party KANU. This was the case when it came to a head. There were rumors that a politician

from KANU planned to kill Argwings Kodhek in order to prevent him from bringing Jaramogi Oginga Odinga back to KANU (FGD 8: 3/3 2021). These rumors came from a group known as "Johera mag Agwingi," which translates to "the lovers of Argwings Kodhek."

4.4 1969 General election

After Argwings Kodhek passed away, Jogem expressed interest in electing a replacement Lawyer. Wasonga Sijeyo, Rading Omolo, and Isaac Omolo Okero were three of the most prominent candidates in the race. Lawyer Rading Omolo was favored by the KANU party as a candidate for their position. Isaac Omolo Okero, a Barrister, was Jomo Kenyatta's candidate of choice for the position. Okero was an educated individual who had two degrees: a bachelor of art from Makere University (a BA degree) and a bachelor of laws degree from Bombay University. In addition to that, he was a Barrister of the Middle Temple, an advocate of the High Court of Kenya, and he was employed in the government service between the years of 1962 and 1969. In the beginning, he was employed in the office of the Attorney General, where he eventually became the Deputy Public Prosecutor. Subsequently, between the years 1965 and 1969, he served as the commissioner of Customs and Excise (KII, EXC 6: 14/3/2021).

Wasonga Sijeyo did not have the same level of academic and professional expertise as his two rivals, but he did have the advantage of having the endorsement of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's Kenya Peoples Party (KPU), which gave him the advantage of having ethnic support. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga led the campaign for him, and Jogem supported him because he was a member of their group and because he was running for office. Wasonga Sijeyo, whose symbol is the Dume a Bull, was elected with Kenya Peoples Union (KPU), defeating Rading Omolo from Malanga (Ojuodhi clan), the village where Argwings Kodhek came from, and Isaac Omolo Okero from Kagola, the clan of traditional Gem rulers (KII, EXC 6: 14/3/ 2021). This election took place on March 14, 2021.

4.5 Special Election Held in 1969

A fresh political void emerged in the Gem constituency as a direct result of the untimely passing of Argwings-Kodhek, who served as the region's Member of Parliament representative. A fresh political conflict erupted as a result of this

occurrence in the Gem constituency. It was felt that the successor should come from the same region as Argwings Kodhek, who was a member of the Ojuodhi clan, which is part of the Agola subclan and lives in Malanga hamlet in Sub-location. Therefore, the competition was between Rading Omolo (Malanga), Wasonga Sijeyo, and Omlo Okero alias Ja Ulumbi. These three were the primary candidates, and they were all members of the Ojuodhi clan from Kagola. The sole distinction between the three is that Isaac Omolo Okero hailed from the Ulumbi sub-location, whilst the other two originated in the Malanga sub-location. This campaign was solely dominated by Ojuodhi in such a way that other clans lost interest in the struggle as noted by the Ojuodhi clan members in a focus group discussion (FGD 9: 4/3/2021): "Telo mar Gem en marwa ma kik ng'ato ohedhore" (the leadership of Gem is ours- let nobody who is not from Ojuodhi clan try to contest).

In the Gem constituency, a by-election was held to replace Wasonga Sijeyo, who had only been in office for a little over half a year at the time. He was a victim of political sacrifice and was on the side of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga when KPU was burned down. He was a victim of political sacrifice. When Wasonga Sijeyo was arrested, the Gem people's demand for another Lawyer to replace Argwings Kodhek resulted in an upgrading to the post. Somehow, this need was met. Wasonga Sijeyo was the only one of the detainees who would not apologize to Jomo Kenyatta, and he also would not join KANU. This was in contrast to the other detainees, who all asked for forgiveness and were freed. Wasonga reprimanded Jomo Kenyatta, and in response, Jomo Kenyatta tossed away the keys to the palace. Focus group discussion (FGD 9: 4/3/ 2021) Jomo Kenyatta reportedly warned him directly that he would spend the rest of his life in prison if he did not stop preaching anti government views.

During the election that took place in 1969, Isaac Omolo Okero ordered the arrest of Rading Omolo, who had even been a candidate for KANU, along with others who supported KPU orphans. In light of the fact that it became abundantly evident that Jomo Kenyatta favored Isaac Omolo Okero, this did not go down well with Rading Omolo. This made it possible for Omolo Okero to win his election as the Member of Parliament for Gem in 1969 and succeed Wasonga Sijeyo. He did so by defeating Rading Omolo. The Kwenda clan fared poorly in the election, and they thought that the Ojuodhi clan did not accept them as real Gem people. The election was a disaster for

them. The outcome of the election continued to increase the difference between Ojuodhi and Kwenda; moreover, Ojuodhi men could be heard at political meetings referring to people from South Gem (Kanyikwaya of Kwenda) as Jokwath (headed men) Focus group discussion (FGD 9: 4 /3/ 2021).

4.6 General Election of 1974

Isaac Omolo Okero, who was from (Kagola the historical family of leaders) Ojuodhi, appointed Nyamango, who was also from Ojuodhi and an international polis, as his Chief campaigner for him to retain the parliamentary seat of Gem during the national general election that took place in 1974. Nyamango was Okero's campaign manager. During his campaign, Omolo Okero was satisfied with the fact that he was going to garner a significant following in the Gem Constituency. Given that Okero's emblem was an airplane, Nyamango made a selfless offer to use his official aircraft to transport a banner with a photograph of Isaac Omolo Okero around Gem area. The banner was intended to serve as a representation of Okero's presence. Isaac Edwin Omolo Okero ran for re-election to his seat in Parliament in the general election that took place in 1974. Despite this, he had significant support from the head of state. Since KANU was the sole de facto party in Kenya, all of the state apparatus, including the PCs, DCs, DOs, and Chiefs, could be commanded to back KANU's nominee. Omolo Okero defeated Awimbo Rahudhi (from Karariw –Kwenda), Rading Omolo, and others at the focus group discussion that took place on February 26, 2021, and was subsequently elected for a second term.

Okero was not a populist leader because he lacked the intelligence and stomach for the trench time, dark allies, and daggers that populist politics needed. To roll back the borders of a nanny state, cut huge government spending, and eliminate foolish subsidies, he would adhere to the political ideology of the Republican Party in the United States of America. Because Okero's accomplishments were largely the result of his own efforts, he was a firm believer in the value of toil and encouraged those who had dropped out of school to reconsider their options and get a degree in the field that most interested them. During his second time in office, Okero showed a high level of arrogance, at least in the eyes of locals who visited his office in need of charity assistance (FGD4: 26/2/2021).

Omolo Okero has a great deal of animosity for members of clans other than the Ojuodhi. In his opinion, beginning any kind of government initiative in South Gem was a waste of resources and should be avoided at all costs. When Okero was the Member of Parliament for Gem, he made it a point to spend as little time as possible in that region (more so; Central, West and South Gem). According to what O.I. revealed in his speech about the cruel utterance of Omolo Okero, in June 1976, when he attended the groundbreaking for a classroom building at Aluor, he said: "I will never forgive you for what you have done."

“Chuo South Gem akwayou ni mondo uter nyithindo e sikul mondo gisom. Kenya ilaro mana kod somo ma ka nyithindo ok nyal somo nikech wiyegi pek to kelna uru mondu mondo anyuolnugo nyithindo mariek.”

Translated in Luo as; I’m advising Gem men to take their children to school since without good education one cannot succeed in the country. However, in case you are not able to get a clever one I can help your wives to get one through my bread.

Whether Omolo Okero was joking or expressing a genuine feeling when he made the comment that urged the Kwenda clan to look down on them, the outcome was the same: it led to further animosity. Some individuals said that Omolo Okero pretended to have been an educated guy who encouraged job seekers to upgrade their certifications so that they might get better positions. This assertion was made by Omolo Okero. Omolo Okero succeeded in establishing a reputation for himself as someone who was thought to have never been concerned about Gem's electorate. or not, it continued to be saved for his neighbors in South Gem, and they never missed an opportunity to bring it up anytime there was a political rally or gathering; as a result, he ran into a lot of trouble with it, according to a focus group discussion (FGD 9: 4/3/2021).

4.7 The 1979 General Election

The arrogance of the 1974 elected MP was never anything that made the members of the Kwenda clan feel comfortable. They had long been looking forward to the chance to unseat him in the general election of 1979 and were quite excited about the prospect. Raten'g Wuon Pesa, Ja-Kathomomo is the constituency that Aggrey Otieno Ambala represents as the 4th Gem Member of Parliament (MP). The Economic Magnet and Powerful Business Tycoon The general elections in 1979 were the beginning of the contentious clan politics that are still prevalent in Gem today.

These elections also marked the beginning of the politics of money and giveaways. Isaac Omolo Okero Rayier and Aggrey Otieno Ambala Wuon Pesa were the two candidates vying for the position of governor, but the real power struggle was between Ojuodhi and Kwenda. Propaganda and the catchphrase "Ja-Ulumbi, Okero loch nie lwete" were used in the campaigns to help spread the message. Because political opponents believed that Omolo Okero's campaign slogan was a manifestation of pride, the Ambala team rephrased it as ". Ja-Ulumbi, Okero dhier ni e lwete" in order to discredit it. Aggrey Otieno Ambala had an edge against Okero as a result of the widespread perception that Okero was conceited, aristocratic, and snobbish, all of which contributed to his prejudice. Ambala Chips, which was founded by Aggrey Otieno Ambala, was the first establishment of its kind to be owned by a black person. Ambala made significant investments in real estate all the way from Nairobi to Kisumu and Siaya. Otieno Ambala chose Horace Ongili Owiti to be his principal campaigner, and Horace Ongili Owiti worked for him till Otieno Ambala was victorious against Omolo Okero focus group discussion (FGD3: 25/2/ 2021).

Bribery of voters was a prominent feature of the 1979 campaign on both the Okero and Ambala sides. The logos of the contestants were printed on a variety of apparel, including T-shirts, scuffs, capes, and shirts. Since Omolo Okero's logo included an airplane, Ambala chose to represent themselves with a box, or sanduku. When he saw Nyamango flying a tiny plane about Gem with a banner bearing his adversary's insignia, he was taken aback. The majority of the time, Nyamango was able to drop silver money by using choppers at a public gathering in order to deceive the crowd into supporting Otieno Ambala. It was during this campaign that Okero made rough picture of Nyamango alias Otoyoy, an Interpol agent who was originally from Gem Sinaga in the Yala district in East Gem. It was said in the oral statement that he worked for the International Police (Interpol). He was the only individual in Gem who had both an airfield and a wireless tower in their residence, both of which he utilized for communicating with people outside of Gem. He was the most dreaded man in Gem because the government of Kenya (GK) hired policemen and other intelligence personnel to keep watch over his residence twenty-four hours a day, every day. People would mutter between themselves that if one were to point a finger at Nya mango's house, he would be able to see it from America (FGD 4: 26/2/ 2021).

Since Nyamango would track and distribute money using Chopper, Otieno Ambala put him to work as a financial coordinator in his company. Horace Ongili Owiti served as the leader of the campaign manager position for Otieno Ambala's team. Since Aggrey Otieno Ambala was the only contender who was a challenge to all aspirants, the people of Gem gave him the nickname "Koko," which means "feared creature," because he was up against Isaac Omolo Okero, who was called "hated" because of his haughtiness and because he was a very mean person who was not willing to help any needy. Okero had high hopes that the 1979 election would be a cakewalk because to his position as an incumbent Member of Parliament (MP), his status as a former minister, backing from the administration, and connections with influential people like the District Commissioner (DC). However, contrary to what he anticipated, Otieno Ambala was more intelligent than he was, and the game had already been flipped on its head when Okero was vanquished. On the other hand, one might draw the conclusion that this was the first time in Gem's history that money was utilized in an election campaign in Gem in order to entice voters (KII, EXCCL16: 22/2/2021).

