



International Journal of

Sciences:

Basic and Applied

Research

A BIOGRAPHY OF MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI, 1923 - 1989

By *CHARLES KARANI*

Volume 28, 2016
ISSN (Print & Online): 2307-4531

© IJSBAR THESIS PUBLICATION
www.gssrr.org

Published by:



Visit: www.gssrr.org

ISSN 2307-4531 (Print & Online)

IJSBAR research papers are currently indexed by:



A BIOGRAPHY OF MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI, 1923 - 1989

Copyright © 2016 by CHARLES KARANI

All rights reserved. No part of this thesis may be produced or transmitted in any form or by any means without written permission of the author.
ISSN(online & Print) 2307-4531

Members of the Editorial Board

Editor in chief

Dr. Mohammad Othman Nassar, Faculty of Computer Science and Informatics, Amman Arab University for Graduate Studies,
Jordan, moanassar@aau.edu.jo , 00962788780593

Editorial Board

Prof. Dr. Felina Panas Espique, Dean at School of Teacher Education, Saint Louis University, Bonifacio St., Baguio City, Philippines.
Prof. Dr. Hye-Kyung Pang, Business Administration Department, Hallym University, Republic Of Korea.
Prof. Dr. Amer Abdulrahman Taqa, basic science Department, College of Dentistry, Mosul University, Iraq.
Prof. Dr. Abdul Haseeb Ansar, International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Dr. kuldeep Narain Mathur, school of quantitative science, Universiti Utara, Malaysia
Dr. Zaira Wahab, Iqra University, Pakistan.
Dr. Daniela Roxana Andron, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania.
Dr. Chandan Kumar Sarkar, IUBAT- International University of Business Agriculture and Technology, Bangladesh.
Dr. Azad Ali, Department of Zoology, B.N. College, Dhubri, India.
Dr. Narayan Ramappa Birasal, KLE Society's Gudleppa Hallikeri College Haveri (Permanently affiliated to Karnataka University Dharwad, Reaccredited by NAAC), India.
Dr. Rabindra Prasad Kayastha, Kathmandu University, Nepal.
Dr. Rasmeh Ali AlHuneiti, Brunel University, United Kingdom.
Dr. Florian Marcel Nuta, Faculty of Economics/Danubius University of Galati, Romania.
Dr. Suchismita Satapathy, School of Mechanical Engineering, KIIT University, India.
Dr. Juliana Ajdini, Department of Social Work and Social Policy, Faculty of Social Science, University of Tirana, Albania.
Dr. Arfan Yousaf, Department of Clinical Sciences, Faculty of Veterinary and Animal Sciences, PMAS-Arid Agriculture University Rawalpindi, Pakistan.
Dr. Rajamohan Natarajan, Chemical Engineering, Faculty of Engineering, Sohar university, Oman.
Dr. Tariq Javed, Lahore Pharmacy College (LMDC), University of Health Sciences, Lahore, Pakistan.
Dr. Rogers Andrew, Sokoine University of Agriculture, United Republic Of Tanzania
Dr Feras Fares, Amman Arab University for graduate studies, Jordan.



A BIOGRAPHY OF MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI, 1923 - 1989

By

CHARLES KARANI

REG. NO: MAHS/2013/ 47435

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Social Sciences in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in History
of Mount Kenya University**

November 2016

DECLARATION

I, CHARLES KARANI, declare that this *thesis* entitled “***A Biography of Moses Budamba Mudavadi, 1923 – 1989***” is my original work and that it has not been presented in any other university or institution for academic purpose.

CHARLES KARANI

ADMISSION NUMBER: MAHS/2013/47435

SUPERVISORS APPROVAL

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors:

Dr. Babere Kerata Chacha,

Mount Kenya University,

Dr. Abraham Murgor,

Mount Kenya University.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my wife Phyllis, and children: Cheryl, Renson, Yvonne, and Lisa and to all the grandee teachers at all levels of my education who nurtured my physical, emotional, moral, and cognitive prowess.

ABSTRACT

Moses Mudavadi, a Loogoli or Maragoli born in Vihiga district in Kenya in 1923 was a grandee civil servant and political mandarin in colonial and nascent Kenya. The absence of an authentic and documented history on the legendry politician dubbed “King of Mululu” necessitated the study titled “*A Biography of Moses Budamba Mudavadi, 1923 – 1989.*” The purpose of the study was to examine the life and times of Moses Mudavadi. It examined his life history in colonial Kenya, the Kenyatta epoch and the Moi era. It deployed historical research design; purposive and snowball sampling procedures that sampled 30 respondents from a target population of 307, 815 people from Vihiga County. Field research and library search gathered primary and secondary data; recorded using note taking, mobile phone, and photocopy; analyzed using narrative, conversation, and content techniques; presented using prose. The study anchored on Stogdill (1974) trait theory of leadership per se the big five-factor model. Generally, the findings actualized the premises that Moses Mudavadi was actually born in Vihiga near Sabatia in 1923, well educated and a grandee civil servant in colonial and nascent Kenya – served as an education officer at district and provincial levels. He made his political debut in President Kenyatta`s epoch in 1968 and joined parliament in 1976 after incarceration of the incumbent Member of Parliament – Peter Kibisu. Mudavadi was a formidable politician during President Moi`s era as member of parliament of Vihiga/ Sabatia constituency between 1979 and 1989; held lucrative and coveted ministerial posts: education, water and development, culture and social services and local government. He demised early 1989 and succeeded by his son Musalia Mudavadi. He had failures depicted in his temperamental character and blind support of President Moi`s populism that plummeted Kenya`s economy. His legacy wrapped up in his amiability, benevolence, projects he initiated and prominent son Musalia Mudavadi. It was recommended his biography be annulled into historical books , other researches of the kind be done using different designs, methods and tools, a grandeur coliseum in his memory be constructed and a book from the thesis be written and published for academic purposes and preserve for posterity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents	iv
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Abbreviation and Acronyms.....	x
Operational Definitions of Terms.....	xi
1.0. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Background to the Study.....	1
1.2. Statement to the Problem.....	4
1.3. Research objectives.....	4
1.3.1. General Objective.....	4
1.3.2. Specific Objectives.....	4
1.4. Research Premises.....	4
1.5. Significance and Justification of the Study.....	5
1.5.1 Significance of the Study.....	5
1.5.2 Justification of the Study.....	6
1.6. Scope and Limitation of the Study.....	6
1.7. Literature Review.....	8
1.7.1. Review of Theories of Leadership.....	8

1.7.2. Criticism of the Theories.....	11
1.7.3. Empirical Review.....	13
1.7.4. Knowledge Gap.....	20
1.8 Theoretical Framework.....	22
1.9. Research Methodology	27
1.9.1. Research Design.....	27
1.9.2. Sampling Procedures	27
1.9.3. Target Population.....	27
1.9.4. Sample Size.....	28
1.9.5. Research Instruments.....	28
1.9.6. Methods and Procedure of Data Collection.....	29
1.9.7. Proposed Methods of Data Analysis.....	31
1.9.8. Ethical Considerations of the Study.....	32

CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION

MOSES MUDAMBA MUDAVADI`S LIFE AND TIMES IN COLONIAL KENYA, 1923 – 1963

2.0. Introduction	33
2.1. Moses Mudavadi`s Birth and Childhood.....	34
2.2. Moses Mudavadi`s Education and Initiation.....	38
2.3. Moses Mudavadi`s and Employment in Colonial Kenya	40
2.4. Moses Budamba Mudavadi`s Marriage and Family Life.....	45

2.5. Conclusion.....	49
----------------------	----

CHAPTER THREE

MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI`S LIFE AND TIMES DURING THE KENYATTA EPOCH, 1964 – 1978

3.0. Introduction	52
3.1. Moses Mudavadi`s Role in President Kenyatta`s Regime.....	53
3.2. Moses Mudavadi`s political debut during President Kenyatta`s epoch.....	54
3.3. Conclusion.....	65

CHAPTER FOUR

MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI LIFE AND TIMES DURING THE MOI ERA, 1979 – 1989

4.0. Introduction	67
4.1. Moses Mudavadi and President Moi Relationship.....	68
4.2. Moses Mudavadi and Politics during President Moi era	72
4.3. Moses Mudavadi`s Roles in President Moi`s Government	88
4.3.1. Moses Mudavadi and Ministry of Education.....	88

4.3.2. Moses Mudavadi and the Ministry of Water development.....	92
4.3.3. Moses Mudavadi and the Ministry of Culture and Social Services.....	109
4.3.4. Moses Mudavadi and Ministry of Local Government and Planning	110
4.4. Moses Mudavadi life and times with other leaders, 1979 – 1989	144
4.4.1 Moses Mudavadi and Leaders in Larger Kakamega District.....	144
4.4.2 Moses Mudavadi and Leaders outside Kakamega District	163
4.4.3. Moses Mudavadi, the Peacemaker.....	166
4.5. Moses Mudavadi`s failures during his Life and Times	168
4.6. The end of Life and Times of Moses Mudavadi and Succession	173
4.6.1. The Death of Moses Budamba Mudavadi.....	173
4.6.2. Moses Budamba Mudavadi`s Succession.....	177
4.7. Moses Budamba Mudavadi`s Legacy.....	180
4.8. Conclusion	184

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0. Introduction.....	188
------------------------	-----

5.1. Summary of findings	189
5.2. Conclusions	197
5.3. Recommendations	198
Bibliography	199
Appendices	209
Appendix 1. List of Respondents.....	209
Appendix 2. Glossary	211
Appendix 3 Oral Interview schedule for Objective One	212
Appendix 4 Oral Interview Schedule for Objective Two.....	213
Appendix 5 Oral interview Schedule for Objective Three.....	214
Appendix 6 An Archive`s Guide.....	215
Appendix 7 An Observation Schedule.....	216
Appendix 8 Letter of Authority from National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation.....	217
Appendix 9 Permit from National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation.....	218
Appendix 10 Permit from Kenya National Archives and Documentation Service...	219
Appendix 11 The researcher`s consent seeking letter to Moses Budamba`s Family.....	220
Appendix 12 Research Authorization letter from the county commissioner`s office.....	221

Appendix 13 Research Authorization letter from the county commissioner`s office.....	222
Appendix 14 Research Authorization letter from the county director`s education office.....	223
Appendix 15 Authorization/ Cooperation letter to collect research data from Mount Kenya University.....	224
Appendix 16 Recommendation Letter to collect research data from Mount Kenya University.....	225
Appendix 17 Letter of Consent from Moses Mudavadi`s family.....	226
Appendix 18 Letter authorizing Study Leave from Teachers Service Commission.....	227
Appendix 19 Map of Kenya showing location of Vihiga county and its environs..	228
Appendix 20 Photograph of Moses Mudavadi`s brother, Japheth Ihaji.....	229
Appendix 21 Photograph of Moses Budamba Budamba Mudavadi.....	230

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge with great appreciation the contributions of individuals, institutions, and astral power that lent a hand in the success of this document.

Primarily, my reverence and accolade to God who wilted and warded off all the evil and His infinite protection, wisdom, guidance, and providence during the study. Kudos to Dr. Babere Kerata Chacha , Dr. Abraham Murgor and Professor Peter Ndege, for the grandeur supervision; Dr. Josiah Aketch for his vital inputs and Professor Charles Oriaro for consultation and administrative services offered.

Special thanks to : administration and staff of Mount Kenya University for providing an opportunity to undertake the study; the National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation, Vihiga County Commissioner`s office, County Director`s Vihiga office for permitting the study; the family of Moses Budamba Mudavadi for their accession and cooperation during the study.

My humble recognition to the staff of Kenya National Archives and Documentation Services (Nairobi City and Kakamega) for permitting me into search rooms and assistance in accessing the dire needed materials that made the study a success.

My gratitude to Mount Kenya University (Kakamega) library; Masinde Muliro University library; Kenya National Library Services (Kakamega and Kisumu) staffs for cooperating during library search. My special thanks to Teachers Service Commission for providing the three-month study leave and emoluments that enabled me access loans from IG Sacco Ltd, Kenya Commercial Bank, and Faulu Bank that boosted the study. Ultimately, I appreciate respondents' cooperation of which without the study could be futile.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

A.E.O – Assistant Education officer

ANC- African National Congress

D.C – District Commissioner

D.E.O –District Education Officer

D.O – District Officer

FDR –Fredrick Delano Roosevelt

GEMA – Gikuyu, Embu, Meru, and Aembu

JFK – John Fitzgerald Kennedy

J.M – Josiah Mwangi Kariuki

KANU – Kenya African National Union

K.A.R – King`s African Rifles

KAU- Kenya African Union

KCA – Kikuyu Central Association

Leg co – Legislative Council

M.P – Member of Parliament

M.W.D – Ministry of Water and Development

P.E.O – Provincial Education Officer

PLO – Palestine Liberation Organization

US/ USA – United States/ United States of America

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Biography – A life story of a person written by someone else.

Construction – Empowering a society socially economically and politically

Deconstruction – Destroying a society`s social, economic and political pillars

De – Gemanization – Eliminating Gikuyu, Embu, Meru and Aembu influence

De – Luloogolinization – Eliminating Luloogoli/ Maragoli cultural influence

Kakamega District – A former administrative area that comprised of former Ikolomani, Vihiga, Emuhaya, Hamisi and Shinyalu constituencies.

King of Mululu – A name given to Moses Mudavadi because of King like leadership that saw him receive homage from other leaders.

Leader – A person heading a country, community, or organization.

Luloogoli - A language spoken by the Maragoli

Luloogolinization – cultural influence of the Luloogoli or Maragoli people

Mandarin – A powerful government officer

Maragoli – A sub tribe of the Luhya in Kenya found in Western Kenya that speaks a language called Luloogoli.

Nascent Kenya – The just independent and vibrant Kenya

Sabatia Constituency – A new constituency curved from Vihiga constituency

Trait – A particular characteristic that can produce a particular type of behavior.

Tsimbemba – A Luloogoli/ Maragoli word equivalent to gossip or rumor

Vihiga Constituency – An administrative area that comprised of present day Sabatia and Vihiga constituencies.

Vihiga District – Former Sabatia, Vihiga, Emuhaya, and Hamisi divisions combined.

Mwananchi/ Wananchi – common person/ people

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

Moses Budamba Mudavadi, a Logooli, or Maragoli by sub tribe of the predominant Luhya was born in 1923 in Vihiga district. He was a grandee civil servant in Colonial Kenya (1949 – 1963) and a political mandarin in nascent Kenya during the reigns of President Kenyatta and President Moi (1964 – 1989).

As a political icon, he provided model leadership to fellow mandarins. He transmuted the existing poor social, economic, and political milieus into modest forms, hastening Kenya`s development. Besides, he was a mentor, friend, and confidant of President Moi.

He was the Kakamega district chairperson of Kenya African National Union party and Western province mouthpiece and the party`s national secretary general between 1988 and 1989 during the de jure single party state in Kenya.

In relation, he was the only man other than president Moi to whom leaders of all caliber paid homage; a prerogative only bestowed to President Moi that made him dubbed “King of Mululu” (Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014). The people of Kakamega district and other districts in Kenya revered and awed Moses Mudavadi for his benevolence and friendliness that endeared many.

At home, he initiated several landmarks. He elevated Vihiga to a district and constructed the modern administrative block in Mbale town besides the modern Mbale district hospital. He also mentored so many people using education and employment. Moses Mudavadi`s successful family formed part of his legacy.

He was the father to Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi the renowned politician in Kenya who held several high political offices including vice president (2002 – 3rd January 2003) and deputy prime minister (13th April 2008 – 9th April 2013). Musalia was a formidable presidential aspirant in 2012 general elections on United Democratic Front Party ticket and by then the party leader of Amani National Congress Party (ANC); a great son indeed.

Several scholars studied and wrote biographies of leaders to verbalize their great actions based on their leadership traits. Their contributions to the world provided learning lessons for the present generation to emulate. The written stories also acted as points of references for molding the younger generations as future leaders.

Relatively, their highlighted decisions informed the present leaders in their course of action in resolving social, economic, and political issues. That was a basis of studies in finding solutions bedeviling man. The biographies of these leaders were reference materials in writing history of nations for academic purposes, promotion of national heritage and for posterity.

Globally scholars studied and documented biographies of various leaders. Foreman (2004) wrote the classical biography of Alexander of Macedon, Gilbert (2002) documented the biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wintle (2007) the biography of Mustafa Kemal and John F. Kennedy among others.

In the African context, Gordimer (1961) wrote the biography of Albert Luthuli while House (2002), the biography of Nelson Mandela just to mention few. In Kenya, Atieno – Adhiambo (2003) studied and documented the biography of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and Aseka (2001) the biography of Jomo Kenyatta among others. In

Vihiga district presently a county, Wanyande (2002) undertook a study on the life and times of Joseph Daniel Otiende.

Mudavadi as a leader had tenets of leadership. Stogdill (1974) postulated that good leaders had certain traits that made them have an outstanding character. They included: adaptable to situations, alert to social environment, oriented, assertive, decisive, dependable, dominant, energetic, persistent, self confident, tolerant to stress, willing to assume responsibility and ambitious and achievement. Myers (2004) and Huffman (2010) termed them, Big Five Factors / Model (openness, conscientiousness, extroversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism).

The allegory that Moses Mudavadi was privy to President Moi's populism, construction of the Kalenjin and deconstruction of the GEMA that plummeted Kenya's economy in the 1980's was a tale by cynics who impugned his reputation to satiate their malice and deterred any scholarly attempts at his study (Wanyande, Omosa and Ludeki, 2007).

The insight into such scholarly bias and in view of Carr (1961) condemnation of those who looked at history with one eye; encapsulated a great man as one who influenced the organization of his society and formed the state informed the researcher's decision. Being a student of historical realism, he qualified Mudavadi as a great man worth studying.

It was therefore against the background that the researcher went to the field to gather an in depth empirical data on the life and times of Moses Budamba Mudavadi anchored on Stogdill (1974) theory of leadership to bridge the gap in historical knowledge in view of the historical needs of academicians and to provide a preserve for posterity.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Moses Budamba Mudavadi was an iconic civil and political mandarin from larger Kakamega district in colonial and nascent Kenya having held coveted senior civil service portfolios like provincial education officer and ministerial posts notably, minister for local government.

It was scholarly subjective that other researchers documented biographies of other leaders of his eke even from his home tuff (Vihiga) like Joseph Daniel Otiende`s biography by Wanyande (2002) but ignored him. Hence, there was a need to carry out a credible study on Moses Mudavadi to document his life history for social, economic, and political gains cum preservation for posterity.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

An examination of life and times of Moses Budamba Mudavadi.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The following study`s objectives were formulated:

1. To examine Moses Mudavadi`s life and times in colonial Kenya, 1923 – 1963.
2. To give an account of Moses Mudavadi`s life and times during the Kenyatta epoch, 1964 – 1978.
3. To document Moses Mudavadi`s life and times during the Moi era, 1979 – 1989.

1.4 Research Premises

The research proceeded from the following assumptions:

1. That, Moses Mudavadi`s early life experiences in colonial Kenya provided the threshold for his future civil and political career.

2. That, Moses Mudavadi was a grandee civil and political leader during president Kenyatta`s epoch.
3. That, Moses Mudavadi`s political career thrived during president Moi`s era.

1.5. Significance and Justification of the Study

1.5.1. Significance of the Study

The study was generally of great importance as it availed the empirical data on the life and times of Moses Budamba Mudavadi that qualified him as a great leader in Kenya worth studying for documentation. That ultimately bridged the gap in historical Knowledge and enriched history as a subject.

Specifically, it would be of the following vitality:

1. To historians the documented study would be reference to their academic work for knowledge acquisition, dissemination, and retention.
2. To economists, it would be of importance in establishing a coliseum in memory of Moses Mudavadi that would serve as an academic, cultural and tourist rendezvous for monetary gains.
3. To sociologists, the family, other people of Vihiga County and Kenyans in general, it would avail data on one of their great leader`s for academic purposes and for posterity.
4. To politicians it would provide learning lessons that would stimulate their political instincts and guide them in their political line of life enabling them become successful politicians.
5. To Vihiga county government, it would enable her safeguard and disseminate the history of her area of jurisdiction for political, economic, and social gains.

1.5.2. Justification of the Study

The study was justified by the fact that Moses Budamba Mudavadi played a grand role in transforming the political, economic, and social lives not only of the people of larger Kakamega district and western Kenya, but also of Kenyans in general. Given that, he played a key role in the larger Kakamega district politics to the extent of the media and other politicians dubbing him “*the King of Mululu*,” it was academically subjective that none of the scholars had studied his life and times.

These formed precedents to an authentic study whose paradigm was to examine the life and times of Moses Mudavadi to fill a knowledge gap that existed for documentation, academic purpose and as a preserve for posterity.

1.6. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study restricted itself to Kenya and particularly Vihiga district (County) and its immediate environs and the life of Moses Budamba Mudavadi between 1923 and 1989. It mainly anchored on Stogdill (1974) trait theory of leadership per se big five-factor model. It mainly deployed, historical research design and field research and library search as methods of collecting data.

It mainly used purposive and snowball as techniques to sample the 30 respondents that participated in the study. The respondents’ age was limited to 40 years and above. It limited itself to use of basic individual interviews, small group interviews, and observations as methods of collecting primary data; visits to archives, and library search rooms to collect secondary data.

The interview schedules and observation schedule were the only tools used to collect primary data. The study presumed respondents’ hearsay to be true limiting primary data. It mainly used note taking and mobile phone device technology to

record the primary data analyzed using narrative and conversation analyses techniques. The study singly used content analysis to analyze secondary data and recorded it using note taking and photocopy.

It deployed mainly prose technique to present both primary and secondary data. It never wavered from prescribed ethical considerations that included honesty, openness, researcher being responsible for his work among others while shunning plagiarism and deception and other vices as advocated by (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, Kombo & Tromp, 2011, Bernard, 2013, Weinstein & Foard, 2009 and Shamoo & Resnik 2009).

1.7. Literature Review

The Literature Review of the study provided related data on leadership theories relevant to the study, criticism of the theories and empirical review of various biographies of remarkable people both locally, regionally and internationally and Knowledge gap.

There was also a skeleton of data on Moses Budamba Mudavadi gathered courtesy of the internet and hearsay. The study presented the theories of leadership in a definite order; the empirical review was three fold: Kenya, Africa, and Global.

1.7.1. Review of Theories of Leadership

King (2010) posited that trait theories emphasized that personality consisted of traits – broad enduring dispositions that led to characteristic responses. The trait leadership theory believed that people were either born or made with certain qualities that made them excel in leadership roles. Stogdill (1974) the originator of the trait theory advanced elements of trait theory that included, adaptable to situations, alert to social environment and oriented.

Others included assertive, decisive, dependable, dominant, energetic, persistent, self confident, tolerant to stress, willing to assume responsibility and ambitious and achievement. King (2010), Myers (2004), and Huffman (2010) stated that the Big Five Factors model consisted of openness, conscientiousness, extroversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism.

Transformational leadership theories stated that the process by which a person interacted with others enabled him create a solid relationship that led to a high percentage of trust that later resulted in an increase of motivation both extrinsic in both leaders and followers.

The transformational theories pegged on the fact that leaders transformed their followers through their inspirational nature and charismatic personalities. Rules and regulations were flexible, guided by group norms. The attributes provided a sense of belonging for the followers as they easily identified with the leader and its purpose.

According to Bass (1990), transformational leadership occurred when the interests of employees were resonated by their leaders. They then generated awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group and propelled the employees to see beyond their self-interest for the good of the group.

Barbuto (2005) argued that transformational leaders engendered trust, admiration, loyalty, and respect among their followers. Gellis (2001), Hall, Johnson, Wysocki and Kepner (2002) and Kelly (2003) posited four dimensions of transformational leadership: independence, co-existence, addictive effect and performance beyond expectations.

Behavioral theories focused on the behavior of leaders as opposed to the mental, physical, or social tenets. With evolutions in psychometrics (notably the factor analysis), researchers measured the cause and effect relationship of specific human behaviors from leaders. It led to an assertion that anyone with the right conditions could have accessed to the once before elite club of naturally gifted leaders.

Behavior theory of leadership was a leadership theory that considered the observable actions and reactions of leaders and followed in a given situation. They focused on behavior of leaders and assumed that leaders were made and not born. That was to say successful leadership pegged on definable learnable behavior.

A transaction initiated between leaders and the followers characterized transactional or exchange theories of leadership. The theory valued a positive and mutual beneficial

relationship. For the transactional theories to be effective, the leader had to find a means to align to adequately reward or punish his followers for performing leader assigned task.

Transactional leaders were most effective when they developed a mutual reinforcing environment for which the individual and organization goals were in harmony. A transactional leader was someone who valued order and structure. They were likely to command military operations, managed large corporations, or led international projects that required rules and regulations to complete objectives on time or move people and supplies in an organized way.

Additionally, focused short goals, favored structured policies, and procedures characterized the theory. It thrived on following rules and doing things currently, reveled in efficiency, very left – brained, tended to be inflexible, and opposed to change. The idea of charismatic leadership was derived from the Greek word – charisma that meant divinely `inspired gift`. Accordingly, Weber (1947) stated,

“ a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities.”

Charismatic leadership style relied on the charm and persuasiveness of the leader. Charismatic leaders` convictions and commitment to the cause were their key propellers. They strived to make status quo better. Such examples included Martin Luther King who used his powerful oratory to bring change.

The thing that set charismatic leaders apart were that they were essentially very skilled communicators, individuals who were both verbally eloquent but also able to communicate to followers on a deep emotional level.

Societies identified charismatic leaders frequently in times of crisis and displayed exceptional devotion and expertise in their fields. Often, charismatic leaders exhibited a clear vision in business or politics and the ability to engage a large audience.

Conger, Kanungo and Menon (2000) posited that members of an organization led by a charismatic leader could be distinguished by their greater reverence, trust and by a heightened sense of collective identity perceived group task performance and feelings of empowerment.

The Great Man theory was a 19th century notion. Thomas Carlyle, a writer and teacher, verbalized it. Even though nobody had scientific justification of identification of great leaders, everyone attested that just as the name suggested, only a man could have the traits of a great leader.

The Great Man theory assumed that the tenets of leadership were innate. That simply meant that great leaders were born and not made. That implied that great leaders were those destined by birth to become leaders. Another belief was that leaders rose when confronted with ideal situation.

1.7.2. Criticism of the Theories of Leadership

Huffman (2010), King (2010), Myers (2004), and Northouse (2007) presented three common criticism of trait theory. Firstly, trait theories even though applauded for describing personality, they had a difficulty in explaining why people developed these traits or why personality traits differed across cultures.

Secondly, even though they had documented a high level of personality stability after the age of 30 years, they had not identified characteristics that lasted a lifetime and those that must change. Additionally Avery, Zhang, Avolco and Krueger (2007) recent research study on identical and fraternal twins reported, 30% of their

respondents showed heritability emergence of 30%; 70% was attributed to situational factors like leader role models during someone`s career.

Critics of transformational leadership theory criticized it for its difficulty to train or taught because its components were too comprehensive. Again it led to abuse of power as Colonel Mark .A Homig (2001) asserted that transformational leadership was a *`double edged sword.* ` He cited Adolf Hitler who even though saved Germany from economic limbo in 1920`s, people became obsessed with him and followed blindly his conquest for his so called Lebensraum for Germany that terminated in a disaster in Europe.

He also cited Shoko Asahara, a founder and leader of Aum Shinrikiyo aka Aleph a Japanese cult that executed Sarin gas attack in Tokyo in 1995. The researcher was of the view that even Ugandan dictator Idi Amin bore the negative traits of transformational leadership and abused his powers to the detriment of Uganda`s social economic and political stability cum development.

According to Brayman (1992), the transformational leadership looked ideal to be a set of personality characteristics rather than special requirements. Avolio and Howell (1992) averred that qualities that made a great leader could lead to unethical acts. A leader could make unethical decisions and even commit crimes. Yukl G. (1998) named Hitler to be such a leader.

Some critics faltered the theory for its definition and components. They reiterated the definitions of the four components – inspirational, intellectual, idealized, and individualized overlapped each other.

The critics of Behavior theory of leadership imputed it for its little guidance as to what made effective leadership in various situations. Relatively, they argued that the

styles leaders adopted, were prone to effects from those they were working with and the environment they operated.

Critics of Transactional theory claimed that it focused on cost minimization as that minimization had little advantage of transaction of specific assets not valued in the market. It was therefore, imperative to move beyond the perspective that economy was the best strategy for an organization. In addition, it understated the cost of organizing. Thirdly, it neglected the role of social relationship in economic transactions.

Some scholars impugned Charismatic theory in the sense that charismatic leaders could increase risk levels of an organization and threatened the well-being of members. Those leaders personalized need for power, negative life themes, and narcissistic tendencies of personalized charismatic leaders. They averred it led to unethical and destructive behavior. A Personalized charismatic leader had the capacity to destabilize and damage the organization and its members because of the leaders focus on personal advancement and interest.

The English philosopher, Herbert Spencer greatly criticized the Great Man theory. He disputed it by affirming that the heroes were simply the products of their times and their actions, results of social conditions. Most research studies agreed that no one leadership style was right for every manager under all circumstances. Thus, leadership styles were multifunctional.

1.7.3. Empirical Review

Some scholars portrayed some leaders with facets of trait theory of leadership. They included, Atieno – Adhiambo (2003) in her biography of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga aka Ajuma (Vice president of Kenya 1963 – 1964) and Wandibba (2004), findings on Josiah Mwangi Kariuki – a prominent Mp and critic of President Kenyatta policies. These depicted tenets of trait theory of leadership that included intelligence, alert to social environment, fluent, tolerant to stress among others (Huffman, 2010).

They also depicted neuroticism. The government imprisoned Oginga Odinga after falling out with President Kenyatta when he formed the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) party as an attempt to field alternative views about how the then pressing problems of the day could be solved. On the other hand, the Kiambu Mafia murdered J.M Kariuki in 1975 for criticizing President Kenyatta regime more so on corruption and land policies (Wanyande et al., 2007).

Timothy (1974) portrayed Kwameh Nkrumah the president of Ghana as having tenets of trait theory. He claimed that Nkrumah was born in poverty, rose to fame, from prison to cabinet and from state house to exile then death.

The researcher noted that the trait of leadership made him acquire education; identified while pursuing further education and made secretary of United Gold Coast Convention party; leader of Convention people’s party that gave Ghanians independence. Timothy (1974) reiterated that unfortunately he became a dictator towards the end of his rule that compelled lieutenant colonel Kotoka to oust him.

Other scholars documented biography of leaders in Kenya who depicted aspects of transformational leadership in Kenya. A good example was Aseka (2001) in his

biography of Jomo Kenyatta (1888/1889 – 1978), born Kamau Ngengi wa Muigai. Kenyatta transformed Kenya from a colonial state to an independent country in 1963.

Wanyande et al. (2007) referred to it as first political transition. Feinberg, Ostroff and Burke (2005) reiterated that transformational leaders elevate people from low levels of need focused on survival. He posited Kenyatta using the *harambee* – pulling together philosophy transmuted the poor social and economic lives of Kenyans to more developed ones.

In Africa, House (2002), in her account of Nelson Mandela, born Rolihlahla meaning in Xhosa – ‘*pulling the branches of a tree*’ or ‘*troublemaker*’ president of United South Africa – 1994 – 1999 depicted him as having tenets of transformational leadership. He brought social, economic, and political change in South Africa when he defeated the all Whites government that perpetrated and perpetuated apartheid.

House (2002) averred Mandela was such a great leader who engineered social interactions in South Africa by healing the wounds and mending the social bridges that apartheid had broken. She contended that Mandela made a courtesy call to Dr. Hendricks Verwoerd’s widow’s home; the man who had enacted most of the racist laws while in office.

Globally, Wintle averred that Ataturk Mustafa Kemal, the father of the Turks, was born in Macedonia in (1881 – 1938) bore dimensions of a transformational leader. He avowed Mustafa Kemal Pasha (General) led his country to independence and in 1923; Turkey confirmed Kemal the president and held office for 15 years until his death.