Okero asserted that there was massive rigging, but he decided not to file a petition after the election results were handed over to the Returning Officer of the Siaya District and the District Officer (DC) declared Aggrey Otieno Ambala as the benefited winner. Okero was a candidate for the favored seat. It was said that he consoled his friend Mathews Ogutu, who had likewise been unsuccessful in his bid for the Ugenya seat and was weeping over his misfortune, by telling him, "Ogutuu ayie e ywak manono." Dhi dala joma ofuwo oseyiero Jo mofuwo Kagin." Please put an end to your tantrums about the election results since the dumb people you represent were elected. Aggrey Otieno Ambala was elected to the Gem Legislative Assembly for the fourth time. President Moi made the decision to nominate Aggrey Otieno Ambala to the position of assistant minister of culture. From the Ambala gas station in Kisumu until the Ambala gas station on Nairobi's Tom Mboya Street (KII, EXCCL16: 22/2/2021), the Ambala brand was geared at the commercial sector.

During the campaign between Isaak Omolo Okero and Agree Otieno Ambala, there was a highly heated competition between the two candidates. He established a white sugar manufacturing plant in the Ulumbi region (Yala white sugar), as well as jagaries in the Nyangweso and Kadabu areas, which are located close to Panyako. More KFA

credit was made available in the region in an effort to boost agricultural productivity and sugarcane harvesting. The competition was between Otieno Ambala "Jadak" (an immigrant in Gem from Alego), whose father Ambala had relocated to Nguge Sub location in Kathomo, which was Kwenda clan, Rading Omolo from Malanga (Ojuodhi clan), and Isaac Omolo Okero. Isaac Omolo Okero was from the Ojuodhi clan (Ojuodhi clan).

Horace Ongili Owiti, who came from the Kanyikwaya tribe of Kwenda, was Otieno Ambala's principal campaigner, and he was a big assistance. This provided Otieno Ambala with an easy victory, and he was declared the victor in the 1979 election. Ambala, much like Omolo Okero Otieno, had a haughty attitude against the people of his homeland since they did not acknowledge him as one of their own. Ambala was victimized as a result of estrangement within the clan. During the elections that took place in 1984, Gem people got back together as clan members. Isaac Omolo Okero ran for office, and the Ojuodhi clan, which also fielded a candidate under the name Rading Omolo from Malanga, lent their support to him as a candidate (Ojuodhi). Horace Ongili Owiti, who was originally from Kanyikwaya, had the backing of the whole Kwenda tribe. Otieno Ambala lost the election to H. Ongili, who had been his major campaigner in the past, in a focus group discussion that took place on January 23, 2021. The government had hoped that Otieno Ambala would be reelected, but this did not happen.

4.8 The 1983 Snap Election

Horace Ongili was a former closest friend of Omolo Otieno Ambala and assisted in his campaign in 1979, which led to the ousting of the incumbent Isaac Omolo Okero. This resulted in Otieno Ambala being elected governor instead of Okero. On the other hand, in the 1983 elections that were held as a result of a failed coup attempt by a subordinate officer named Hezekiah Ochuka, President Moi called for hasty elections. During a conversation with a focus group, one of the participants voiced a claim that a vicious rivalry developed in Gem as a result of the fact that Otieno Ambala was the candidate who had been sponsored by Mwai Kibaki, who was serving as Vice President at the time. During that time, President Moi praised Horace Ongili in his speech while touring Aluor girls Secondary School and Sawagongo High school. He remarked that Gem people are very brilliant because they had given him the best MP to work with, and he added "Huyu anastahili kuwa makamu yangu" (which translates to "this man is fit to be

my Vice President). Roomers went around that Moi promised Gem people better position than just the ministry position

The speech that President Moi delivered on that day infuriated Ongili's political opponents, and some people began to predict that Ongili might succeed President Moi as Vice President as a result of the speech. His killing on May 27th, 1985, was a direct result of the political competition that existed between him and his opponents. This tension ultimately led to his death. The members of the Kwenda clan expressed their regret at the fact that, since the colonial era, they had never had a position of leadership in their constituency. A very elderly guy who participated in the FGD and gave his feedback reported that he overheard several mourners shouting in the following manner:

“Nene wamwonyo mana olawo ka Joko-juodhi chiemo, to koro ka Nyasaye omiyowa bor mondo wabilie to jowasigu oyudho mana e dhowa! Tho! Awuoro sigu mar anyuola”. (We were just salivating when the Ojuodhi clan were eating fatty food but when we get the chance, the enemy came and snatch it from our mouth.

Ambala died in Kodiaga jail on the day of Horace Ongili's funeral, which was discussed in the focus group discussion (F.G.D 2) on February 19, 2021. It seems likely that foul play was involved in the passing away of the individual in a nation where it is thought that the murders of numerous notable people were orchestrated by their political opponents. Waweru Mugo investigated the circumstances surrounding a few of the controversial fatalities and how those deaths were handled. For instance, on May 27, 1985, a band of armed men broke into the house of Gem MP Horrace Ongili Owiti in the town of Siaya.

They assaulted him with machetes and batons, stabbed him with knives, and then took his dead corpse into a neighboring corn plantation to hide it. They did not take anything without permission. His vehicle, which was parked in front of the home, had not been damaged. As soon as the possibility of theft was eliminated, it became clear that the victim had been murdered in a callous manner; nonetheless, the questions remain: who did it and why? The killing came before an attack on a bakery that he owned in Siaya Town as well as many other assaults on his political operatives. One of them had been

killed the previous year, not long after a local by-election which had taken place (KII, EKA21: 21/2/2021). Owiti became victorious.

An investigation revealed that there was the allegation that there was a plan to eliminate political opponents, and pointed at the immediate former area MP Otieno Ambala who became a top suspect. The investigation also revealed that there was the allegation that there was a chilling plan to eliminate political opponents. The state claimed that he had withdrawn significant sums of money in the days leading up to the murder, and that he had also met with the primary suspect during that time. Ambala, along with six other suspects, was taken into custody as the heinous story continued to surface, and they were all charged with the murder. However, after just a few months of serving his sentence, he passed away from a heart attack. Some individuals said that he, too, had been murdered in order to conceal the identities of the true perpetrators. The prosecutor for the state, Momanyi Mbwomwonga, suggested to the court presiding over the case that the murder was motivated by politics. "Murder was the main objective of the assignment." He spoke. During the trial, the suspect would also attempt to utilize charms and other paraphernalia, purportedly in an effort to assist them overcome the allegations that were brought against them in the focus group discussion (KII, EKA21: 21/2/2021).

Nereah Auma, the sister of the defendant Jeckonia Wangulu Okumu, made a commotion throughout the course of the trial when she attempted to provide charms to her brother while the trial was in place. Auma, who had reached the age of 19 at that point, had stuffed the goods along with some plant roots into a bag before carrying it with her. She was arrested and accused with trafficking charms and unauthorized contact with a suspect, but the allegations against her were eventually dismissed. She was held in custody and charged with both of those offenses. Another suspect was discovered to have artifacts associated with witchcraft in their possession. Both Okumu and another suspect, Michael Ouma Adongo, were found guilty of the crime and given the death penalty. Despite this, the ruling was deemed "hopeless" and "extremely terrible" by Justices JO Nyarangi, Evance Gicheru, and Richard Kwach after an appeal (KII, EKA21: 21/2/2021).

Former Member of Parliament for Gem, Horace Ongili Owiti, had his house at Banana estate in Siaya town, which was assaulted by an armed group on May 27, 1985. They assaulted him with machetes and batons, stabbed him with knives, and then carried his dead corpse into a cornfield that was nearby. They did not take anything without permission. His vehicle, which was parked in front of the home, had not been damaged. Theft was instantly ruled out as a probable motivation for The Killing since it had all the markings of a murder committed in cold blood. Who took his life, and why did they do it? The assassination was preceded by a string of violent episodes directed against a bakery that he owned in Siaya Town, as well as multiple assaults on his political operatives. One of them had been killed the year before, just after Owiti had won a by-election in a nearby community that he was running for ([www. standard media.co.ke](http://www.standardmedia.co.ke)). An inquiry uncovered a disturbing plot to assassinate a political opponent, and the investigation placed the finger of suspicion to Otieno Ambala, who was the immediate past MP for this region. The prosecution claims that on the day before the victim's death, the defendant withdrew a significant sum of money and also met with key suspects. Ambala, along with six other suspects, was taken into custody as the heinous story continued to surface, and they were all charged with murder. However, after just a few months of serving his sentence, he passed away from a heart attack. There are many who believe that he passed away on the day when Horace Ongili was laid to rest. The counterargument to some grounds asserts that he, too, was murdered in order to conceal the identities of the true perpetrators (KII, EKA21: 21/2/2021).

Presiding judge Hussin Abdala was informed by state council Momanyi Mbomwonga that the murder was politically motivated. He said that the major objective was to kill people. During the trial, the defendants will also attempt to utilize charms and other paraphernalia, purportedly in the hopes that it would assist them in overcoming the allegations. During the course of the trial, the sister of the defendant, Jeckonia Wangulu Okumu, Nerea Auma, made a commotion when she attempted to give the suspect a charm. This occurred as the trial continued. Auma, who was 19 at the time, had placed the goods in a sack along with some plant roots. She was arrested and accused with trafficking charms and unauthorized contact with a suspect, but the allegations against her were eventually dismissed. She was held in custody and charged with both of those offenses. Another suspect was discovered to be in possession of several objects that are often used in witchcraft. A second defendant, Michael Ouma Adongo, and Okumu

were both found guilty and condemned to death. However, once an appeal was submitted, Justice J.O. Nyarangi, Evans Gicheru, and Richard Kwach attacked the ruling, describing it as hopeless and very poor (www.standardmedia.co.ke), (KII, EKA21: 21/2/2021).

4.8.1 Politics of Grace Ogot as from 1983

Grace Akinyi Ogot was born on May 15, 1930, in a Christian family in the hamlet of Asembo, located in the Siaya district of Nyanza province in Kenya. At the time, Asembo was a community that was dominated by members of the Luo ethnic group, who were largely Christian. Her grandfather, Joseph Nyanduga, was an early convert to the Anglican Church. He later became a teacher at the Ng'iya Girls' School, which was operated by the Church Missionary Society. Ogot learnt the traditional folk tales of the region from her grandmother, and the stories from the Old Testament were taught to her by her father (O.I, EM7: 18/1/ 2021). These stories would later serve as a source of inspiration for Ogot (O.I, EM7: 18/1/ 2021).

Throughout her childhood, Ogot was an active student at both the Ng'iya Girls School and the Butere High School. Between the years 1949 and 1953, she attended the Nursing Training Hospital in Uganda in order to become a nurse. In subsequent years, she found employment at the St. Thomas Hospital for Mothers and Babies in London, England. In 1958, she went back to her nursing roots in Africa and began working at Maseno Hospital, which was operated by the Church Missionary Society and was located in Kisumu County, Kenya. After this, Ogot found employment in the Students Health Services department of the Makerere University College. She was the very first woman hailing from Kenya to be hired by the organization for the position. In addition to her background in the medical field, Ogot has experience in a variety of other fields, including working for the BBC Overseas Service as a script-writer and announcer on the program London Calling East and Central Africa, operating a prominent radio program broadcast in the Luo language, serving as an officer of Community development in Kisumu District, and working for the Air India Corporation of East Africa as a public relation officer. Grace Ogot wed the well-known history professor Bethwel Allan Ogot, who was originally from Kagola and belonged to the Ojuodhi tribe in Gem in 1959 (O.I. EK 15: 26/2/2021).

Ogot was appointed to serve as Kenya's representative to the United Nations General Assembly in 1975. After that, in 1976, she was appointed to a position inside the Kenyan delegation to Unesco. In the same year, she headed the Writers Association of Kenya, which she helped form, and she remained in that role until 1980. She was nominated for a seat in the House of Representatives in the year 1983, and two years later, in 1985, she was given the position of Assistant Minister for culture.

4.8.2 The 1985 General Election

Grace Ogot, the wife of Professor Ogot from Kagola, Ojuodhi clan, utilized a gender slogan to win a by-election in 1985. The election was for a seat in the Ojuodhi clan. During that period, she was holding the position of a nominated member of parliament. In 1987, in line with the mlolongo policy-system of election, she was given a victory percentage of seventy percent, allowing her to be reelected. Focus group discussion (FGD4: 26/1/2021) revealed that at the time she did not have a formidable opponent, which contributed to her resounding victory in the election. In 1988, she won a stunning victory and was re-elected to parliament using the Mlolongo cueing technique, which garnered the support of 70 percent of voters in the KANU nomination. As a result of Grace Ogot's marriage to Bethwel Allan Ogot, who was a member of the Ojuodhi tribe, she inherited the pressure from the Kwenda clan, who vehemently opposed the Ojuodhi clan's leadership. During the 1988 party nomination, national politics hinged on a person who had the backing of the president; in this instance, Grace Ogot was president Moi's top pick, according to a focus group discussion (O.I. EK 15: 26/2/2021).

4.9 Presidential Election of 1992

Grace Ogot, who was a member of the Ojuodhi clan, and OKII Ooko Ombaka, who was also a member of the Ojuodhi clan, competed against one another in the 1992 multiparty election to see who could earn the support of the Ojuodhi clan. Everyone was doing their best to oppose the new contender Joel Nyaseme, who had emerged as a threat to Grace Ogot in the campaign for the Kanu Party candidacy. Grace Ogot was given their assistance in order to obtain the KANU nomination since they were aware that Joel Nyaseme, whose ancestral root dates back to Uoga of the Kwenda clan, would win against her. What was left was a fight between the two of them starting with Ojuodhi (Grace Ogot and OKII Ombaka). The residents of Ojuodhi supported OKII

Ombaka since he was the candidate for Oginga Odinga's party, Ford Kenya. OKII Ombaka became blind at the end of his tenure (O.I. EK 15: 26/2/ 2021).

The following picture was created as a result of the general election that was place on the 29th of December in 1992: The popular vote for the nominee Daniel arap Moi, who was also the head of the KANU party, was 1,962,866, which is equivalent to 36.35 percent. Mwai Kibaki, the leader of the Democratic Party (DP), received 1,050,617 votes from the general population. At the same time, KANU won 100 parliamentary seats, FORD-Asili led by Kenneth Matiba received 31 seats, the Democratic Party (DP) led by Mwai Kibaki won 23 seats, Ford Kenya led by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga won 31 seats, the National Coalition led by Chibule was Tsume won one seat, PICK led by John Harun Mwau won one seat, and the Kenyan Socialist Congress led by George Anyona won one OKII Ombaka became the Second opposition elected MP from Gem Constituency after Wasonga Sijeyo, who is now being held by the KPU.

This is due to the fact that the Gem people chose their parliamentary representative along ethnic lines. The failure of sugar jagaries at Nyangweso, which is located in Central Gem, and Kadebu, which is located in South Gem, was the consequence of this, and it resulted in stifled economic progress. As if that were not enough, the well-known Yala White Sugar mill, which was already in a precarious financial position at the time, turned into a white elephant. The Gem People were discontent with the economic imbalance that OKII Ooko Ombaka was experiencing at the national level. As a result, he found himself in a political limbo following the election in 1997, according to a focus group discussion (FGD3: 25/ 2/ 2021).

4.10 Politics of 1997 General Election

When it became publicly clear that the area had become NDP territory, the politics of Nyanza were thrust into a new direction. After losing the struggle for the leadership of Ford Kenya to Michael Wamalwa Kijana in 1994, Raila Odinga left Ford Kenya and joined the National Democratic Organization (NDP), which at the time was a minor political party. This helped the NDP rise to national prominence. Raila Odinga was successful in persuading Ford members of parliament to join him in Nyanza Province. The National Democratic Party is now a prominent opposition party in the Kenyan

Parliament as a result of a recent surge in membership that includes Ford Kenya's parliamentary candidates in the Nyanza region.

During the elections that took place in 1997, the party was successful in maintaining its strong position in the Nyanza area, primarily among the Luo community. As a result, the party returned 21 members to the parliament. Nevertheless, the situation was not the same in every single constituency in the province of Nyanza. For example, in the instance of the Gem constituency, those individuals who ran for the NDP party nomination discovered that it was very difficult to get the party ticket. Mwalimu Anyango Obiero (ja-kanyikwaya, of Kwenda) was finally given direct nomination by the party. This was owing to the fact that Dr. OKII Ooko Ombaka, who at the time was an incumbent member of parliament, decided not to defend his seat due to his poor health (KII, EKA21: 21/2/2021).

Joe Donde (Ford-Kenya), Grace Ogot (who prevailed against Joel Nyaseme in KANU nomination), and Anyango Obiero were among the candidates that ran for the Gem parliamentary seat (NDP). Despite the fact that she was a mother from the Ojuodhi clan and had served as the local MP, Grace Ogot found the ground to be quite rough. This was the case despite the fact that she had significant backing from President Moi and elders from both North and East Gem. The Kwenda clan, which includes West, South, and Central Gem, had already reconsidered their decision to back her candidacy. It was hypothesized that Grace Ogot had shown a preference for the Yala people (Ojuodhi), which would put South, West, and Central Gem at a disadvantage in terms of the constituency's need for reform and development enhancement. During the same time period, a number of chiefs and assistant chiefs from South and West Gem had been terminated for participating in politics. For instance, Chief Hagai Ombima Nundu lost his position as Assistant Chief for the Ndori Sub-location because he failed to line up along the road at Riat Market. Instead, he lined up along the road at Akala Market, which was a market center during President Moi's tour of Nyanza. As a result, Chief Hagai Ombima Nundu was removed from his position. The majority of employees employed at Gem were fired when allegations surfaced that they supported an opposition group headed by Raila Odinga. This accusation caused Grace Ogot's popularity to drop to the point that she tried, for the first time, to join her husband, Professor Bethwel Ogot, as she campaigned in a hot bed (KII, EKA21: 21/2/2021).

Grace Ogot found a flaw in the NDP candidate Anyango Obiero's campaign, who was having trouble meeting financial obligations. Since Anyango Obiero was a member of the Kwenda clan and the Kanyikwaya subclan, he had a great deal of support from the South, the West, and the Central Gem (the clan of former MP Horace Ongili who was assassinated while in office). People in this area had an unquenchable desire for one of their own to step forward and fill the leadership void that Horace Ongili had created. On the other hand, Joe Donde seemed to be a difficult obstacle for Grace Ogot to overcome given that he was a relative newcomer to the political scene in Gem and did not hail from the reigning clan. Because of this, Grace Ogot was successful in convincing Anyango Obiero to accept stepping down in order to support Grace Ogot (KII, EK A21; 21/2/202021).

Due to the fact that he was having trouble meeting his financial obligations, he agreed to sell his birth rite on the condition that he would be introduced to Moi in order to be offered a ministerial job in the event that Grace is victorious. It was shown in the political situation in Gem that a leader is selected by God, just as the Bible says they should be. When it became clear that Anyango Obiero had ceded the race to Grace Ogot, the followers of Anyango Obiero threw their support behind Joe Donde, the Ford-Kenya candidate. Joe Donde went on to win the 1997 general election and was elected as a Gem Member of Parliament as a result of his victory.

During the general elections that took place in 1997, the candidates were Grace Ogot from Ojuodhi, who ran on a KANU ticket; Joe Donde, who ran on a Ford Kenya party ticket; he was a member of the Kwenda clan; and Anyango Obiero, who ran from Kanyikwaya. Anyango Obiero was also a candidate for the seat. The people of Gem were wary of KANU, the party that had been in power continuously since the country gained its independence, and this made it difficult for Grace Ogot to win the seat. Focus group discussion (F.G.D6: 28/ 2/ 2021) revealed that there was a possibility that Donde would not get votes as a result of Raila Amolo Odinga's decision to leave Ford Kenya and create the LDP.

Anyango Obiero, who was running for office on an LDP platform and hailing from Kwenda, still had the upper hand in getting more support from the people in Gem seat, and he had a better chance of winning the general election in 1997. However, with just

a week left before the election, he ran into financial difficulties and was unable to fund the remaining stages of his campaign. This made him less optimistic about continuing his fight, and he gave his support to the KANU candidate (Grace Ogot), in exchange for the prospect of a cabinet seat in President Moi's administration. He was put in a position where he had no choice but to contemplate resigning and offering his support to Grace Ogot.

As a consequence of this, opposition leaders were left with little choice but to back Joe Donde and his party, Ford Kenya, despite the fact that the latter's party had lost favor in the area when Raila Odinga left it to create the LDP. Because of this turn of events, Joe Donde was victorious against his opponent Grace Ogot from the Ojuodhi clan, who had a far greater amount of political experience than he had. As a consequence of this, the Kwenda clan's politicians were very resentful, as they believed the LDP candidate had abandoned them. Focus group discussion (F.G.D6: 28/ 2/ 2021) revealed that the members of the Ojuodhi clan sought ways to pin down Joe Donde because they supported Grace Ogot. This was owing to the fact that Joe Donde's house was closer to the Kwenda clan, and the Ojuodhi clan members had never liked him.

After the removal of section 2(a) of the constitution, a number of political parties that are opposed to the government were reportedly founded, as stated by FGD on the 23rd of April, 2021. The two most prominent political parties were the Democratic Party and the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) (DP). The Kenya Social Congress (KSC), the SAFINA Party, the Kenya National Democratic Alliance (KENDA), the Party for Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK), the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and the National Development Party are some more instances of registered political parties (NDP). The RAINBOW party ousted KANU from its leadership position in the year 2003, and in the year 2010, a new constitution was ratified, which was then followed by elections that were marred by protests in the year 2007. Protests over the elections resumed in 2013 and 2017; the latter election was ultimately won by the Jubilee party (KII, EU5: 18/1/ 2021).

The findings of a recent focus group discussion (FGD 5, 27/2/2021) indicate that since the country's independence, Kenyan politics have gone through many phases of transformation. Others are caused by regional ethnic waves, while others are still under

the grip of clan pressure even if some are caused by national political events. This fact was in agreement with the debate that took place in the focus group (FGD10: 7/3/2021), which said that there has been a continuous change with respect to the political developments in Gem, which were especially influenced by clan hegemony.

Throughout the course of Gem history, the practice of segregation first took hold among Gem people before independence and then grew even more prevalent after it. The political development of any region on a cosmos is never the same; therefore, the study of the political development of the Gem people after independence yielded new information on how clan factors hindered coherence in Gem constituencies. This is due to the fact that political development in any region on a cosmos is never the same. The evidence that suggests that clan issues led to the establishment of clan regrouping with the purpose of establishing a fresh crop of people for future posterity was discussed in the seventh focus group session (FGD7: 2/3/ 2021).

4.11 Politics of the year 2002 General Election

In the year 2000, the National Democratic Party (NDP) began working with the KANU administration that was led by President Daniel Moi. In June of 2001, three ministers from the NDP were invited to join the cabinet, marking the beginning of Kenya's first coalition cabinet in the country's history. After the National Democratic Party (NDP) joined with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) in the spring of 2002, NDP leader Odinga became the Secretary-General of the United Party. This partnership was destined to be short-lived due to the fact that beginning in the summer of 2002, it became abundantly clear that Moi was intent on having Uhuru Kenyatta succeed him, which was later affirmed by a KANU Congress in October of 2002. Odinga, who was aware that the list of delegates had been manipulated, withdrew from the congress along with his followers from the former KANU politicians who protested Moi's manipulation of the party meeting in favor of his chosen candidate. Odinga pulled out of the congress together with his followers from the former KANU politicians. After leaving the ruling party together as a group that called itself the Rainbow Coalition, they joined the Liberal Democratic Party LDP, which was destined to become one of the founding members of the Rainbow Coalition and went on to win the Presidential and Parliamentary elections in 2002 (FGD7: 2/3/ 2021).