Kemal transformed his nation through social, economic, and political reforms. Turks acquired a second name in 1934, as it were in the West. He said the Turks gave Mustafa the name Ataturk meaning father of the Turks. He averred Kemal

modernized his nation bringing order to the past empire`s chaos; made Turkey the first Muslim republic – a secular state but different from other Muslim countries.

He stated that Kemal introduced his ideology termed Kemalism or Atarkursim based on 5 principles: a republican government representative of the electorate, a secular administration, nationalism and a modernized mixed economy; closed religious schools and made Turkish education free, introduced western calendar and modified language by embracing Latin.

He predicated Kemal abolished Islamic laws and Shariah courts westernized his country-replacing fez with European headgear. The women were discouraged from putting on veils and given equal rights. That Kemal`s legacy was pronounced; influencing other Moslem secularists like Colonel Nasser of Egypt who established amiable relations with foreign nations.

Wintle (2007) documented that Mustafa took his country to League of Nations who paid him tribute as a genius international peacemaker until his death. Hence, Kemal was at most a transformational leader.

Scholars depicted some leaders in Kenya like Daniel Joseph Otiende Mp for Vihiga constituency and Minister for Education and Culture (1963), Minister for Health (1964) with tenets of behavior theory (Wanyande, 2002). He portrayed him as a leader created by his Maragoli society and not born as such.

Gordimer (1961) in his document on the biography of Albert Luthuli presented his character as bearing traits of behavior theory. The Zulu nurtured Luthuli. Zulu was a great African tribe – famous for its brave warriors; the white men in South Africa conquered it last. That his uncle who mentored him was a chief too and he succeeded

him as the chief of Umvoti reserve when he demised. Thus, the Zulu trained him to be their leader in the Bantustans and colonial government. He depicted great expertise.

Gilbert (2002) and Boehm, McGowan, McKinney – Browning, Miramontes and Porter (2002) avowed Franklin Delano Roosevelt revealed aspects of behavior Theory. They asserted, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the president of United States of America was born from a wealthy family. They further alleged that his family trained him to be a great leader.

He was educated, worked as a lawyer, president of USA, 1933 – 1945 following inspiration from his distant uncle Theodore Roosevelt and Cousin Teddy – governor of New York and during his time as president procured many development projects like the alphabet agencies (Agricultural adjustment administration and civilian conservation corps geared at economic relief recovery and reform.

Aseka (1993) biography on Ronald Ngala presented him as a leader with elements of transactional theory in Kenya. That implied he valued order and structure. He posited that Ngala did well in education, was a teacher and school's administrator before joining politics and on joining KANU, Ngala became a Minister for Cooperative and social services in 1966 in post colonial Kenya.

Kenneth Kaunda the president of Zambia helped form the African National Congress (ANC) that was the main anti – colonial organization in Northern Rhodesia. He was the party's secretary general from 1953 – 1958 under ANC president, Harry Nkumbula. In 1958, he broke with Nkumbula and became president of Zambia African National Union.

The colonial authority arrested Kaunda in 1959 during civil disorder and upon release in 1960 became the president of United National Independence party. On

October 30, 1962, Zambians elected him to the legislative council. In 1962, Kaunda formed a coalition government with Nkumbula's ANC and served as minister of local government and social welfare.

In 1964, he became the first president of Zambia. Kaunda upon independence made agreements with mining companies and the rebellious prophet Lenshina. He also made a deal with Tanzania for a rail to link landlocked Zambia with the port of Dar es Salaam. Kaunda retired from politics in 1991 and continued with policies and programs of his country – Zambia; a great transactional leader indeed.

Morton (1998) in his documentation on Daniel Arap Moi aka Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi (President of Kenya, 1978 – 2002) classified Moi as a charismatic leader with a divinely inspired gift of leadership. That Moi used charisma to represent Rift Valley in the Leg co in the 1950's, Mp for Baringo, President Kenyatta's vice president for 15 years and President for 24 years.

Globally, Boehm et al. (2002) and Johnson and Adelman (2000) posited Martin Luther King Jr. bore tenets of a charismatic leader. That he used his charm, and oratory persuasiveness to liberate the black man from the yoke of racial and class stratification in USA.

The researcher was of the view that King was a charismatic leader who liberated the `blacks` in USA and even though dead, he was still celebrated on the third Monday of January with pomp and color (Boehm et al. 2002).

Entertainment Television Networks, 2008 Grade Level: 6 - 12, 50 minutes description Barack Hussein Obama president of U.S.A rose to fame in 2004 after his eloquent moving speech at the 2004 democratic national convention in Boston when he called for unity among the 'red' (republicans) and the blue (democrats).

He used charisma to trounce the Republican Alan Keyes becoming the third American to join the senate since reconstruction. He avowed Obama made history on January 20, 2009 as the first Black- American to enter White House as president of United States of America.

Certain scholars documented several leaders globally to have elements of great man theory. Classically, Foreman (2004) in the epic story of the warrior – Alexander the conqueror, presented Alexander of Macedon as one of them. That he was the son of the incumbent king Philip and Olympias.

She found out that his parents envisioned that he would accomplish things no man ever done. Foreman (2004) contended that Alexander was so invincible, dubbed '*Alexander the Great*'. Hence she cited Alexander`s famous quote, "*It is a lovely thing to live with courage, and die leaving an everlasting fame.*"

The researcher concurred that classically Alexander remained one of those greatest classical leaders of the world. That his life was unique and proof to the modern world that age was nothing when it came to leadership. Those leaders were born not made.

Likewise, Wintle, 2007 depicted Kennedy John Fitzgerald (1917 – 1963), the U.S 35th president as having traits of Great Man theory. He posited JFK was born in a family that had strong ties with the Democratic Party and politics was a family profession.

Dowswell (2002) too alleged in his biography of Winston Churchill that he harbored traits of Great Man theory. That was portrayed by Churchill`s birth in a rich class that believed that it had a God – given duty and right to rule. Dowswell (2002) affirmed that Churchill was a Member of Parliament for Oldham, cabinet in 1908.

In 1916, he was the minister for munitions and secretary of war. He was chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, chancellor of the Exchequer and lord of admiralty during 2nd world war when Hitler invaded Poland on 1st September 1939; Prime Minister on 10th May, 1940 at the age of 66 years.

In conclusion, the researcher observed that dimensions of other leadership theories like transformational, transactional, behavioral, charismatic, and great man constituted dimensions of the trait theory of leadership. In addition, there was no leadership theory that had individual unique facets.

They intertwined and in reference to the multi function role of leadership theories, the researcher appreciated the term '*Web - faceted leadership theory*' per se trait leadership theory. The study's findings would add weight on the scanty data, which existed and depict Moses Mudavadi as a trait theorist.

1.7.4. Knowledge Gap

The biographies hitherto discussed had not availed any elaborated data on the life and times of Moses Budamba Mudavadi. Again the data that existed was scanty and unreliable and a need arose for an in depth search for a detailed and authentic data to enrich the history guided by the trait theory of leadership.

The study therefore bridged the knowledge gap that existed by firstly demolishing the cynical perception of bias scholars – disciples of Diogenes of Synope who had besmirched and impugned Moses Mudavadi's character and deterred other scholars from studying his life and times.

It provided reasons that justified the study based on trait theory of leadership and Carr (1961) discourse on history. Relatively the scholars who provided the scanty data had looked at the life of Moses Mudavadi with one eye; only suitable for

documenting a hagiography(a biography in which the writer represents the person as perfect or much better than they really are or the tendency to write so admiringly about a person that is not realistic).

The study therefore provided a detailed balanced analysis of Moses Mudavadi`s life (looked at with two eyes) that facilitated the documentation of the biography. The scanty data previously gathered did not subject its findings to research methods and tools. The study therefore deployed a scholarly approach to the subject using research methods, tools, and procedures.

The study`s data collected therefore knit together the fragmented data and filled the knowledge gap with new, detailed and well-organized empirical information on the life and times of Moses Mudavadi. In connection, the gathered data corrected some persistent mistakes that had existed for some time. Such mistakes included the use of the second name of Mudavadi as Mudamba instead of Budamba that the data verified and corrected.

The study also invented some Afro – English vocabulary and added to the existing vocabulary. Such included *lulogoolinization* and *de – lulogoolinization* meaning Logooli or Maragoli (ethnic group) assimilation and their dissimilation respectively. Additionally *de-Gemanization* meaning Gikuyu, Embu, Meru, Aembu dissimilation.

Ultimately, the study provided a unique account of Moses Mudavadi based on trait theory of leadership and classified him accordingly. It had recommendations that no any other study had up fronted. That gave the study a productive angle for social, economic, and political gains when implemented. Concisely, the study filled the knowledge gap that had existed; well documented for academic consumption and for posterity.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

This section presented a discourse on trait theory of leadership. It discussed the definition and history of the trait theory of leadership. It also gave initial arguments for and against the realism of the theory; its actual formulation and function in molding and identifying leaders for effective management of societies.

King (2010) asserted that trait theories emphasized that personality consisted of traits – broad enduring dispositions that led to characteristic responses. The trait theory of Leadership was one of the first systematic attempts to study leadership in the early 20th century up to the end of 1940`s.

It advocated that leadership ability was innate and linked to personal qualities. Colbert et al posited that the trait theory of leadership suggested that personality traits influenced leader emergence and effectiveness. Trait theories of leadership identified the specific personality traits that distinguished leaders from non-leaders.

They were based on the premise that leaders were `born` not `made`. That leadership was largely intrinsic rather than nurtured through learning. According to King (2010), Allport claimed that traits should produce consistent behavior in different situations. He used the lexical approach to personality traits that indulged all the words in the natural language that could describe an individual as a basis for understanding the traits of personality.

Huffman (2010) contended that an early study of dictionary terms, found almost 18,000 words that described personality. She claimed of these 4,500 were seen ideal in researches definition of personality. She asserted, that in 1937, Gordon Allport alleged that the best way to understand personality was to study a person and then arrange his or her unique personality traits into a hierarchy.

Consequently, the most vital and pervasive traits were listed at the top and the less important at the bottom. Reviews of Stogdill (1948) and Mann (1959) showed skepticism on the trait theory of Leadership. It fell out of favor with majority of leadership researchers. House and Aditya (1997) found out that many scholars agreed that the search for universal traits was impossible.

They claimed part of the inconsistent results that led to the doubt was due to many traits considered in the studies. Bass (1990) advanced 43 different aspects examined in the studies. It was impossible to compare results across the studies due to the many leadership traits and lack of a clear organizing framework. House and Aditya (1997) noted a difficult embedded in minute empirically elucidated personality theory that could guide the search for leadership traits.

Additionally explanations on the relationship between each characteristic and its effect on leadership were unavailable. The context of the leader was inconsequential. Various studies analyzed the traits among existing leaders in the hope of uncovering those responsible for ones leadership abilities in vain.

The only conspicuous traits among the people were those that were a bit taller and slightly more intelligent. In connection, scholars had added the idea of enumeration of traits to the Great Man theory. Nevertheless, it left a controversy whether or not the traits were innate. Relatively the trait theory stated that leaders had certain in born tendencies that enabled them to lead.

During the Second World War (1939- 1945), people in studying Hitler and Mussolini discovered that charisma was behind their popularity. Hitler irrespective of his inequity stood above the rest as a great man even though in modern times could be seen a villain.

It is from this notion that Stogdill formalized his assertion of trait theory in 1974 contained in his handbook of leadership. In 1948, he had contended that leaders did not have traits that were unique to leaders. That followed much research in the previous two decades that had pointed to the same. After a change in research methods, Stogdill came to his later view.

It was imperative to note, knowledge of traits that made a successful leader helped in identifying potential leaders. The specific traits listed according to Stogdill (1974) allowed them to be available for quantification or correlation with validation techniques like brain scans. They included the following: adaptability to situations, assertiveness, oriented, dependability, persistence, decisiveness, cooperation, dominant (desire to influence others).

Others included, energetic that was having a high level of activity, tolerance to stress, self confident, intelligence, conceptually skilled, creative, fluent in speaking, persuasive, organized in terms of administrative ability, socially skilled, alert to social environment, ambitious and achievement, knowledgeable about group task, diplomatic and tactful and willing to assume responsibility.

McCall and Lombardo (1983) expounded on the Trait Theory of Leadership and reiterated that a leader's emotional stability determined whether a leader could be made or broken. That was the ability to accept faults and errors, intellectual strength and possessing refined interpersonal skills and relations.

Judge and Bono (2004) established that 12% of all leadership research published between 1990 and 2004 bore the key words *'personality'* and *'leadership'*. Huffman (2010) postulated that later on psychologists reduced the wide range of possible personality traits with a statistical technique called factor analysis.

That Raymond Cattell (1950, 1965, and 1990) reduced them to 30 to 35 basic characteristics. That Hans Eysenck 1967, 1982, and 1990 narrowed the list further. He described personality as a relationship among three basic types of traits. He listed them as extroversion – introversion, neuroticism (tendency towards insecurity, anxiety, guilt, and moodiness).

In addition, he identified psychoticism; exhibiting some qualities commonly found among psychotics. He claimed scholars used Eysenck personality questionnaire for their assessment. King (2010) contended, the current dominant perspective in personality psychology as the five-factor model.

The big five traits included neuroticism, extroversion, openness to experience, agreeableness and conscientiousness. Myers (2004) and Huffman (2010) termed them the Big - Five factors. Judge, Bono, Iles, and Gerhardt (2002) established the Big Five personality dimensions to be significant predictors of leadership emergences.

Huffman (2010) citing Costa, MacRae and Martin (2008), MacRae and Costa (1990, 1999), MacRae and Sutin (2007) and Wood and Bell (2008) established that factor analysis was also used to develop the most pronounced and most promising modern trait theory called the five – factor model (FFM).

She claimed that combining all the previous research studies and the long list of possible personality traits, researchers found out the traits showed up repeatedly even when they carried out different tests. Following was the list of the five main dimensions of personality often referred to as big – five:

1. (O) Openness – individuals rated highly who fell in this category were original, imaginative, curious, open to new ideas, artistic and interested in

cultural pursuits. Those of lower cadre were convectional, down to earth, narrower, and not artistic.

2. (C) Conscientiousness – factors in that group ranged from responsible, self disciplined, organized, and achieving among those rated highly. While, irresponsible, careless, impulsive, lazy, and undependable were at lower ebb.
3. (E) Extroversion – The dimension consisted of persons who were sociable, outgoing, and talkative, fun loving and affectionate at high end with introverted individuals who tended to be withdrawn, quiet, passive and reserved at the lower end.
4. (A) Agreeableness – individual rated highly on that factor depicted tendencies of being well nurtured, warm, gentle and cooperative, trusting and helpful. Low scorers were irritable, argumentative, ruthless, suspicious, uncooperative, and vindictive.
5. (N)Neuroticism – or (emotional stability) – The individuals in the category were emotionally unstable, prone to insecurity, anxiety, guilt, worry, and moodiness. People at the other end were emotionally stable, calm, even-tempered, easy going and relaxed.

Applicably, the foregoing discussion of trait theory of leadership unearthed the qualities of leadership in Moses Mudavadi that summarized him as a great leader worth studying and documenting his history. In a nutshell, the modern Big – five – factor model mainly featured in the study; supplemented with the original – Stogdill (1974) version as it was broad and easy to understand and interpret.

1.9. Research Methodology

The study indulged mainly in qualitative research approach as the study was historical. The stated sections guided the systematic collection of the needed data. They included research design, sampling procedures, target population, sample size, research instruments, methods of data collection, proposed data analysis and ethical considerations of the study

1.9.1. Research Design

The study deployed historical research design because the data was by perusing historical records or interviewing individuals with information about past events or experiences with the aim to reconstruct accurately what happened during the period, discover new knowledge or to clarify, correct or expand knowledge (Kothari & Garg, 2014 and Karugu, 2007).

1.9.2 Sampling procedure

The study mainly used snowball and purposive sampling techniques to identify and locate respondents for interview. The purposive technique or the judgment sampling technique identified relevant respondents who had the needed information. Using snowball-sampling technique, other respondents informed of other likeminded respondents identity and location or called them on phone and the sample built steadily up to 30 as advanced by Bryman (2001).

1.9.3. Target Population

The target population was people born in 1975 and below who were above 40 years of age. They were targeted because by the time Moses Mudavadi passed on were around 15 years and above; old enough to have been passive or active participants in Moses Mudavadi`s world; could give an account about his life. According to 2009

census report persons between 15 and 64 constituted 49.4% of 554, 622 populations of Vihiga and 6.1% of the same population was aged above 65 years. In total, the target population was 307,815 women and men of diverse economic, political, and religious interactions.

1.9.4. Sample size

The study's sample size was 30 respondents as the study was qualitative. (Lindsey et al. 2009, Bernard, 2013). It identified the human respondents using purposive and snowball sampling techniques. It comprised of the following: three immediate family members of Moses Mudavadi, five close associates, one old man born and initiated around same time with Moses Mudavadi, nine political proponents, five political opponents of Mudavadi, 5 civil administrators and 2 domestic servants of his time.

1.9.5. Research Instruments

The study indulged in both field study and library search. The researcher used the following tools to collect primary data.

Interview Schedules

The researcher used Interview schedules to collect the information personally from the 30 respondents. They allowed in-depth explanations and clarifications. The researcher did translations of English to Maragoli or Kiswahili languages whenever a need arose. Note taking and mobile phone device recorded the data.

Observation Schedule

The study made use of an observation schedule as a fundamental tool in research methods in the social and behavioral sciences. It complemented the interview schedule in that during direct interviews it was employed to observe the body

language and other gestural cues that lend meaning to the words of the respondents that were interviewed [(Adler and Adler (as cited in Denzin and Lincoln , 2000)].

The following tool guided collection of secondary data.

An Archive Guide

An archive guide directed the collection of secondary data. It allowed a systematic search of relevant data from archive search rooms and libraries. Note taking and photocopy recorded the data.

1.9.6. Methods and Procedure for Data Collection

I. Procedure for Collecting Data

The consent letter from Moses Mudavadi`s family and research authorization letter from Mount Kenya University School of post graduate studies secured a permit from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) to conduct research in Kenya. The permit later secured permission from Vihiga county commissioner`s office and Vihiga county education office. They set stage for the data collection process.

II. Methods for Collecting Data

The researcher used Field research and Library Search methods to collect the data. Lindsey et al (2009) and Gobo and Silverman (2007) recommended their use as they found them ideal qualitative research methods to collect historical data.

I. Field Research

During Field Research, the researcher made personal visits to human respondents` ideal rendezvous, conducted oral interviews, and collected the relevant primary data. He used the basic individual interviewing method, small group interview method and observation method to collect the primary data as advised by Mouton (2010).

Basic individual Interviewing Method

Basic individual interviewing method gathered data from political associates, political proponents, political opponents, one elderly respondent of his age, one relative, former civil servants, and two domestic workers. Note taking and Mobile phone techniques recorded the data. He later transferred the recorded data from the mobile phone to a laptop for audibility and clarity.

Small Group Interview Method

The researcher conducted small group interviews of between two and three persons. They included a group comprising of two relatives, two proponents and one domestic worker, a group of 3 comprising of one civil servant and two political opponents, three groups on same date but different venues of two proponents each and a group of two comprising political associates.

Observation method

The researcher deployed observation method, which according to Namata and Lubega [ca. 2011] involved the use of personal intuition or understanding based on body senses such as seeing (eye), hearing (ear) smelling nose, and feeling (body). He mainly indulged in active (participant) observation, in which he was active with the observed who knew him.

II. Library Search

The researcher conducted library search to collect secondary data. The researcher visited National Archives and Documentation Service search rooms at Kakamega town and Nairobi city. He also visited Kisumu National Library Service, Kakamega National Library Service, and Mount Kenya University Library at Kakamega and Masinde Muliro University Library at Kakamega.

He also got additional secondary materials from respondents' home libraries and his own home library. The data was gotten from books, periodicals, pamphlets, Hansards, internet, and official files. The note taking technique and photocopy recorded the data. Lindsey et al. (2009), Kothari & Garg (2004), Seale Gobo, Gubrium & Silverman (2007), Bryman (2001), and Mouton (2010) propounded these techniques.

1.9.7. Proposed Methods of Data Analysis

The primary data gathered was analyzed using narrative analysis and Conversation analysis techniques.

I. Primary Data

Narrative Analysis

The researcher used narrative analysis to analyze the collected primary data. He used it to focus on the ways in which the respondents made and used stories narrated to interpret the life and times of Moses Mudavadi as Denzin & Lincoln (2000) posited. The data presentation used prose technique.

Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (C.A) analyzed the mobile phone device recorded data transferred to a laptop for audibility and clarity. It came handy in that when recollections of conversations were unreliable, the researcher replayed tapes alongside transcribing the data and focused on the actual details of the life and times of Moses Mudavadi; presented in prose form.

Analysis of Secondary Data (Content Analysis)

The researcher used Content Analysis to analyze secondary data collected during Library search from written texts, multimedia and computer assisted techniques. It

was ideal as it availed valid and trustworthy data as postulated by Dooley (2003) and Denzin & Lincoln (2000).

1.9.8. Ethical Considerations of the Study

Ethically, the study abided by credible ethical considerations which included consent from Moses Mudavadi`s family and permit from NACOSTI. The researcher ensured he contacted respondents in time, respected their privacy, and upheld confidentiality.

He avoided plagiarism and remained, open, honest and did not at any time spy, seek financial favors or bribed respondents and bore responsibility for his work. Concisely, the study stuck to Denzin & Lincoln (2000), Kombo & Tromp (2011), Bernard (2013), Weinstein & Foard (2009) and Shamoo & Resnik (2009) recommended ethical considerations hitherto highlighted.

CHAPTER TWO

MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI'S LIFE AND TIMES IN COLONIAL EPOCH, 1923-1963

2.0 Introduction

Destiny dictated Moses Mudavadi to be born in 1923 near Sabatia in Vihiga division, Kakamega district, and Western province in Kenya during British colonial rule. According to Wanyande et al. (2007), the colonial era had characteristics of widespread poverty, economic hardship, and social strife for the African population in the Kenya protectorate and colony and Sabatia was no exception.

They averred that in the 1950`s and 1960`s, decolonization and establishment of a post colonial rule that involved African self rule, representation and the government`s accountability and respect for citizens` rights, individual freedoms, economic development and social welfare set in. Mudavadi thrived in such a milieu as a child and youth.

To understand Moses Mudavadi`s life in the colonial epoch, the study gathered empirical primary and secondary data to enable it to realize its set objectives. The first subsection explored Moses Mudavadi`s birth and childhood. The second subsection looked into Moses Mudavadi`s education and initiation.

The third subsection examined Moses Mudavadi`s employment in colonial Kenya. The fourth subsection, pried into Moses Mudavadi family life. Lastly, the conclusion concisely summarized the data presented, discussed, and interpreted.

2.1. Moses Mudavadi`s Birth and Childhood

Generally, all the respondents including Moses Mudavadi`s brothers (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2016) and (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016), narrated that Moses Mudavadi aka Musa was born at Budira near Sabatia in Vihiga district in Western Kenya.

They said his father was Asutsa Mudavadi Imbiyoyi and the mother, Leba Munyasa who belonged to the Vagusihi clan that had roots in Kisii land. They stated their mother came from Ivonda and spoke the Idakho(Luhya) dialect. They averred Mudavadi belonged to the family of Mavoho, a Kevembe (Kitagwa) – sub clan of Kizungu, a clan of the Maragoli, a sub tribe of the Luhya found in Western Kenya.

Onyango (as cited in Ochieng, 2002) reiterated Western Kenya lay within the drainage basin of Lake Victoria and its characteristic features spilled over Eastern Uganda. He added it was located between the Rift Valley to the east and L. Victoria to the west.

He posited the region`s economic mainstay was agriculture and fishing. He averred the cash crops included cotton, sugarcane, coffee, and tea. He avowed that the inhabitants of the region only sold maize and beans when there was a surplus during harvest. He said they also kept animals for milk and meat.

Timona (2010) claimed that the Luhya people were a Bantu ethnic group in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and constituted Kenya`s second largest ethnic group. According to Were (1967), the ancestors of the Abalogoli migrated from the Bantu part of Eastern Uganda and settled in the Seme area of Central Nyamira before moving to Maseno and thence to their present settlement in Maragoli.

He avowed Maragoli own accounts alleged that their ancestors originally came from Egypt and after travelling along river Nile went to Congo. He said later on they appeared to have resumed the journey and trekked eastwards across Southern Uganda and came to Lake Victoria where the raging storm separated their boats in the neighborhood of Rusinga Island.

He averred the separation made some of the migrants to move northwards while the rest were blown off course and moved in Southerly direction. He contended the northern column became the ancestors of the Abalagoli and the Southern became the progenitors of the Abakisii.

According to (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2016) and (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016), Moses Mudavadi was their first-born brother. They reiterated their father Asutsa Mudavadi Imbiyoyi bought the land at Budira because they had to migrate from Kwirenyi in Isukha as it was prone to killing young children.

The researcher noted the area actually was not a deathbed but the children probably died of famine or small pox that used to occur in colonial Kenya, which according to Ogot (1968) killed almost 155,000 people in Kenya in 1918. Arguably people since then resided in the area and had a reasonable population (researchers own source).

Several respondents had diverse assertions of Moses Mudavadi`s date of birth. According to (E. Lumwaji, personal communication, March 4, 2016) and (J. Alemba, personal communication, May 25, 2016), Mudavadi was born in 1925. Another respondent (P. Karani, personal communication, May 25, 2016) and Kibisu, Liyai, Ngwalla and Opanga [ca. 2014] stated the date of birth of Mudavadi as 1924.

A respondent (P. Karani, personal communication, May, 25, 2016) avowed that Mudavadi`s mother swore an affidavit that her son was born in 1924. However, (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) doubted the date of birth (1925) and asserted that by 1950 Mudavadi was a district education officer and that he could have been born earlier than that.

Nzioki and Dar (1982), Thomas, (1993) and Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] reiterated that Moses Budamba was born in 1923 a date the researcher observed was engraved on his grave. The researcher reasoned that the posited dates of 1924 and 1925 by respondents in 2014 – 25 years later in the preparation of Mudavadi`s 25th anniversary were a subject of younger old men than those who had stated his death of birth at his burial in 1989.

He reasoned, there was a possibility the old men who posited the engraved date of birth and Mudavadi likely grew, went to school, and underwent circumcision together. That rationally it was common for people to share dates of birth and age in pep talks. That Mudavadi could himself have told them that he was born in 1923.

He deduced that the only person who could have cited the correct date probably was Mudavadi`s brother Japheth Ihaji. Unfortunately, he was illiterate and not sure of the date. Therefore, there was a high possibility their assertion of the different dates was wrong. The researcher contended the year 1924 could have been a statically calculation.

He asserted it could have been arrived at using average of sum total: $1923 + 1924 + 1925 = 5772$. He said in his calculation 5772 divided by 3 , the answer is 1924 . He therefore concurred with those who advanced the date of birth as 1923 .

According to (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2015) and (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016), their other siblings were first-born Jones Alivitsa and Grace Mengesa.

Some respondents including (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2015), (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) and (J. Alemba, personal communication, May 25, 2016) claimed Moses Mudavadi had other two-step brothers: Titus Ngase, and Silas Gidari born from a remarriage of Moses Mudavadi's mother and a man called Ayodi.

Many of the respondents claimed, Mudavadi's father died while mining gold at Sigalagala near Khayega in what was called –Mascliff Goldmines. They averred the accident happened during a landslide that claimed lives of many people including White people. Lumwagi in Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] avowed, Moses Mudavadi was 9 years old when the father died.

Ogot (1968) reiterated gold was discovered in Western Kenya in 1931 but never benefited the Africans as in 1932 the colonial government hastily amended the 1930 Native Lands and Trust ordinance to exclude Africans from the reserves from the land containing minerals. Arguably Imbiyoyi was no exception and so did die a poor man.

A respondent (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2015) asserted that the family was compensated a hundred shillings, which bought a family cow. A respondent (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016) claimed unlike his brother Mudavadi, he never saw their father, as was a toddler when their father died.

He said their mother Leba Munyasa singly tendered them. He sadly, stated the mother demised in 1984 at the age of 90 years. He said that their mother was a

progressive woman who acknowledged the value of education and hassled to pay fees for them.

2.2. Moses Mudavadi`s Education and Initiation

The key respondent (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2015) postulated that his brother, Mudavadi began his nursery education at Lotego nursery school at Chamakanga. He said that Mudavadi`s nursery teacher was Benjamin Akenga. He added that when Mudavadi completed nursery education, the head teacher of the school gave him a letter to take to Kaimosi Friends Mission School on his behalf.

Eshiwani (1993) claimed that missionaries controlled education in Kenya up to around 1911 when the colonial government stepped in. He predicated that the missionaries dominated the provision and administration of education throughout the colonial era. He avowed that in content, the Europeans designed it to serve colonial minority interests. The researcher noted Mudavadi learnt such content.

He alleged that the colonial government wanted an educated labor force to help develop the colony`s economy and to provide chiefs and headmen capable of participation in indirect rule and not to challenge the White man`s rule. He argued that in the late 1940`s and 1950`s there were basically two structures of education. One designed for Africans and another tailored for the Europeans and Asians. He averred that primary level for Africans lasted only for 4 years.

Another Key respondent (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016) stated that Mudavadi enrolled at Kaimosi in class one after paying a fee of three shillings gotten after selling a goat left by the father. That Mudavadi learnt at Kaimosi

up to class four. He said that the family sold a cow to raise fees for class five at Kima intermediate school.

A key respondent (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016), contended that Mudavadi told him that his Christian mother belonged to the Friends African Mission. That he requested her most adored pastor Matrumayo Ongadi who lived at Wandega to ask his son Tom Gulema who by then was a trained teacher at Kima mission school present day Bunyore girls, to allow his son Mudavadi to go along with him.

He said that Mudavadi was to undertake a task of preparing meals for the teacher. The respondent said in exchange, Tom Gulema – the teacher was to allow Mudavadi to see what other boys were doing through the window. That Tom Gulema decided to tuition Mudavadi and discovered that he was a bright boy. He added that Gulema decided to put him in actual class where he showed exemplary performance.

Most of the respondents told the researcher that Mudavadi finished class eight at Kima. Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] and (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2015) postulated Guyumba of the Gihayo clan circumcised Moses Mudavadi at Chekombero at the age of 14 years while schooling at Kima. They claimed Guyumba circumcised Mudavadi traditionally alongside Daudi Mulindi, Mwavali, Majanga Angaluki, and Japheth Ihaji among others.

The brother (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2015) said they were the last to wear – *masengesu* (head hoods). A respondent, (J. Alemba, personal communication, May 25, 2016) and Mulinya (2009) identified the year of circumcision as 1938 and the age group, *Lizuriza* (remembrance).

Lumwagi (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) and (Kulundu, Weekly Review, March 8 1976 p. 5 – 6) averred that Mudavadi completed his education at the Old Church of God mission school at Kima. Lumwagi in Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] went on to state that one of Mudavadi`s teachers was Daniel Wako – the father to the then Busia senator and former Kenya`s attorney general (Amos Sitswila Wako).

He asserted that as a young scholar Mudavadi was polite and outstanding in a number of subjects at primary level. Several respondents affirmed that Mudavadi passed with excellence at Kima and selected to join the then prestigious Maseno government school – the present day Maseno national school. They claimed he was a self-driven scholar who learnt most of the things through self-effort.

Accordingly, (J. Alemba, personal communication, May 25, 2016) and Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] portrayed Mudavadi as a jovial and friendly young man. That he had the gift to persevere and develop beyond the reach of many of his peers. They claimed Mudavadi liked friends who were intelligent.

2.3. Moses Mudavadi and Employment in Colonial Kenya

A respondent (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016), alleged that Mudavadi was to proceed to Makerere university college in Kampala – Uganda but didn`t instead opted to join the colonial army – King`s Rifles Army (K.R.A) in 1939 during the second world war in order to raise fees for his younger siblings.

They predicated the British colonial government posted Mudavadi to the education corps, as he was one of the most educated. A good number of the respondents attested to (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) assertion that Mudavadi on joining the K.R.A went to fight for the British against Italians; promoted to Warrant officer 1 due to his diligence, intelligence, and leadership qualities in the army.