Candidates for the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) party nomination included the following: Other candidates emerged, who emerged for party nomination were: Agina (Ojuodhi), Ambrose Rachier from Kanyango (Ojuodhi), and Jakoyo Midiwo from Kathomo but living among Kanyikwaya (Kwenda), among other candidates. Grace Ogot made a comeback despite the fact that she was from Ojuodhi. Other candidates included Jakoyo Midiwo from Kathomo but living among Because Jakoyo had Odinga's support—Raila Odinga's mother was his aunt he was handed the NARC party ticket. This helped him capture the Gem parliamentary seat, leaving his opponents from other clans and parties greatly dissatisfied. Jakoyo's mother was Raila Odinga's aunt. As a result, Jakoyo Midiwo, the candidate for the NARC, emerged successful during the general election held in 2002, beating both Joel Nyaseme, the candidate for the KANU, and Joe Donde (Ford Kenya). The Ojuodhi side did not agree with the outcome of the election, despite the fact that they did not pursue any legal action to challenge the outcome of the poll. They regarded the result as an elevation of the Kwenda clan who had been denied the leadership via the murder of former Gem MP Horace Ongili who had been killed (FGD8: 3/3/ 2021).

4.12 The Political Climate surrounding the General Election of 2007

In the year 2007, the Gem ODM party nomination was contested by Ambrose Rachier, who was from the Kanyango sub-clan in Ojuodhi and a resident of Sagam in East Gem; Booker Ngesa, who was from Sinaga in East Gem; Professor Isiah Ndiege, who was from Kanyadet in South Gem; J.T. Okinda, who was from East Gem; Okach, who was from Central Gem; and Jako It seems like Ambrose Rachier gained a lot of popularity in East Gem as well as among the Joko-juodhi who resided among the several clans that made up Gem. The incumbent, Jakoyo Midiwo, was put under a lot of pressure as a result of Rachier's entrance into Gem politics. In the beginning, he was bragging about the projects that he had already begun working on, which, in a literal sense, were quite visibly apparent.

Ambrose Rachier focused his political slogans on the incumbent's strong points as well as his own areas of improvement. He was an advocate with a national reputation and had the ability to win over people by offering them large handouts from his own pocket. On the other hand, in Rachier's opinion, Jakoyo Midiwo was not educated, arrogant, and violent; he could beat people when they displeased him, and he

maintained strong relationships with young alcoholics who relied on him to provide them with alcohol. Other candidates were cast in the background to the point that many people were unaware of their existence. On the other hand, Jakoyo Midiwo was able to beat him thanks to the intervention of the court (FGD8: 3/3/ 2021).

The following are some of the reasons why Jakoyo Midiwo was able to secure victory in the Gem constituency, according to the opinions of some of the voters there: As an incumbent, he made the most of his first term representing the district in the national legislature by working to bring development to as much of Gem as possible during that time. Second, he was a member of the Kathomo clan, which did not have any other candidates for the seat; hence, he was able to triumph over the clan factor, while the other candidates struggled to divide the votes. The third reason was that he had significant backing from South Gem, which was a Kwenda clan territory and was the location where his placenta had been buried (Nyikwaya, Uoga, Thomo, Wiri, Nyiwuor and Karariw). He was able to communicate with young people, old people, leaders in churches, and administrators. His most recent success came from his familial ties to Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (the mother of Jakoyo was a sister of Raila Odinga's mother), nyikwa Odima (Grand children of Odima). Throughout the course of this competition, regional and clan identity developed. Additionally, in the general elections held in 2007, Jakoyo Midiwo from the Kwenda clan had an easy time keeping his Gem MP seat on an ODM party ticket, which was the Regions favorite, beating his opponents, according to focus group discussion (FGD8: 3/3/ 2021).

4.13 Politics of 2013 General Election

On March 4, 2013, Kenya conducted its general elections. These elections occurred in 2013. The President, members of the National Assembly, and members of the newly constituted Senate were all chosen by the voters. They were the first elections conducted under the new constitution, which was passed in a referendum in 2010, and they were also the first elections handled by the new Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission. Both of these landmark events took place in 2010. (IEBC). They occurred at the same time as the local elections in Kenya in 2013.

According to the legislation, in order to be recognized as the president of the country, an individual is required to obtain a minimum of 14.3 million registered votes, as well

as 50% + 1 (national) and 25% of the votes cast in each of 24 counties. The participation rate was 85.91%. Uhuru Kenyatta of the TNA party, and William Ruto, his running partner, were the candidates for president from their party. Under the supervision of the Jubilee Party. Raila Odinga was the presidential candidate from the ODM party, while Kalonzo Musyoka served as his running partner. Both candidates ran under the banner of CORD. The following are the results of the election: Jubilee received 6, 173 popular votes, had a percentage of 50.51 percent, won 20 counties, and gained 33 counties with 25% of the vote. While this was going on, CORD produced the following result: Votes cast by the general population was 5,340,546; the percentage was 43.7%; counties that won 26+ Diaspora and counties that received 25% of the vote totaled 30.

Uhuru Kenyatta, candidate of the National Alliance (TNA), won in the presidential election, beating Raila Odinga, candidate of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). As a result of the two-term restriction that is specified in Clause 142 of the Constitution of Kenya, the currently serving President Mwai Kibaki was unable to run for reelection for a third term. The Kenyan Constitution from 2010 mandated the use of a joint ticket system for the election of the vice president, which was used for the first time in this year's presidential election. William Ruto ran as a vice presidential candidate with Uhuru Kenyatta on the Kenyatta ticket. Kalonzo Musyoka was Odinga's running partner. The Jubilee Alliance was on Kenyatta's side, while the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy was on Odinga's side. Kenyatta was elected president (CORD). Kenyatta received 50.5% of the vote, which meant that there was no need for a second round of voting since he was proclaimed the victor. Odinga attempted to challenge the results at the Supreme Court but was ultimately rejected (FGD7: 2/3/2021).

In 2013, quite a few individuals expressed interest in running for the ODM party nomination for Gem's parliamentary representative. They consisted of individuals such as the current incumbent Jakoyo Midiwo, Elisha Ochieng Odhiambo, Professor Ndiege, Buka, and others. It was between Washington Jakoyo Midiwo and Elisha Otieno Odhiambo that the most of the conflict took place. The nomination process was hampered by a great deal of misinformation and witch hunts, which eventually led to physical fights between the opposing camps. It was thought that Professor Ndiege, who

was from south Gem and the home turf of Jakoyo Midiwo, would be a threat to the incumbent's position. At the same time, the people of North Gem who supported Elisha Otieno Odhiambo believed that it was high time that the seat be returned to them. Elisha Otieno Odhiambo was from the Umani-Ochola clan, which had been estranged from the Ojuodhi clan just from the time that pre-colonial Gem leader Odera Rangira was in power. It was considered to be an act of cowardice by the Ojuodhi clan's oral history to be led by the Kwenda clan. It was apparent that Jakoyo Midiwo had taken the birth right of the Ojuodhi clan; as a result, they needed to return it to its rightful owners (O.I. EM7: 18/3/ 2021).

Advocate Kopot, who was also a candidate from West Gem but was originally from Kopia (the Ojuodhi clan), emerged as another option. They stressed regional identity while also spreading Ojuodhi Visas Kwenda propaganda, which was a kind of clan identification (north and south of river Yala). When a candidate succeeds in gaining the ODM party nomination in Gem, there is a pervasive notion that this is an unmistakable sign that the candidate will go on to win the general election and, maybe, a seat in the legislature that represents the area. This resulted in a fierce campaign battle amongst all of the contestants to win over the voters. After the party nomination contest was over, there was some misunderstanding about the identity of the new party candidate that had been chosen by the party. At this point, Elisha Otieno Odhiambo went to the press and announced that he would be the winner of the ODM election. As a direct consequence of this, Jakoyo Midiwo was proclaimed the victor by a local radio station even before the first hour had passed. This drama continued for a period of two weeks, and in the end, Jakoyo was announced as the ODM candidate, according to the focus group discussion that took place on January 4, 2021.

However, during the general election in 2013, other opponents were left in disbelief after Jakoyo Midiwo secured the mouth-watering Gem parliamentary seat for yet another third time with an ODM ticket. The closest contender was Elisha Odhiambo from Malanga, who had worked hard to secure the Gem parliamentary seat. Jakoyo Midiwo's victory was a blow to Odhiambo, who had worked hard to secure the Gem parliamentary seat. The South Gem Council of Elders asserts that Washington Jakoyo Midiwo was a very active member of the National Assembly of Kenya during the years of 2002 and 2013.

Since the beginning of the Gem Constituency, he is the only person who has ever held the position of member of parliament for Gem for all three terms. During his time in office, he held a number of positions, including those of members of the ODM beginning in 2008, member of the House Business Committee beginning on 13 February 2013 and continuing until 2017, member of the Catering and Health Club Committee, chief whip, and deputy minority leader. It was during his second term that he came up with the slogan "Tried and tested" (Otada times two). This phrase was kept as his customary label to be Otada times three in the 2013 elections (KII, MP. Washington Jakoyo Midiwo), and it will be Otada times four in the 2017 elections (KII, FGD 5: 29 /3/ 2021). Constituency Development Fund is one of the numerous development projects being pursued by the government to combat poverty in the nation. The fund was formed in 2003 under the CDF Act as one of the many development initiatives.

There was a highly promising future in store for the Gem constituency as a result of the competent handling of the Constituency development fund (CDF). There was a minimum of one youth polytechnic in each ward that was completely supported by CDF funding. At the same time, the CDF allocated a project consisting of at least one dispensary to be carried out in each of the sub-locations. The establishment of the Rera Medical Training College was one of the Mega Projects for which Jakoyo Midiwo, the Member of Parliament, pushed during his campaign for a third term in office (MTC). According to the results of a focus group discussion that took place on March 29, 2021 (FGD 5), this was the only college that could be discovered in south Gem.

During the time that he was a member of parliament, Midiwo served in a number of house committees. These committees included the departmental committee of Finance, planning and Trade (he was a member of the House Business Committee from 2008 to 2013), the departmental committee on Defense and Foreign Relations, and the joint Committee on Parliamentary Committee. In addition to that, he was the Chief Whip for the ODM, and he eventually became the Deputy Minority Leader for that party in the 11th Parliament. As a Member of Parliament, Jakoyo Midiwo made a move that caused him to be branded as one of the rebel leaders from the ODM stronghold.

However, after almost two years of silence, he announced a comeback by rejoining the ODM party alongside other rebels, including former Kasarani MP Elizabeth Ongoro, Reuben Ndolo (Makadara MP), and Omondi Mulwan (Alego Usonga MP), and Omondi Any (Nyatike). Midiwo was given the responsibility of promoting the Building Bridges Initiatives in the Nyanza area together with the other leaders as soon as he returned to the organization. Midiwo was a leader who did not shy away from speaking his mind, and he never hesitated to call out either his party leader Raila Odinga or the president [www. Standardmedia.co.ke](http://www.standardmedia.co.ke). June 14th 2021.

4.14 Politics of 2017 General Election

In the 2017 general elections, the conquest for the Gem parliamentary seat was considered a two-horse race since the other contestants were weak, the race was between Elisha Odhiambo from Malanga Umani – Ochola (Jadak) who were assimilated in Ojuodhi clan contested on a ODM ticket against the sitting MP Jakoyo Midiwo from Kathomo clan in Kwenda but living among Kanyikwaya clan. This was contrary to the usual Ojuodhi and Kwenda tussles, even though Gem had three sons who formed the three gem clans, the most active were Ojuodhi and Kwenda. However, Anyanga clan (Nyakota) identified themselves with Ojuodhi whom the oral tradition says was welcomed by Anyanga. Politically, Anyanga has never supported Kwenda at the same time it had never stood a line on her strong identity as Anyanga clan.