A respondent (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) predicated that warrant officer 1 status in the then K.A.R was one of the highest and prestigious ranks in the British army an African could be awarded. The respondent`s narration and Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] postulated that after the war the British took Mudavadi to Jeans school at Kabete; presently Kenya Institute of Administration (K.I.A).

Some of the respondents claimed that the British took Mudavadi there to be demilitarized in order to enter civil service when the war ended in 1945. A respondent (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) among other respondents contended, at Kabete that had been elevated to a teacher training college, he trained as a teacher.

He stated that Mudavadi did a teaching course for six months and awarded a certificate as a T. 2. The respondent (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016) claimed that after completion of a teacher-training course at Jean school in – Kabete in 1949, the colonial government posted Mudavadi to Kabianga intermediate school where he stayed for 4 years. He claimed that by then Europeans occupied the apex of administration.

He averred for the case of Kabianga; Woodhouse was the head teacher deputized by House. He said that Mudavadi was third in ranking vis - a - vis scalar chain of the school. According to (R. Kemoli personal communication, April 14, 2016), Mudavadi chose to teach Kiswahili and C.R.E because he lacked the depth content of other subjects.

Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] documented that at Kabianga he headed the Nascent Boys Scouts Movement in the colossal Rift valley Province. Some respondents including (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016) , (P. Karani , personal

communication, May 25, 2016) and Nzioki, and Dar (1982) posited that Mudavadi was appointed an Assistant Education Officer (A.E.O) based in Nakuru by the colonial government in the expanse Rift Valley between 1953 and 1956.

In connection, (P. Karani , personal communication, May 25, 2016 and E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) posited that Mudavadi transferred to Nakuru where together with Simeon Litsanga and Robert Matano trained for six months to become education administrators. They reiterated that as an A.E.O. he rode a bicycle as he supervised schools.

A respondent (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016), posited Mudavadi even though not licensed, drove a lorry that used to supply books and caused an accident. He narrated that made the colonial government minister for education to transfer him to Eldoret to supervise schools in Uasin Gishu closed districts. He said they were termed ‘closed’ because the British feared the area claiming wild dangerous people inhabited it.

The closed districts included Baringo, Elgeyo Markwet, Koibatek, and West Pokot. Many of the respondents like (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) and Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] and Nzioki, and Dar (1982) stated that between 1956 and 1957, Mudavadi went overseas to Leeds University (United Kingdom) for further studies. They claimed the colonial government promoted him to the post of district education officer (D.E.O) in charge of Baringo district on coming back in 1958.

Respondents, (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2015) and (E. Lumwaji, personal communication, March 4, 2016) narrated that Mudavadi was one of the earliest Africans to own a land rover. They further alleged that the whites at

Wagon Wheels hotel battered Moses Mudavadi on flimsy grounds that his Land rover that facilitated his work made noise to their families whom he neighbored.

They asserted that Mudavadi suffered some injuries including lose of one tooth. They said that the jealous whites almost killed him were it not for the local Kalenjin who fought back the Whites in his defense. That Mudavadi transferred his residence to Kabarnet where he renovated and occupied a disused farmhouse.

The respondent continued to narrate, while in Baringo, he faced shortage of teachers. That he scouted for those teachers from outside Baringo whom the colonial government dismissed for various work related offences AWOL impregnating girl students, absenteeism, or alcoholism. They postulated, Moses Mudavadi reinstated them in Baringo and used them to open more schools.

They claimed most of the teachers came from Western Kenya notably: Kisii, Kakamega, and Vihiga areas. Additionally, they alleged, the local Kalenjin communities liked Mudavadi for his efforts in expanding education in their region. A respondent (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) affirmed he was one of those people Mudavadi took to Baringo. He avowed, he sat for Cambridge Schools Certificate Examination; received results in 1961. He said he took him to teach as untrained teacher.

A respondent (P. N. Karani, personal communication, May 25, 2016) added voice to (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) version and apprised that he stayed with Mudavadi at Kabarnet as a relative. He went on to postulate that together with Bernard Ongadi, Kisame, and Laban Virembwa, Mudavadi took them to Baringo for education. They averred he learnt at Kabarnet intermediate government African

school and Daniel Moi happened to be his teacher cum head teacher for two years (1954 – 1956).

Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] stated that the post of district education officer made Mudavadi one of the highest – ranking education officers in pre – independent Kenya. He reiterated in 1962 he went for further studies to Harvard University (U.S.A) where he undertook a higher Diploma in education. He avowed that when he came back in 1963, the independent government of Kenya added Nandi district to his area of jurisdiction.

In his own personal opinion, (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) argued that were it in Maragoli, Mudavadi could not have stood the chance. He asserted that some people had learned up to Makerere and could have stood a better chance. He cited such scholars as if Mathew Mwenesi, Adede Joseph, and Solomon Adagalla among others.

Respondents like (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) and (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) were of the opinion that Mudavadi wielded a lot of power while in Baringo because of lack of a good communication network with headquarters in Nakuru. He said that gave him the freedom to make crucial decisions then communicated to Nakuru later.

They avowed it was such opportunity that made him promote Daniel Moi. According to (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016), the colonial government transferred Mudavadi to Gill house when he became too political. Nzioki and Dar (1982) stated that in 1963, the colonial government appointed him the provincial education officer of Nairobi. They averred he held the post up to 1966.

2.4. Moses Budamba Mudavadi and Family Life

Many of the respondents who included Mudavadi`s brothers (J. Ihaji, personal communication, September 11, 2015) and (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016) and Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] alleged that Mudavadi was a polygamous man. That he had two wives: Mama Hannah and Mama Rosbella.

Several respondents contended that it was while at Jeans school – Kabete in 1946 both on training as teachers that Mudavadi met his first wife Hannah Atianzale who hailed from Bushangala. They claimed they gave birth to their first-born daughter Jean, named after the school.

They went on to postulate that Mudavadi and his first wife Hannah bore six girls namely – Margaret, Ebby, Lydia, Serah, Imali, and Jeans. That Mudavadi and his first wife Hannah had only one son –Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi.

The respondents said Musalia Mudavadi aka Baringo – a name given to him by local Kalenjins was born at Baringo in 1960. They postulated Musalia went on to become a veteran politician – vice president, deputy prime minister and presidential candidate in the last general elections – 2012.

They went on to say that, Mudavadi married the second wife Rosbellah Seronei, a teacher from Baringo. A respondent (Ngetich, personal communication, March 4, 2016) added that the Kalenjin addressed Mudavadi as '*Lemenyei*' literary meaning married from same house. Many respondents posited that Rosbella gave birth to two boys, Kegode and Ongadi and three girls namely, Leba, Catherine, and Mary.

Hannah and Rosbella as cited in Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] in their tribute to their husband referred to Mudavadi as an incredible husband, father, grandfather, brother, friend, colleague and much more. They stated the wives avowed he had a passion for

life and liked to be around people whenever possible. Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] stated that the wives predicated they felt blessed to have had him as a husband.

They said their husband loved their children more than life. That Mudavadi was a very hard working person who took his career seriously and enjoyed his work. They claimed that they were happy for him to get a career he loved. They avowed even though their husband spent many hours working, he always made sure to make up time for his family and was always there when they needed him.

The claimed Mudavadi also volunteered his time for communal service. They postulated the wives described him as a highly dependable, a peacemaker who united people and in turn, his pals, colleagues, and family loved him for his generosity and kind-heartedness.

Musalia (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) stated, them as children nicknamed their father *Sachdeva* denoting a tough disciplinarian and a seeker of justice. He explained that *Sachdeva* was a no nonsense principal magistrate and later a judge who presided over the court system with precision and strictness in the implementation of judgment.

He narrated the children called Moses Mudavadi – S.M.B from initials of his name (Sabstone Mudavadi Budamba). He predicated that a child could use *Sachdeva* or S.M.B depending on the situation at hand. He avowed that in Mudavadi`s family household family disputes were resolved at a family court.

Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] documented that the children claimed their father was not a bust of marble but a man of flesh and blood, a son, a husband, a father , a brother, a grandfather a friend and more. That their father had a character that one

could not avoid loving. He avowed, the children`s praises showered their father for having a heart that was pure than gold.

They said that besides his involving work as a politician, he worked hard too at being a good father, husband and friend. The children narrated that their father was fond of his culture and heritage and worked tirelessly to keep the immediate and extended family tree alive. They reiterated, he taught them the vitality of generosity, integrity and the upheld of the name of God in everything they did.

They averred that their father always had solutions to situations however tough they seemed to be. That he was their role model and were ever obliged to listen to his words of wisdom. The children posited they remembered they had a bigger family. That was so because through their father, they had so many aunties and uncles who were close friends.

They contended people thronged their house and sometimes their father made them vacate their beds to sleep on the floor to accommodate them. A respondent (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) posited that Mudavadi was very generous.

Another respondent, (M. Opege, personal communication, September 11, 2015) accounted her experiences with Mudavadi as his house help. She contended that Mudavadi respected them as his household workers and treated them with humility. She revealed he compelled his children to cook for the workers on Christmas day as a sign of appreciation for the grand work they had done.

She concurred with (E. Mudavadi, personal communication, September 11, 2015) who asserted that Mudavadi was an early bird and a social man who liked traditional ugali made from a mixture of millet, sorghum and maize eaten with traditional

vegetables. She revealed Mudavadi dined with people of all lifestyles irrespective of creed, color, tribe, education, and social status.

Another respondent (A. Mambuya, personal communication, March 4, 2016) reiterated that Mudavadi as a family man was socially responsible and practiced equitable distribution of his resources to the family. He stated Mudavadi did that by bequeathing the property he acquired to any of the children.

He gave an example where he could acquire land and write the title deed in the son's name. He claimed that was why at his demise no family feuds occurred, as it was a common case with many rich families of the time.

According to (E. Mudavadi, personal communication, September 11, 2015), their father Mudavadi took all of them to the nearby school, Mululu primary for nursery education to learn their Maragoli mother tongue and culture. Thereafter he took them to boarding schools and colleges. She said that for her case he took her to Britain for further studies after her high school education in prestigious Butere girls.

Musalia (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) avowed their father enrolled them into boarding schools in order to keep abreast with their studies. He reiterated the whole family met in the rural home during holidays mainly to learn how to interact with the extended family and neighbors besides sharing meals with the community.

He noted that his father was a welcoming man at his home and spent time meeting people in various rendezvous like hotels, churches, social places, and even at functions on streets. He said that their father believed that to succeed in life one needed the support of other people like relatives, neighbors, and ones community.

He said their father often reiterated,

“It is the people who bring you up. You must therefore listen to them, work with them and understand them and, always remember that personal contacts are very important.”

Musalia (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) and (E. Mudavadi, personal communication, September 11, 2015) stated their father used to move with his family whenever he was transferred in the 1950`s and 1960`s. A respondent, (E. Mahali, personal communication, May 25 2016), a turn boy of his tractor that tilled his lands and those of the neighbors since 1973 claimed while working for Mudavadi, he married, gave birth, and raised all his children.

He alleged that Mudavadi paid school fees for his children and secured them employment. That Mudavadi was a good man who educated his children and those of the neighbors. He reiterated he treated them so well and used to address him as uncle.

2.5. Conclusion

From the foregoing discussions, the data collected divulged that Moses Mudavadi was born in Western Kenya during barbaric colonial era in Kenya in 1923. It revealed that he was a Maragoli of the Luhya sub tribe. It found out that his parents were Asutsa Mudavadi Imbiyoyi and Leba Munyasa and had other six siblings: four brothers and two sisters.

He went to nursery at Chamakanga, then Kaimosi, Old Church of God School at Kima and Maseno government school. That Mudavadi excelled at class work. It was evident Mudavadi was initiated in 1938 at the age of 14 years. The data portrayed that Mudavadi enrolled in the British Kings African Riles and fought in the Second World War between 1939 and 1945.

It revealed the colonial government posted him to Kabianga Government School where he became one of the administrators of the school. He transferred to Nakuru and served as an assistant education officer in charge of some Rift Valley districts around Nakuru. It was evident that the colonial government transferred Mudavadi to Eldoret to administrate the closed districts of Uasin Gishu feared by the Europeans due to the ferocity of the people and rough terrain.

The data showed that Mudavadi between 1956 and 1957 went for further studies at Leeds University in United Kingdom. On coming back in 1958, the colonial government promoted Mudavadi to the post of D.E.O in charge of Baringo district.

The data revealed in 1962, Mudavadi went abroad to Havard University to learn more about education administration and came back in 1963 armed with a higher Diploma in education and transferred to Nairobi and promoted to the post of Provincial education officer, a post he held up to 1966.

The data divulged that Mudavadi married two wives who were both teachers and bore several children including the veteran politician Musalia Mudavadi. It showed he led a successful marriage life as a responsible caring and loving husband.

Relatively Mudavadi, shared certain traits with other leaders of his eke like J.M Kariuki, Nelson Mandela, Kwameh Nkurumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Barack Obama and Oginga Odinga who were born in humble milieus, encountered challenging childhood, adapted and overcame the challenges they portended.

It was evident that goodies of fate availed themselves that enabled them to access education, training, employment, and marriage. Mudavadi depicted dimensions of trait theory notably, conscientiousness. He excelled in academics, promoted to officer warrant 1 in the army, A.E.O, D.E.O and P.E.O. He also portrayed the tenet of

agreeableness in which he assisted other people in life and loved, and cared for his family.

Concisely to speak Mudavadi was born with leadership traits that enabled him to endear to other people who in turn appreciated his character, assisted him access education, employment, women whom he married and bosses who promoted him to various essential leadership capacities between 1939 and 1963.

CHAPTER THREE

MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI'S LIFE AND TIMES DURING KENYATTA REGIME, 1964 - 1978

3.0. Introduction

Jomo Kenyatta became the first president of Kenya on December 12, 1964. According to Njeru and Njoka (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007), the practice of government during Kenyatta epoch was based upon capitalist ideology disguised as African socialism. Members of the Kenyatta regime competed with each other for an accumulation of wealth through an expropriation of state resources.

They argued the political clique constituted new, indigenous African elites who were Western educated technocrats – an African party bourgeoisie that replaced the repressive colonial elite. They posited the indigenous African repression replaced the defunct white colonial repression.

Moses Mudavadi was one of those technocrats as an education mandarin and banker between 1963 and 1975 later on a political player in Kenyatta regime as the member of parliament of Vihiga constituency from 1976 to 1978 when President Kenyatta died. The presented data was from primary and secondary sources.

The chapter consists of three sub sections. It firstly examined Moses Mudavadi's role in President Kenyatta's regime. Secondly it explored Moses Mudavadi's political debut during President Kenyatta's epoch; the last sub section formed the conclusion.

3.1. Moses Mudavadi`s Role in President Kenyatta`s Regime

Oyugi (1994) predicated that on 1st June 1963, Kenyatta became Kenya`s first prime minister and on 12th December 1963 the territory moved to independence as a federal state. According to Moi (1986), by 1964 Kenya was free and needed to unite as one to build the nation. He stated that Kenya became a de facto – one party state apart from the spell from 1966 to 1969.

Munene (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007) argued that at the attainment of independence, the government became both an agent of independence and of African aspirations and hope for a better future was at its peak. Kanyinga and Njoka (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007) alleged that a change from colonial rule only involved change of leadership from Europeans to Africans as the government policies and institutions remained the same.

The researcher noted that Mudavadi was a civil servant in the ministry of education in the nascent Kenya, inherited from colonial government as several respondents including (J. A. Mudavadi, personal communication, June 17, 2016 and E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 14, 2016) narrated.

They claimed during the postcolonial Kenya, Mudavadi was the provincial education officer of Nairobi from 1963 to 1966 with offices at Gill house. They averred Gill House in pre colonial and postcolonial Kenya was the kingpin of education policy in Kenya.

In connection (J. Mudavadi, personal communication, July 17, 2016) said his brother Mudavadi was in charge of Nairobi province with special responsibilities that included integrating the all Whites` schools that included Prince of Whales (Nairobi School), Duke of York (Lenana School) and Delamere (Statehouse Girls).

He alleged Mudavadi was to make the schools, all races friendly. The respondent posited that he managed to enroll many African students to these schools. He jocularly stated that for his case, he was a product of Alliance School.

Several respondents, Nzioki, and Dar (1982) averred that when Mudavadi returned home from further studies in U.S.A, the government posted him to work as a P.E.O in Embu in 1967. They claimed that it was during that time that the British soldiers withdrew from Kenya and left the barracks at Kahawa empty.

Chanzu (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) claimed that during that time, Moi was the minister for education and consulted Mudavadi on what to do with the vacated buildings. He said that Mudavadi advised him to turn the deserted barracks into an education institute; teaching boys who had completed form four and intended to further education to form five and six.

He claimed it was the present day Kenyatta University. Many respondents claimed the government of President Kenyatta transferred Mudavadi to the ministry of tourism as a senior officer in 1968 from where he retired from active civil service.

The researcher argued that Mudavadi was one of the key players who built nascent Kenya, which according to Wanyande et al. (2007), achieved economic growth. They claimed that the first decade of independence 1964 – 1973, the economy experienced a 6.6 % annual growth rate – the highest since independence.

3.2. Moses Mudavadi`s Political Debut during President Kenyatta`s Epoch

Many respondents were of the view that the upbringing of Moses Mudavadi in a religious milieu, his level of education and willingness to help people elevate self economically and socially and natural intelligence cum working experiences as an administrator acted as the threshold for his future political career.

Respondents (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) and (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) averred that while working at Gill house Moses Mudavadi resigned to join politics in 1968. Most of the respondents attributed that to an old friend encouragement in the name of Daniel Moi who wanted Mudavadi to join him in top leadership of the country.

Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] wrote that in 1969, Mudavadi encouraged by Moi who had ventured into politics as a member of Leg co in 1958 and with an urge from Abaloogoli leading lights, plunged into politics. A respondent, (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, September 11, 2015) stated that people wished Mudavadi to rule them because other people were cowards.

Many respondents alleged that his once identification for nomination to represent Rift Valley in the Legco in 1955 and the power he wielded in Rift Valley as an education officer could have been precedence to venture into politics. Lumwagi (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) avowed that many people noticed the leadership qualities in Mudavadi.

He stated it was no surprise when the United Maragoli Association of East Africa with Kadasia Mudasia as secretary general of Nairobi branch petitioned Mudavadi to retire in 1968 from civil service and run for the Vihiga parliamentary seat in 1969 general elections.

He posited Mudavadi informed them that he would be 44 years of age by 1969 and not legible for retirement from the public service. The respondent (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) reiterated they got Matulumayo Ongadi and David Manogo to swear an affidavit that Mudavadi was over retirement age of 55 years.

They reiterated Ongadi and Manogo vehemently stated they were present when Mudavadi was born and he became legible for retirement. They said he retired with full benefits and stood for elections. The respondents posited President Kenyatta postponed the elections from 1968 to 1969.

Lumwagi (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) narrated that the soldier turned teacher, turned education policy maker, turned politician vied for the Vihiga parliamentary seat occupied by a political veteran from Western Province and incumbent minister of health – Joseph Otiende.

Several respondents and Lumwagi (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) named six other contestants in the race who included, Joseph Otiende, Matayo Mwenesi, Solomon Adagala, Meshack Agoi, Joseph Lukalo, and Peter Frederick Kibisu. The respondents said that the young former trade unionist Peter Kibisu ousted Otiende and the rest including Mudavadi.

The respondents noted Peter Kibisu was Mudavadi`s biggest political competitor to whom he unsuccessfully contested against twice. One of the respondents, (A. Mambuya, personal communication, March 4, 2016) asserted that Aggrey Luseno was Peter Kibisu`s pal and had married a kalenjin –a sister to the then provincial commissioner of Western Province, Paul Boit. They alleged that Paul Boit used the state machinery to frustrate Mudavadi and aided Peter Kibisu to win.

According to (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016), the Maragoli people wanted new blood in national politics and voted Otiende out. He stated Otiende had made grievous mistakes like claiming that the Maragoli were not Abaluhya; angered prominent Abaluhya politicians.

He further cited Otiende`s obnoxious reply in parliament, “*Ngaira was a dying man anyway.*” He averred the late B. Ngaira had demised and his death associated with medical error during a post mortem; revealed a metal logged in his stomach.

According to (Charles Kulundu, Weekly Review, 8, 1976 p. 5 – 6), Otiende had to pay dearly at the polls and never saw the threshold of the parliament again. Aseka (2002) noted Otiende lost in the 1969 general elections despite having served in the cabinet of Jomo Kenyatta throughout his tenure as an Mp for Vihiga.

He avowed that Otiende told him he decided to quit politics because things had changed from what they were during the first general election when people in the past – sought office after having had some experience. He documented Otiende`s narration that people who vied for parliamentary seats by then had no experience and felt that he would be out of place working with such people who had turned politics into career and were out seeking employment.

Respondents (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) and (B. Semo , personal communication, June 16, 2016) avowed that Peter Kibisu won the elections because he was handsome, agile, eloquent and a crowd puller. He added that the incumbent Mp, Otiende was lazy and cared less. They said Otiende`s snobbishness was detested by Maragoli people.

They said Otiende did very little during his tenure and it was easy for Kibisu to trounce him. They claimed, Maragoli had developed during colonial era models for agriculture, health and education and people expected a lot from Otiende that he failed to deliver. They added that Otiende`s leadership was unenlightened. That irrespective of being close to Kenyatta and headed many ministries like education and health, he did very little to uplift the lives of the people of Vihiga.

The respondents postulated, Otiende was arrogant and never moved close to people. The respondent (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) said that one day he went to visit Otiende at Kakamega as head of Maragoli university students in 1966. He avowed, he tried to invite Otiende to have an address with the students but he seemed not to bother.

He conclusively stated Otiende lost the parliamentary seat because the Maragoli people felt fed up with him. A respondent, (A. Mambuya, personal communication, March, 4. 2016) reiterated that Mudavadi filed an electoral petition contesting Peter Kibisu`s election but lost the case as Kibisu was a close pal to the then immortal attorney General Charles Njonjo who poked his invisible nose into the case.

However, some respondents like (J. Ihaji , personal communication, September 11, 2015), (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) and (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) stated that Mudavadi lost because he was a novice and unknown to the electorate as he had been working far away. That he was not familiar to the people and had no support of Maragoli elites and big wigs like Abraham Ambwere and veteran church leaders like Charles Alulu.

They asserted that Mudavadi was from the little known sub clan of the Kevembe and to the furthest point of Vihiga constituency at the border with Ikolomani constituency. That he came from the boundary between Maragoli and Idakho. The respondents said that the electorate saw Mudavadi as an outsider more so the electorate from South Maragoli.

They added that Mudavadi and other candidates like Kanyangi, Mwenesi, Amugada, and Adagala came from North Maragoli and scrambled for the votes in the north and rarely ventured in South Maragoli. They said that Kibisu was clairvoyant,

discovered the untapped votes in the South, and marshaled a door-to-door campaign on foot. That he consolidated votes of smaller clans in South Maragoli and some of the Avami`s and Kirima - larger clans.

Many respondents postulated that between 1969 and 1974, Mudavadi worked in standard chartered bank as an administration manager. A respondent (A. Mambuya, personal communication, March 4, 2016) claimed that during the 1974 elections, Kibisu won the elections through rigging.

The respondents claimed Mudavadi protested but didn`t file a petition as he knew he could automatically lose as Kibisu still enjoyed the protection of the then Attorney General – Charles Njonjo; a pro western mandarin. A respondent, (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) one of the contestants in the elections, vehemently argued that Kibisu beat them squarely because there was no favoritism during President Kenyatta regime.

He claimed that Kibisu could get votes in Sabatia, his home ground and topped up with those from South Maragoli. He alleged that statistically Vihiga had 45,000 registered voters. North Maragoli – Bakirima, 15,000, Avasali and Vakizungu 15,000 while South Maragoli had only around 15,000 people.

He said that Kibisu got majority votes from Avakirima, Avakizungu and small clans from South Maragoli. He revealed, Mudavadi only controlled Avasali and some pockets of Avakizungu found in North Maragoli. He narrated despite being a Mavi himself controlling South Maragoli; the population was smaller than that of North Maragoli and got few votes from North Maragoli and more so from Mudavadi`s Busali dominated area. He therefore personally conceded defeat and went back to work in his company – Bahati Semo and partners consulting engineers.

Most of the respondents asserted that when Mudavadi failed to capture the seat in 1974, went back to work for Standard Chartered Bank. They said Mudavadi used the money he earned from the bank to finance his campaign using an airplane as his emblem. They said he chose the airplane to represent his ability to reach anywhere as fast as he could in service to his people.

The respondents said that Kibisu erred in 1975, a year after winning the elections. They alleged that he beat a European – a workmate of his wife at Shell Company. They avowed the wife was a secretary to the White staff. That Kibisu slapped and peeled off the hair of the white man out of sheer jealousy purporting that the wife had an affair with him. They claimed the authority arrested Kibisu, subjected him to trial in a court of law; imprisoned him in 1976 for fifteen months.

They claimed that even his friend Charles Njonjo did not like his aggressive nature and distanced himself from the case. According to (Kulundu , Weekly Review, February 9, 1976 p. 3 – 4) the returning officer Mr. J.K Kirui – D.C of Kakamega to administrative officers on 31st January 1976 when inaugurating the by election premeditated by the imprisonment of Frederick Peter Kibisu the former Mp of Vihiga and Assistant Minister for Labor, reiterated,

“I am declaring the seven of you duly nominated as candidates for the Vihiga Parliamentary Constituency. Go into the field and solicit for votes without provoking any acts of lawlessness in full knowledge that only one of you will come out victorious.”

He asserted the could be eighth candidate David Mulindi – a Kenya National Union of Teachers leader pulled out of the race claiming teachers had advised him against the move. He identified the candidates in the race as: Frederick Omido – an outspoken chairman of COTU and secretary general of the powerful amalgamated metal workers union, James Onamu, a previous Assistant Minister, Laban Ombonyo

Odanga – a Nairobi based businessman, Lawrence Isigi – a prominent businessman in the district.

A respondent (H. Mulindi, personal communication, June 6, 2016) narrated that the Maragoli community had approached his father David Mulindi on a basis that he had contributed immensely to the Maragoli community as both an academician and Trade Unionist. He said that they wanted him to be an Mp for Vihiga constituency.

He asserted that the father (David Mulindi) besides being a Kenya National Union of Teachers member and leader, had participated in local politics of the liberation of Kenya through the African District Council representing Busali East and Busali West in the 1950`s and commanded a following.

However he reiterated that the father declined and espoused Mudavadi`s candidature who happened to be his cousin, friend, and college mate at Jeans school – Kabete in the 1950`s. He contended his father (David Mulindi) withdrew graciously from the race and was not coerced to do so.

According to (Kulundu, Weekly Review, February 1976 p. 3 – 4) in the by-election Onamu objected on the use of the *'Table'* symbol by Omido seen as *'Lucky'* symbol in Vihiga constituency. However the symbol was accepted after the D.C consulted amid Omido`s adamancy to retain it.

In his verdict he noted that Maragoli were, not over superstitious to believe a mere symbol of a table could make one-win elections. He added that besides, Kibisu had used the symbol in the October general elections in 1974 without any fuss. He went on to allege that over 54,000 people were credible to participate in the polls.

He said that it was on the lips of the Maragoli that Omido, Odanga, and Onamu who had entered the race for the first time would not make it in Vihiga despite having

financial muscles and tact. He said that ironically, the three already defeated candidates' nominations were the most characterized by color and pomp.

He revealed that some people thought Mudavadi had played a role in Peter Kibisu's imprisonment as he had earlier filed a petition and were likely not to vote for him. That Moses Budamba Mudavadi had to do a lot of persuasion to convince people that he had nothing to do with Kibisu's imprisonment. He posited the campaign seemed to favor Omido who had adopted Kibisu's symbol '*Meza*' and peddled propaganda that Kibisu had said before his imprisonment, '*Vihiga seat should go to Omido.*'

A respondent (J. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016) posited that the by election of 1976 was a total war between Moses Mudavadi and Bahati Semo. He said that Bahati Semo had a violent nature and could hire thugs to torment his opponents. On the contrary, (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) and (W. Mweresa, personal communication, June 8, 2016) claimed that both political camps indulged in political violence; people used to attack their opponents.

That all the politicians supporters might they be Mudavadi's, Kibisu's or Semo's used to attack one another. He said that Bahati Semo could not dare step in Mudavadi's strongholds and vice versa.

Kulundu (Weekly Review, March 8, 1976 p. 5 – 6) avowed that there was a poor turnout during the by election in Vihiga and the least favored among the candidates Moses Mudavadi won the elections with a majority of 628 votes over his nearest rival Bahati Semo. He posited he won the seat contested by seven candidates that the then speaker of parliament Fred Mati publicly declared vacant on January 15, 1976 following the imprisonment of Peter Kibisu.

He added it was not easy to predict the winner until when the counting ended on Saturday night of February 28, 1976. He quoted only 17, 413 voters turned out for the polls. He asserted, Mudavadi garnered 5, 805 votes less 4120 votes compared to 1974 when he pulled out 10,015 votes while Kibisu won with a massive 16,420 votes. He linked it to either peoples apathy to vote or Kibisu`s case.

A respondent (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) postulated that Mudavadi won because he got support from big wigs from Nairobi who formed a committee that commandeered his campaign. He posited they supported him because Mudavadi and President Moi were friends and were confident that in case he won the elections, he was to become a minister and would benefit from being appointment to lucrative posts.

A respondent, (Bahati Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) said that he was an aspirant for the seat and conceded defeat. That he went back to work in his company. He attributed Mudavadi`s win to the absence of Peter Kibisu and Mudavadi enjoying the support of the people of North Maragoli whose population was higher (Basali, Bakirima, and Bakizungu).

Several respondents including (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) argued that Mudavadi won because Peter Kibisu even before his assault case had made a statement that had infuriated the Maragoli people. They averred that Peter Kibisu had told a crowd at a meeting in Sabatia, *“Unless I impregnate one of you to give birth to my son that is when a leader like me would be born.”*

They alleged it was therefore easy for people to vote Mudavadi who had contested in the last two elections in 1969 and 1974 and came a close second to Kibisu. Another respondent, (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) argued that

Mudavadi won because after failing to resonate with the young, he turned to the old; people of his age like his father, Musa Ida – a renowned chief of West Maragoli.

A respondent (A. Mambuya, personal communication, March 4, 2016), (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) and (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, September 11, 2015) posited that Mudavadi won because of his benevolence.

That he had taken many people to school or colleges like Benson Mengesa who became a senior prison officer, Jumba – a principal of a secondary school in Kitale, Robert Kilavuka – the former principal of Busali Union Secondary school and a former Teachers Service Commission employee. They said these people played a great role in consolidating votes for Mudavadi.

They contended he secured many scholarships for his people including his brother Justus Amega Mudavadi. A respondent (H. Mulindi, personal communication, June 8, 2016) agreed that actually he took many people like him to overseas. There was documented evidence that actually, Moses Mudavadi was the Member of Parliament for Vihiga Constituency in the parliament of independent Kenya as from September 14, 1976 until Friday 10, December 1976 [Nzioki and Dar, 1982 and (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, September 30, 1976)].

Many respondents avowed that during the short stint in Kenyatta government – 1976 – 1978 Mudavadi did not hold any other portfolio other than being an Mp for Vihiga constituency. The respondents informed the researcher that immediately he took the torch of leadership of Vihiga Constituency, he embarked on a program of uniting North Maragoli and South Maragoli.

That as a back bencher, Mudavadi realized that his constituency lagged behind in development and introduced joint '*harambee*' projects in which money was pooled that assisted schools to improve their infrastructure. They continued to say that Mudavadi used the experience, skills, knowledge, and attitudes garnered while serving as an educationist to enable that noble course. They claimed that Mudavadi believed in education as imperative to eminent success.

3.3. Conclusion

Briefly, the data collected revealed that Moses Mudavadi was one of the civil mandarins in President Kenyatta's regime that was characterized by an inheritance of the colonial tenets of administration. The findings showed that in the period 1964 to 1968 Mudavadi was a senior civil servant: P.E.O for Nairobi 1963 up to 1966, P.E.O for Embu, 1967 and senior administrator in the ministry of tourism and wildlife, 1968.