During the 2017 ODM, new wave of political struggle emerged with some historic contenders and new ones. Rading Omolo who was from central (Ojuodhi clan), Gem, Booker Ngesa from Mundhine in East Gem, Elisha Odhiambo from North Gem (Umani -Ochola, alienated to Ojuodhi) and Jakoyo Midiwo from Kathomo but settled among the Nyikwaya (Kwenda clan). The major huddle which Jakoyo Midiwo faced was being branded Jubilee Mule due to his support of Engender Nicholus Gumbo who was a former member of Parliamentary Committee (PAC) and opposing Cornel Rasanga as the Siaya governor. At the same time, the East and West Gem (Ojuodhi) factor was another hard bone to chew for Jakoyo Midiwo, focus group discussion from Mabinju village, Focus group discussion (FGD9: 4/3/ 2021).

His other accusations which were whispered by ODM stakeholders was the way he attacked Oburu Odinga for colluding with governor Rasanga to siphon County funds.

After a delayed decision, the ODM secretariat leader who was empowered to release the ODM nomination certificate denied him the certificate and gave it to Elisha Otieno Odhiambo. Basing his strength on his popularity in good use of CDF funds, new road projects like Akala Kodiaga road and Luanda Akala Road, he decided to proceed to the general election on Independence ticket. Unfortunately, ODM, Raila factor and other local political factors in Gem led to his downfall, giving victory to Elisha Otieno Odhiambo, focus group discussion, (FGD9: 4/3/ 2021).

4.15. Other Potential Gem Leaders

It should be noted that Gem political transformation was not only transformed by politicians and administrators but by many personalities who emerged as the national figures either as public servants and business men and women. All these efforts merged together led to transformation of Gem politics. These personalities got engaged in the transformation directly or indirectly. The following serves as a few examples of such men and women were: Professor Wasawo, Oludhe MacGoye, ArchBishop, and Abednego Ajauoga Professor Nying'uro of Nairobi University, Professor Ogweno Midiwo Nairobi University, Majorio Oludhe Mac- Goye, Engineer Chiaji, and Engineer Otonglo all from South Gem. At the same time these are just a few from East Gem; Justice Otieno Masime, Professor Magoha, Professor Bethwel Ogot, Engineer Radier, Dr. Ang'awa and others, focus group discussion in Ahono village (FGD9: 4/3/2021).

4.15.1 Grace Onyango

Grace Onyango was born on 26th June 1924 in Sakwa, Bondo District, and Nyanza Province, Kenya. She was the second born child among nine children. Grace Onyango went to Ng'iya Girls School, Vihiga Teachers Training College from where she graduated in 1955. She was the posted back as a teacher and three years later, she was recalled to Vihiga Teachers College to work as a trainer. She married a teacher and journalist. Onyango Baridi from Central Gem who died in 1969, leaving her with six children. This means that she became a basified native of Gem constancy through her marriage in Gem. Grace Onyango was elected as councilor of Kaloleni Ward in Kisumu. After the death of Kisumu Mayor Mathius Ondiek in 1965, she joined the race to replace him. There were originally two other women in the race but they both

dropped out because of the hostile environment and abuse from male competitors. That left Grace as the only female candidate in a field with six male opponents.

Eventually she was elected mayor of Kisumu town on 1st April 1965 and served between 1965 and 1969. Grace Onyango was Member of Parliament of Kisumu from 1979 to 1984 during which she became the first woman to represent Kisumu people in the National assembly. Also, she was the first Woman to sit as a temporary deputy speaker in the national assembly. In one instance in November 1970, she asked Minister of State Mbiyu Koinange why the state had arrested a witchdoctor known as *Kajiwe* for oathing people at the coast, but had not arrested those who organised oathing in Central Province the year before, (Standard Newspaper, July 2018).

4.15.2 Rev Bishop Wasonga

Rev Bishop Dr. Joseph Otieno Wasonga was born in 1954, in Gem sub-county, Siaya County in Kenya. He was the son of the late freedom fighter Wasonga Sijeyo. He served as an untrained teacher at Wagai Primary school before he was employed by the Teachers Service Commission. As a boy whose father was arrested and detained by the colonial government, Wasonga harbored bitterness. He served for 28 years as the bishop of Maseno West ACK Diocese. (By Kenya New Agency, People Daily Digital, and Thursday, December 16th 2021).

During the interview at Ramogi Television between 8.00pm and 8.30 on 1st March 2022, the retired bishop of Maseno West Diocese narrated how national politics affected their family. He stated that his father who was the second member of parliament of Gem constituency was arrested and imprisoned four months before his birth by the British during the state of emergency due to Mau-Mau resistance. According to his speech, he never saw his father but he was just informed by his mother that his mother was in prison. He said that his father had been elected by KPU as an MP of Gem; he was convicted together with Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and others for organizing KPU demonstrations against Kenyatta. According to him, the Kisumu massacre occurred when the president's guard and police forces shot and killed several civilians in Kisumu Town, the capital of Nyanza Province in Kenya. This took place on October 25, 1969. He was assisted by bishop Henry Okulu of Kisumu Diocese in Kenya and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga in his study abroad. He has participated in peace

building in Gem and Maseno Diocese at large and national justice mentorship. He has also encouraged dairy farming and food sustainability in the region. This has made him one of the heroes in Gem, (Royal Media services-Ramogi TV, March 1st 2022).

4.15.3 Prof. Bethwel Ogot

Professor Bethwel Allan Ogot was born in 1929 in Gem Location of Central Nyanza Province, Kenya, and was educated at Ambira, Maseno Secondary School, Makerere University College, and the University of St. Andrews before doing post-graduate work at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. While studying in London, he served as a leader of Kenya Students Association, where he assisted the Kenyan nationalists, notably the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga during the 1960 negotiations at the Lancaster negotiation for Kenya's independence.

4.15.4 Prof. Wasao

Prof. Wasawo was born in Gem Constituency, South Gem location, Onyinyore Sub-location, Onyinyore village of present Siaya County in 1923 and studied at Maseno School in 1937. His academic roots are traced to his days at Maseno where he sat the Kenya Junior Secondary School Examination in 1941 and passed with a distinction, to be declared the best overall candidate. Between 1942- 1943, Wasawo attended Alliance High School where he passed the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examinations and recorded a fresh set of distinctions in all the subjects he sat. He was the first African member of the teaching staff in the Faculty of Science at Makerere. Prof Wasawo was awarded a PhD degree by London University in 1959. In 1965, he transferred from Makerere to University of Nairobi College to be the first deputy Principal until 1970 when the tides turned against him (<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke>).

4.15.5 Marjorie Oludhe Macgoye

Marjorie Phyllis Oludhe Macgoye was born on 21 October 1928 in Southampton, England. Also known as the mother of Kenyan literature' studied at the University of London for both her bachelor and master's degree. She moved to Kenya in 1954 as a bookseller, an author and a publisher of story books, novels and magazines. She later became a citizen in 1964. She won awards for many of her works such as *Growing up at Lina School*, *Murder in Majengo*, but her most notable novel is *coming to Birth*. Her

award –winning novels portrays the life of a Kenyan woman during the time period 1956-1078. While in Kenya, Marjorie met Daniel Oludhe Macgoye, her husband, who was a medical doctor. The two were married in 1960. Because she was married in the Kanyikwaya clan of Gem, all her success was crowned to the Kanyikwaya clan of Gem. She died in 1st December 2015 at the age of 87 and was buried at Kogoye, Kambare sub-location, South Gem Location, Siaya County, Kenya next to her husband who had died in 1990. As a scholar and a writer Marjorie represented the women folk and entire Gem constituency.

4.15.6 Dr. Abednego Ajuoga

According to the Power of Jesus around the World Church (1999), His Eminence Archbishop Dr. Abednego Matthew Ajuoga (H.S.C) was born in 1925 in Kambare village in South Gem location in Siaya County. His father was Oguna Ajuoga and mother Nerea Ogutu who were the strong followers of Church Missionary Society (C.M.S). Mr. Oguna the father of Ajuoga was the Colonial Headman representing South Gem from 19011 when he served under Ndeda as the Chief while Owiti the father of the Late Hon Horace Owiti Ongili was a Sub-chief. It was during his Youthful stage that his father donated Land for School and C.M. S Church in 1936.He went to Kambare primary between 1936 and 1941, Maseno School between 1942 and 1944, St. Mary's Yala 1945-1946, Kenya Uganda Railway Training School 1948, St. Paul United Theology College Limuru, between 1952 he was ordained as a Deacon, in 1954 he was ordained as Priest, between 1952-1957 he led the Rival Movement in the Church 1952-1957. In 1957 he was elected Bishop of the Church of Christ in Africa and from 1997 he was consecrated as the archbishop of the same church until his death on 22nd May 2009. Archbishop Ajuoga represented the people of Gem by becoming the founder and the first Bishop and Archbishop of C.C.A. church in the World. Even though he had died he remains in the religious book of record as the one who led a protest against the Anglican Church of Kenya (Ajuoga, 2009).

4.16 Conclusion

The political transformation of Gem people from 1964 to 2020 was rooted in colonial activities in the region. Immediately after the independence of Kenya, every citizen developed dreams and expectations. Having been kept under foreign rule for so long with consequential pride and hope for good things, Gem people jubilantly kept

forefront through its leaders. The foundation which the colonialists laid among Gem people contributed to the present political state of the people of Gem. Inspired by the anticolonial activities of the people of Kenyan descent Gem produced national politicians like C.M.G. Argwings Kodhek, Omolo Okero and others. Clanism, which has been the teething problem in Gem politics, cuts across the two main clans, Ojuodhi and Kwenda. As observed earlier, clan inclination has affected Gem for many decades, this has been carried forward since independence to date.

This scourge has hindered equality in constituency development leading to a continuing struggle for regional balance. What emerged clearly was that the region which produced early leaders in Gem (East Gem and North Gem) were ahead in development when compared with West Gem, South Gem and Central Gem. Most developed roads and railways are found in North Gem and East Gem, therefore there have existed historical mistrust between North and south of River Yala. The change of parliamentary leadership in Gem between the year 2003 to 2017 that South Gem produced another MP led to a paradigm shift in development in south Gem and all parts of Gem. However, it emerged that Gem history was repeated as the 2017 parliamentary General election shifted leadership to North Gem reintroducing the clan discomfort from South Gem.

It was observed that independence politics gave Kenya a new political look; key youthful national politics dominated the entire nation as most communities struggled to be smart politically. Gem people played a central role in giving direction to national politics as the region reflected the activities which kept on changing as the national politics grew and took its special root. It was also observed that the most devastating factor in Gem politics was the seasonal and emergency of changes in Gem politics. Gem was first seen in the post- independence Kenyan politics through the achievements of Argwings Kodhek. Another observation was the struggle for representation in national politics as it was dominated by clan inclination and regional domineering. Those who represented the region had to be elected to represent them in the National Assembly, however historical clan domination still played the key role.

Another observation which was identified was that; death of Argwings Kodhek, the detention of Wasonga Sijeyo and the death of Horace Ongili Owiti denied Gem people

a chance of being represented by the leadership which was inclined toward the so assumed strong clans. The second challenge emanated from clan identity and regional belonging. Elimination of section 2A and the growth of Multiparty also affected the economic, political and social trajectory of Gem politics. Gem remains divided even after fifty years since independence.

It was also observed that it became clear that irrespective of good brains from the educated natives, there is a valley (clan and regional identity) which is deeply rooted to village level and keeps on dividing Gem people. Even when a leader is elected or appointed from a neutral clan, regional identity immediately penetrates and the leader automatically begins leaning towards his native or towards the region he or she hails from. The constituency development achievement achieved by leaders from south of river Yala cannot be appreciated by those who reside in North Gem even if the achievements are recognised by the international bodies like Insofar- synovate.

It was observed that clan and regional inclination-controlled Gem politics during the election of Isaac Omolo Okero between 1960 and 1974. Election of Aggrey Otieno Ambala in 1979, election and death of Horace Ongili in 1983, Grace Ogot to 1988, Multy party Election of 1992 when Hon. OKII Ooko Ombaka was elected as Gem Member of Parliament. This happened in 1997 at the election of Joe Donde, Election of Jakoyo Midiwo in the 2003 and 2017 election when Elisha Odhiambo took the seat. It was also established that this is a challenge of the region till today. The achievement of some prominent people who were not inclined to politics was also established.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, a summary, conclusion and recommendations for future research is presented. The aim of this study was to examine political transformation among the Luo of Gem in Siaya County, Kenya between 1850 and 2020. The study commences in 1850 because this year gives a historical background in investigating the political practices among the Luo of Gem before the British colonial government imposed its rule and subsequent economic political policies. This study investigates the political organisation of Gem people up to 1894, examine the history of Gem during the colonial period and analyses the participation of Gem people in Kenya's nationalist politics 1964-2020.

This study adopted modern state formation theory as the main tool of analysis. This theory examines the factors that support the establishment of modern states across Africa from the pre-colonial period and has demonstrated that some African societies particularly the centralised societies had features of modern state systems before colonization. The study has demonstrated that political practices among the Luo of Gem were greatly affected by the advent of colonial rule and experienced significant changes in the post colonial period.

This study employed in-depth oral interviews and Archival records to collect primary data. Archival records were obtained from Kenya National Archives, Nairobi and Provincial Archives, Kisumu. Secondary data was obtained from written sources such as books, journals, published articles, dissertations and periodicals. These were mainly obtained from Kenyatta University's Post-Modern Library, Maseno University Library, Nyilima Community Library and University of Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta Library. The relevant and related literature reviewed in this work indicated that, although some studies have been undertaken on political organisation of communities in Kenya by Historians and Social Anthropologists, several gaps including the one on transformation on political participation and representation among the Luo of Gem was identified as possible research area especially in the year 1850-2020.

5.2 Summary

In chapter two, the work begins with the historical background of the Luo of Gem by briefly examining their migration and settlement. In order to understand the dynamics of change in political practices among the Luo of Gem, it was important to start with interrogating the political, social and economic spheres of the Luo of Gem during the pre-colonial period. The chapter describes how the Luo of Gem political organisation influenced their social and economic practices during the pre-colonial period.

The study established that Gem people are a subset of the Luo people who migrated from Got Ramogi under several leaders into their present territory. They belonged Joka Omolo cluster from the Luo family alongside Joka Jok and Joka Owiny, who were the sons of Ramogi Ajwang, Kenya's legendary Luo father. They travelled via Samia on their way to Ramogi, where they settled around 1550 A.D. According to Ogutu (1975), Omolo was the father of Ochielo, who later gave birth to Ragem (Gem) and Ragenya (Ugenya). The predecessors of the community were Kwenda, Anyanga and Ojuodhi who lead the community to Ramogi hills.

On their migration and settlement, the study found out that from Ramogi hills, they moved to Barding as one group led by Rading Omolo from where the descendants of Ragem (Gem) dispersed into two directions following an attack and looting of their livestock from Jo-Alego and Sakwa clans from Joka Owiny cluster. They dispersed and settled into two major areas. One group led by Orome Ayuo of the Kwenda clan moved to Kathomo while the other group led by Rading Omolo moved to Nyamninia where they attacked and dispersed the Luhyia of Kisa clan.

Since the precolonial period, the political authority of the community has been under the control of leaders from the Kagola sub-clan of Ojuodhi clan and before the fragmentation of the major clans in Gem, the pioneer leader of the entire community was Rading Omolo from Ojuodhi clan. He was later succeeded by Odera Rangira, Oloo Ramoya and Odera Ulalo before the establishment of colonial rule. These leaders were warriors and magicians who leade in war and predict the outcome of war with their neighbours. They also influenced collaboration with some local Luhyia clans like Kisa.

The Luo of Gem clans occupied distinct settlements where they lived in fortified homesteads which comprised many huts and families. The members of *Gunda Bur* were expected to be of one sub-clan. In the line of Leadership and authority, medicine men (jobilo), in Gem formed a powerful class of leaders who could manipulate decisions made by their leaders. The study further established that Jo-Gem are locally referred to as *Jomwa or Bantu* by other Luo speakers who neighbor them. This could be attributed to the fact that there are some communities found in Gem who are related to Bantu speakers.

In chapter three, the study established that through the leadership of pioneer leaders of Gem like Odera Ulalo and Odera Akango, the colonial administration developed a cordial relationship with the community and the British colonial authority used them in pacifying some of the resisting Luo clans in the region. For instance, the closeness between Odera Ulalo influenced the Luo of Asembo and Seme to cooperate with the British. Their leaders also assisted in the provision of food, as well as the supply of carrier corps and troops, throughout the years of World War I. During the Mau Mau Period, which was associated with a state of emergency, the Luo Gem was of critical importance to the Mau Mau inmates because Argwings Kodhek, who was the first African to start a law office in Kenya, made the selfless decision to donate his expertise to advocate for them. Even the Colonialists gave him the appellation "Mau Mau advocate."

In chapter four, the study found out that, Mr. Benaiah Apolo Ohanga worked as a minister for the British government in the colonial parliament and during the struggle for independence, Argwings Kodhek played a pivotal role in the Lancaster House Conference in the drafting of independence constitution. Politics in Gem has been affected by conflicts between two main clans, Ojuodhi and Kwenda. As a result, regions which produced early leaders in Gem for instance East Gem and North Gem have realised more development compared with West Gem, South Gem and Central Gem. This imbalance in development has created historical mistrust between clans north and south of River Yala. However, the change of parliamentary leadership in Gem between the year 2003 to 2017 that produced member of parliament from South Gem led to a temporary shift in development in south Gem because in 2017 parliamentary General elections leadership returned to North Gem.

5.3 Conclusion

This study set out to address a number of objectives in relation to transformation of political practices among the Luo of Gem during the pre-colonial, colonial and independence period in Kenya. The scope of the study was between 1850 and 2020. The area of study was Siaya County with specific focus on Gem community. The objectives that guided this study were to investigate the political organisation of Gem people up to 1894, examine the history of Gem during the colonial period and analyse the participation of Gem people in Kenya's nationalist politics 1964-2020. It can be concluded from this study of political transformation among the Luo of Gem that political the political transformation of the Luo of Gem can be traced from the pre-colonial period. The fact that the precolonial leaders played a significant role in linking the community with colonial government, an experience that made them to be adopted as agents of colonial rule in the region. The social, economic, and political organisation of the community was largely determined by their allegiance to clans and it turned out that the Ojuodhi clan have held historical leadership positions from the colonial period to date to date. This has influenced the development trajectory with East Gem having more development as compared to other parts of Gem. Majority of the colonial elites and leaders originated from East Gem. Even in the present day, majority of national leaders representing Gem constituency are from East Gem.

5.4 Recommendation

Finally, based on the findings of this study, a number of major recommendations emerged. First, the Luo of Gem should perceive political leadership beyond clans or regional predisposition that has been the case for along time and instead focus on unity. The historical unity enjoyed in the pre-colonial period and during the eve of colonial rule should be used as an instrumental factor in nurturing interclan unity.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Key Informants

Name	Date	Place	Age	Role
EXC1. Johanes Ojodo	January 11 th 2021	Rera (South Gem)	92	Ex-Ast Chief
EXC2. Elijah Ochieng Owino	January 12 th 2021	Luri (Central Gem)	80	Ex-chief
EXC3. Ignatus Omolo Onjak	January 12 th 2021	Marenyo	83	Ex-chief
EL 4. Ombima Nundu	January 20 th 2021	Uriri	87	Elder
EL 5. Nyawanda	January 24 th 2021	Akala	71	Elder
EL 6. Pius Ojwando	January 25 th 2021	Ramula	72	Elder
EL 7. Oluoch Oloo	January 26 th 2021	Ojuok	84	Elder
EL 8. Abisalom Ojando	February 8 th 2021	Dienya	74	Elder
EL 9. Solomon Ojwando	February 9 th 2021	Ramula	84	Elder
EL 10. Nicanor Ogaga	February 10 th 2021	Regea	85	Elder
EXC11. Clement Chiaji	February 11 th 2021	Onyinyore (S.Gem)	93	Ex-Chief
EXC12. Omolo Okumba	February 13 th 2021	Kanyadet S.W. Gem	84	Ex-Chief
EL 13. Odera Oluoch	February 14 th 2021	Gongo	71	Elder
EL 14. Peter Ochola	February 15 th 2021	Lundha	70	Elder
EL 15. William Obare	February 18 th 2021	Malanga	76	Elder
Ex cl 6. Calleb Angaya	February 22 rd 2021	Odendo South Gem	88	Ex-Counsellor
Exp 17. John Okalo Oyieche	February 23 th 2021	Ndori	78	Ex-Police
EL 18. Luck Obondo	March 23 th 2021	Aluor	73	Elder
EL 19. Paul Opere	March 23 rd 2021	Kanyuto	73	Elder
EL20. John Osewe	February 24 th 2021	Gombe	72	Elder
EL 21. James Ojwang	March 24 th 2021	Ming'ao	89	Elder
EL 22. Ogwenyo Limbe	March 24 th 2021	Ndiru	97	Elder
EL 23. Ajinja Ayuo	March 26 th 2021	Ndiru	76	Elder
EL 24. Peter Ogaga	March 26 th /2021	Ndegwe	86	Elder
EL 25. Gordon Adino	March 26 th 2021	Ulumbi	86	Elder
EL 26 John Ojal	March 27 th 2021	Kagilo	74	Elder
EL 27. Sigili Hatari	April 2 nd 2021	Kotoo Village	84	Elder
EL 28. Oudi Migele	April 7 th /2021	Ndori village	90	Elder
EL 29. Alex Ogutu	April 8 th 2021	Bar-Kalare	88	Elder

EL 30. John Ojuku	April 12 th 2021	Nyagondo	85	Elder
EL 31. Joel Orinda	April 15 th 2021	Kogoye	70	Elder
EL 32. Owiny Odera	April 23 rd 2021	Kogoye	82	Elder
EL 33. Mwanda Ojodo	April 23 rd 2021	Ndiru- Kayuo	73	Elder
EL 34. Horace Abaja	April 24 th 2021	Kaudha	70	Elder
EL 35. John Omulo	April 24 th 202	Nyamkiria	70	Elder
EL 36. Olum Olando	April 26 th 2021	Ndere	74	Elder

Appendix 2: Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

1. FGD 1:23th January 2021: Rera Village in South location

Names	Age
Johanes Ojodo	83
Musa Oloo	81
Luke Owino	78
Charles Okelo	82
Peter Obonyo	83
Okelo Saka	70

2. FGD2: 19th February 2021: Onyinyore Village South Gem location

Name	Age
Obilo Okuku	77
Adongo Ouko	90
Were Orege	70
Owili Ougo	89
Dalmas Agogo	88
William Chiaji	70
Pius Odero	79

3. FGD 3: 25th 2021 February: Uriri Village in West Gem

Name	Age
Odingo Mieno	86
John Otieno	77
Pius Owiti	72
Rojus Odundo	74
Paul Oluoch	76
John Otieno	75
Pius Osewe	78
Wilson Sumba	79

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION (FGD)

1. FGD 1:23th January 2021: Rera Village in South location

Names	Age
Johanes Ojodo	83
Musa Oloo	81
Luke Owino	78
Charles Okelo	82
Peter Obonyo	83
Okelo Saka	70

2. FGD2: 19th February 2021: Onyinyore Village South Gem location

Name	Age
Obilo Okuku	77
Adongo Ouko	90
Were Orege	70
Owili Ougo	89
Dalmas Agogo	88
William Chiaji	70
Pius Odero	79

3. FGD 3: 25th 2021 February: Uriri Village in West Gem

Name	Age
Odingo Mieno	86
John Otieno	77
Pius Owiti	72
Rojus Odundo	74
Paul Oluoch	76
John Otieno	75
Pius Osewe	78
Wilson Sumba	79

4. FGD 4: 26 February 2021: Luri Village in Central Gem

Name	Age
Lukas Okelo	72
Remjius Ajinja	71
Elija Ochieng	78
Charlice Owino	74
Ochieng Olale	76

5. FGD 5: 27th February 2021: Ahono Village East Gem location

Name	Age
Ologo Onyango	78
Oluoch Dina	81
Ongoro Owiti	85
Otieno Abwao	80
Abuonji Ajinja	64