Mudavadi retired from civil service in 1968 and ventured into politics encouraged by his old friend the then vice president of Kenya– Daniel Moi. It divulged that he lost twice – 1969 and 1974. That Mudavadi for the first time won elections in a by – election in 1976 after incarceration of the incumbent Member of Parliament Peter Kibisu for 15 months for assaulting his wife's white workmate out of sheer jealousy.

Applicably, the information gathered on Mudavadi, portrayed him as a leader with tenets of trait theory of leadership. He was a replica of other leaders like J.M Kariuki and Ronald Ngala whose leadership traits enabled them to emerge as Mp's of their constituencies.

It depicted Mudavadi as having dimensions of Neuroticism. He overcome the loss of elections in 1969 and 1974; went to work in the Standard Chartered bank. That he

possessed dimensions of openness. He was imaginative as he used his tact in organizing a successful campaign beating six other contestants in 1976.

He also bore the tenet of agreeableness seen in his endearment to people who formed a committee in his support and the electorate that accepted him and voted him to parliament. Mudavadi portrayed dimensions of conscientiousness when he put a lot of effort in his work as a civil servant and as an elected Mp. He showed tenets of extroversion in his amiability outgoing, generosity and welcoming.

Ultimately, he depicted readiness to assume responsibility and took the mantle after winning the 1976 by election; steered Kenya and his Kakamega area to another level of development.

CHAPTER FOUR

MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI'S LIFE AND TIMES DURING THE MOI ERA, 1979-1989

4.0 Introduction

According to Njiru and Kutswa (1997), President Moi was born in rural Kenya in Baringo district of Rift Valley province in 1924 and was president of Kenya (1979 – 2002). They averred that he was a realist (practical and took the world, as it was). He was a keen observer, listener, and a judge of character and had vision for the future.

Moi's tenure as president of Kenya was described by Wanyande et al. (2007) as full of bad governance. The economy plummeted in the 1990's and living standards fell to appalling levels. People lost jobs and economic corruption, institutional ineptitude and political patronage were rife in the 1980's while the 1990's witnessed increased deprivation of the majority of Kenyans and a sharp decline in savings and investment. Arguably, Moses Mudavadi was a key player in that kind of social, economic, and political milieu as president Moi's personal friend and confidant.

The chapter has eight subsections: subsection one aimed to examine Moses Mudavadi and President Moi's relationship. Secondly, it looked into Moses Mudavadi and politics during President Moi era. Thirdly, it explored Moses Mudavadi's roles in president Moi's government, fourth, Moses Mudavadi's life with other Leaders, the fifth sub section examined Moses Mudavadi's political failures. The sixth subsection pried into the death of Mudavadi and succession, seventh Moses Mudavadi's legacy and lastly the conclusion.

4.1 Moses Mudavadi and President Moi Relationship

Njiru and Kutswa (1997), predicated that Moi grew up in 1930`s and 1940`s during harsh and barbaric colonial rule in Kenya that dehumanized Africans. They averred that young Moi came into terms with what foreigners` rule meant. They avowed Moi took part in the struggle for independence and readily lent moral and material support. That patriotism and social justice were his revered virtues.

Most of the respondents posited that Mudavadi and Moi had a close relationship that was nurtured since their hay days in Baringo district as teachers in the 1950` s. They went on to claim that Moses Mudavadi and Daniel Moi went to the same college at Jeans school Kabete. The respondents stated that the colonial government posted them to teach at Kabianga School upon graduation.

They said Moses Mudavadi knew Kiswahili and could even teach the whites the language. They avowed due to his proficiency in teaching the language, Moi then a teacher too went close to Moses Mudavadi and informed him that he had only learned up to class six. They alleged that Mudavadi tutored Moi and helped him improve academically more so his Kiswahili. They averred he transferred Moi from Kabianga to head a school in his homeland of Baringo

According to (H. Mulindi, personal communication, June 8, 2016) Moi contributed greatly to sustenance of his friend Mudavadi in the cold and harsh conditions of Baringo. He said Moi used to take a bicycle and went several kilometers into the rural in search of charcoal for his friend that he used for cooking and warming his body when temperatures got so low.

They claimed in turn he liked Moi a lot. Respondents posited that through their friendship Moi gave Mudavadi a kalenjin girl called Rosbella Solenei who was also a

teacher. They posited that they cemented their relationship in the later years when Moi joined the Leg co in colonial days.

All the respondents and Morton (1998) postulated that Moses Mudavadi played a crucial role in the nomination of Moi to the Leg co to represent Rift Valley. They stated among the four members of the nominating caucus, only Moses Mudavadi was an African. They claimed the other three were whites.

A handful of respondents and Morton (1998) avowed, the road to the renowned legislative council commenced with a group of councilors who had gathered at Kabarnet to nominate the candidate to represent Rift Valley in the Leg co. They said the people had bestowed the mandate of representing Rift Valley to a Maasai John Ole Tameno – a veterinary officer.

They alleged his 3-year term was a nightmare to the people of Rift Valley. They claimed that Ole Tameno was a bar reveler in Nairobi and failed to equal the task bestowed on him. They claimed, in 1955 Tameno resigned out of pressure from people. They asserted that subsequently a search for a new candidate of high integrity, sober and fluent in English began. They said that the best qualifiers were the elite class of those days who were mainly teachers and doctors.

Morton (1998) averred that the P.C of Rift Valley approached Mudavadi who was by then an inspector of schools. He stated H.J Simpson's (P.C) eyes fell on Mudavadi, the education officer and only Kenyan by then who owned a land rover in the area. He asserted that Mudavadi refused to take the position citing that he was not a Kalenjin and the post suited an indigenous person.

Morton (1998) reiterated that Mudavadi and Kalenjin elders chose Moi who refused the chance on the basis that he recently been promoted to be a head teacher at

Kabarnet and was committed to his career as a teacher. The respondents claimed that Mudavadi played a key role in convincing the diehard teacher Moi to quit teaching and join Legco. Morton (1998) predicated that Moi reluctantly accepted the nomination to the Leg co stating,

“I had not expected this at all and I was very hesitant to accept as my name had been put forward for the post of secretary to Baringo African District Council. I was not a politician, I was a teacher, and I liked teaching very much. After discussing the matter with a few friends, I decided to accept. I said to myself; let me go for a short period. If I don’t like it, I can come back to teaching”

Morton (1998) agreed with several respondents that Moi clinched the slot after garnering 27 votes against his rival from Nandi district who managed only three votes in a secret ballot on October 16, 1955 in an Electoral College meeting at Nakuru. The respondents asserted that Moi eventually found his way to the Legco because he was a Christian and did not drink alcohol.

They further contended that Mudavadi also played a fundamental role in the subsequent election of Daniel Moi during elections of 1957. That these were the first ever elections meant to send eight African members to the Legco. They avowed the elections were marred with in fighting, personal vendettas, and public violence.

They said it took the skullduggery of an education officer and Moi’s friend Moses Mudavadi who was in charge of enrolling voters in East Baringo to convince the electorate. They said; when asked by the electorate why he was writing their names down and giving them those cards, he expounded, “*You keep the card and vote for Toroitich.*”

They predicated most of the voters heeded to his advice. Morton (1998) claimed that Moi won despite using an awkward symbol – a lion, seen as an aggressive and

dangerous villain among the cattle cultured Kalenjin. He asserted Tipis who used a cow seemed to have an advantage.

He averred that Moi won the elections after a serious campaign with a majority of 4000 votes against Ole Tipis , 1500 and Ole Tameno`s 750. The respondents alleged that Mudavadi threatened to close schools in Baringo if Moi failed in the elections. They claimed, indeed he closed schools; opened them after Moi won.

Morton (1998) went on to document Moi`s political endeavors that saw him become the president of Kenya representing Baringo people for 47 years; vice president for 12 years and president of Kenya for 24 years. The respondents posited that Mudavadi molded Daniel Moi to become a great politician.

A respondent (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 14, 2016) alleged that Mudavadi advised Moi to team up with some Europeans to agitate for the release of Jomo Kenyatta. They posited, he advised Moi to visit Kenyatta at Kapenguria, which he did together with a carpenter called Cheboywo.

They said it was from the visit that Kenyatta appointed Moi to vice presidency when Joseph Murumbi resigned in 1967. They agreed, were it not for Mudavadi, the little known Moi could not have made the great political strides. They stated that Moi returned the good gesture by promoting Moses Mudavadi to various positions including ministerial posts when he got to power.

They said that Mudavadi and Moi had a close relationship that no force could cut the umbilical cord that enjoined them. That sometimes Mudavadi boasted that he was the government and his word was law. They quoted his hackneyed Maragoli saying “*nemboo mboo nisuu suu*” meaning “*if I say I have said if I refuse, I have refused.*”

A respondent (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) postulated that Moi factor played a role in Mudavadi`s political glory. He predicated Mudavadi depicted himself as having President Moi`s blessings to take care of western province on his behalf and he believed he was about to be appointed a vice president evidenced by the palatial house he put up for one of his wives Rosbella which was to be the vice president`s residence.

The respondents were in affirmation that the friendship between Moi and Mudavadi went beyond Mudavadi`s death. They said that after his death in 1989, Peter Kibisu rushed to president Moi to inherit Mudavadi`s seat but Moi turned him down. Instead Moi gave a directive to Maragoli to vote Mudavadi`s son Musalia Mudavadi unopposed. They said that the people of Sabatia heeded to Moi`s call and Musalia Mudavadi was elected unopposed in 1989.

4.2. Moses Mudavadi and Politics during President Moi`s Era

According to (anonymous) President Moi took the helm of leadership in Kenya in 1978 when President Kenyatta demised after leading Kenya for 15 years. That the constitution of Kenya provided that if in the event of the death of the incumbent president, the Vice president automatically assumed office powers as the president for a period not exceeding 90 days.

Accordingly, Daniel T.A. Moi took the oath of the highest office on the land of Kenya on 22nd August 1978 and later elected democratically within the stipulated period. That in comparison to postcolonial Africa the peaceful historical transition was incomparable. That the political stability that enabled the peaceful transition was a result of Mzee Kenyatta`s singular ability in steering the nation of Kenya together.

Wanyande et al. (2007) claimed that Moi was able to rule Kenya for 24 years by applying the letter five of Machiavelli commandment: keep friends close and punish perceived enemies, have no permanent friends or enemies, appear to be religious and seek to be feared than to be loved. Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014], argued that Moses Mudavadi`s political fortunes changed when president Moi became president.

According to (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) Moses Mudavadi was not a good public speaker. He alleged to consolidate Mudavadi`s power in Vihiga constituency; they formed a committee which decided first to make him a Maragoli elder. He said the committee allocated him (Henry Chakava) the then managing director of Heinemann Kenya the task.

That he managed to find Maragoli elders who agreed Mudavadi to be their leader and the swearing in took place on December 16, 1978. The respondent said that he wrote the speech ; ratified by Joram Amendi, Philemon Indire, Andrew Ligale, Jastone Anzeze, and Abisai Musotsi. The respondent went on to say that professor Indire read the speech at the ceremony conducted at Mbale high school.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, June 1979 p. 33) and many respondents Mudavadi won the elections easily in 1979 despite having an inferior curriculum vita compared to his opponents as if Peter Kibisu. They claimed Kibisu who was born in 1932 and educated in Kakamega, Harvard University of Business in USA, a technical officer, and lecturer who held several posts in trade union movement; an Mp in 1969.

On the other hand, (Bahati Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) alleged he was born in 1938, educated in Maseno high school, Purdue University and held a Master`s degree in Structural engineering from university of Utah in Illinois; senior administrator of Shell Oil Company and senior public civil service structural engineer.

Nevertheless, Mudavadi won the parliamentary seat of Vihiga in the general elections of 1979 using his tact.

Relatively, (Ngeno, Weekly Review, November 16, 1979 p. 4) reiterated,

“in a fit that could be described as rage, the voters in Kakamega threw out almost all the old parliamentary faces leaving only one person, Mr. Moses Budamba Mudavadi; of those who served in the last parliament.”

He claimed that among those thrown out included Burundi Nabwera who was trounced by Joshua Angatia in Lurambi North constituency, in Mumias constituency, Francis Obongita Namatsi was trounced by Elon Wameyo, Clement Lubembe lost to Jeremiah Hamadi Murila in Ikolomani constituency while in Hamisi constituency, Samson Lumbete M`maitisi lost to Onamu.

He linked the spree of loses to either underperformance of the Mp`s or a protest against a collective misdeed of the members of parliament. That it was only the electorate in Vihiga who acted contrary. He alleged that the voters in Vihiga returned Mudavadi for another five-year term with a narrow win over his rivals Bahati Musira Semo and Peter Kibisu.

He said Moses Mudavadi garnered 11, 889 votes, Semo, second with 11,420 votes while Kibisu was third with 10,751 votes. He went on to claim that Mudavadi had retained the seat because he got support from prominent personalities from the area. He alleged the bigwigs walked with him shoulder by shoulder during his political campaigns and played a fundamental role in amassing votes for him.

Respondents like Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] argued that Mudavadi was very industrious and hard working. They said he was one of those leaders who always accomplished his tasks and personally supervised projects he had initiated. They asserted that Mudavadi was a sincere, honest and trust worthy leader.

He asserted Moses Mudavadi was humble and never bragged; could be mistaken not to be of high profile in society at first glance. They averred that Moses Mudavadi loved a simple and sociable life that endeared him to everyone around him including neighbors, friends, and others. They contended Mudavadi never discriminated against anybody and loved in equal measure; generous to all. Such a character he alleged easily endeared the electorate.

Relatively, Moses Mudavadi had also made a mark in his short stint in parliament when he replaced Kibisu who had represented Vihiga constituency for nearly 2 terms. In relation, (B. Semo's, personal communication, June 16, 2016) painfully narrated that he won the elections in 1979 and a petition when he lost.

He claimed he hired the best lawyers (Queens Counsel) from United Kingdom assisted by an Asian lawyer. He predicated president Moi learnt of the judge's decision while at the state house at Nakuru and coerced the seating judge to reverse the ruling in favor of Mudavadi.

He reservedly stated technically, he won the case but officially, he lost. He said he used the sacking of the chiefs and clips of evidence of Mudavadi's speeches threatening them that he would sack them unless he won as evidence. He said some of the assistant chiefs and chiefs gave evidence in court in his favor.

Nevertheless, (M. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016) asserted that the assistant chiefs and chiefs were sacked for insubordination when they implicated their boss (D.C) in coercing them and the electorate to vote for Mudavadi during the petition. That irrespective of the D.C giving them allowances to attend the court and give evidence; contrary they gave evidence in support of Bahati Semo.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, August 15, 1980 p. 13) Bahati Semo lost the petition on August 8, 1980. That chief justice Sir James Wicks of Nairobi high court dismissed the petition. He said the support Mudavadi had enjoyed from dignitaries was one of the grounds Semo had cited in his petition but the court dismissed the allegation.

He added that Semo also claimed in his petition that oath had taken place at Mbale market on April 14, 1979 but was also quashed with a counter argument that oaths had been taking place among the Maragoli since 1940`s.

He claimed forthwith the court quashed other minor grounds and the case dismissed with costs. Relatively (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) stated that he tried to plead with Mudavadi lawyers led by Amos Wako to pay the costs in installments but they had his directive that he had to pay in full. He associated Mudavadi`s adamancy to his wrong premise that he was rich as he contested in all elections. He resignedly said, he amassed all his finances and paid in full.

Many respondents stated that Mudavadi used the then influential provincial administration to realize his course. A respondent (T. Sagalla, personal communication, May 22, 2016) lamented that when Moses Mudavadi emerged victorious in 1979 elections, he sacked twelve assistant chiefs including himself who had served during Kibisu`s era.

He plainly stated that Mudavadi had him and others relieved of duties for supporting Peter Kibisu and his political ally, Herman Mulinya who vied for the civic seat of Gavudia in the same year. He said the two politicians hailed from his area of jurisdiction and were his neighbors and friends. His wife, (N. Sagalla, personal communication, May 22, 2016) sadly stated that Mudavadi acted badly.

She lamented life became difficult for them when her husband was dismissed. Additionally, (T. Sagalla, personal communication, May 22, 2016) said Moses Mudavadi followed *zimbemba*, a Maragoli parlance for gossip. He said often when gossipers informed Mudavadi that '*Visarambembe*' – a Maragoli term for traitors were destroying votes; he reacted with pangs of panther and ferocity of a wounded lion. He said it was the belief in gossip that informed Mudavadi to dismiss them.

A respondent (W. Mweresa, personal communication, June 8, 2016) alleged those assistant chiefs who did not support Mudavadi were dubbed "*Viparachuto*" denoting people who did not hear and did not do as told. Another respondent (J. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016) posited that those who did not support Mudavadi were enemies in Kenyan parlance "*ngoroko*."

The assertion that, Mudavadi appointed most of the assistant chiefs and chiefs who served him diligently and sometimes dealt with the opposition against him mercilessly was also advanced by (W. Mweresa, personal communication, June 8, 2016), (H. Mulinya, personal communication, May 22, 2016 and (M. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016).

They named some of those assistant chiefs and chiefs Mudavadi appointed who included chief Jumba (North Maragoli location), assistant chief Kabera (Bugina sub location), assistant chief Kavita Onyango (Mudete sub location), Aggrey Masiza (Busali East location), assistant chief Japheth Muzembi (Gavudia) chief Gunyanyi (West Maragoli location) and chief Ayodi (Izava location) among others.

Many respondents asserted that the elections of 1979 and beyond were marred with violence and chaos. That people even associated themselves with shops, posho mills

and even bars of their political affiliates. That that created fear as going to a given shop could arouse violence from opponents.

They said that social places operated alongside political affiliations. They gave an example of Chavakali market where only political pundits of Kibisu reveled in Embassy bar. They said the bar belonged to the tycoon Abraham Ambwere, an ally of Kibisu and foe of Mudavadi. They said First bar or Asamba`s bar was home for Mudavadi`s diehard supporters.

Respondents (A. Mambuya, personal communication, March 4, 2016) and (J. Muzembi, May 22, 2016) reiterated that Mudavadi took care of the welfare of provincial administrators when he won elections. They asserted that he paid for their children school fees, gave them handouts besides many other incentives.

That Mudavadi constituted a development plan that chartered the way forward for education, industries, health, and infrastructure. They said that Mudavadi had a special committee that analyzed plans and prioritized needy areas. That the wishes of people guided Mudavadi`s decisions.

They said he consulted the caucus of the provincial administrators who apprised him of the needs of their subjects. A respondent, (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) contended that Mudavadi spread development all over Vihiga and chiefs were personally in charge of the initiated projects and ensured their viability,

Anyang`-Nyongo (as cited in Wanyande, et al., 2007) and several respondents argued that the colonial provincial administration was inherited by the post colonial Kenyan regimes. They postulated that the entire scalar chain of P.C`s, D.C`s, D.O`s, chiefs, assistant chiefs and village headmen was socialized as the president`s personal

representatives at the grassroots with a mandate to guard the president's government against political opposition and dissent.

They alleged that the institutions of participation and representation notably the local government authorities were under the docket of D.C's who again controlled national assembly elections and were able to sway election results to suit the dictates of whom they preferred to win against the defeat of those whom they detested.

A respondent (A. Mambuya, personal communication, March 3, 2016) asserted that as Mudavadi's local administrator, he always summoned him whenever he came to the rural areas. He asked of him to apprise him of the events in the society and the immediate concerns of the people. He reiterated that during that epoch chiefs were by virtue of working style politicians.

He posited that during those days, the chiefs even though didn't hold any political office, up fronted the KANU's agenda like selling KANU badges, recruited members and sometimes coerced people into submission. A respondent (J. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016) postulated that chiefs by then used to arbitrate over cases and pass judgment.

He averred they made people heed to certain decisions including voting for their preferred candidate during elections for that case – Mudavadi. They averred that played in their favor whenever they appeared before the chiefs Sanhedrin. Rationally, the researcher resolved, the provincial administration mainly influenced Mudavadi's election triumphs.

However, he concurred with Wanyande et al. (2007) conclusion that it was a dictatorial system of administration. These were sound grounds for the clamor for the

disbandment of the organ in the new political dispensation as recommended in the newly promulgated constitution (Republic of Kenya, 2010).

Many respondents claimed, Mudavadi became the patron of Vihiga cultural society – popular among the people of Vihiga constituency, and used it to perpetuate his popularity. They said Henry Chakava headed the cultural society, registered in 1979. They alleged the festival had a theme every year like rites of passages: circumcision, marriage, and death.

Respondents disclosed that Mudavadi and his friend president Moi fancied the events that occurred every December 26. They said Mudavadi fancied circumcision and marriage a lot. That he used to put on the headgear made up of Monkey skin called “*induvuli*” that elders gave to him during inauguration as a Maragoli elder.

A respondent, (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) argued Mudavadi was a strong-minded man. He avowed he made personal decisions on issues up fronted to him. However, he was not easy to access and whenever he met his friends in one of his drinking sprees, he could spend the whole night reveling and talking to them. That he used to give a person individual attention and explained what he had been doing and what he planned to do.

They said his colleagues from Maragoli did not worry as they knew whether it would be after 6 months; would address their concerns whenever they met. That Mudavadi would part them in the wee hours of the morning stating that he was going to state house Nakuru to meet president Moi. They said that they were not sure whether it was truth or just an excuse to exit.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, August 26, 1983 p. 23) Mudavadi as chairman of KANU Kakamega district had not forwarded Semo`s name to party

headquarters for clearance and Semo` name missed on the list of those to be cleared by KANU vetting committee that was to visit Kakamega. He said in rejoinder, Bahati Semo in a press conference said that he was withdrawing from the race for the Vihiga Constituency parliamentary seat and cited harassment from the minister for local government – Moses Mudavadi.

In relation, (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) asserted that he had quit the race in 1983 due to threats to kill him after playing down a homage to President Moi`s home that meant to offer him a job so as to stop the fierce campaign he had initiated that threatened Mudavadi`s position. He said President Moi awarded his political counterpart Peter Kibisu chairpersonship of Chemelil Sugar Company.

He posited that he was told during the meeting, President Moi reasoned that he was not needed as combined Peter Kibisu`s and Mudavadi`s votes were enough to beat him. He stated that Perez Olindo who had accompanied them overheard them plan his destruction and on coming back went to see him and told him that he was “finished.”

He postulated, immediately he called a press conference and stated, *“I thought I was fighting Moses Mudavadi. I did not know I was fighting the president.”*

He narrated that Martin Shikuku heard the news and upon confirming from him went and told President Moi that he was withdrawing from the race because of him. That Moi in self-defense told Shikuku to go and tell him to take his papers for nomination. He said, he left Nairobi and went to his rural home at Muhanda in Vihiga where he got the letter from Ole Tipis through the D.C of Kakamega directing him to present his papers.

He averred, in order to avoid Mudavadi`s roadblocks, in the wee hours of the next morning, he took the route to Kakamega via Luanda, Mumias, then to Kakamega and

presented his papers. He asserted that amid his supporters' song and dance, Mudavadi brought his papers and was perplexed at the turn of events.

In addition, he posited that he lost in the general elections of 1983 and attributed his defeat to favoritism from the government machinery. He argued Vihiga constituency never underwent a smooth and transparent voting exercise since independence. He posited it was always a hot bed during elections, subjected to political violence, intimidation, and interference from the provincial administration during president Moi era. He alluded the maladies to a political stake of the then president Moi's mentor cum friend – Moses Mudavadi.

In connection (W. Mweresa, personal communication, June 8, 2016) clarified that the provincial administration was coerced into submission in support of government correctly candidates. He stated he was a village elder and in 1983 general elections, his area chief, Kenneth Jumba dismissed him for supporting a woman named Serah Lwenya who vied for the seat of councilor in North Maragoli.

He narrated that chief Jumba summoned him to explain why he was supporting a woman and not their candidate William Indumwa. Nevertheless, after investigations, he reinstated him because Serah Lwenya was also a KANU candidate and so he supported KANU.

In addition (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) avowed through thick and thin Mudavadi had to win and even the votes' deviation could be very narrow – sometimes less than 300 votes. He claimed during the counting of votes of other constituencies like Butere, Ikolomani, and Lurambi among others, people could peep through the windows and doors and keep abreast with the event.

He alleged the counting of Vihiga constituency votes took place when the windows and doors were clear of any unwanted eye. He stated that he did not file a petition after the loss as from experience he knew the court would disfavor him. According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, September 2 1983 p. 4) Ambrose Lukalo`s ambition to unseat Mudavadi in Vihiga in the 1983 general elections was curtailed when he lost his affidavit amidst the large crowd outside the D.C`s office in Kakamega.

Moses Mudavadi`s name was officially documented in the parliamentary Hansard of October 1983 list of Members of fifth parliament, fourth session as the Mp for Vihiga and the minister of local government (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, April 7, 1983 cont –)

A respondent, (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) stated Mudavadi was a complex politician. He revealed that whenever Mudavadi heard that someone wanted to oppose him, he became hostile and set the CID police against him or her. He claimed, Mudavadi dominated the politics of the times in Vihiga and Sabatia constituencies because during the single party system (KANU) was feared.

He asserted Mudavadi used his relationship with Moi to instill phobia among his competitors. He cited his case and claimed that he could receive threats from Mudavadi`s in - circle whenever it was rumored that he wanted to vie for the elective post of area member of parliament.

The respondent stated, he would often be told that, *‘mzee is not well with you’* denoting that *“Mudavadi is not happy with him.”* He cited a case when the CID went after him for inviting Abraham Ambwere who was not in books with Mudavadi to a fundraising at Wangulu friends` church.

He said the CID informed him Mudavadi had ordered for his arrest claiming he had abused President Moi at North End bar. He narrated even though Kanyotu did not arrest him; he made him record a statement. He alleged that even though some people encouraged him to venture into politics, he never dared, as he was scared of Mudavadi.

Some respondents including (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) and (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) argued that Mudavadi was always unsettled and scared of losing his seat. That when Bahati Semo mounted a campaign that almost trounced him in 1979 and 1983 general elections; won with a thin margin, he took advantage of the creation of more constituencies to divide Vihiga constituency into two – created Sabatia constituency for self.

According to (J. Muzembi, personal communication, March 4, 2016), the split of Vihiga was precedential to splits among the Maragoli that had drawn them into camps socially, economically and politically. He alleged the church played a crucial role in the division. He said that Mudavadi wanted to split Kaimosi Friends Church creating – Southern Friends but Peter Kibisu and Bahati Semo objected. However, he asserted the Quaker church eventually split.

He averred that the rift was so deep that it divided the Maragoli in the middle. He said the delicate scenario instigated the attention of president Moi to avert the crisis. He divulged Moi called some people to Kabarak for reconciliation including him. He predicated Moi reconciled Mudavadi with Bahati Semo and the Avamavi got South Maragoli constituency (Vihiga constituency).

A respondent, (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) reiterated Moi told Mudavadi that things were becoming so delicate that he had to find a way of

dealing with opposition in his constituency especially Semo. That Mudavadi became very desperate and sent people to him so that they could meet and mend fences.

He narrated that he made Mudavadi hold a 100 each delegation at Nairobi and at home to simmer the divisions. He reiterated Mudavadi arranged a meeting at intercontinental hotel in which he agreed to support him. He said they sealed the deal at home (Vihiga) before a mammoth crowd. He said within the same time, he came to be aware of a program by the Electoral and Boundary Commission assignment of re-demarcating some constituencies.

He said that he approached Mudavadi and blatantly stated to him,

“Bwana minister, I have said that I’m not going to oppose you. But I have other Semo`s who have not been standing for fear of me.”

He predicated, he proposed to him as he was close to the president, he could request him to split Vihiga into two, which he did. Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] concurred with the assertion and reiterated that actually constituency boundaries were re- drawn in 1987 in preparation of the 1988 general elections.

Accordingly, (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) happily revealed, that Mudavadi and him became good friends when he got his constituency. That even though the perpetrators of *tsimbemba* (gossipers) tried to draw a wedge between them he did not mind and clung to their newfound friendship from which he was the greatest beneficiary.

According to several respondents notably (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) and (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 14, 2016) Mudavadi`s initial plan was to create three constituencies. They said he had planned to take lands from the neighboring constituencies. They went on to narrate that

Mudavadi planned to take part of neighboring Idakho land and Bunyore land. They avowed he wanted his Sabatia constituency to extend to Shiveye in Ikolomani constituency.

They stated that didn't materialize as Mp's from those areas opposed the move. Nevertheless, they avowed that Mudavadi curved off those areas that supported him and left a small area for Vihiga constituency. That was evident as it stood; Sabatia constituency extended from the far borders with Hamisi constituency and Ikolomani constituency to the heart of Mbale town.

All the respondents, and (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, February 12, 1988 p. 21) and Kibisu et al. [ca. 2014] avowed that Mudavadi was elected to the parliament as an Mp for the newly created Sabatia constituency unopposed while Bahati Semo became the Mp for Vihiga constituency unopposed aided by Mudavadi during the 1988 general elections.

They alleged that Mudavadi told all other interested aspirants including Andrew Ligale and professor Indire to step down for Bahati Semo. They avowed that Mudavadi told them that Semo had disturbed him a lot and so had to taste what leadership was all about.

The researcher in retrospect of the tenure of Bahati Semo conceded that Mudavadi's prophesy was true. That Bahati Semo became a one-term Mp of Vihiga constituency. He noted that actually Bahati Semo never saw the threshold of parliament again as he was unseated by Mudavadi's political child Andrew Ligale during 1992 general elections when his soul had rested in *mkihadisi* – a Maragoli term aka *Sasa* time as coined by Mbiti (2011).

He argued that had Mudavadi not tamed the ‘Other Semo’s’ in Bahati Semo’s backyard, there was a high possibility Semo could not have lived his dream of being a member of parliament of Vihiga constituency. The researcher gave credence to Moses Mudavadi that besides political competitions, he abjured incitement and kept it at its lowest ebb – unity at the apex of his actions.

He predicated Mudavadi sought the peaceful hand of Bahati Semo and their actual burial of the political seed of discord for the sake of Maragoli unity was a grand move of the highest intellect that many snobbish politicians lacked. The researcher referred to Gakuru, Mwenzwa and Bikuri (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007) discourse on negotiations and consensus – building in Kenya who reiterated that conflicts are common to human beings whether physical, psychological, or ideological.

They advanced that conflicts between people or a person require reconciliation with others or with one’s self. He concluded it was that act of purpose for unity that Mudavadi had kept the Maragoli united and had never succumbed to Sub – clan fights as witnessed in some parts of Kenya like North Eastern region.

That the Maragoli remained a haven of peace from that day Mudavadi and Semo, the key political actors of the times released a white dove in the sky (Researcher’s own source). That they stood as iconic paragons for other politicians to emulate as Carr (1961) asserted,

“It is presupposition of history that man is capable of profiting (not that he necessarily profits) by the experience of his predecessors, and that progress in history, unlike evolution in nature, rests on the transmission of acquired assets.”

He predicated, Moses Mudavadi transmitted assets of peace that the Maragoli still cherished. The researcher aptly, summed up Mudavadi as a great leader that the

Maragoli had found hard to forget even though as the Maragoli painfully hackneyed “*yazia emagombe* (dead) and ‘*yalia ililova*’ (has eaten the soil).

He observed that was evidence in the fresh memories the respondents had about him; a man whose ‘*lizulizwa*’ (remembrance) a Maragoli term ‘equivalent to *sasa*’ (Mbiti, 2011) was prolonged due to his great deeds. He advanced that when Mudavadi`s spirit shall enter the ‘*kwivila*’ Maragoli term equivalent to *zamani* and eventually settle among (*vaguga*) a Maragoli noun for ancestors (‘communal spirits’) he shall hover in the void among angels of peace, development, and prosperity.

The researcher observed that actually many of the elderly and literate respondents talked of Mudavadi and his achievements with great passion. He associated their emotional attachment to Mudavadi being their role model who enabled them to accomplish great things in life. He noted even though old and socializing into death vis - a- vis Kubler`s theory as suggested by Lindsey (2009), their memory still lingered around the once alive and vibrant man – Moses Mudavadi.

4.3. Moses Mudavadi Roles in President Moi`s Government

4.3.1. Moses Mudavadi and Ministry of Education

All the respondents, Nzioki, and Dar (1982) avowed that when Mudavadi won the 1979 general elections, President Moi appointed him the minister for basic education. They said the ministry carried the bulk of education. That Mudavadi was in charge of teacher training colleges and schools. They said Mudavadi was an active and sometimes controversial Minister.

Mudavadi in his remarks on the delay in payment of teachers in Turkana district informed the House that Turkana district had 159 teachers. He disclosed 34 of them earned through banks while 125 earned from Lodwar. He said that his ministry had

arranged for a paying officer in Lodwar district to pay the teachers in their respective divisions (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, March 12, 1980 p. 187 – 88).

Mudavadi in his response to the allegation that water transport had shipped in C.P.E 1979 exam papers into Kenya and caused delay in the administration of the exams told the House that the government had taken appropriate steps and arrested the situation. He added the government airlifted or transported the papers using road transport from Mombasa to exam centers.

Mudavadi curtly explained his ministry had issued warning letters to the officers concerned. He told the House the exams were set abroad to prevent similar leakages that had occurred in ‘O’ level exams. Secondly, he said some people could not be trusted locally and could leak the exam even before publishing.

He added that examination papers would be set and published abroad until when the government would be convinced that it was prudent and safe for Kenya to do so. He stated that even though C.P.E was an exam of lower cadre, it was a vital exam just like ‘O’ level and ‘A’ level exams. He averred his ministry had to ensure that people who sat for the exams used their own brain (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, April 1, 1980 p. 696).

The researcher was of the view that Mudavadi prophesies came true. He said that since the inception of Kenya setting national examinations locally, exam cheating had escalated to appalling levels. He said it was common knowledge during the 2015 Kenya national examinations (K.C.P.E and K.C.S.E), exam cheating pervaded to alarming levels that baffled education stakeholders.

He said that the Information and Communication Technology technocrats’ social group in Kenyan parlance “*wazup*” and some Kenya national examination council

officers, education managers and exam supervisors premeditated and pervaded the cheating. He contended on daily basis, the media reported leakages and pre - posted the real examination papers deteriorating the situation (Researchers own source).

He argued the exam leakage led to sacking of Kenya national examination council officers. Besides, the Cabinet Secretary, the daring Fred Matian`gi banned all social events in Kenyan schools in third term and adjusted national examination dates for both primary and secondary schools in an attempt to preclude the perpetrators of exam leakages (Citizen, 2016).

He averred since the gone golden days, Kenyan schools became breeding grounds of half-baked immoral students who banned schools and ran amok destroying property at slightest provocation. That Kenya ceased to produce the Ngungi wa Thiongo`s, the David Mailu`s and Francis Imbuga`s of ‘today’; exam cheating – the precedence.

The researcher predicated that objective Kenyans including himself were enraptured by Mudavadi`s and Matian`gi`s decisions; coincidentally read from the same script with several years apart (Researcher`s own source). Burckhardt (as cited in Carr 1961) never minced his words when he postulated that, “*the record of what one age finds worthy of note in another.*” Concisely, even though their decisions did not augur well with some political elitists, in his opinion they were verily timely and rational.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, April 18, 1980 p. 7) Mudavadi denied existence of a policy paper for a nine-year basic education in Kenya that was to replace C.P.E. He said the paper claimed that C.P.E did not offer any child as having flanked. He stated the paper denoted that someone had completed years of education. However, he averred, many people were of the view that it was not the completion of

the 7 years education that mattered but continuation to secondary school. Many respondents claimed Mudavadi had a zest to elevate his people's education to access the job market.

They avowed, he selected so many candidates from the larger Kakamega district to join teacher colleges in 1980. The respondents including (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016), Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014], and (Ngeno, Weekly review, June 1980 6, p. 21) claimed that Kamotho the then minister for higher education in charge of universities noted the discrepancy in the recruitment of teachers to colleges.

They claimed that when he complained, Mudavadi defended his choices with statistics. They posited, at that particular time, there were about 35,889 untrained teachers in Kenya and 7565 had applied to join teacher-training colleges. They claimed that apart from Rift Valley (1,742), Eastern (1135) and Western (1133), all the other five provinces, Nairobi (36), North Eastern (44) Central (475), Nyanza (538) and Coast (510) had less recruits than Kakamega district.

They postulated Kakamega was allocated a lion's share with Kakamega being allocated 673 slots, Bungoma, 270 and Busia, 190. They said in connection, Kamotho accused Mudavadi of taking his girlfriends to colleges. They avowed Mudavadi convinced President Moi, it was useless to train teachers from Central province and post them in Western and Rift valley provinces.

They contended Mudavadi, was of the opinion, teachers from their catchment areas be trained and upon graduation posted to serve in their areas of origin. That the methodology was greatly criticized by Mp's from Central province who termed the system as 'political sabotage.'

One of them stated,

“With the comparative levels of education in various provinces in the country there is no formula that can give such a low number of teachers to Central Province and such high intakes to some districts in Western Province and claim fairness.”

According to (Ngeno, Weekly review, June 6, 1980 p. 21) the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Education, Archie Mbogoh defended the action blaming the press for politicizing the issue by publishing raw data that had been not been finalized. Nevertheless, the Ministry rescinded its decision and issued instructions to all district education officers to withdraw notices informing candidates of the admissions.

He argued officers from the President`s office and those from the ministry of education met to chart forward new methods of selection. The respondents, Nzioki, and Dar (1982) claimed that Mudavadi served well in the Ministry of Education until 1980 when President Moi transferred him to the Ministry of Water Development.

4.3.2. Moses Mudavadi and the Ministry of Water Development

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, June 27, 1980 p. 11), president Moi transferred Mudavadi from the ministry of education to ministry of water development due to scandals that ranged from leaked policy paper for a 9-year school curriculum that became public before discussing it in the cabinet to the contested teacher training selection saga.

The respondents asserted that when Mudavadi was transferred to the ministry of water development, he discovered that apart from Kikuyu`s, other tribes had been made to work as casuals for many years. They said Mudavadi ordered the city council to employ them on permanent basis.

Mudavadi on water tankers for Makueni informed the members that the water tankers attached to his ministry were insufficient. He reiterated that they could not serve all the drought stricken areas in the country. He posited that there were such four water tankers serving North – Eastern province and Isiolo district where the situation had deteriorated.

He went on to explain that the Ministry of water was planning to buy at least a water tanker for every province. Mudavadi added that the use of water tankers was a temporal solution. He postulated that the ministry was looking forward for solutions that were more permanent.

He avowed that included increased water conservation and afforestation. He asserted that officers from his ministry led by his permanent secretary had visited the whole of Makueni division for two days on a fact-finding mission on the water situation. He averred they had proposed actions that included the use of ground water, rehabilitation of the existing water projects and the de-silting of the affected dams.

He predicated, when survey of the area was through, M.W.D would take remedial actions. Mudavadi explained that his ministry was undertaking a long lasting solution, which included putting up a big water project that would serve the lower divisions. He added that the European Economic Community was spending K£ 40 million on water in Machakos and 50 other small dams every year.

He said that the Ministry of Water was constructing 10 major dams and 50 other small dams in Machakos annually. He said that the situation would automatically improve when the projects were completed. Mudavadi retorted his district water officer in Makueni had been to the areas that morning and his advice to the ministry

awaited. That in case he advised the Lorries to take water to Makueni he would take prompt action (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, October 28, 1980 p. 2031).

Mudavadi briefed the House on the inadequacy of the pumping system at Uyoma water scheme. He said his M.W.D was aware of the inadequate water supply in East and West Uyoma Locations of Bondo Division. He stated the government had no immediate action due to lack of funds but the situation was under careful watch.

Mudavadi aptly informed the House that Omamo had been in the house as a minister and understood government finances. He reiterated the M.W.D had no other option of getting funds outside government allocation and in case funds were available, he would assist (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14 1981 p. 644).

Mudavadi in his speech apprised the House about the functions of the M.W.D that his predecessor had previously outlined. He listed them as reconstruction and development of water schemes, operations, and maintenance of water supplies and sewerage facilities, water conservation, urban water development, water resources` pollution control and county council water schemes.

He stated the major objectives for the next development plan, 1979/83 was the alleviation of poverty through provision of basic needs such as water, nutrition, health etcetera. He said the main goal of his ministry was to provide water to many *wananchi* the soonest. He reiterated for that to be realized, financial resources had to be available to make practical the objectives and strategies.

He predicated, that financial year, focus was to be on various projects, which included rural water supply programs where the bulk of citizens resided, water supplies to minor urban areas, settlement schemes, livestock development in marginal and semi – arid areas, irrigation schemes, and help water projects.

He reiterated, his ministry had undertaken a comprehensive evaluation of all aspects of the ministry to determine how best to utilize and finance work force resources available to his ministry. He said that was imperative due to the increased ministry of water's roles and prioritizing water as top agenda in the years that had preceded.

Mudavadi , claimed management study had been carried out that had provided vital data on main constraints which included availability of adept labor, lack of adequate financial resources, inadequate means of transport, lack of ideal equipment and adverse weather conditions etcetera. That remedial strategies were underway to streamline and re-organize the ministry's operations.

He said his ministry launched the National Action Committee for the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade following a request by the United Nations Secretary – General to monitor the implementation of various water projects more so to ensure that the ministry's national targets were met, (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14 1981 p. 1064 – 65).

Mudavadi presented to the House the estimated expenditure of his ministry. He divulged that it was estimated, the M.W.D was to spend a total of K£ 20,639,220 on certain development projects including appropriated K £940,020 –in Aid. He avowed, expenditure on recurrent estimate was to be K£ 8,711,295 that included approximations –in Aid of K£ 6,764,195.

He told the house that the identification of each individual project in the rural water supply, self-help water, and urban water supply programs was a new element introduced in the year's development budget. He posited that he hoped the new element was to open doors for members of parliament to identify projects of their interest (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14, 1981 p. 1066).

Mudavadi in his speech to the House stated that the rural water supply program took the lion share of the development budget at a cost of K £8,042,090. That rural water supply phases II and I had been completed at a cost of Kenya shillings 40 million and Kenya shillings 42 million respectively. He said the water schemes in the two programs had been small and medium sized.

He averred the two water projects consisted of 101 projects. Comparatively, he posited that the rural water supply phase III had 68 larger projects that were to cost over K£ 25 million. Mudavadi posited, rural water phase IV had commenced the previous year and carried 65 water supply projects at a cost of K £ 52.13 million.

He postulated planning of most of the projects was underway but the ministry would construct few of them that financial year (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14 1981 p. 1066-67). Mudavadi informed the parliament that the ministry of water had completed one of the projects – Ithanga.

He went on to thank governments and financial agencies that had lent a financial hand in the rural water program. He listed them as African Development Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency, Japan, Netherlands, DANIDA, France, Finland, and United States Agency for International Development, Swedish International Development Agency, United Kingdom, and International Bank for Reconstruction Development.

He informed it, his ministry was to go on granting financial aid and technical help to facilitate implementation of the projects in all districts. The assistance, he stated was to range from planning and designing self-help water projects. Grants for self help groups for improvement or construction of water supplies to enhance volume of water, subsidy to individuals who intended to drill boreholes to construction of dams.

He said the amount earmarked for that financial year was K£ 2,357,830. He posited the amount was mainly in forms of pipes and other relative materials. He said he had noted that *Wananchi* had shown an immense interest in providing themselves with water. He avowed his Ministry applauded such efforts and would continue to assist self-help water groups both in kind and in technical advice.

He predicated, the ministry of agriculture in collaboration with M.W.D promoted a comprehensive water development for livestock production in the rangeland and ranching areas more so in the semi arid lands. He said, to achieve the objective, renovation of water projects in Wajir and Isiolo districts and the range development in Narok, Kajiado, Taita/Taveta, Samburu, Lamu, Kwale, and Kilifi had to be undertaken. That a total of K£ 2,169,630 had been budgeted for the program.

He postulated M.W.D had identified as key areas, development of boreholes, construction of new dams, rehabilitation of old ones and development of water catchment areas and water troughs. He told the house that a total of K£ 1,712,820 was to be spent on urban water supplies program that involved 40 water schemes mainly sponsored by Norway via Norwegian Development Agency. That financial year the program was to undertake 35 schemes all over Kenya.

He said in general, the main segment of urban population received piped water or had access to public water systems. He said rapid population growth had strained water supply leading to periodic water shortages. He said such towns received higher attention from his Ministry. He averred that his Ministry had taken over operation and maintenance of small water supplies formerly run by county councils.

That the ministry had geared at keeping the water supplies maintained by some local authorities afloat at a cost of K£ 80,000. He added the long objective was to

incorporate small projects into bigger projects. He said that the Sabaki water supply was almost complete and pumped 4.5 million gallons of water a day to Mombasa and its environs.

That upon completion the project would pump 16 million of water gallons per day to Mombasa, Kilifi, Malindi, and the neighborhood in North coast. He said during that financial year, a pipeline to Malindi from Baricho at a cost of K£ 1,780, 050 was earmarked. In relation, he reiterated the ministry continued to develop water supply along the Southern coast at Tiwi and Bamba boreholes and investigations were ongoing to twine the Mzima pipeline.

He apprised the House that his ministry had continued to develop sewerage disposal facilities in larger urban centers and rural growth centers funded by the Norwegian Development Agency. He stated, Garisa, Limuru and Naivasha schemes program was to be realized that financial year at a cost of K£ 480,030.

He posited K £918,140 had been allocated for the exploratory work in the program. He said the paradigm was investigations on underground water all over the country. He added the findings by the National Master Water Plan and construction of weirs and gauges, recommended a program for the purchase of equipment for gauging stations; drilling of exploratory boreholes and ground water studies (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14, 1981 p. 1067 – 68).

Mudavadi in his speech to the House on the water conservation program informed the Members present that the water conservation program would continue to concentrate its activities on ASALS (Arid and Semi arid lands) under occupation by people. He posited, a network of water reservoirs through construction of boreholes was to shorten human and livestock distances covered in access to water.

He also said the government was exploring into possibility of tapping floodwater than letting it flow into the sea at a cost of K £ 524, 010 that financial year (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14 1981, p. 1068 – 69).

Mudavadi in his address to the house, on miscellaneous water projects stated that a number of other water programs were under study. He averred the studies involved rehabilitation of water projects in Nyanza and Western provinces for revival. He averred, the CIDA – Canadian International Development Agency jointly undertook the exercise with M.W.D for optimum performance.

He added, SIDA – Swedish International Development Agency was involved in small projects in Central Province. He avowed the Ministry aimed at reviving railways and settlement schemes. He said investigations on pre – investment studies on flood control measures, power generation, and utilization of Nyando and Nzoia rivers with a view to implement irrigation were on course at a cost of K £605,020 that financial year (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14, 1981 p. 1069).

Mudavadi gave a report in the parliament on integrated water development program and informed the house that a sum of K£ 834,040 was allocated for water projects in Machakos. That the project involved putting up earth dams, surface dams and Kibauni water project with aid from European Economic Community.

He said the target was to realize 50 subs – surface dams and about 12 earth dams per year. He added the European Economic Community was financing 18 micro water projects at a cost of K £ 319,000 under the 4th tranche that financial year (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14, 1981 p. 1069).

On training, Mudavadi told the parliament, that the ministry of water development had operated a staff training school since 1970. He predicated, the school catered for

the demand of inspectors and water operators within the ministry. He said the yearly intake had increased from 24 students in 1970 to 180 students in 1980. He said the minimum requirement for intake was East African Certificate of Education with passes in English, Physical sciences and Mathematics.

He avowed, the Public Service Commission carried out the selection and the course for inspectors took 3 years. He added their curriculum consisted of both theoretical and practical tuition. That during training some students underwent a diploma course at the Kenya polytechnic. In relation, he said the school located in Nairobi South C trained 100 water supply operators for 1 to 2 months annually.

He averred that the World Bank with collaboration with the government of Kenya earmarked to put up a new institute of water technology at Kajiado to offer courses given at the Nairobi water school and more advanced ones that would ensure a supply of fully adept water technicians with Diploma credentials. He stated the cost of the project was to be K£ 85,030 that financial year but it required K £4.9 million for a period of 3 years.

He said water was the most basic need and required its rightful share of development votes and the water sector was to continue receiving lion share to match the increased investments and consumption capacity. He reiterated,

“In the years to come, I will endeavor and I give this assurance to this House solemnly, to ensure equitable geographical distribution of the resources in my Ministry so that all areas of our beloved country may enjoy the fruits of our independence and the magnanimity of the Nyayo philosophy as expounded and lived by His Excellency the president, hon. Daniel Toroitich arap Moi. We have faith and confidence in Kenya, but in these days of economic stringencies, we must also feed on hope for a better future. Let hope be the greatest asset Kenyans share, comfortable in the knowledge that we today build on a strong foundation laid by His Excellency the president.” (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 14, 1981 p. 1069 – 70).

Mudavadi in his speech to the House thanked the members for the support they had given him particularly, his assistant ministers, and officials from his ministry. He thanked them for commending their good work in serving *Wananchi*. He said he was pleased to see the way they had expressed their concern on inadequate funding allocated to his docket.

He applauded what the members had averred in particular Oloitipiti's expression the previous day that, '*Water is life.*' He reiterated in reference to the year 2000, his ministry aimed at availing water to citizens up to village level. He said, the ministry's objectives had been deterred by limited funds. He added the idea was to try to ensure that if funds allowed, citizens received water at the proximity of their residence.

He referred to Njonjo's assertion that 100 yards was too close and that two kilometers was possible and nearer to people than going to fetch water 10 miles away as women did in the whole country. Mudavadi complained of his ministry's dismal funding and stated that he had asked the treasury for K£ 52 million during that financial year but the Ministry only got K£ 20 million.

He said that was far from being half from what the Ministry requested. Mudavadi said that deterred implementation of new projects and completion of the ongoing ones. He went on to reiterate that his ministry was carrying out projects like Sabaki and Baricho water schemes – a gigantic project that could serve the whole of north coast as Yeri had mentioned the previous day.

He avowed, his ministry was planning to take water from the source of river Sabaki to Malindi, which could supply water to areas in north coast. He added in case funds were available adjacent areas to the river Sabaki water network on its way to Mombasa Island were to access the water. He also said the M.W.D was conducting

researches on water in lakes like Victoria, Baringo, and Naivasha and rivers like Nyando and Yala. That Lake Naivasha had little water and if stretched, the lake could dry. He added that Lake Victoria was viable.

He told the House that field officers from his Ministry faced transport constraints that hampered their supervision and inspection of projects on self-help sponsored by his ministry or by local authorities. He divulged that it was not his ministry alone that faced financial problems but even other ministries as the government had no funds. However, he stated his ministry would utilize funds available to resolve the stalemate.

Mudavadi told parliamentarians, he preferred to talk with the minister of labor to allocate to his M.W.D some of the excess money under training levy scheme allocated to it by the ministry of finance. He avowed the money would finance a crash program of training technicians to manage the projects in the countryside.

He said that his ministry had trained personnel in Murang'a Institute of Technology, Nairobi Industrial Area , Western College of Arts and Applied Sciences (WECO) and Rift Valley Institute of Technology. He added incase funds were available then many other institutes of technology could be used to train more technicians.

He explained his ministry had sourced water civil engineers from India subsequent to President Moi`s deal on his official visit to India. In addition, he averred he had visited Egypt and soon five to six Egyptian engineers were to come to Kenya as trainers at the Water training school. He further informed the House that contractors were letting them down and in Kitui, a contractor, or company called CEB had failed to complete water projects in time.

Mudavadi said the same company CEB had let the Ministry down in Kisumu as Grace Onyango had alleged the previous day. He avowed even in Eldoret the Ministry

had terminated its services and sought services of a new qualified contractor. He reiterated the perception that his assistant ministers and him sat in the offices and failed to go to the countryside to assist *wananchi* was wrong.

He updated the House on the ministerial visits his staff had made. He predicated that he had made visits to Baringo, Elgeyo – Marakwet, Uasin Gishu, Nandi, Kericho, Kisii, South Nyanza, Kisumu, and Kakamega. He added he had also visited other areas like Bungoma, Busia, Nakuru, Nyandarua, Laikipia, Nyeri, Muranga, Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Kikuyu, Machakos, Kitui, Kajiado, Kilifi, Kwale, and Taita-Taveta.

He said he had programmed to visit Kirinyaga district on the Saturday of 18 July 1981 and South Nyanza from 28 July 1981 to 31 July 1981. Mudavadi told the House that he was to visit Tana River at ample time. He went on to state that his assistant ministers and permanent secretary had visited Nandi, Kirinyaga East, Kajiado, Uasin Gishu, Baringo, and Siaya.

He said despite that he had joined the M.W.D in October he had covered the areas in eight months besides demands of his Vihiga constituency. That by the end of 1984 could cover the whole country. Mudavadi informed the members of the House present that the public service commission was fair in selection of those applied to join institutions to train as water technicians and gave all Kenyans equal opportunities.

He said that the public service commission interviewed all candidates along those who went to Embu, Athi, Egerton and Bukura agricultural training schools. He reiterated that he had no preference when it came to serving the nation and did not favor assistant ministers or ministers.

He stated,

‘Hon. Members were elected by the people, and the people expect these members to serve them. So if I am a Government Minister and if I favor only a Minister like me, then I am actually be putting the future political career of that person who is not a Minister in jeopardy. So, as Minister for Water Development, I do not have that idea of looking down upon some Members and favoring others.’

He avowed that his ministry was pursuing a national water policy geared at having a clear national policy on water. He stated that all the water fell under his M.W.D but irrigation fell under the ministry of agriculture. That he concurred with Nyagah`s advice that his ministry should liaison with ministry of agriculture on irrigation and control of rivers (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1201-4).

Mudavadi, in his speech to the House on Vote R 20 –Recurrent Expenditure informed the parliament that there had been a re-arrangement of heads and that was why they did not see any figures for 1981/82 while there were figures for 1980/81. He asserted there had been a change of method of preparing estimates and he referred Members present to pages 376, 377, 378, 379, and 380.

He told Members to compare figures on page 377 with those on page 373. He added that as he had stated earlier, that was due to the re-organization. He avowed, because of re-organization in preparation of estimates, each district had a separate head in place of the previous one –vote 887(Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1205).

Mudavadi in his speech on Head 892 – Mombasa and Coast water supply informed the House that during the year 1980/81, there was a token of K £10. He said his ministry was not expecting anything by then. That in view of Head 892 on page 293, it portrayed the figure of K £10 was a token referring to last financial year. That for that year in question there was none and expected nothing.

He predicated that the token was to indicate the government's endorsement and to lure an investor to provide materials or take over the project or finance it. He postulated negotiations were on for a token of that year for securing aid from the government of Japan to construct a twin - water pipe from Mzima springs to Mombasa (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1207 – 8).

Mudavadi, in his speech to the House regarding Head 853-Kisii district reiterated that it was normal practice to persuade some foreign donors to be interested in the projects where a token of K £10 had been allocated. He informed the house that his ministry was negotiating several donors in areas they felt the rich countries had not done much to Kenya in the field of water development.

He posited his ministry was trying to convince those countries that had not donated any money to come in e.g. Arab countries. He said negotiations among treasury, M.W.D, and the donor countries were at advanced stage. He reiterated, the Ministry made it clear, it will endeavor when funds allowed from own sources or from external donors to provide water to as many citizens as possible.

He predicated, the K£ 700,000 in relation to vote 559 was from a local source. He told the House that the government also supplemented external donation and the World Bank and the government of Kenya had funded the Marmanet project in Laikipia district. Mudavadi told fellow parliamentarians that in case of self-help projects, the local people contributed through *Harambee* among others.

He posited, as he had informed the house the previous day in his speech when moving the vote of the ministry of water, the government gave assistance in form of pipes while people pooled money to pay contractors (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1209 – 11).

Mudavadi in his reply on Head 322 – Machakos District, informed the parliament that the European Economic Community had been involved in various water projects in Machakos, which was a big water scheme where they intended to initiate when funds were availed. He said, it was one of those areas where they had awarded a token of K £ 10 in hope a friendly donor country would undertake the project.

In reference to the project in Kisii, he reiterated that the Kisii district development committee had not approved the project and that was why it was not included in the budget of 1982/83. He attributed that to the procedure in which the self help projects had to be approved by their respective districts development committees, thereafter taken to the ministry of economic planning and development , ministry of water and treasury in time who determined their viability that gave their priorities which in turn enabled their inclusion in the country`s following year estimates.

He asserted that he had assured the members present that his officers had indicated to him that some of the self – help water projects that they had received from the district development committee and recommended to the government had not been included. He attributed that to the then government position. Nevertheless, he assured the members that those projects funded by the district commissioner would feature in the following year`s estimates (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1212).

Mudavadi in his reply to Kitele on additional funds to Machakos, avowed there was no way of considering increasing any funds for Machakos as the M.W.D strictly abode to the already printed estimates. However, he assured Kitele that he had taken note of his sentiments and those of the people he represented. He averred he would consider their needs when compiling the Estimates for the following financial year in

liaison with the Machakos district development committee (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1213).

Mudavadi in his explanation to the House on why Netherlands appeared severally told the Members that the money from Netherlands was credit purchase for water pipes. He stated that as it had been practice from the past even though not a good idea, the donor countries had always indicated their areas of interest.

He gave an example of Canada which he said had gone after smaller projects in certain rural areas where as Netherlands had chosen some projects and provided funds for purchase of pipes. He expounded that Netherlands like other donor countries like Canadians , Danes, or Fins when discussing projects linked to any ministry whether ministry of agriculture or water development; chose an area and stated the kind of projects they could fund.

He said some donors were interested in semi – arid areas while some chose certain areas because they were donating the money or giving the government of Kenya a grant or a loan. He said because the government wanted the project realized, could not stop them, and dictate to them to take the project elsewhere and say, “*We wanted you take this to Homa Bay.*”

He likened it to the missionaries who came to Kenya in the past and chose to work with the Luhya or the coast people. He said it was the same thing with the donors who surveyed and carried out feasibility studies; determined areas of their interest and could not say “*Go to Kisii*” and not Machakos (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1213 – 14).

Mudavadi responded in the parliament on Cheka`s allegations on Witu self-help project and averred that he was going to find out which self-help projects the district

development committee had recommended and submitted to their office, and prioritized (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1215).

Mudavadi addressed the parliament on Sub – Vote 205 – County councils and urban water supply. He requested to move that the committee of supply adopt the report to the House for its consideration of vote 20 – ministry of water development, and its approval thereof without amendment (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 15, 1981 p. 1216).

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly review, December 4, 1981 p. 15), Mudavadi said that his ministry of water development was contemplating to pump water from Lake Victoria to use in some countries` arid areas. That meant to ease on drought that was eating into lives of people by then. Nevertheless, he qualified it by saying that at that particular time the ministry had no funds to carry out such an undertaking.

Several respondents including (Henry Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016) and (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 14, 2016) narrated while at the ministry of water development Mudavadi staffed the ministry with so many people from his land that another public outcry rent the air. They reiterated that at his transfer from the ministry, the government had to retrench some of the workers.

According to (H. Mulindi, personal communication, June 8, 2016), Moses Mudavadi as the M.W.D went beyond the boundaries of Kenya to seek a comfort life for his people. He avowed that he met Mudavadi in New York city in 1982 at his house on his way to Mexico to attend a water conference and Mudavadi told him how he worked with president Moi and was Moi`s boss and great friend.

4.3.3. Moses Mudavadi and Ministry of Culture and Social Services

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly review, February 26, 1982 p. 5), President Moi released a bulletin on Cabinet reshuffle and stated,

“As you know since I became the president of our beloved republic, I have frequently emphasized the importance of maintaining the highest degree of efficiency in the management of all our affairs.”

He reiterated in the cabinet list that President Moi read, Moses Budamba Mudavadi was appointed cabinet minister in the ministry of culture and social services assisted by J.Kalweo and S.K Metto ; A. Ambala was named the permanent secretary.

In relation (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, March 12, 1982 p. 44) asserted that Moses Mudavadi as the minister of culture and social services rejected a proposal to have a 52 – club zonal super league in place of the traditional national super league and ordered Kenya football federation to revert to the old arrangement.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, April 30, 1982 p. 9) Mudavadi also partook in female matters as the minister for culture and social services. He contended that during women development organization in Kenyan parlance “*maendeleo ya wanawake*” organization annual general meeting, Moses Mudavadi emphasized on the proper ways the members of the organization could uplift the living standards of Kenyan women. He reiterated that *maendeleo* or development was no longer sewing and knitting body and had to make concerted efforts to see to it that it resonated in the rural areas.

4.3.4. Moses Mudavadi and the Ministry of Local Government and Planning

Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] claimed President Moi appointed Mudavadi as minister for local government in 1983. He claimed he had various facets of heroism and skill to deploy them at will. He averred most people in Western province and a few from other parts of the country adored Mudavadi for his political bravery and astuteness.

He argued when at the helm of local government, Mudavadi got the chance to exercise his powers and talents to the fullest and got a grip on localized issues. He alleged Oloitiptipi when the minister for local government teamed up with Charles Rubia to tarnish Moi`s leadership.

He predicated Oloitiptipi used a coined phrase '*kikulacho ki nguoni mwako*' translated as '*that which eats you is in your clothes*' to besmirch Moi`s government. That he conspired with the city council workers – majority who were Kikuyu to litter roads and streets with dirt; never cleaned the town or collected dirty for disposal.

He reiterated that Mudavadi as the new minister for local government overturned this syndicate and cleaned not only Nairobi but also other towns that fell in his docket. He said Mudavadi advised president Moi to dissolve the city council and instead appoint a commission to run Nairobi. He further avowed that Mudavadi appointed Fred Gumo to chair the commission replacing Ramtu.

According to (Ngeno, Weekly Review February, 25 1983 p. 10), Moses Mudavadi unearthed the corruption in the ministry of local government. He revealed that the city council was unable to collect 340 million Kenyan shillings owed to it in rates and rents from private companies and individuals.

He said that the city council received 107 million Kenyan shillings from the ministry of local government that paid 40 million shillings to the council in rates. That

the city council employed 17000 workers, 3000 of whom the city council had hired on temporal basis to help cope with the 1980 cholera epidemic. He posited that in 1982, the council had paid more than 21 million shillings to its staff in overtime.

The source avowed that even though the city council`s vehicles had immobilized for lack of spare parts the city council motor vehicle workshop had 150 employees from the previous 50 employees. He alleged Mudavadi took the council to task to explain how 3000 workers were still on payroll 2 years after employment to fight cholera.

That Mudavadi charged that there was improper planning at the city council and vowed to re-plan it for efficiency. He claimed that one day Mudavadi made a surprise visit to the city council`s workshop and was told there were no spare parts for the stalled garbage collecting vehicles.

He averred his surprise visit which was accompanied by a press conference caught the city council`s bigwigs unawares. He posited that when Kahara, the Town Clerk, and Deputy Major, Chadwick Adongo arrived at the offices where Mudavadi was holding a press conference, they were turned out.

He said a simple excuse was that they were too late to participate in the press conference and tell their side of the story. He reported that as the press was leaving Moses Mudavadi`s office they sensed that the party from the city hall feared that all was not well and the council could be dissolved due to the heat the water and garbage issues had generated.

Relatively (Ngeno, Weekly Review, April 8, 1983 p. 4 – 5) accounted for the dissolution of the city council by Mudavadi and the appointment of a three-man commission led by Patrick Joe Mngola. Other members were the then Nairobi Provincial Commissioner, Fred Waiganjo, and Burundi Nabwera.

In connection (Ngeno, Weekly Review April 29, 1983 p. 6 – 7) stated,

“If Mudavadi were to act as tough as he had been with Nairobi and Mombasa, Kenya could have no functioning local authority in a matter of months.”

He claimed the much rote that Mudavadi had discovered in many other local authorities ignited the remark. He posited that investigations revealed Oloitipitipi owed the city council money while Ntimama used council vehicles illegally on his own farms including his own tourist lodges. He continued to assert that Ntimama equaled more than half of the chairpersons of other local authorities.

However, he reiterated that other probe committee reports were not released other than those of Nairobi, Mombasa, and Narok. According to (Ngeno, Weekly Review, June 10, 1983 p. 5), Nairobi city commission suspended some of its officials over the affairs of the former Nairobi city council. It stated that S.N. Mutua who was acting as the town clerk replaced the sacked former town clerk Wanjie.