FGD 6: 28th February 2021: Ulumbi village in East Gem

Name	Age
Edwin Odongo	74
Mathew Otieno	79
William Ochola	87
Odongo Akumu	73
Jared Owino	76
John Okelo	76
Omolo Obiero	74

FGD 7: March 2th 2021: Gogo village in Central Gem

Name	Age
Boaz Orome	75
Willis Odiel	78
Abwao Odongo	76
Paul Ochwada	78
Odero Ndeda	89
Owino Asima	88

FGD 8: March 3rd 2021 Ndiru Village in South Gem

Name	Age
Onyango Obondo	77
Peter Ayuo	76
Philip Atito	78
Owino Nondi	85
Wilson Sumba	80
Otieno Omenda	89
Ochieng Oyomba	73

FGD 9: 4th March 2021 Apuoche Village West Gem

Name	Age
Otieno Sigili	78
Onyango Achoki	76
Owiti Andala	71
Oyomba Omulo	87
Ochieng Kaumba	84
Odhiambo Achoki	83
Okoth Owiti	87

FGD 10: March 7th 2021: Ndere village North Gem

Name	Age
Odero Were	90
Okumu Odondi	87
Julius Sewe	72
Ochieng Abala	78
Owenga Oliech	80
Agina Oliech	70

Focus Group Discussion

Name	Date	Place	Age
EU1.Ammon Ayuo	11-1-2021	Ulumbi	82
Elder			
EW2.Paulus Olwal	12 -1-2021	Wagai	74
Elder			
EM3.Pitalis Nyamudho	16-1-2021	Malanga	87
Elder			
EY4.William Odila	17-1-2021	Yala	75
Elder			
EU5.John Ogaga	18-1-2021	Uriri	73
Elder			
Ew6.Jeckonia Obilo	18-1-2021	Olengo	78
Elder			
ES7.Solomon Sumba	19-1-2021	Sinaga	76
Elder			
EO8.Joseph Ojwang	19-1-2021	Omindo	78
Elder			
EA9.Tobias Odindo	19-1-2021	Asayi	76
Elder			
ER10.Jams Oguta	19-1-2021	Regea	75
Elder			
ES11.Solomon Sumba	19-1-2021	Sinaga	76
Elder			
E12.Joseph Ojwang	19-1-2021	Omindo	78
Elder			
EA13.Tobias Odindo	20-1-2021	Asayi	76
Elder			
ER14.Jams Oguta	20-1-2021	Regea	75
Elder			
ES15.Solomon Sumba	21-1-2021	Sinaga	76
Elder			
E16.Joseph Ojwang	21-1-2021	Omindo	78

Elder				
EA17.Tobias Odindo Elder	21-1-2021		Asayi	76
ER118.Jams Oguta Elder	21-1-2021		Regea	75
EU19.Thaddeus Rawer Elder	20-1-2021		Uranga	72
EA20.Carilus Onyuka Elder	21-1-2021		Abir	86
EK21. Cosmas Opundo Elder	21-1- 21		Kagilo	77
EN22.Isaiah Ojodo Elder	21-1-2021		Ndiru (Kayuo)	81
EK23.Cleophus Ojwang' Elder	21-1-2021		Kagilo	72
EG24.Ojwang Owino Elder	22-1-2021		Gombe village	83
EGO25Ogaga Otiende Elder	22 -1-2021		Gongo (Central Gem)	86
ERA26.Opiata Oyoo Elder	22-1-2021		Ramula (East Gem)	84
EKA27.Ochieng Sumba Elder	22 -1 -2021	Kaudha		84
ERB28.Peter Obilo Elder	22-1 -2021	Rabuor village (East Gem)		85
END229.Maurice Ojodo Elder	22-1-2021	Ndiru village (South Gem)		73
ENY30Peter Ojalo Elder	23-1-2021	Nyamkiria Village (South Gem)		87
EKR25.John Okeyo Elder	23-1-2021	Karariw village (Central Gem)		83

Elder

E KR26.John Ojodo March 23-1-2021 Kanyikwaya (Rera) 93

Elder

EKO27.Sijenji Okelo 23-1- 2021 Kojuok 87

Elder

EWAG28.Robert Okeyo April 23-1-2021 Wagai 86

Elder

EGI 29. William Ochola April 23-1-2021 Ginga 74

Elder

ENYG30.Ochieng Limbe April 23-1- 2021 Nyangweso 87

Elder

Appendix 3: Oral Interviews

Oral interview March 11th 2021: Omindo Village East Gem

Name	Age
Om1. Patrick Odundo	80
Om2. Odero were	76
Om3. Ojwang Dege	78
Om4. Ochieng Ogweno	72
Om5. Onyango Poka	73
Om6. Owero Were	71
Om7. Ojwang Okero	74
Om8. Opiyo Ogweno	70

Oral interview March 12th 2021: Ahono village East Gem

Name	Age
Ah 1. Oluoch Ajinja	74
Ah2. Okumu Agina	72
Ah3. Odiwuor Samba	87
Ah4. Thomas Okuon	76
Ah5. Odinga Odindo	75
Ah6. Odera Rariw	88

Oral interview March 13th 2021: Jina Village East Gem

Name	Age
Jn1. Omolo Onjak	85
Jn2. Okinda Ochuo	78
Jn3. Ogilo Okore	70
Jn4. Owenga Wagude	72
Jn5. Onyango Pudo	76
Jn6. Otieno Pudo	74
Jn7. Odhiambo Rading	85
Jn8. Otieno Odhek	75

Oral interview on March 14th 2021: Malanga Village North Gem

Name	Age
Ma1. Peter Nindo	76
Ma2. John Oluoch	78
Ma3. Calleb Angano	76
Ma4. Daniel Owili	78
Ma5. Paul Agina	77
Ma6. Pius Osewe	75
Ma7. John Pinda	78
Ma8. Rojus Odundo	76

Oral interview March 15th 2021: Kaudha village West Gem

Name	Age
Ka1. Onyango Were	90
Ka2. Willis Okelo	86
Ka3. Ogola Oluoko	89
Ka4. Peter Abala	80
Ka5. Joshua Owiti	86
Ka6. Julius Okwiri	86
Ka7. Piterlis Wanjawa	85

Oral interview March 16th 2021: Ramula Market East Gem

Name	Age
Ra1. Jared Abala	84
Ra2. Tom Owili	86
Ra3. Musa Otieno	87
Ra4. Abner Owiti	78
Ra5. Titus Werer	76
Ra6. John Olango	78
R7. Onyango Dieto	73

Oral interview March 17th 2021: Ulumbi Village East Gem

Name	Age
UI1. Onyango Owino	74
UI2. John Omolo	76
UI3. Owiti Alego	75
UI4. Omolo Awuor	76
UI5. Patrick Atego	71
UI6. Sijenyi Otenga	70