Additionally (Ngeno, Weekly Review, December 2, 1983 p. 6) reported that Judges H.G Platt and D.C Porter reinstated two local authority officers whom Mudavadi had sacked. He postulated Machakos town clerk Roman Nzioki and Treasurer Joseph Kavalla filed a legal suit and sought orders of certiorari challenging the decision of the council, which they termed to be unlawful.

He claimed the sitting judges’ argument in examining local authority Act and in reference to precedents and interpretations of the statutory provisions on the definition of powers and their exercises found out that, the minister (Mudavadi) contravened section 127 of the local government ACT in instituting sacking of the two officials by usurping powers.

He averred the judges advised the outcome of the suit was a lesson not only for the local government minister but also for other ministers in light of respect of exercising powers. The researcher noted Mudavadi was drunk with Moi's populist theory and acted hastily only for the law to straighten him up.

He concurred with Katumanga and Omosa (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007) that Mudavadi was an agent of President Moi's GEMA deconstruction agenda aimed at reducing its hegemony over state structures and political economy as revenge over humiliations endured under the Kiambu Mafia. He linked the Moi populist mania to Mudavadi's unjust sacking of people without considering the provisions of the law.

It was true as Wanyande et al. (2007) reiterated populism of ethicized most of the institutions devoid of competency and institutional probity (absolute honesty). Thus, the ministry of local government was no exception. Moses Mudavadi was only but creating space for his eke which was a backward management strategy that plummeted Kenya's economy.

The researcher argued that replicated what Mudavadi had done in his constituency (Vihiga) when he sacked provincial administrators after winning elections as alleged by (T. Sagalla, personal communication, May 22, 2016). He argued the judges' court decision that disfavored Mudavadi was one of the rare court deliberations of the time bearing in mind the influence the Moi regime had on the then arms of government including judiciary as Kanyinga (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007) asserted.

The researcher averred that had the judges (H.G Platt and D. C Porter) entirely been Africans, Mudavadi would have directed their sacking on flimsy grounds and later found in Karura forest sleeping forever besides the beasts of the forest mutely communicating what had transpired. That was in view of the despotic and bloody

thirsty system that characterized President Moi`s regime as Njeru and Njoka (as cited in Wanyande et al. 2007) contended.

Mudavadi in his reply in the House on issues of improvement of stadiums for international matches raised by Gachanja the chairperson of Kenya football federation told the House that he appreciated Gachanja`s concern about the conditions of the said stadiums. He said actually Embu, Kakamega, and Nyeri were at provincial headquarters but he lacked funds as the 1984/1985 budget had concluded but immediately he got funds he would make sure the stadiums were improved.

He suggested Gachanja to organize a *harambees* in the five municipalities to raise funds to give the stadiums a facelift (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 18, 1984 P. 2970 – 71) and (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 18, 1984 P. 2971). Mudavadi, in his remarks in the House on Muthura`s suggestion to borrow from local government loans authority to fund the stadia avowed the local authorities loans board had over borrowed money to financial institutions to a tune of Ksh. 221 million that had not been returned.

He said he had recalled the money and could only include the stadia`s estimates in the following years financial estimates in case the permutations of government priorities favored it (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 18, 1984 P. 2972).

Waitete the permanent secretary of the ministry of local government acknowledged Mudavadi`s telephone conversation (KNADS/C.3/ Vol III HB/27/149). It stated,

“I have been directed by the minister for local government; Hon. S.B Mudavadi to inform you that Mr. Jafred Wafula and Mr. David Juma have been nominated as councilors to Bungoma County Council with effect from 23rd July 1984. Please inform the Bungoma County Council.”

The researcher noted that Mudavadi as the minister for local government had the power to nominate councilors and could even do that on phone. Mudavadi, in his speech to parliamentarians on nonpayment of wildlife compensation, told the House he knew, Iponunu Lolokile, a moran – aged 30 years, and his counterpart Lematile, went to poach in Mamaroi and killed two adult rhinoceros and one young rhinoceros.

He narrated in the process Iponunu Lolokile sustained serious injuries and admitted to Wamba health center on May 8 1973. He said the hospital referred Iponunu to Maralal district hospital where he succumbed to the injuries on May 22 1973. That he had no conscience to order the Samburu County Council to pay compensation to poachers.

He said he agreed entirely human life was sacred but at the time when hunting paid, a fee termed as “controlled area” was paid only to three local authorities, Samburu, Narok, and Kajiado. He said the money`s priority was to compensate those who sustained injuries and loss of domestic animals to wild animals. Nevertheless, at that time relatives or next of kin of Iponunu had filed no claim.

He avowed that compensation could not have been done without his ministry`s knowledge as the local authorities that had the mandate to do so fell under his jurisdiction. That Samburu county council could have notified him in case there was need to pay the compensation.

He maintained that the incident occurred in May 1973 and at that time was August 1984, 11 years down the line and that the government had abolished hunting in Kenya moreover, every citizen had to abide to the directive.

He asserted that investigations had revealed that the victim was a poacher caught with two horns of rhinos at the scene of incident but could not produce the horns as

they were in the archive. He added that he could not lay papers on the investigation on table as it were an investigation done by credible government officers and the data had been scrutinized and accepted to be true.

He affirmed it was beyond reasonable doubt the men were poachers. Mudavadi explained, even though his ministry did not carry out the investigation, as government they shared data as provided by collective responsibility (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, August 1, 1984 p. 3411 – 14).

Mudavadi in his reply to Kiliku in the House – 24 -hour operation of a Health centre informed the House that he liked to see the Health Centre operating 24 hours around the clock but the ministry had no funds. He avowed, he would implement it when funds were available upon appraisal from Mombasa Municipal Council.

He averred that he knew the big local authorities like the city commission and the maternity homes like Pumwani and Health centers in the past, received grants from treasury for employing extra staff. He said the funds were no longer forthcoming and was trying to find out the possibility of the Ministry of Health to offer some. He told the Members present that services were offered but on daytime schedule and were pleased with what the skeleton staff was doing at that centre.

Mudavadi in his speech to parliament on tarmacking Kangemi roads informed the parliament that he was aware the roads in Kangemi area were in a poor state. He said the roads were in poor condition due to Nairobi city commission having numerous roads, which required funds to maintain. He reiterated he was sourcing for funds to maintain not only Kangemi but also Kawangware roads.

He said the commission was utilizing the little funds to look at all areas in Nairobi including Kangemi. He added that his Ministry was going to tarmac the roads in

Kangemi because during the rainy seasons the roads were impassable. He told Gachanja to empathize with the city commission because it was not only in Kangemi where the roads were in poor state but also others in Parklands and East lands and in other constituencies.

He promised the city commission would tarmac Kangemi in case it got funds. He posited, originally Kangemi roads had murrum or double seal and the city commission had been trying to maintain them. He explained, he had visited schools in the area and was aware of the prevailing situation more so when it rained (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 30, 1985, p. 1014).

Mudavadi replied to Rubia's question in parliament on availability and sources of funds. He postulated the fact was that the city commission depended mainly on money collected from rich people in form of rates and money collected from the houses the commission had rented to people.

He said the government was considering other ways of making not only the city commission but also other local authorities viable to empower them to offer services to their residents. He said in Nairobi it was hard to raise funds as in the past the council was rich, as it had collected graduated personal tax. He said apart from the wealthy, the people in East lands and Kangemi enjoyed services without paying (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 30, 1985, p. 1016).

Mudavadi delivered a speech in the House on private firm to run Nairobi cleansing department. In his answer to Munyao, Mudavadi said that he had been receiving arguments to privatize Nairobi garbage collection. He reiterated that the council employed 17000 garbage collectors, street cleaners, and grass cutters etcetera.

That he feared about 2600 people employed in cleaning department and 60 employed engineers in industrial area service bay could lose their jobs. He said he had asked his officers in the city commission to find out whether it was economically viable and cheaper for a private firm to provide services.

He added the problem of garbage collection had been due to broken vehicles and not laziness on the side of workers. He reiterated that he recently acquired 22 new garbage collection vehicles and was about to acquire 60 more and 20 tippers. He requested for the Mp`s to give him more time to arrest the situation (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 30, 1985, p. 1016 – 18).

Mudavadi in his address in the House on private members` motions (Review of Councilors` allowances) predicated that he wished to introduce a minute amendment to the motion. He said he wished, the words at the end of the fifth line “if possible” be deleted and substituted thereof with the words “when funds become available.”

He further stated that, the government appreciated the work councilors in the whole country did. He told the Members of Parliament present that personally as the minister for local government he knew the contribution the councilors made to nation building and supported the notion of the government to increase their allowances.

In relation, Mudavadi said the handicap was finance. He said he was aware that certain councils were financially sounder due to cess collected from agricultural produce. He cited Nyeri and Muranga; had permitted Nyeri to purchase seven tippers while Muranga county council was doing well vis a vis rural development.

He said he was aware of local authorities that had a financial muscle to pay their councilors well but other councils as if Busia had no source of revenue and their

councilors went without pay for 6 to 8 months after the government abolished graduated personal tax after independence.

He said the situation was aggravated more when the government stopped direct grants to the councils. He said even though he had allowed the council of Muranga to spend 108 million shillings on road construction in coffee growing areas, he could not demand the same of Kakamega and Kitui.

He quoted salaries of mayors in rich Nairobi, which had been 7000 a month in the past, deputy mayor 4000, and councilors 3500. He said councils in rural areas were paying chairpersons 2500 and councilors 1200 a month. He said the government was aware of the situation but had no funds at the time.

He avowed, as the minister of local government was looking across the board all councils not only for those who could pay. Ultimately, Mudavadi felt there was need to give the government chance to think of alternatives to make the poor councils financially viable the soonest (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, September 25, 1985 p. 1291 – 96).

According to (Ngeno, Weekly Review January 25, 1985 p. 5) since the dissolution of the Nairobi city council, there had been no elected council in Nairobi and the Nairobi residents wondered whether they were well off without an elected council. In relation, (Ngeno, Weekly Review, March 29 1985 p. 8) stated that Mudavadi extended the commission`s mandate for a year. He avowed he had added six more commissioners enlarging the number from 9 to 15.

However, (Ngeno, February 12, 1988 p. 33) contended Mudavadi appointed another team led by a former cabinet minister, Eliud Ngala Mwendwa in April 1986. He said Mudavadi had named one of the largest commissions (24 members) the

previous week. He said the former permanent secretary in the ministry of health Eric Mngola was to chair the commission.

He said by the time the term of the commission expired in 1990, Kenya's capital city would have been run by a commissioner for 7 years.

Mudavadi in his reply in the House on Murwa's question on a piece of land in Bungoma avowed, the question of the 74 citizens who lived in not 400 acres of land but 256.25 acres or 1025 hectares of land in the constituency of Kisuya was being addressed. He added that he had discussed the question at length with the then provincial administration, the leaders of Bungoma and the County Council under the ministry of local government.

He explained that the Members of the House could deliberate on the issue but it was futile without the Bungoma people and the ministry of lands and settlement and provincial administration. He stated, the D.C was on leave and the delay in settling the matter was due to some of the inhabitants on the land having land elsewhere.

He said the administration had to consider their cases alongside local people. He added that it was true that it was trust land and 74 people lived on it. Mudavadi told the House the land had no title deed. He attributed it to lack of survey. He argued the mover had no quarrel with the markets they had in the area and B.A.T farm on which tobacco was grown.

He told the House the Member thought the land was to remain under the county council as well as the Malaba – Malakisi co-operative union, the health centers, the police stations, churches, and schools among others. He said the mover of the motion the Member of Parliament of Bungoma central agreed the institutions were to remain under the Bungoma county council.

He averred, the problem was that on 8th October 1973, when the register was opened with a view to finding those people who could be registered as land owners in that area, it remained open for a long time, and nobody came to complain. He asserted, forthwith Bungoma county council registered the land in its name.

He said he was involved when the matter arose and referred it to the ministry of local government and the ministry of lands and settlement – who were responsible. He said he was involved because of the involvement of Bungoma county council to whom the land ownership had been registered. Mudavadi said apart from that, the question of settling any disputes over the land fell under the ministry of lands and settlement.

He informed the parliament that he could perhaps state the motion came to the wrong ministry because adjudication of title deeds fell under the ministry of lands and settlement. He added, as they had a collective responsibility to respond, he had raised those points and stated that the government at that stage could not accept the motion as it stood.

Mudavadi avowed that he also said that in every district, former D.C`s had been sent to handle pending land cases by the minister for lands and settlement. That in case of a land dispute throughout the country, whether an individual and had the land registered under his or her name or not, *wazee* (old men) came in to arbitrate and the land in question could be handled by a panel consisting of *wazee*, the Ministry of lands and settlement, and the provincial administration.

He posited, at that juncture he felt that the government could not accept the motion as it stood because the case was ideal to the parties concerned to have it addressed better at home. He concluded the House had already passed that *Wazee to handle*

issues to do with land who knew the boundaries of individual pieces of land (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, September 25, 1985 p. 1316 – 19).

Mudavadi in his speech in the House on the extension of city commission begged to move the motion,

That in accordance with section 252 (2) of the Local Government Act (Cap. 265), this House resolves that the period during which the City Council of Nairobi shall exercise the powers and perform the duties of the City Council of Nairobi, and the council might be reconstituted, be extended for a further period of two years from the 31st March, 1986 as specified in the Local Government (City Council of Nairobi Commission) (Extension) order, 1986, a draft of which was laid before the house on 6th of March, 1986.

He postulated members were aware that the government formed a task force in 1983 to look into all aspects of financial and general administration management of the city council of Nairobi. He avowed, that preceded a week of persistence complaints from Nairobi residents.

He predicated, adverse reports from the Controller and Auditor – General also revealed the maladies perpetrated by the city councilors that ranged from failure of the council to provide essential public services like, health, roads, and water supplies, refuse collection and road maintenance, run down garages, failure to service foreign loans, which could discourage foreign donors and misappropriation of funds.

He alleged the task force had shown that the councilors without consultations with the ministry of lands and settlement had indulged in illegal allocation of government lands reserved for parks, schools and other social amenities. He said, the councilors were engrossed in personal interests and squabbles with hawkers on licenses. He reiterated councilors colluded with some chief officers of the council in the mess.

Mudavadi reiterated that the task force reported that the councilors bullied the council officers with threats to lose their jobs. That made it hard for the senior officers

to take legal actions where they were supposed to take to eradicate malpractices or report them to his office. Mudavadi said the council officers were intimidated whenever they tried to oppose the bullying councilors.

He said these facts were a precursor to his dissolution of the Nairobi city council. He posited forthwith appointed a commission to manage the affairs of the city. Mudavadi said that he appointed the commission mainly to: rehabilitate the City's administration and management system so as to restore sanity in the rendering of services; to generate enough revenue to meet the needs of the city and to promote suitable work ethics to uplift the staff morale for efficiency.

He went on to state that the commission's two year term was to end on the 31st March 1985 but extended the term by one year ending 31st March 1986 as the commission had just commenced implementing the recommendations of the task force report.

He predicated, the commission had improved the situation in areas that concerned payments to creditors and recovery of debts since its inception in 1983, finalized issues relating to contractual claims in respect to controversial Chania Phase II water project involving chunks of money that stood at 94 million shillings.

He said the amount paid to M/S Greenhut Fair Clerk Contractors was a result of unauthorized contract signed during the time of Mayor Kahara and signed by the latter minister for local government Ole Oloitipitipi was 22.3 million shillings. Mudavadi added that the particular company took the commission to court to demand for damages; the commission paid an extra 12.5 million shillings.

He avowed the commission had paid a contractor Zakhem of Zakhem International Construction Company who constructed Chania water project Phase II 40 million

shillings. Mudavadi divulged African Steel Pipes Company had supplied water pipes to the defunct Nairobi city council at a cost of 94.8 eight million shillings. He revealed, the city council failed to pay the bill in full and remained with a balance of 22 million that the commission had settled.

He postulated when he came to power in the ministry of local government, and asked the House for the dissolution of the Nairobi city council, at that time the city council had only ten million shillings on their account in a bank including any other moneys invested by them elsewhere.

He asserted the council employed 17,000 people in various departments with a monthly wage bill of 30 million gross yet they had 10 million in the bank. He said the city council's staff morale was at its lowest ebb when he took leadership. Mudavadi averred it was encouraging to note that the commission had managed to restore its staff morale enabled by non interference with members of staff as had been common during the city council's era.

Mudavadi avowed that there had been an improvement in the deployment of staff in the city commission and aimed at greater effort in those areas. He told the members present that the city commission had revived the employees' staff medical scheme to their satisfaction. He added that he was satisfied that the commission had managed to halt improper and extravagant expenditure that was evident at the time of defunct Nairobi city council.

He postulated that the city commission had intensified revenue collection as it had managed to pay its creditors in time and had purchased the necessary equipment and materials to facilitate delivery of services to the city residents (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, March 18 1986 p. 406 – 10).

Mudavadi in his speech in the House on extension of the life of the city commission and on the financial control management of the city commission of Nairobi avowed, as he came to the end of the item, he had no doubt; there had been still space for greater improvement in that direction. He posited, during the life of the commission, the commission had managed to allocate the property the city council had failed to acquire due to political wrangles.

He averred among other plots that the commission had to allocate included Ngara Market, Mathare Valley North plots, and Dandora workshop plots. Mudavadi told the members present, he had inherited a completely run down depot in the Industrial Area, Nairobi but the commission had acquired a number of vehicles.

He said that the depot had collapsed due to the officers selling spare parts. That some vehicles` spare parts were not available locally that led to the grounding of the vehicles. He predicated the commission had acquired ten new ambulances, two vehicles for carrying dead bodies, 22 side – loaders for refuse collection, two tippers, two Lorries, 1 breakdown, 18 pick –ups for supervision of duties and 4 hydraulic platform vehicles for street lighting.

Mudavadi averred, due to the slight improvement of its finances, the commission had been able to award tenders for re – carpeting of several roads within the city of Nairobi to a tune of seven million shillings. He told the House that Kenyatta Avenue was one of the roads that the commission had re – carpeted by rebuilding and tarmacking one side as traffic was re- directed to the other side.

He added in various parts of Nairobi where potholes were, the Commission had taken the responsibility of re –carpeting work. It had been able to complete its work

within its financial resources. He said the commission had attended to street lighting within the city and achieved marked improvement.

Mudavadi said that in the past people had stolen bulbs in Kabete with an intention to sabotage the work of the commission. He said that did not deter the commission, which was determined to realize its development agenda. He said the commission had been a partner in major improvements that had taken place at Uhuru Park, which had been in a mess; cleaned and grass cutters fitted.

He added that Nairobi had been cleansed due to additional refuse collecting vehicles and strict supervision by the commission albeit some people trying since 1983 to sabotage the efforts with intensions of discrediting the commission so as to hold elections of city council of Nairobi.

Mudavadi praised the achievements of the city commission. He said that he had dissolved the city council due to the prevalent water hitches and the Chania phase II water supply commissioned in 1984 aimed to supplement the water supply in Nairobi. He stated the rehabilitation of Susumua dam turbines was in place and plans were underway to provide water to Langata and Karen areas.

He contended civil engineering contractors had concluded their work and construction work had commenced. Mudavadi averred he hoped by November of that year the work would be completed. He avowed the residents of Karen and Langata who had starved of water for many years would access clean water as the rest of Nairobians.

He informed the House Kayole Phase I housing project had matured. However, due to his officers indulging in corrupt plot allocation he had suspended allocations of plots in the area. He predicated, the Commission had awarded tenders for Kayole

phase II housing project. Mudavadi informed the House that talks on Umoja phase II housing estate under the donor of United States International development guarantee program at a cost of 17 million had been concluded; nevertheless investigations on a proposed variation of 18 million was being conducted.

He also said that to beef up housing in Nairobi, the Housing Finance Company of Kenya had requested an allocation of land at Kayole Housing Estate for the development of low and middle –income housing that the commission approved. He postulated the commission had set aside land within the city to cater for the members of staff in the department of Education.

That the commission had made landmarks in support of the 8-4-4 program by completing construction of 20 new classrooms that had stalled during the city council's era. He told the members present that day that the city commission had achieved a lot.

He stated that in order to increase public transport, in appreciation of the vital services provided by the Matatus to city dwellers, the commission in liaison with the relevant authorities had allocated sites at various points in the city for specific use by Matatus thus minimizing inconveniences to commuters.

In relation to public health, Mudavadi told the House the commission had geared at providing preventive and curative strategies to keep Nairobi healthy. He avowed five Nyayo wards were about to be built by Nairobi district development committee in several parts of the city to ease congestion at Kenyatta National Hospital.

Mudavadi told the House that he sought their consent to extend the tenure of the commission because it had made remarkable progress since its inception. That some measures were still pending and needed more time to address. He said that included

staff recruitment. He added that the public service commission had filled some vacancies that had not been possible due to divisions in the city council.

That the staff was imperative for an ideal management structure. He posited the commission required more time to fill the vacancies to implement the recommendations of the task force. He added it also needed more time to carry out administrative reforms minus interference from the councilors in reminiscent of their impediments when in office.

However, Mudavadi told the parliament that the government had to carry the recruitment meticulously in regards of the limited funds. That he had reneged the employment of 600 manual workers who had retired in the Ministry of Health department until when the commission`s finances improved.

He predicated, malpractices like deceit and tribalism had besieged the council as reported by local dailies vis a vis importation of workers from up country. He reiterated he had nothing to hide and had proof of the said "list." He avowed the chief officers had reached a decision to replace the retired workers who were to retire the end of 1984 and 1985. He said that the commission was to carry out the exercise on departmental basis including that of public health.

He divulged the commissioners and some officers were always at loggerheads and so they sought the services of the ministry of labor for a fair recruitment exercise. That they wrote to the ministry of labor to carry out the recruitment and post those successful to the city commission. Mudavadi tabled in the House evidence of the letter written by the town clerk to the ministry of labor.

The last paragraph of the letter dated November 25 read,

“My officers will call on you to organize the details of the recruitment and I shall be grateful if you could give them maximum assistance.”

He averred the letter carried the signature by Mr. S.J. Getonga and that the commissioners were not aware that Kiongo, Karanja and Njoroge officers from the town clerk department sneaked to see the minister of labor with a typed list with the people they preferred and their identities. He claimed, the ministry of labor was just to rubber stamp the list submitted by E.M. Kiongo.

Mudavadi humorously informed the House that Opicho whom Kiongo contracted for services had double ethnicity. That he claimed to be a Teso yet he was a Bukusu and together they doctored the list when they learnt that he wanted an all tribe inclusive list.

He narrated that Opicho prepared the list haphazardly which had gross errors including some names appearing twice. Such names included David Luseti, Patrick Wanjala, and William Shikuku and there were 24 such names handwritten to ensure that it contained a mixture of people.

He told the House that he invited the stake holders who included chairperson of the city commission of Nairobi, the town clerk, and permanent secretary and wrote a two-paragraphed letter to the chairperson of Nairobi city commission on 9th January copied to the chief secretary and town clerk that cancelled the recruitment.

Mudavadi laid the documents on the table stating that he was flabbergasted that such allegations could occur yet he had briefed the Nairobi area KANU chairperson of the occurrences when he paid him a visit inquiring of the list and asked him to inform his colleagues in the party and Members of Parliament whom he claimed he planned to meet.

He said he was to make a press statement on the recruitment but rescinded the decision when he learnt of the anomaly in the list that had names of people from one section of the tribal divide of Kenya.

He said he was astonished and vexed when the papers came out purporting, *“Kakamega people imported; we do not want people to be imported from Kakamega.”* He said just because he came from Kakamega that was an over-generalization to feed the nation with lies. He said he was perplexed with the statement and demanded the copy of the statement that Dr. Mungai had given to the press.

Mudavadi told the house that it was such events that he believed even if the government called for elections, there were certain things that he felt the city commission had to put right. He asserted that the weighty issues needed straightening prior to elections of councilors to avoid leaving the city of Nairobi in disarray.

He said the task force had handed to the ministry some names of councilors for surcharging which compounded the commission's maladies. He asserted those surcharged had not paid even a single cent and had sought court address through lawyers. However he avowed, he was convinced that the commission had the ultimate mandate to collect all the monies from the persons surcharged or affected through the inspection of the city of Nairobi.

He informed the House they had to conclude the cases before the ministry of local government gave the councilors a clean bill of health to contest in the civic elections as the law had barred surcharged councilors from contesting elections unless the Act through him exempted them.

He reiterated, as the general elections (1988) were just two years away, it was prudent to hold the Nairobi civic elections at that time to save public coffers from

wastage. He elaborated that he had stayed in Nairobi since 1963 and was aware of the skirmishes that accompanied campaigns and it was inappropriate for the city.

Mudavadi told the House that the government was by then working on a paper for reforming and restructuring all local authorities that would also affect the Nairobi city. He said the two years requested was enough to enable them to have those proposals agreed upon and necessary legislation enacted and effected. He said he was receiving many requests from members to go and dissolve a certain council and establish a commission to run it.

He posited it was not easy to run a council through a commission. He said it was not his hobby to run Councils using commissions as experience had proved that commissions didn't solve council's problems and cited Kisumu Municipality and Kiambu municipality as examples where appointed commissions failed to solve problems that bedeviled them. Mudavadi told the House he dissolved councils and put in place commissions as last resort.

He said that he was aware that Mombasa municipality had passed a resolution to demolish 120 houses of the poor in Likoni residents without giving the people affected alternative homes. He contended that it was unfortunate a fire outbreak occurred at city hall and stated that the police were prying into the case. He alleged that he had marshaled the insurers and repair work was in progress (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, March 19, 1986 p. 485 – 92)

Mudavadi after his preamble on a motion he intended to publish on the extension of the life of the city informed the House that the provincial administration had not taken over the administration of local authorities. He explained that when councilors indulged in illegal allocation of plots he sent a circular stating that district

commissioners to take over as chairpersons of plot allocation committees instead of mayors and chairpersons of county councils.

He contended he took the initiative because he knew that where there was a mayor, the mayor was the chairperson of that committee and knew that the chairperson of county council was a member of the committee. He informed the House he was not aware that chiefs and assistant chiefs allocated plots and had never given any authority to chiefs and assistant chiefs to allocate plots.

Nevertheless, he said he was to investigate and find out the truth. He explained to the House that he had sent a separate circular to provincial headquarters in 1984 and ordered for the case of Nairobi, henceforth from the date of the circular, all allocations of plots suspended unless they were government plots.

He reiterated that he had no mandate over government plots and suspended the allocation of the city commission plots from the date he dissolved Nairobi city council. In addition, he stated that he had directed the provincial commissioner of Nairobi to be the chairperson of the plots allocation committee. The same was to apply to Kiambu, Embu, Kisumu, Nakuru, and Mombasa.

However, the then district commissioners were to be chairpersons of districts like Kiambu, Embu, Eldoret, Kitale among others. He praised Ngumba for having the background information on local authorities of other countries but he had prior knowledge of his sentiments.

Mudavadi informed the House that as government they appreciated the role played by local authorities and in reference to Ngumba's case of Tanzania, he reiterated that he was aware that the government of Tanzania disbanded local authorities in 1972 when the government felt that they were not viable.

Relatively Mudavadi stated, the government of Tanzania rescinded the decision and reinstated local authorities and had sent its officers to him in 1982 in Nairobi to learn how local authorities operated in rural areas in order to revamp them. Mudavadi said that as government, they valued other people's ideas and constructive criticism.

He concurred with Ngumba in saying that before the government abolished the city council of Nairobi it was unable to collect rates on properties in Nairobi. He attributed it to high rates charged by the council. He avowed the owners of the plots contested the decision in courts and the rates were suspended.

He posited many taxpayers in Nairobi apart from those the courts had concluded paid rates to the city commission. He contended as assistant minister for labor, Kimani wa Nyoike asserted, the local authority could not run without money. He posited he had been contemplating since 1983 to table a paper in the house but he could not do so until the government perused the paper in depth.

That he had even gone further to propose service charges in Nairobi city. He argued there were many disparities in relation to finances in local authorities in Kenya. He reiterated, it was amazing that some nine local authorities collected poll tax. He rebuffed Wamae's idea that some of the local authorities could pay councilors more salaries using coffee cess money which he said should construct roads.

He added cess was to be uniform even in other tea growing areas to conform to what was happening in Central and Eastern Provinces. He avowed the government was contemplating introducing cess in maize and sugarcane growing areas. He averred what Nyoike had in mind had been proper taxation, which was properly constituted and applied in the whole country.

He posited that was what most members sought and the government was going to deliberate on it and find best ways they could to make the local authorities financially viable. He stated the qualifications of councilors could not be uniform, as Muthura had advanced as areas like Wajir, Turkana, and Mandera might not have people with minimum KCPE certificates; it was possible in Nairobi.

He added that issue was to feature in the next general elections. He said he would take the matter to the whole government for deliberation. Mudavadi told the House that Muthura was out of date as concerns the financial year that July. He avowed, they had moved from the January to December financial year to July 1st to 30th June of the following year to par with the central government's budgeting that had already implemented the allocation.

Relatively, he said that he was aware of the delay to submit or approve estimates from councils. He added, he had spoken to his staff and warned them against the delay. He informed the house that two years ago they changed the Act in the House so that mayors, chairpersons, and vice chairpersons of committees were to hold office for two years pending elections and the government had implemented it.

Mudavadi said that the sentiments of Anyumba and Leakey on vital services like nursery, primary, and secondary schools in the city were facts. He said that those were essential services, which some people had ignored and only prattled about garbage collection, water services, and roads. He added that besides the latter being essential services, he was going to look into the services the parliamentarians had spoken of and would avail them when funds were available.

He told the House that the commission had paid debt owed to National Hospital Insurance Fund and the, permanent secretary in the ministry of health had confirmed

to him that the city commission had fully paid the 4.4 million owed to it (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, March 25, 1986 p. 619 – 622).

Mudavadi, in his speech to the House on the stalled of Mlaleo clinic informed the House that the ministry of local government was not aware of what happened to the proposed clinic, as the ministry did not fund the project. He further claimed that the Mombasa municipal council had informed him that an individual had negotiated some 4 million shillings privately during the time of mayor Rajab Sumba for the clinic.

He went on to explain that the then Member of Parliament, Said Hemed in 1982 had approached the council alleging he had money from Arab countries and the money was with him. He sought land from the council that provided land in 1983 plot number No. 837/1 MN in Mombasa.

He averred the work stopped when Hemed who had contracted Velji Visram and company limited to construct the facility was unable to meet the full cost of construction upon expulsion from the party. That he had hoped once the project was completed, the ministry of health was to take it up for maintenance and personnel. Mudavadi said the stalling of the project in Mombasa was just one of those cases that individuals had neither completed nor abandoned mid way.

He avowed they could not prosecute Hemed as he had paid the first certificate of 1.2 million and was unable to pay the second certificate of 1.8 million; did not know how much money was involved; neither did they sign a contract with the contractor Velji Visram. However, he argued voluntary agencies like missionaries had put up projects unquestionably and wondered why there was so much heat on the case of Mlaleo Harambee Clinic.

In connection, he said in the past people sourced money privately from voluntary agencies. He gave an example of missionaries who put up projects without the government's interference. He predicated that individuals had also privately sourced money and put up churches or clinics without any audit or made to surrender the money either to a local authority or to a district development committee.

He absolved the ministry of health for any complacency, as it had nothing to do with the construction of the clinic. Mudavadi claimed that the information they had was hearsay and could not hold water in a court of law. He added the municipal council of Mombasa was anxious to see a clinic but they did not have the money.

He told the House that he could not give a guarantee of finding out the characteristics of the money. He explained nobody-borrowed money on behalf of the government of Kenya. He reiterated, in the past, many people had brought in money without the knowledge of the government and sent out money from Kenya using dubious means.

He said he did not know how Hemed's money found its way into Kenya. He said Michoma who was questioning him knew there was a high school under construction in Mombasa with funds from Arabia negotiated by Muslims Members of Parliament and the mayor. He said it was therefore irrational for him to ask what he could term impossible because he could not guarantee anything on behalf of the government (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, April 1, 1986 p. 803 – 8).

In his address to the House on elections for Makuyu urban council, Mudavadi stated that all the newly urban and town councils were not to hold elections until the next general elections in 1988. He said there were two reasons for the delay. He said first Estimates did not contain provisions of the kind for funds to meet expenses of

such elections. He elaborated; he had 32 new urban and town councils where elections were supposed to take place throughout the country.

He added that the second reason was that it was not possible under the prevailing conditions even if he had money at his disposal for district Commissioners to organize such elections before 1988 because they were too busy. Mudavadi explained that where a newly established Local Authority had been established or elevated to urban or town council status, the law established that appointment of a commission to look into some statistical data in form of determining size and boundaries and wards for elections and make their budget.

He said he had actually done that and he had received the feedback but could not promise the house the newly created local authorities could hold elections soon as his main agendum was their demarcation. He avowed, Makuyu was one of the largest markets in the country and the local residents of Muranga had suggested that Mbiri, Makuyu, Kandra, Maragua and Kangema become urban councils.

Mudavadi rejected a proposal by Mate for Murang`a county council to finance its elections stating that the money came from sales of coffee and was meant to improve the infrastructure of the area and not misappropriated on elections (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, April 8 1986 p. 1020 – 21).

The researcher observed that Mudavadi made a grand decision that saved the taxpayer from wastage of resources. He argued the present government could borrow a leaf from him and shun periodical by elections that ate into government expenditure. Mudavadi in his speech to the House on eviction of Irote from City House informed Members present that he was not aware of the case.

He predicated Irote was not documented anywhere in all records in the housing department as well as financial ledgers and records kept by the city treasurer's department. He asserted Huruma estate did not exist before 1977 and therefore the ten years or so that the member had alleged from 1980 was a fallacy. He added Sifuna was misleading in asserting that Irote stayed in house No. 8 A.

Mudavadi reiterated that the council allocated tenants houses in Huruma estate in 1977, designated - HFA/8 to HM/8A. Additionally, he said there was no evidence of indicating that Irote ever lived in Huruma estate in a Utopian house No. 8A in Huruma Estate. Ultimately, he argued he had no obligation to direct the commission to give Irote back the said house, as it was nonexistent.

He added that it was surprising especially in Nairobi that residents of Nairobi had ignored their 8 elected Members and wondered why they used Members from other regions like Sifuna to ask questions that had been there 10 to 20 years ago.

Relatively Mudavadi stated that he would be happy to look at receipts Sifuna alleged to possess and had no problem so long as the receipts tabled in the House coincided with those produced and portrayed House as No. 8A as indicated in the part (a) of the question.

He added he would confirm the truth with City Council in case the Member failed to produce receipts indicating the houses ran from Huruma HFA/8 to HM/8A (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, April 29, 1986 p. 1560 – 62).

Mudavadi in his speech to the House on construction of recreational halls in Dagoretti, told Members of parliament that he was aware there were no recreational halls in Mutuini, Kirigu or Gatiba villages in Kawangware. That his Ministry had

prepared a comprehension plan for the whole of Dagoretti area to accommodate all community facilities including social or community centers.

He reiterated that part of Dagoretti had initially belonged to Kiambu county council and Nairobi city commission absorbed it not many days that had past. He told the House, most of the land in the area was individual private land. He added to procure any development in the area; the commissioner of lands had to arrange to buy the land from individual owners or to acquire it compulsory if it deemed so to accomplish development plans for the area.

Mudavadi told the House in case the piece of land had already been set aside for the purpose, he would direct the city commission to go ahead and develop it. He moreover informed the members that his ministry had to determine whether the land belonged to the city commission or the commissioner of lands. He said as he had said there were areas like Dagoretti that happened to fall under Kiambu district that their adjustment was easy.

Mudavadi informed the House that in case the government had plans for development and individuals were adamant to move they acquired the lands compulsorily. He said that he was pleased to inform Gachanja that his ministry had already made approaches in government circles on how to acquire land in Dagoretti for development.

In addition, Mudavadi said that the government had not neglected Dagoretti as asserted by Gachanja so long as the area was within the boundaries of Nairobi City Commission (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, April 29, 1986 p. 1563).

Mudavadi addressed the House on street security lights in Dagoretti and agreed with Gachanja there had been no streetlights installed on El Molo road and Challow

drive in Lavington. He explained that the two roads did not fall in the jurisdiction of the city commission but it intended to take them over. He added because the roads were not part of the city commission, he could not direct the city commission to repair lights that were nonexistent.

However, he was glad the minister had made a discovery and the commission was going to install the security lights straightaway, as it cost less. He added the installation was going to cover bordering areas of Lavington like Kawangware and Kangemi (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 8 1986 p. 720).

Mudavadi addressed the parliament on services rendered by Mandera county council and stated the MP of the area was aware that the council rendered services like slaughterhouses, public toilets, and payment of salaries for nursery school teachers and construction of primary schools in its locality. He explained that in case the council needed an extra slaughterhouse could apply for a loan at 6½% from the local authority loans board.

He reiterated the said services were in Mandera and Nooru only wanted to know the type of services the Mandera county council provided. He averred Mandera town was nothing else other than part of county council of Mandera and would give a list of services found in Mandera. He informed the house he was sorry Mandera county council had no on-going projects. Nevertheless, there were other projects undertaken by individual government ministries in the area like roads, water etcetera (Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly, July 8 1986 p. 720 – 22).

According to (Ng'eno Weekly Review July 25, 1986 p. 6) Mudavadi raised the subsistence allowances for mayors, chairpersons of councils and councilors for hotel

allowances per day to 400 shillings for mayors, 300 shillings for chairpersons of councils and 200 shillings for councilors.

He predicated he was sensitive of the challenges the elected councilors faced and wanted to boost the ability of the elected councilors to serve the city. He posited that was to ensure that they were dedicated to providing credible services to city residents.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, July 25, 1986 p. 6) the councilors in Malindi defied Mudavadi`s order that had interdicted the council`s treasurer – Edward Karani for two years for allegedly awarding tenders without following the due process as laid down in procedures. He stated, the councilors sat and passed a resolution reinstating the treasurer citing shoddy investigations and upheld the credibility of Karani in service delivery.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, October 16, 1987 p. 5), Parliamentarians took Mudavadi to task over the suspension of Maitha from sitting on the Mombasa Municipal council. He said the Mp for Butere (Martin Shikuku), Mp for Isiolo North (Muthaura Kiome), and Mp for Starehe (Charles Rubia) demanded from Mudavadi to explain the law he had applied in suspending Maitha.

He said Shikuku demanded an apology. He said that Mudavadi in his rejoinder answer retorted that KANU party members ratified the constitution and Maitha reinstated on April 29.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review November, 7 1986 p. 22) Mudavadi went to Brussels, Belgium and briefed Belgium officials on the biting problems that faced Nairobi commuters. He postulated he held talks with Brussels transport and company that operated buses in the Belgian Metropolis.

He said that was with a view of deliberating on how to alleviate the transport hitches in Nairobi that followed a proposal by the Brussels Company, which carried out a feasibility study in Nairobi suggesting adaptation of light rail transport system. According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, December 18, 1987 p. 29) 10,000 workers of city hall downed their tools after the city council failed to award them new terms of service as approved by Moses Mudavadi.

Mberia in an official communication to Mudavadi as minister of local government wrote,

“Further to my letter Ref. No. E.2/60 of March 1988, listing the recommended names and with reference to your letter dated 8th April, 1988 to me and copied to the provincial commissioner Western Province on the above subject and further to our discussion on the same subject; I hereby further recommend three municipal councilors and one county councilor for nomination as follows” (K.N. A.D. S/C.31/Vol 3/ HB /27/149/ April 4, 1988).

The above letter gave profiles of people recommended for nomination to various councils. It portrayed George Sikolia Chitiavi, recommended to Kakamega municipal council as KANU sub branch treasurer; farmer and businessperson respected in his area for his hard work and a good family man.

The D.C also gave the profile of Mohamed Noor as an hotelier, in Kakamega Municipality, leader of local mosque and a good Muslim leader besides being a KANU member; Joram Kilibwa, was described as a prominent farmer and respected local leader.

According to (H. Mulinya personal communication, May 22, 2016), (T. Sagalla, personal communication, May 22, 2016), (W. Mwelesa, personal communication, June 8, 2016) and (J. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016), Mudavadi

reversed authentic election of councilor Henry Mulinya who had won the elections for Gavudia ward in 1988 and served for three months.

They avowed that Mudavadi told William Indumwa to object Mulinya`s win and ordered for a compromised recount whose results gave William Indumwa the win. In relation (J. Banyako, personal communication, May 22, 2016), strongly believed that Mulinya won as the majority of the residence of Gavudia ward voted for him and were surprised and unhappy when his election was cancelled.

The researcher argued that Mudavadi was very thorough when nominating people to county councils. He avowed that as the minister for local government Mudavadi had the audacity to nominate credible people who could bring development. That also checked on the possibility of rebels who could undermine the council`s objectives as observed in many local authorities at present.

Relatively, (Ngeno, Weekly Review, August 12 1988 p. 14) documented that the previous week the parliament had passed the Constitutional Amendment Bill and another Bill, the Local Authorities Validation Bill had sailed through parliament with hardly any opposition.

He avowed, it raised eyebrows as the government published it in the wake of a civil suit by which two Kakamega councilors had filed a suit against the minister for local government and planning (Moses Mudavadi). He said the two Councilors claimed Mudavadi had overstepped his powers by over nominating councilors to Kakamega municipal council in violation of the local government Act.

He predicated it aimed to let Mudavadi off the hook from the pending court case. He said it was a paradox as the bill passed amid token opposition. He alleged KANU parliamentary group meeting (PG) in closed doors deliberated upon the issue and

made the decision to pass the bill. That even though the caucus secretary Mwachoro Kubo in a press briefing did not disclose the decision to pass the bill; evidently, it had been part of the agenda considering the timing.

He said the filed case lost ground when the new law received presidential assent. The researcher concurred with other respondents' assertions that Moses Mudavadi was impregnable and tactful in dealing with issues; key to successful leadership.

4.4. Moses Mudavadi's Life and Times with other Leaders, 1979 – 1989

4.4.1. Moses Mudavadi and Politicians in Larger Kakamega District

According to (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) Mudavadi had both friends and fiends. He said Mudavadi at one time had enemies who included Peter Kibisu, Abraham Ambwere, Bahati Semo, Lawrence Isige, and Henry Mulinya among others. He said that ironically all these people by the end of the day became his pals.

He said Mudavadi's foes at one time planned to kill him in a road accident in June 1982 just before the coup. He postulated the son of Lawrence Isigi – Paul hit Mudavadi's vehicle from behind at Majengo as the driver swerved trying to avert colliding head on with an oncoming vehicle from Mbale at 7 o'clock in the evening.

He said they were lucky not to crash beyond the escarpment besides escaping unhurt.

He stated, they ran away from the scene to chief Buyoywa's home. He went on to narrate that members of the public apprehended Paul as he stared at their vehicle to confirm their death and took him to the nearby police station in Vihiga. The respondent said at the police station, they identified Paul Isigi as the assailant.

He added that they found the inspector of police special branch ready to announce the demise of Moses Mudavadi in a way that to suggest an ordinary accident. He

claimed, they concluded that the Vihiga police boss was aware of the planned accident. The respondent claimed they came to that conclusion because in spite of the police boss having information on the accident, he came to the scene later than his counterpart did from Kisumu police station.

He disclosed, he discovered Mudavadi had a heart disease while running for safety to Chief Buyoywa`s home. He said Mudavadi elevated chief Buyoywa to paramount chief for offering them a safe haven.

The respondent purported that Mudavadi was a forgiving leader who bore no traits of vengeance common in so many political leaders. He averred despite Paul Isigi`s attempt to kill Mudavadi, he forgave him, dropped the charges, repaired his own car and procured for him a tender with Kenya breweries to supply beer.

He said that he awarded Akibaya – one of his foes, a post of nominated Mp, and a member of the board of Kenya Ports and Railways Corporation. That it was Akibaya who revealed all the secret agendas of the enemy camp. According to (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) Mudavadi had his political enemy Peter Kibisu appointed as chairperson of Chemelil Sugar Company.

According to (Mulinya, personal communication, May 22, 2016) and (J. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016) after the general elections in 1983, Mulinya`s and Kibisu`s convoys clashed at Sabatia when they met. That the two rival groups fought but the police intervened and averted what could have been a bloody scene. They said Kibisu`s group extended the fight to Mulinya`s home but did not find him at his home.

That they smashed Mulinya`s house and arrested his wife whom Muzembi the then assistant chief set free late in the evening the same day. (Vera, personal

communication, May 22, 2016) concurred that actually she underwent a rough time under the gang that beat her up demanding she tell them the whereabouts of her husband.

In connection, (Mulinya, personal communication, May 22, 2016) had among his documents a letter written by a lawyer, Robert K. Gumba to the Provincial C.I.D Western Province. In the letter, the advocate reminded the C.I.D of a case Mulinya had reported on September 27, 1983. The letter stated that Mulinya`s house had been badly destroyed by a group of persons including one Peter Kibisu.

That Mulinya reported the case to Kakamega demanding for an action but was informed by the Vihiga police that the case was before him (C.I.D). That his client felt that his life was in danger and was scared of even staying in the house, as his assailants were still at large.

According to (B. Semo, Personal Communication, June 16, 2016), Mudavadi was very brutal in handling his political opponents. He claimed after the elections of 1983, which he claimed to have won, Mudavadi attempted to have him killed. He narrated that a friendly police officer from Bungoma came to his home via a *panya* (secret) route. He said the police officer told him that a plot had been hatched to kill him.

He said the police officer advised him to go into hiding lest he died. He said he took his Mercedes Benz car and took off. He narrated he went to Gambogi where he took some beer and left for Nairobi. He said his wife later on informed him that some armed police officers had come to his home on a mission to kill him.

He said, she told him that they searched the whole house and even broke into some rooms as they threatened her. He said the assailants traced his right hand man Joash

Onacha thinking that he could lead them to him. He said other assailants went to chief Kayugira and ransacked his house thinking that he had hidden there.

He narrated that he met the police officer after the dust had settled. He said the police officer told him that Mudavadi had gotten furious on learning that he was going to file an electoral petition contesting his win. He told him that the hit men were to abduct him and take him to Kaimosi forest, kill him and hang him on a tree to look like suicide.

He avowed, the assailants were to implant a note on him reading that he had taken his life after running out of his money in the then just concluded general elections. He said he had to beef up his security both at home and at Nairobi. Nevertheless, he never reported the case to the authorities as that could have broken the trust he had with his informant police officer.

He said in case he did, he could reveal the identity and source of his information endangering the employment and life of the police officer. Gakuru et al (as cited in Wanyande et al. 2007), Njeru, and Njoka (as cited by Wanyande et al. 2007) averred president Moi`s era was marked by autocratic rule.

They avowed human rights abuses that included harassment of the anti-government elements, detention without trial, brutality on civilians by the police and provincial administration, suppression of political dissent, harassment of the academia, massive corruption, and political assassinations characterized the epoch.

Many respondents agreed that Mudavadi believed gossipers, whom they occasionally referred to in *Lulogoli* “*vandu vi tsimbemba*) meaning “people of gossip”). They contended that most of the *avandu vi tsimbemba* (gossipers) were liars on a mission to seek favors, beer or handouts.

In relation, (H. Mulinya, personal communication, May 22, 2016) and (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) cited cases in which they fell prey to gossipers missions that made them have strained relationships with Mudavadi.

(H. Mulinya, personal communication, May 22, 2016) in his narration showed the researcher a letter in which he lamented about lies that had been said about him. The letter read,

“GAHUMBWA SCHOOL

P.O BOX 22
WADANGA
25.4.1986

I am pleased to have this opportunity to express my sincerely happiness to write to you again on behalf of those wazees to share our happy gratitude for the three meetings we held on 7th, 8th and 15th March 1986 to bring a new life in Vihiga area. We thank you very Much for the fatherly speech and advices you gave to us. We thank you again for the mini harambee you conducted for Gahumbwa secondary school on 23rd March 1986 at Gavudia School. Our sincerely gratitude goes again to Mr. Bahati Semo who accepted in spirit of unity and to be frank to you and us our minister. I hope in that spirit we heard you had already judged the truth where Peter Kibisu had lied to you personally and to our government. My prayer to you is now to look for the solution of how my house will be repaired; and confinement of my wife as well as the money I had spent on a lawyer where the case was terminated prematurely. I hope you will arrange with attorney general as to come on legal compromise. My heart still very unsettled with Peter Kibisu attitude unless you came between us for solution.

I beg to remain Sir,
Yours faithfully,
Herman Mulinya Asava”

The respondent claimed that only Mudavadi could save him from his political foes. He averred that he was taunted by Peter Kibisu and Mudavadi`s supporters. He showed the researcher another letter that read,

“GAHUMBWA SCHOOL

P.O BOX 22
WODANGA
25.6.1986

Hon S.M.B Mudavadi. EGH M.P
Minister for Local Government
P.O Box 30004
Nairobi

Dear Hon Minister,

Further to my letter, dated 25.4.86 of which I thought was very humble to you, you have not responded back to me. In our very long meetings – Kisumu and Mbale friends you admitted that Mr. Kibisu had given irrelevant information to you (packed of lies). Further to that I thought you intended to ask Kibisu to compensate me. Whether he might agree or you ask the attorney general to issue instructions to Kibisu to face charges, because you admitted that you helped Kibisu to terminate the case in court. Hon Minister; I hereby ask you a copy of this letter; my lawyer to reinstate my case again the court for a second attempt. Hon minister there are offences Kibisu had committed (1) trespass (2) breaking into my house. Committed burglary (my torch; walking stick were stolen), (3) unlawful confinement of my wife (4) Damaging my house (5) Assaulting my wife or threatening my wife`s life (6) He intended to kill me if found

Yours faithfully,
Herman M. Asava
C.C Mr. Robert K. Gumba Onywera
Advocate P.O Box 162 Kisumu

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, January 2, 1981 p. 11), Mudavadi – minister of water development reversed roles with Wilson Mukhuna, the minister of information and broadcasting and took over as the chair of Kakamega Kanu branch. He said that Mukhuna became the secretary of the party.

He posited the swapping of the positions didn't auger well with the KANU party secretary general Robert Matano who expressed his displeasure terming it illegal and unconstitutional and reiterated that party posts were not private property to be disposed at will or exchanged in what he termed as '*mutual agreement.*'

He added that Clement Lubembe , a former assistant minister of tourism and wildlife; the mastermind of the game, argued, that the people of Kakamega supported the idea and were determined to see the status quo maintained 'at all costs' . He said that Lubembe asserted that even though they had not notified the attorney general of the decision, Kakamega people had only put their intention into words but not acted officially to entrench the change.

Relatively (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, April, 24 1981 p. 8) avowed that Mudavadi was endorsed as Kakamega KANU Party leader when he got the blessings of Nathan Munoko – the party`s national organizing secretary and its national treasurer – Justus Ole Tipis who were expected to name a date the nomination was to be ratified legalizing the process.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, May 1, 1981 p. 7) Moses Mudavadi was confirmed chair of Kakamega KANU sub – branch and Mukuna as the branch secretary in a delegation conference witnessed by national treasurer (Justus Ole Tipis). He said the saga between Kakamega branch and party headquarters provided a lesson in the constitution for Moses Mudavadi and his protégés. He averred it was a tug of war without an outright winner.

According to (E. Mahiva, personal communication, May 25, 2016) to tame Shikuku, Kobia and Mberia saw the KANU party elections as a great opportunity to hit at him. He asserted that Mudavadi, Julius Kobia and Mberia contracted his services while working as a fisheries officer based at Butere to oust Shikuku from KANU leadership in Butere during the 1982 national elections; a conspiracy he executed successfully.

He said the two senior provincial administrators instructed him to deceive Shikuku that the D.C wanted to see him at Kakamega and when Shikuku rushed to Kakamega, he took the advantage and endorsed John Okwara as the Butere elected KANU official.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, April 12 1985 p. 9 – 10), Mudavadi clashed with Martin Shikuku and Dr. Elon Wameyo over the post of political spokesperson in Kakamega District and the entire Western Province at Emuhaya during a joint meeting of elected and nominated members of parliament to recruit party members.

He averred during the meeting Mudavadi accused Shikuku the assistant minister for environment and national resources for peddling tribal statements. He reiterated that Mudavadi reprimanded and cautioned other Mp`s against making remarks that could catalyze ethnic rifts.

He said Shikuku cautioned Mudavadi against appointing himself master over his colleagues. He said Shikuku retorted that whether he had a cabinet post or not, he was not his youth winger for him to ‘tell off.’ He quoted him saying,

“I am the MP for Butere and Mudavadi is the Mp for Vihiga. We are both elected by the people to represent them in parliament and none is higher in the eyes of the people.”

He reported that Mudavadi argued that councilors were equally elected members and Shikuku`s lashing at civil servants was equated to disrupting unity and undermining development. He stated that Shikuku said he would respect the president`s directive of banning ministers from bashing each other in public.

He posited the P.C, Julius Kobia ultimately banned joint political rallies in Kakamega on the basis that the meetings generated into forums to settle personal

scores and endangered general insecurity in the area. He averred, before the meeting in Emuhaya, some politicians had lamented, the provincial administration had denied them licenses to hold meetings unless they assented to joint meetings chaired and dominated by Mudavadi, the then the party branch chairperson of Kakamega District.

He said, the politicians led by Shikuku, Wameyo and Angatia (Mp for Lurambi North) refused to attend joint meetings alongside Moses Mudavadi aimed at recruiting KANU party members. He contended that led to the meetings commencing late and the recruitment eventually left to administrators.

He reiterated that Wameyo (Mp for Mumias) accused Kobia, Mberia, and Mudavadi of undermining democracy in the area. He said, it was evident the provincial administration used imaginary reasons to prevent Mp`s opposed to Mudavadi from holding or addressing political rallies cum fund raising in their constituencies.

In connection, (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, April 12 1985 p. 9 – 10) postulated that Mudavadi and Mberia played hide and seek game in denying the legislators permission. He cited a case in which Wameyo invited Shikuku to attend a meeting crowned by Achiya Echakara whom the special branch deterred from attending citing insecurity at Mumias.

He avowed that Wameyo castigated both Kobia and Mberia of collaborating with Mudavadi and his supporters for applying unconstitutional means and pressures to impose their own handpicked fellows on the people of Kakamega as party leaders in the district stating, “*Democracy in Kakamega is in danger. We do not want the aristocratic rule for civil servants without crowns.*”

He apparently said that none of the Mp`s dared to seek the seat of Kakamega branch chairmanship despite verbal exchanges between Mudavadi and the Mp`s. That

what Wameyo and Shikuku intended was to portray Mudavadi as an unpopular leader who imposed his rule on the people and connived with the provincial administration to make it hard for other Mp`s to operate.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, February 19, 1986 p. 16) Mudavadi was on record saying that he spoke for the entire Western province, which by then comprised of three districts namely, Kakamega, Bungoma, and Busia. He averred he was the KANU boss and for the larger part of the previous year, was always in the news regarding goodwill delegations he had been receiving at his Mululu home from leaders from other parts of the district.

He avowed that the outspoken Butere Mp, Shikuku accused Mudavadi of behaving as if a mini president in Kakamega. He said Shikuku had sworn that he would never lead delegations to Mululu. He posited he said the only place he could lead a delegation was to President Daniel Arap Moi`s Kabarak home or state house.

He contended on the contrary, there had been delegations from Butere Sub branch KANU chairperson, John Okwara who had declared his interest in the coming elections. He postulated Mudavadi`s growing stature could also be gauged from the fact that he went on air to announce that he could issue KANU life memberships certificates for the Kakamega parliament and civic seats.

He reported that Shikuku was uneasy about Mudavadi`s influence in Kakamega district and believed the Minister and the provincial administration had always sought to frustrate him and had premonition that he was about to be arrested till party nominations scheduled for Monday were over. He predicated a government spokesperson refuted such claims.

According to (Ngeno, Weekly Review August 15, 1986 p. 6), the wrangling leaders resorted to down their guns and mend fences. He cited a case in which President Moi reconciled leaders – the nine Mp`s in Kakamega who had formed two opposing camps in a public rally in Kakamega.

Many respondents and (Ngeno, Weekly Review August 15, 1986 p. 6), named political proponents of Moses Mudavadi as the following: Samson M`maiti (Assistant Minister for Education Science and Technology), the Ikolomani Mp and Assistant Minister for Transport and Communication (Seth Lugonzo).

They identified others as, Reuben Otutu (Mp for Lurambi South), Philemon Indire – a nominated Mp, Luvembe the Mp for Shinyalu constituency, Wilson Mukhuna the Mp for Emuhaya constituency and his confidant, Burundi Nabwera the Mp for Lugari constituency and Litunya of Butere constituency among others.

They posited the opposing camp consisted of the following: Martin Shikuku, Dr. Elon Wameyo – Mp for Mumias and Joshua Angatia (Mp for Lurambi north). Kanyinga (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007), in view of the above, predicated that during president Moi rule, ethnicity increased as Moi reached out for the support of Luhya and Luo ethnic groups to expand his power base through an inclusion of numerically big communities. He added the effort led to a change of faces in police and the provincial administration.

According to (B. Semo, Personal Communication, June 16, 2016), Moi established hegemony (strength, power, and control of others) by playing one ethnic group and politicians against the other. The researcher asserted Moi`s populism ideology could not have by passed Western province.

He argued the power struggle witnessed among leaders in Western Kenya was simply an iceberg of the competition for president Moi`s attention and approval. He understood the struggles as scramble for Moi`s recognition whose main paradigm was who made his political inputs plethora precedent to a reward with a succulent political post or support against his presumed enemies (Researcher`s own source).

Many respondents said the politicians hated Moses Mudavadi because he was a Maragoli and the power he wielded. Again, they claimed they eyed the seat for leadership of KANU Kakamega branch. They claimed that there were no personal vendetta between those politicians and Mudavadi.

Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] alleged that the crowning of Mudavadi as the Maragoli elder (*Woluyali*) and ‘enstooled’ as such on April 14, 1979 marked the virtual crowning of Mudavadi as the King of the Maragoli and a major force in Luhya and national politics. He added that might have raised eyebrows in other parts of the Luhyaland especially between the dominant Bukusu of Bungoma and Trans Nzoia.

He posited that it ushered in an era of political dominance by Mudavadi in Western province as he was the president`s friend and confidant. The researcher reiterated that the coming of the daring and politically right Mudavadi to the political scene must have reminded the politicians from the Maragoli unfriendly communities that they were about to be *logoolinized* (dominated by Maragoli) again and loathed that with a panthers venom.

Many respondents asserted, the Maragoli had by then emerged as a Christian and educated community that spread western religion and education to Western province and accessed most of the resources in the region and produced leading administrators.

According to Otuche and Otuche (n.d), on April 23, 1902, three friends – Arthur

Chilson, Edger Hole and William Hotchkiss came to Kenya and on behalf of Cleveland Friends Meeting set up a mission at Kaimosi on August 17 1902 from which Quakerism grew and spread throughout Kenya during 12th century; established Kaimosi Mission Hospital in 1941.

In connection, (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) argued that as education accompanied religion, Maragoli were the initial teachers in Luhya land. That they instructed students in *Luloogoli* and even subjected them to reading the Holy Bible in the *Luloogoli* courtesy of theology crusaders like Yohanna Amugune who had a debut in Bukusu land. They averred the *Luloogoli* remained for so long the only Luhya version of Bible used by all Christian churches in vast Luhya.

Deitz et al. (as cited by Fulcher and Scot, 2011) in their Evolution theory, emphasized on immanence of societies and their natural internal dynamism that made them to adapt and compete successfully with other societies for progress. The researcher argued the Bukusu and other Luhya communities adapted to the changes Christianity presented and gained knowledge.

He argued for them to set self free from Maragoli dominance, they embarked on an agenda of lessening Maragoli influence in their region what he termed, *de – logoolinization* of their people sparking of conflict as they struggled to obtain the scarce and valued resources more so property, prestige and power.

The researcher argued the same struggles did not by pass politics in Western province and Kenya in totality. He predicated that by chance Mudavadi possessed the power bestowed on him by his friend Moi that brought back Maragoli hegemony instigating the social, economic, and political conflicts.

Never the less the researcher noted irony in Mudavadi`s relationship with his political foes as observed in Martin Shikuku`s sentiments as verbalized by Bulimo (2009), in which he described Mudavadi as having Luhyanism in him and exemplary in offering service leadership. He said Shikuku alleged Mudavadi when in a position to help assisted Luhya people first and was the kind of leader who could personally serve his visitors tea.

He claimed, Shikuku stated that kind of servant leadership lacked among other leaders who wanted others to hero-worship them as your honor in Kenyan parlance *‘mheshimiwa’*. He stated Shikuku avowed when Mudavadi was the minister for local government; City Hall was like a Luhya village; secured majority of untrained Luhya teachers training and employment when minister of education.

According to (H. Chakava, personal communication April 14, 2016), (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016), (H. Mulinya, personal communication, May 22, 2016) and Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] claimed that Mudavadi was a self-styled Luhya king pin.

They reiterated that various renowned communal leaders led their people in paying Mudavadi homage as observed in the Banyore case in which Sammy Muhanji the KANU chairperson of Emuhaya sub branch and assistant secretary Kakamega branch presented a memorandum at Mudavadi`s home in Mululu on January 24, 1987 (KNDS, C.9/1/138, 27/1/1987).

Some of the prominent people present included Eric Khasakhala (Assistant Minister and Mp, Emuhaya), other Mp`s, religious leaders who included Dr. Byrum Makokha, the most reverend Dr. Festo Olan`g and retired reverend bishop Israel

Mundia among others. From the records, the people revered and loved Mudavadi.

This was in reminiscence of Muhanji`s introductory words,

“I have the honor of the people of Emuhaya KANU Sub branch to salute you in love peace and unity... the sub branch wishes you Mr. Minister a happy New Year and good health.”

From the memorandum, it was evident that the people visited Mudavadi to either appreciate favors extended to them or seek some. From the memo the people of Emuhaya thanked him for accomplishing a lot for them on his visit to their area to conduct a harambee at Esibila Church of God accompanied by the minister for energy and regional development and President Moi`s confidant Nicholas Biwot.

They also thanked Mudavadi for giving them Luanda urban council at Emukasa Market, North Bunyore Sub – location, a water project for Bunyore girls and its environs. They appreciated Mudavadi`s efforts that saw their people get promotions who included printer Muchilwa, Tongoi – a deputy director National Youth Services and Professor Alembo – director UNEP.

They asked aid in developing education, commerce and industry, security, administration, health and communications and Mudavadi to organize their visit to President Moi`s home at Kabarak. Yusuf Chanzu (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) postulated,

“All in all he was a great leader whose characteristics would be very difficult to compare with any other leader. He was a very intelligent and pragmatic leader. He preached the unity of all; especially of the people of western province.”

According to (Ngeno, Weekly Review December 23, 1988 p. 9) Mudavadi used to reward his political supporters. He said that Vincent Sakwa a 24-year-old

undergraduate student at University of Nairobi found himself Mp of Hamisi. He said on top of that, he became KANU life member.

In addition he became an assistant treasurer of Kakamega district KANU branch and an assistant minister for planning and national development within two months following the death of his father Samson M' maitisi in a fatal road accident towards the end of August 1987.

He attributed Sakwa`s meteoric rise to tremendous support he was accorded by the Western provincial political big wigs led by the neighboring constituency Mp – Moses Mudavadi. He described Mudavadi generally as Kakamega district KANU supreme who had a big say in Hamisi constituency in particular.

Relatively the researcher observed that Mudavadi applied egalitarian principles in which he treated all equally important and provided them with same rights and opportunities in their lives more so in his agenda of empowering Luhya socially, economically and politically. He argued that was responsible for the idyll political era experienced in the Diasporas of Western province.

He averred, Mudavadi`s egalitarianism became a bait to many not only in Western Province but in entire Kenya. However, his opponents met the hand of Machiavellian spankings (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) and (H. Mulindi, personal communication June 8, 2016).

Respondents argued that Mudavadi met any efforts to impugn his credibility with infuriation. They averred that consequently he crashed his opponents with the ferociousness of a wounded lion. They said Butere Mp Martin Shikuku perennial clashing with Mudavadi, made him pay dearly when he lost his seat in the disputed

1988 *Mulolongo* (queue) voting in the single party KANU elections in which John Okwara won .