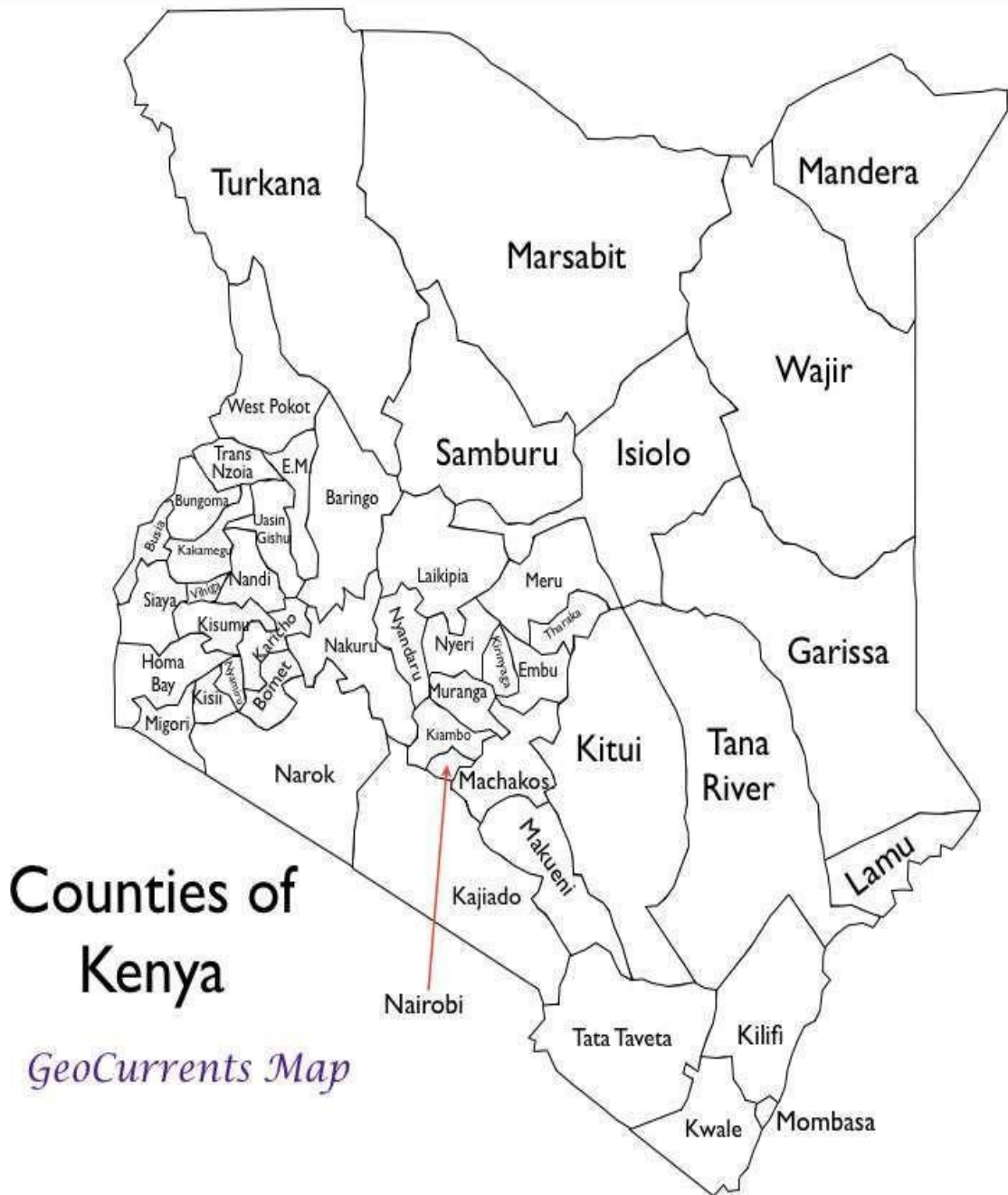
Appendix 4: Map of Gem Sub-County



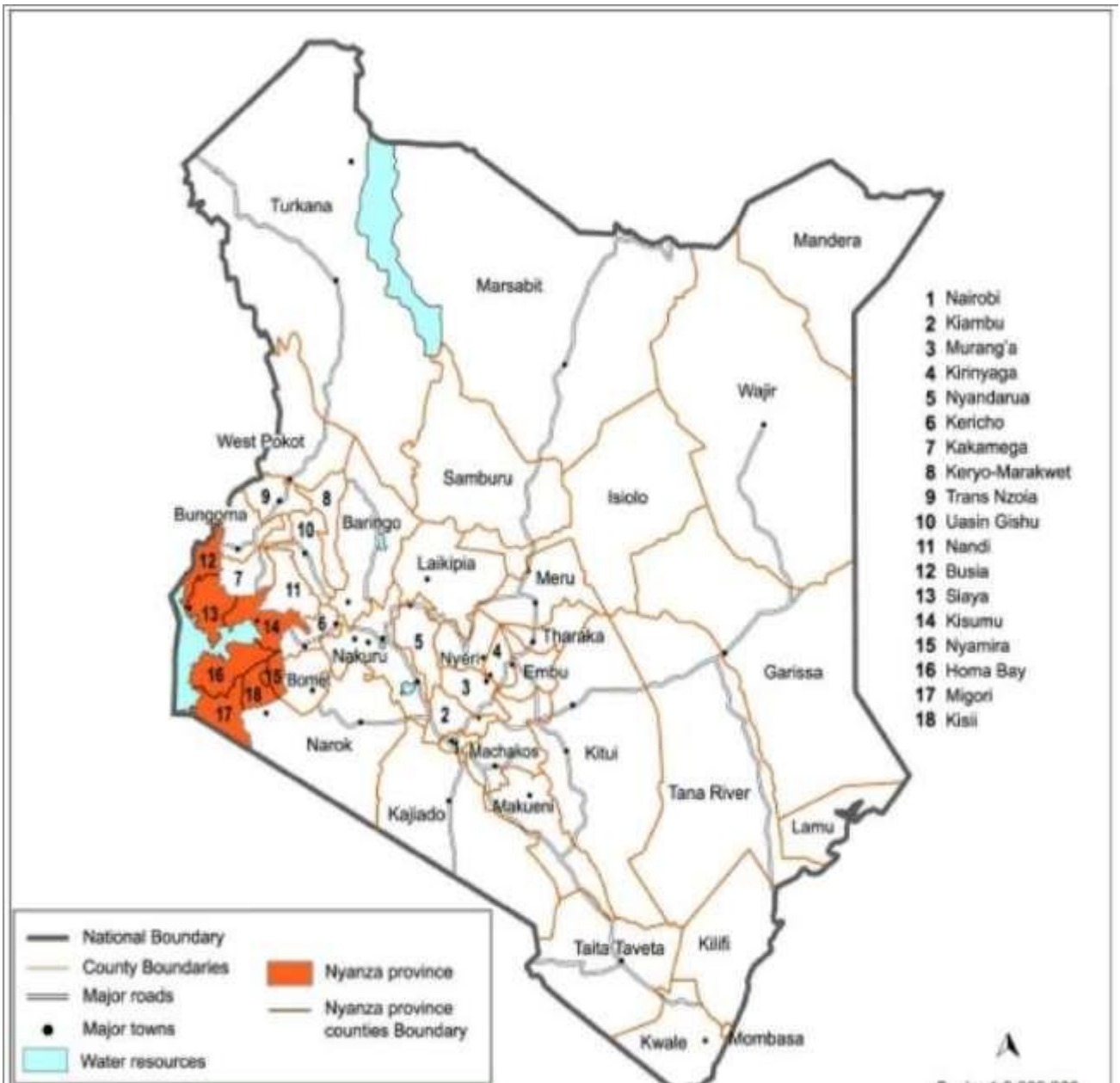
Appendix 5: Map of Siaya County



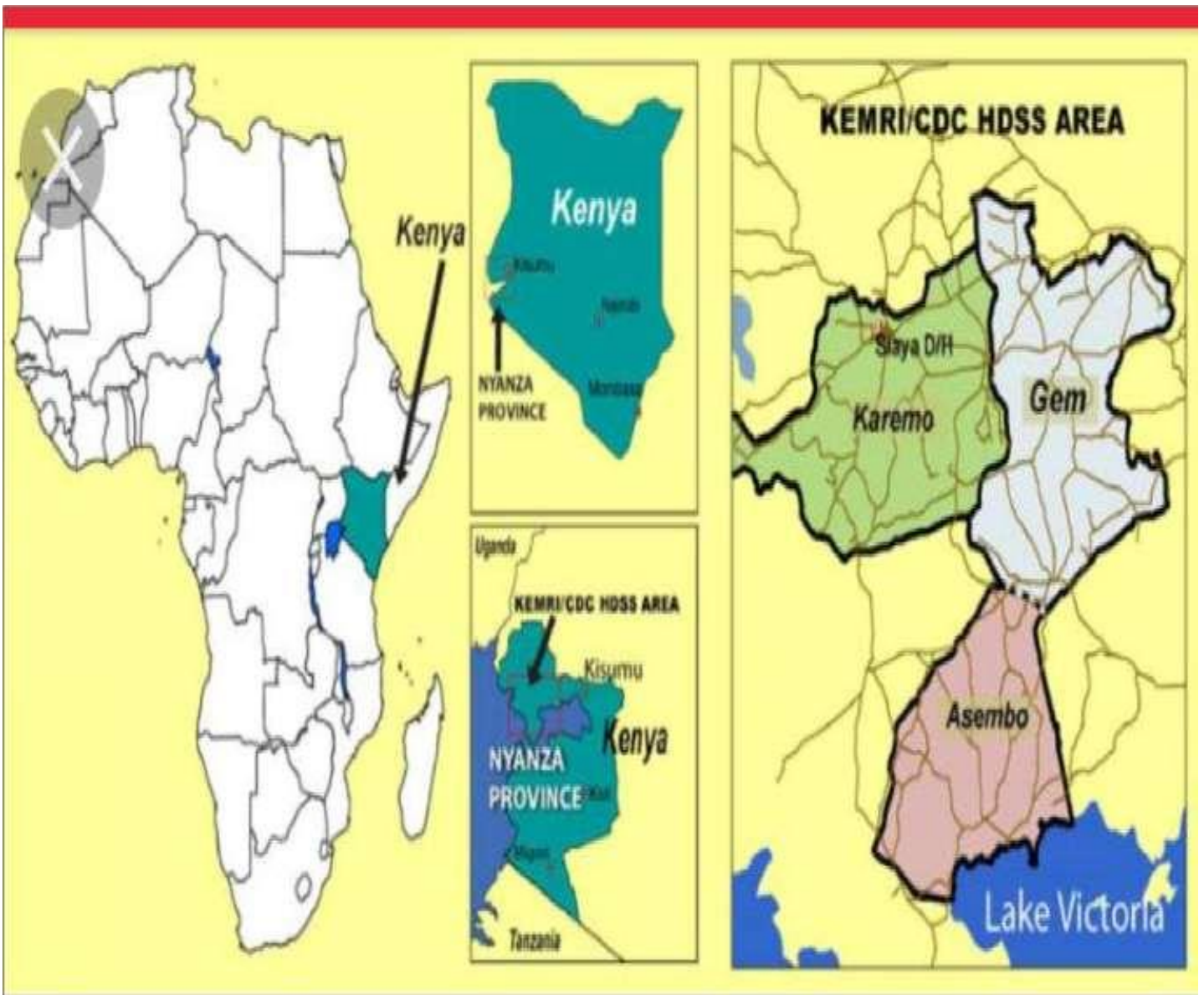
Appendix 6: Map of Kenya Indicating Counties



Appendix 7: Map of Kenya Indicating Provinces and District



Appendix 8: Map of Africa Location



Appendix 9: Transmittal Letter

Antony Odhiambo Owak

P.O.Box 76; 39401

Akala.

Date 30 /11/ 2020.

The Sub-County Commissioner

P.O. Box 81,

Sawagongo,

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE; RESEARCH NOTIFICATION

I Antony Odhiambo Owak a PhD in history student at Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology kindly ask for permission to collect data in your area of jurisdiction. The research topic being “Political Transformation in Colonial Kenya: The case of Gem people of Siaya County, since 1894”. Kindly accord me any relevant assistance required to facilitate the accomplishment of this work.

Thank you. Yours:

Antony Odhiambo Owak

Phone: 0724134338

Email: owakanthon@gmail.com

Appendix 10: Question Guideline

PART ONE

GENERAL INFORMATION

NAME OF INFORMANT.....

PLACE OF BIRTH.....

OCCUPATION.....

AGE: SEX.

PART TWO

THE PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY OF GEM

Where did the Jo-Gem come from? When?

What events happened in the migration of the Jo-Gem? Estimate the period. What important places did the members pass through?

Who did they encounter on the way?

Identify the place and period when the encounter took place. Which places did the Jo-Gem come to settle?

Whom did they find in those places? What was the nature of their settlement?

How was the leadership in the settlements conducted? Did they have an overall leader?

How were leaders appointed or installed in the Jo-Gem society? What was their roles and functions?

How did they perform those functions?

What relationship did the Jo-Gem have with their neighbours? Did the Jo-Gem engage in any war(s) with her neighbours?

Can you list the battles according to when and where they happened?

- 1) How did the Jo-Gem organize themselves for the war? What were the causes and results of the war(s)?
- 2) How did the Jo-Gem get in touch and relate to Arabs and Swahili's? What was the nature of this contact?

PART THREE

THE HISTORY OF GEM DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Where did the Jo-Gem first make contact with the Europeans?

What was the nature of this contact?

Did the Jo-Gem fight with the British?

When and where did the war take place?

Were they aided in this war?

What were the causes and results of the war?

After the war, what requirements did the British impose on the Jo-Gem?

What were the effects of the above colonial policies on the rise of anti-colonial feelings among the people?

Did you belong to any political organisation? Please name it. What role did you play in it?

What led you into assuming that role? Who were your colleagues?

How did you come into contact with them?

What were their ethnic, sub-ethnic or clan affiliations?

How did you interact with other political organizations in the colony and outside the country?' What were you fighting against?

Could you list common grievances upheld by you and your people?

What solution did you have to the political and economic problems that colonial rule posed in the area and the colony?

How did your organization rally support? Where particularly was it popular?

How did it get funds?

What projects did it undertake with these funds?

What was the attitude and reaction of the colonial government official to your position, actions and demands?

Did education play any role in the leadership of the organization and enrolment of members? How did the educated and the non-educated members of organization inter-relate?

How did the members of the organisation inter-relate?

Apart from political organizations, what other social, cultural and religious organizations that were formed in the area?

Who were their leaders?

What were they fighting for?

What successes and failures did they register?

How did government policy affect their activities?

In general what would you say were the achievements of political and non-political organizations in your area?

When and why did these organizations wind up? What other activities did you involve yourself in? With what success did you do this?

Who were some of the successful personalities in this field?

When did they first break through and how did they proceed thereafter?

What problems did people generally encounter in some of these undertakings? Did the coming of independence bring about any changes?

How did people generally respond to these changes?

Appendix 11: Glossary

Odila : Famine of 1897

Omboto : flee Omluanda

Rock Olukongo : Small villages

Omwihasiya : Aminister in Nabongo Kingdom

Ongonga : Famine of 1890

Ongengo : Metal bar instrument

Opere (Opamo): Luo name for rinderpest of 1897

Oporo : Horn used as musical instrument

Owalo : Dancing song tune made of sisal

Were : Luhya name for God

Ramula : Place where gold is found in plenty

Ragem : A too used for gathering fruits from a tree

Gem : The place was a location during colonial period but currently is a constituency

Appendix 12: NACOSTI Letter



JARAMOGI OGINGA ODINGA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY
BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES
Office of the Director

Tel. 057-2501804
Email: bps@jooust.ac.ke

P.O. BOX 210 - 40601
BONDO

Our Ref: Z162/4092/2018

Date: 30th November 2020

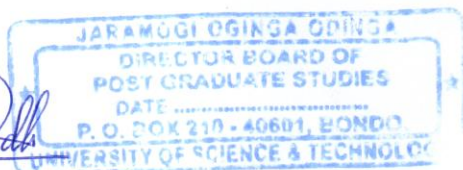
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: ANTONY ODHIAMBO OWAK – Z162/4092/2018

The above person is a bonafide postgraduate student of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology in the School of Education, Humanities and Social Sciences pursuing a PhD in History. He has been authorized by the University to undertake research on the topic: *“Political Transformation in Colonial Gem of Siaya County Since 1894”*.

Any assistance accorded him shall be appreciated.

Thank you.



Prof. Dennis Ochuodho

DIRECTOR, BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: 832644

Date of Issue: 10/December/2020

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Mr.. ANTONY ODHIAMBO OWAK of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology, has been licensed to conduct research in Siaya on the topic: POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION IN COLONIAL GEM OF SIAYA COUNTY SINCE 1894 for the period ending : 10/December/2021.

License No: NACOSTI/P/20/8132

832644

Applicant Identification Number

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7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report (thesis) within one year of completion of the research
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