They said Mudavadi greatly influenced the results an assertion Bulimo (2009) agreed. That he had termed Shikuku anti government and development unconscious in Opembe`s home coming party. Ironically, (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, April 22, 1988 p. 12) documented that there were allegations of rigging in civic elections.

He stated that Ayub Ochiel who had been re –elected at a meeting in Mbale defended Mudavadi claiming that the Western provincial capital had been turned into a rumor mill from where cabinet ministers were being attacked by some politicians and asked the government to act tough on those peddling malicious propaganda.

Likewise, (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, June 3 1988 p. 12) averred that Angatia had accused Mudavadi in a press conference as a “sectional, tribalistic, and territorial” leader who suppressed leaders from other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, he asserted it was in the news that Mudavadi was a powerful figure in the district`s politics and one who had often proven that he knew what to do with those who opposed him.

The researcher noted that on the contrary some of the opponents of Mudavadi had behavior deficits and political problems. He benched his argument on Mberia`s communication to the then incumbent D.C of Kakamega who depicted Martin Shikuku as a rogue Mp who defied the authority and always conflicted.

He stated,

“During his terms, Mr. Shikuku was a terrible critic of the government organs including PC`s, DC`s, D.O`s, chiefs and Assistant chiefs and particularly on regards to Harambee collections which he opposed vigorously...criticized other government organs and led to his overthrow from Assistant minister.” (KNADS, C.14 HB/27/161).

He said in one of the communications, Mberia told the then P.C while on transfer to Meru district that Shikuku supported a notorious gang called Angola-Msumbiji. He predicated Shikuku used this group to threaten whoever dared report his subversive activities. He added Shikuku even justified the gang`s activities to steal and rob blaming it on the rich for grabbing all the property in the country. He further claimed that Shikuku`s cousin was arrested for training militias in Shikuku`s farm and was tried and jailed.

Ludeki (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007) assertions avowed that the provincial administration was a government tool used to propagate and perpetuate the president`s ideals and suppress his opposition. The researcher argued that the officers were not to blame as they acted on orders from above and their actions purely official and not personal vendetta.

He argued as the public condemned them to clamoring for their expunge using constitutional means, that did not happen as all leaders in post colonial Kenya suffered from what he termed *hegemoniosis* (a disease of power and strength to control). He stated all presidents in post colonial Kenya clung to the department and adamantly refused to disband it.

He argued president Kibaki had the weapon (constitution 2010) to disband it but did not. He averred he simply modified it to suit the devolved government stratum and redefined its role and maintained its security job description. He averred it remained the best weapon the incumbent president Uhuru Kenyatta had in his hegemonic leadership.

In his personal opinion, the researcher argued that besides being a political tool during the first three decades of neo-independent Kenya, the provincial administration remained a key security organ.

According to (R. Luseno, personal communication, July 1, 2016) and (H. Mbere, personal communication, July 1 2016) the government of president Kibaki (2002 – 2012) retained the provincial administration and modified its form. They said the government shelved off completely its active political roles but retained the security docket and dissemination of government policies.

They averred it remained the link between the county government and national government. He predicated for any realist, it ensured national unity. They reiterated for the case of chiefs and their assistants as the government appointed them among the people they lived with, they knew every Tom and Dick within their area of jurisdiction.

They reiterated that gave them an upper hand in monitoring security details in their areas. They posited that their ultimate link from village – sub location – location – division – Sub County – County and to president, provided a web of security, well coordinated that made it easy to instill security, law and order.

The researcher reiterated that amid the question of police integrity there was a need to have a counter intelligence body, a job that well suited the provincial administration. That in the wake of the media fraternity in Kenya airing news on 15th of July 2016 of a police officer cum terrorist in Kapenguria police station who gunned down his colleagues in his attempt to set free his fellow teacher cum terrorist from custody, there was a need for a parallel force to monitor police activities.

Concisely the researcher argued that the provincial administration despite having been a political tool as Ludeki (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007) stated, it was at most a crucial security organ that even though condemned for various political acrimonies, it played a fundamental role in ensuring Kenya remained idyll.

That It remained the only sober organ to arbitrate security between the National government and the County government. He postulated as the County government was purely a political entity, and in mind of the caliber of politicians in Kenya; warmongers and “professors” of ethnic incitement, it would be dangerous to disband it and leave security in the hands of political goons.

He identified such irrational leaders like the eight legislators dubbed Pangani six, namely: Kimani Ngunjiri, Moses Kuria, Johnstone Muthama, Junet Muhammed, Ferdinand Waititu, Timothy Bosire and Muthaiga two namely : Aisha Juma and Florence Mutua (Peoples, Daily , June 22,2016).

4.4.2. Moses Mudavadi and Politicians from outside Larger Kakamega District

According to (Ng`eno Weekly Review, May 25 1984 p. 15) Mudavadi complained that the University Admission Board had awarded Kagumo high school in Nyeri (Central province) 91 university slots against 82 places awarded to Kakamega district. He stated the media reported that he claimed Central province had been favored for a long time in allocation of university chances.

He postulated the reports put him in direct confrontation with two Ministers – Information and Broadcasting and Education Science and Technology. That Mudavadi refuted the claims when he realized that he had abrogated his cabinet responsibility by challenging his Cabinet colleagues publicly. He said that was breaking President Moi`s taboo of Ministers not criticizing one another publicly.

Relatively the researcher viewed the attacks were an outburst against the Kikuyu who proliferated Kenyatta`s hegemony. He said he concurred with Gakuru, Mwenzwa and Bikuri (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007) predication that other communities viewed the consolidation of power by Kenyatta as Kikuyu domination and contributed to the entrenchment of anti – kikuyu sentiments and phobia.

They asserted that Kikuyu when President Kenyatta took the mantle of leading Kenya after independence in 1963, had a notion that they deserved a big share of the national cake as they were the mostly affected by colonialism and played a big role in Kenyan emancipation.

They affirmed that they indulged in land grabbing and other economic crimes that made other tribes detest them more so after President Kenyatta died in 1978 and President Moi succeeded him against their wish as they had taken oath to retain power within Kiambu.

They claimed the humiliation that President Moi faced when he took over from Kenyatta made him embark on politics of populism and GEMA deconstruction in order to weaken there economy and control them. President Moi used his agents like Mudavadi who drove the wedge of conflict deeper (Wanyande et al., 2007).

The researcher averred the Kikuyu hatred ran in the veins of neo – Moi mandarins like Moses Mudavadi who had been trampled upon during President Kenyatta`s rule that exploded in Moi`s regime . He avowed the same hatred preceded the 2007 – 2008 post elections violence in Kenya.

He avowed almost all tribes that Moi embraced in his Kalenjin construction program notably the Luo, Kalenjin and Luhya (Wanyande et al., 2007) turned against

the Kikuyu when they felt that the Kikuyu through president Kibaki were not ready to relinquish power (Researchers own source).

The researcher argued, Mudavadi had some bad blood with the leadership of Central province. He observed although Mudavadi blamed the press for misquoting him; actually, he lamented. He avowed Mudavadi was simply on the offensive against the Kikuyu whom he viewed as detractors to his friend`s (President Moi) leadership.

That Mudavadi in his program of constructing his Kakamega people felt frustrated by the Kikuyu hegemony that still had claws on education, the key to other sectors of development. He said that could have preceded Mudavadi`s conflicts with the GEMA.

According to (Ngeno, Weekly Review, September 5, 1986 p. 4 – 5), Mudavadi as the Minister for local government made a dramatic about turn. He said, he had charged that the pastors opposing the voting procedure were agents of unnamed foreign powers who were out to plunge the country into chaos.

He said following the president announcement, the Minister altered his earlier assertion and stated that some leaders in some countries who did not fear God had acceded to power by force and plunged their countries into suffering. He added Mudavadi averred in Kenya, the case was different as the controversy between the church and the party was because of a misunderstanding between the two parties.

He stated Mudavadi concluded by saying that politicians and church leaders were Christians and none of them was an agent of Satan. He averred Mudavadi was so far the only politician who had criticized the churchmen and recanted the criticisms.

According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, September 19, 1986 p. 4), Bishop Muge faced a barrage of attacks from politicians who included Stephen Michoma and Ezekiel Bargentuny and Mudavadi. He reported Mudavadi alleged the clergymen

opposed to the queuing system were agents of foreign powers. He averred he singled out Muge as a person who had been speaking ill of the government since his installation as a bishop.

According to (Ngeno, Weekly Review February 3 1989 p. 5), the newly elected party secretary – general – Moses Mudavadi who was also the minister for local government and physical planning made an unprecedented statement a few days after acceding power. He avowed, Mudavadi announced that the party considered requesting parliament to control freedom of worship.

He said as churchmen were still reeling from the shock and fathoming what the minister implied in his censure of the Church, President Moi came to the Church's rescue and assured it that no such move was being hatched by the government.

According to (Ng'eno, Weekly Review, September 3, 1982 p. 14) Mudavadi was a patriotic leader who played a crucial role in the defense of his country. That he was not hesitant to condemn any threat to national security. He said Mudavadi condemned a neighboring country Uganda for its role in the August 1st 1982 abortive coup.

He posited Ugandan Francis A.W Bwengye, a former general secretary of Uganda's opposition party – the democratic party and a then practicing lawyer in Nairobi claimed that the president of Uganda (Milton Obote) was involved in training members of Luo ethnic community in Kenya. He avowed that meant to destabilize the whole of East African region and singled out Jaramogi Odinga's nephew – captain Owili as in charge of torture chambers located in a Nile Mansion in Uganda.

4.4.3. Moses Mudavadi the Peacemaker

Respondents alleged that Moses Mudavadi easily clasped any extended hand of peace of any of his foes who decided to make peace with him. A respondent (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) stated that Moi entrusted Mudavadi to foster unity and used him to quell any opposition that rose against him.

He averred at some time Simeon Nyachae complained publicly that Mudavadi was using government vehicles for drinking sprees. He predicated that when Mudavadi and Nyachae met in the corridors of parliament, a scuffle ensued. He alleged Mudavadi used his political machinery to close Nyachae's flour milling factory – Kabanzola mills.

He informed the researcher Nyachae was so much frustrated that he eventually sought Mudavadi to put in a word to president Moi to have his mills re-opened. He said Nyachae was so desperate that while waiting for Mudavadi thought that he did not want to see him.

He said when he informed him he could enter the office; Nyachae nearly knelt before him begging him to convince Mudavadi to grant him audience. He went on to narrate that the next day at six o'clock Mudavadi and Nyachae were at state house waiting for Moi. He added that after the visit Nyachae breathed a sigh of relief.

He also cited another incident in which Wanyoike coined his own version of the hackneyed song '*tawala Moi tawala*' literary meaning '*rule Moi rule Moi.*' He said Wanyoike's version replaced Moi's name with his own and sang, '*tawala Wanyoike tawala Wanyoike*' literary meaning '*rule Wanyoike rule Wanyoike.*' He said following the episode, Wanyoike was imprisoned. He said upon Wanyoike's release, he got so scared that he had to seek Mudavadi's intervention.

He avowed Wanyoike together with his wife spent the whole day at Mudavadi`s home seeking audience to have him convince President Moi to forgive him. He said after the talk with Mudavadi who in turn talked to Moi, Wanyoike`s physical, emotional, and economic malaises subsided.

The respondent narrated that while undergoing medication in Britain, Mudavadi struck friendship with a Libyan minister. He said the Libyan Minister later on came to Kenya with a delegation to visit him at Mululu. He postulated on the way to Mululu Kenyan security became suspicious of their intensions. He stated by then, Kenya and Libya had sour relationship.

He said the security operatives intercepted the convoy and locked the visitors in the cells of Kisumu police station. He explained that when Mudavadi learnt of the ugly scene, he sent him to Kisumu and he immediately secured their release. He averred the friendship cemented and the Libyans financed some projects in Vihiga District, which included Bu Yusuf primary school and Idavaga Muslim School.

He narrated that the Libyans promised to fund the schools further at a cost of 7 million shillings and 15 million shillings respectively. He avowed, unfortunately that did not happen when Moses Mudavadi passed on.

4.5. Moses Mudavadi`s Failures during his Life and Times

Many respondents including (A. Mambuya, personal communication, March 4, 2016), (H. Chakava, personal communication, April 14, 2016, (P. Karani, personal communication, May 25, 2016) and Shikuku (as cited in Bulimo, 2009) linked Mudavadi to socio - economic vices like nepotism and tribalism.

They alleged that in his capacity as minister of education, water and development and local government he recruited for training and employment so many from the

Luhya community as he sacked other tribes like Kikuyu. He also scouted for the educated in Maragoliland and appointed them to senior positions.

They notably cited Aggrey Luseno – a senior administrator at British African Tobacco (B.A.T) and Andrew Ligale whom he elevated to the position of permanent secretary. The researcher reiterated it was wrong for Mudavadi to use his position to proliferate the vices, which were detrimental to social- economic cohesion that led to plummeting of Kenya`s economy; throttled influx of Kenyans great dreams of an economic viable nation that had been ignited by President Kenyatta`s *harambee* philosophy plunging them into wanton frustrations and despair.

He avowed, it was ignoble for the likes of Mudavadi to mellow in the corruption that shattered the dreams of millions of Kenyans and feign piety. He claimed an administration technocrat that he was; many expected him to use his vast knowledge and experiences to preclude the inimical policies the less educated and ignorant President Moi portended.

Nevertheless, the researcher argued that the GEMA as asserted by Wanyande et al. (2007), especially the Kikuyu were overrepresented in the nascent Kenya during President Kenyatta`s rule. He believed there was a need to balance ethnic representation in all sectors of employment in Kenya to reflect a national outlook.

Relatively the researcher reiterated it was prudent to replace retirees with the other tribes to balance the ethnic equation but not to use ethnicity to victimize diligent workers. He avowed it was from such premises that Mudavadi was linked to failure as he was at the epicenter of Moi`s regime and his confidant.

Some respondents including (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016), (R. Kemoli, personal communication April 14, 2016) and (H. Chakava, personal

communication, April 14, 2016) reiterated that, Mudavadi lacked organization skills which Wanyande et al (2007) emphasized. They claimed that deterred development in Vihiga and even impeded his campaigns. They said were it not for his campaigners` efforts he could not have won elections.

Additionally they argued Mudavadi failed to capitalize on the expansive intellectual ability of the Maragoli academicians cum mandarins of the time. They argued had he lent the technocrats an ear, Vihiga could have achieved plethora development. The researcher was of the view that Mudavadi ignored the experts to preclude them from public recognition and accolade as a weapon of subduing them.

Many respondents cited heavy drinking as an undoing of Mudavadi. However, some respondents claimed that he was not actually married to the bottle but was very social and beer was the main socializing agent. They said, even president Moi when informed of this behavior gave it a cold shoulder.

According to (R.Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016), (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) and (H. Mulinya, personal communication, May 22, 2016), narratives, he had a selfish political nature that saw him set criminal investigation officers after his presumed political rivals and even plotted their death.

Some respondents claimed Mudavadi lacked confidence and often overreacted because he felt that he came from far end of the constituency and from a little known sub clan – Vakevembe and grew outside the area. That was a clear sign of inferiority complex.

A respondent (R. Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) averred Mudavadi was an opportunist and controversial. He cited the Mudete Tea factory case that its implementation stalled just because of his arguments. He asserted the proposal

of Common wealth Development in which he worked as a consultant was that the site for such a project was to be adjacent to a tarmacked road, served with electricity, and had proposed Mudete.

That Mudavadi wanted the factory at Wasundi that did not meet the criterion. He said against all the explanations he remained adamant leading to its abandonment; constructed later after his demise. He added, after Mudavadi passed on, he negotiated for the loan and his son (Musalia Mudavadi) assented to the Mudete site and did the groundbreaking. Mudete tea factory began at 10 million green leaf of bags while others operated at 15 million bags of green leaf.

The researcher in view of the above observed that Mudavadi had a stiff neck evidenced in his Luloogoli dictum “*Nembo mboo, Nisuu, suu*” (When I say, I have said; when I refuse I have refused.” He agreed with the respondent (Richard Kemoli, personal communication, April 14, 2016) that Mudavadi towards the end of the 1980`s turned autocratic a typical trait of president Moi`s leadership that deterred good governance as posited by Wanyande et al. (2007).

They pegged good governance to conscious management of regime structures aimed to enhance political legitimacy through the formulation and application of stable rules and procedures; goes beyond the horizons of rational theory that gives weight to pro tem (temporary) gains and incorporates a large governance realm characterized by authority, trust, reciprocity, and accountability.

Concisely the researcher predicated that Mudavadi was seen as a failure because he was a very active participant in president Moi`s bad governance pronounced in Moi era (1978 – 2002) as Njeru and Njoka (as cited in Wanyande et al., 2007), predicated. He classified Mudavadi as a political elitist who served the interest of his political

class other than of Kenyans in general and cited the Said Hemed and Mlaleo clinic case as earlier discussed.

He argued Mudavadi`s political elitism made him fall short of other altruist leaders (Oginga Odinga and J.M Kariuki) who denounced political mismanagement and corruption of the government of the day . He observed had Mudavadi timely opposed President Moi`s policy of deconstruction of the GEMA and populism, administration incompetency and corruption, the second transition in Kenyan politics in form of Multi – party politics could have come earlier than 1992. He reiterated that could have saved Kenya from resource mismanagement inimical to nascent Kenya`s dreams (Researchers own source).

Arguably, the researcher was of the notion that Oruka (2007) was right in his assertion of normative relativism dimension of relativist theory that predicated what was good or bad, right or wrong for one person might not necessarily be so for another. That for his judgment something might be ethically good while to someone else ethically bad.

In relation what actually constituted Mudavadi`s failure was to some people a blessing in disguise. He argued that was more so for those who believed in Adams Smith theory of the invisible hand (Asirvatham and Misra, 2011). That was to say, Mudavadi`s actions even though sometimes autocratic benefited the tribes that had been marginalized by the GEMA who dominated Kenya`s politics after independence.

Mudavadi transmuted the social, economic, and political milieus of marginalized tribes like Kalenjin, Luhya, Kamba and Luo etc from deplorable status to sound ones. The researcher avowed it required the high handedness of the likes of Mudavadi to tame the aggressive GEMA communities in Kenyan parlance (Mount Kenya Mafia).

He added it was necessary for Mudavadi to apply whatever tactics he had to put food on the table of his people who had starved during Kenyatta regime. That was in line with Merton`s assertion which acknowledged the zest of every one of us to attain certain success goals more so wealth (Lindsey et al., 2009).

4.6. The end of Life and Times of Moses Mudavadi and Succession

4.6.1. The Death of Moses Budamba Mudavadi

Mbiti, (1991), regarded death as part of man`s destiny – a departure in which the body rotes but the spirit moves on to another state of existence. He alleged human life has another rhythm of nature, which nothing can destroy. Individually it entails birth, puberty, marriage, initiation, procreation, old age, and death, entry into the community of the departed and finally entry into the company of the spirits.

He predicated death was a process that gradually moved a person from the *Sasa* (a period of immediate concern for the people) to the *Zamani* (a period in which nothing could go; graveyard of time). After physical death, he continued to exist in the *Sasa* period through being in the mind of relatives and friends who knew him and co-existed with him.

In relation, all respondents stated that the Maragoli believed in life and death. They stated the Maragoli believed death had causes that ranged from the will of God, old age, evil spirits, destiny, sorcery, suicide, and conspiracy by enemies like murder and poison among others. The Holy Bible in the book of Ecclesiastes, Chapter 3:2 stated, *‘there is a right time for everything: a time to be born, a time to die.’* Naturally Mudavadi`s time to demise reached on February 8, 1989; May he rest in peace, amen!

Some respondents claimed Moses Mudavadi`s death was the work of his enemies who poisoned him after inaugurating a petrol station that belonged to a business

tycoon and Mudavadi`s foe turned pal – Abraham Ambwere. They claimed the poison turned into a cancerous wound that ultimately killed him.

According to (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) predication, some rumors emerged that he had a hand in Mudavadi`s death and had been compromised by Mudavadi`s fiends to convince him to attend the function in Chavakali in which he was poisoned. He said the rumor had it that he did so to invite the fiends` financial assistance when he inherited the seat.

He said he actually heard of the gossip of a woman called Finike who hailed from Chavakali having poisoned Mudavadi. He denied any role in the alleged poison scandal and reiterated that his role was to procure the attendance of Mudavadi in the inauguration of the Petrol station at Chavakali as his personal assistant.

He said he was of the opinion that it was to boost the newly brokered cordial relationship between Mudavadi and Abraham Ambwere. He sadly explained that he exonerated himself from the blame after he underwent a Maragoli ritual of dining with Mudavadi`s family at his home meant to absolve him from Mudavadi`s death.

He reiterated, according to the Luhya custom anybody who had a hand in death of his kin died upon sharing a meal with the deceased family members. He postulated that after the ritual, the Maragoli elders declared his innocence.

Other respondents reiterated that the poison allegations were usual gossip by “*avandu vi tsimbemba*” (gossipers) who always drove a wedge between Mudavadi and his presumed foes to maintain social divisions they preferred.

They claimed had it been poison Mudavadi could have died immediately or medics could have justified it and there could have been a national outcry. The researcher

concluded with them and posited that he did not come across any documentation of such an allegation.

One of the respondents contended that he was one of those few people who visited Mudavadi on his deathbed at his home Mululu and the intensive care unit at the hospital. He predicated that his body had emaciated. He ultimately blamed the handlers of Mudavadi whom he claimed did him a disservice when they gave him women when drunk, a factor he claimed could have led to his death.

In relation, a good number of respondents claimed that Mudavadi could have demised of a sexually transmitted disease in Maragoli parlance “*olumbe*.” They said that became to be termed as HIV and AIDS. They claimed he bore the symptoms, which included thinning.

They attributed it to his lifestyle of being a bar reveler. They averred it was the knowledge of having contracted the untreatable disease that had neither cure nor the retro viral common today that perturbed him and made him hit the bottle so hard.

One of the respondents reiterated during the time HIV and Aids had just made its first mark and nobody understood it. He avowed that had he seen him for another five years, he could have made credible conclusions. Another respondent claimed that during those days ‘*ruwaya*’ a Maragoli parlance for HIV and AIDS was misconstrued to be sorcery or poison from (*imbiring`ongo*) a kind of poisonous snake (cobra).

Nevertheless, other respondents dismissed the theory of HIV and AIDS. They argued that had Mudavadi gone *emagombe* (died) of HIV and AIDS, it was impossible that his two wives could live so long after his death. The researcher concurred with them and predicated that during those early days of HIV and AIDS, partners died a few months apart and doctors wrapped all HIV and AIDS dead bodies’

with polythene bags and people never viewed the bodies for fear of contraction. He asserted that was not the case with Mudavadi (Researcher`s own source).

Other respondents claimed that Mudavadi died of liver cirrhosis due to heavy intake of whisky that made him have incontinent bowels that was embarrassing. They claimed that made some politicians question his credibility as a minister.

The researcher concurred with some respondents` argument that he died of natural attrition. They posited the Maragoli believed in causes of death (*Likutsa*). He invoked the hackneyed saying that death has a thousand doors in which it let out life and Mudavadi found his and went back to what the respondents termed in *Luloogoli* “*nyasaye wamulomba*” literary meaning God his maker.

He reiterated as posited in the book of Ecclesiastes, Chapter 3:2 and Genesis chapter 3: 19, every born human being was destined to die and Mudavadi was no exception. According to (Ngeno, Weekly Review, February 24, 1989 p. 7 – 9) Moses Mudavadi the King of Mululu`s funeral was much a state function. He stated,

“Silence reigned at the Mululu home of the late minister for Local Government and physical planning Mr. Moses Substone Budamba Mudavadi as pall bearers began the slow procession to the grave. There was a swell of funeral hymns sung by over 10,000 people who turned out to pay their last respects to their hero. In life, Moses Mudavadi was without doubt a man of great influence but it was only at his funeral that many Kenyans came to appreciate just how powerful he was. The burial ceremony was broadcast live on Voice of Kenya radio and President Daniel Arap Moi led nearly the entire cabinet and top civil servants in bidding the final farewell to Moses Mudavadi who was also the secretary general of KANU. ”

He further reported that in life as in death, Mudavadi occupied an honored place and his burial commenced with a national anthem instead of prayers. It was a send off that lingered in the memory of the indigenous people as not ever had they witnessed fleets of cars and throngs of people in the area.

He said the late Mudavadi's body lay in state for 12 days in Nairobi and at his rural home where people of all walks of life including Kenyans and foreign dignitaries viewed the body. That Mudavadi was laid to rest in front of his first wife's house at 12.30 P.M in accordance with Maragoli culture.

Ultimately, Mudavadi lived a bold life and left fame behind in reminiscence of Alexander the Conqueror's dictum, "*It is a lovely thing to live with courage and die leaving an everlasting fame.*" God rest his soul in eternal peace.

4.6.2. Moses Budamba Mudavadi's Succession

Relatively (Ngeno, Weekly Review, February 24, 1989 p. 7 –9) reiterated as the last prayers went home and people dispersed, the question of who would take over from Moses Mudavadi in Sabatia seemed to replace the tears of agony. He averred that the mourners analyzed the statements made by Mudavadi's elder son Musalia Mudavadi and the late minister's brother, Justus Mudavadi.

He posited the two seemed to indicate who was to succeed Mudavadi. He postulated that beyond Sabatia, the talk of who was to succeed him as the Kakamega district KANU chairman and the party's national general secretary also played in the minds of people. He avowed Mudavadi had passed on with both hands on the reins of power but left no clear-cut formula of succession.

He posited that Musalia Mudavadi was likely to succeed him, whom during the burial had emphasized on the need to realize the projects his father had initiated. He stated they included schools, churches, and water projects that his late father had prioritized. He asserted another person seen to be Mudavadi's successor was Henry Chakava the then chairman of Heinemann Kenya even though he wasn't vibrant at the burial ceremony.

He predicated it was conclusive that most of the people at the burial seemed to agree that whoever took over from Mudavadi; Sabatia constituency would never be the same. He said president Moi had echoed the same sentiments saying that the gap Mudavadi left at constituency and district levels was difficult to fill.

He alleged that Burundi Nabwera seemed to take over the mantle of the district's spokesman whose moving speech had a vision and mission of uniting leaders in the district. According to (Ng`eno, Weekly Review, March 10, 1989 p. 8) and (Ngeno, Weekly Review, March 17, 1989 p. 8) Musalia Mudavadi was appointed to walk in his father's shoes unopposed by the KANU district officials.

He claimed, however a former councilor Hezekia Kisia objected and proposed Peter Kibisu claiming that Sabatia Constituency was not a monarchy where sons succeeded fathers. He wrote,

“The king passes away, and the vanquished rival to the throne steps forward to stake his claim. But he meets a stumbling block in the heir apparent to preserve the family hold on the seat.”

According to many respondents, Musalia Mudavadi had a walk over as Peter Kibisu withdrew from the race. Forthwith Musalia was elected unopposed. They said that happened following a series of deliberations by chiefs and KANU officials who left a sound warning that those endorsing Musalia aged 29 years, would not tolerate any form of opposition.

They postulated Musalia Mudavadi's road to parliament was boosted by his endorsement being entrenched by the Kakamega branch that had held a full executive meeting on a Monday of the previous week at which it concurred with the decision of the KANU – Sabatia sub – branch to support Musalia Mudavadi exclusively.

In addition, (J. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016) narrated how the chiefs reached the decision for Musalia Mudavadi to step in the shoes of his father. He advanced that the caucus of the then powerful and friends of Mudavadi – the chiefs met and made a game plan of making the announcement during the burial.

He predicated when given the dais as the chief of North Maragoli to address the people on behalf of the people of North Maragoli, he retorted in luloogoli,

“inyamanyama kwi ikuzi, nitare avandu va Mudavadi Mukogoyanya, avandu venya mbole mundu yaza mukerenge chi igiriki na munyi mukogoyanya.”

That mean jocularly, the “*beast*” was dead but the people of Mudavadi were taking people astray. That the people demanded the family of Mudavadi to tell them who was to step in the *bull*’s shoes. He laughingly said that he dropped the bombshell and told the throng that the *Vakizungu* had set eyes on Musalia Mudavadi.

He asserted that Akibaya stood and called upon the Maragoli present seven times, then said a Maragoli saying “*heendovo yifwa iyindi imelaho*” denoting that where a person had departed another one replaced (Asava, 2009). According to (E. Lumwagi, personal communication, March 4, 2016) there were rumors that he was interested in taking over from the late Mudavadi as the Mp of Sabatia Constituency.

He revealed that he had the records of all Moses Mudavadi`’s chief campaigners and knew them personally; used to pay them on his behalf and ensured their demands were met. He asserted that to show that he had no intentions of vying for the Sabatia constituency seat, during the clamor for the succession of Mudavadi, he personally endorsed his son Musalia Mudavadi and gave him the mantle to vie for the seat in the by – election that ensued.

He contended he actively took part in Musalia`s direct nomination to parliament in 1989 and subsequent campaigns that saw him trounce other candidates in other general elections that followed. He stated that the accusation was a divisionary tactic to divide Mudavadi`s impregnable political camp. He argued that meant to weaken his camp, which he had marshaled for a long time.

He claimed that the enemies of Mudavadi tried to divide the family by setting brothers against each other – Musalia (Hannah`s son) against Kegode (Rosbella`s son). Some of those foes even advanced Rosbella. Many respondents affirmed that it had to take the personal intervention of president Moi to settle the dust on family members clamor for the seat when he anointed Musalia Mudavadi.

Nevertheless, (J. Muzembi, personal communication, May 22, 2016) strongly believed that indeed Elam Lumwaji showed the intentions of succeeding Mudavadi. He asserted, forces from the chiefs` caucus who were his staunch supporters and campaigners deterred Lumwagi.

He said they send a scary word to him that should he dare vie for the seat, it would be a confirmation of his involvement in Mudavadi`s death and he was to face their full condemnation cum wrath. One of the respondents (H. Mulinya, personal communication, May 22, 2016) claimed that the state used its machinery to ensure that Musalia took the mantle from the father.

He contended that the government jailed Peter Kibisu for 18 months in Nairobi. He painfully narrated that Lawrence Isigi and he were arrested and taken to Kakamega to face the P.C`s Sanhedrin. That later on the authority released them with a caution that they dared not vie for the seat as president Moi had his eyes set on Musalia Mudavadi.

The researcher observed that President Moi fulfilled his promise of looking after his friend's family that he made during Moses Mudavadi's burial. That President Moi's eagle eye watched the family and had a grand role in the eventual election of Musalia Mudavadi to parliament unopposed in 1989; a true friend indeed when needed.

4.7. Moses Budamba Mudavadi's Legacy

Many respondents argued that Mudavadi had a shared legacy with president Moi. That Moi's achievements were also Mudavadi's achievements. That Mudavadi was not corrupt and never stole from the state; honest open to all and had nothing to hide.

They averred he knew how to wither hostility and split Vihiga into two (Sabatia and Vihiga constituencies) to keep the community together when his rivalries with Semo almost tore Maragoli apart. The researcher understood the split as an extension of an olive fig branch meant to dissipate acrimony.

He noted that respondents including (B. Semo, personal communication, June 14, 2016) were of the opinion that Mudavadi had the unity of Maragoli at heart and did not want to lose it for the sake of politics. He reiterated, Mudavadi was an altruist – his action at most rarely benefited him but others.

Nzioki and Dar (1982) averred president Moi awarded Mudavadi the Elder of Golden Heart (E.G.H) in 1980 for his outstanding contribution to Kenya's social, economic and political development. According to one of the respondents (Otanga, personal communication, February 22, 2016) he stood out as the first political leader in Western Kenya who had the guts and courage to stand for his people.

That he scrambled for the chances of employment that arose in the GEMA dominated Kenya of that time and secured so many opportunities for them. He

purported that he was the first leader who ascertained himself as a Luhya Kingpin bringing all Luhya leaders in Western province under his thumb.

Other respondents concurred with him and avowed that Mudavadi was the only Minister who received delegations from various regions of Kenya – the only prerogative for the then president Moi. Some respondents stated that had God given Mudavadi more than two years a shift of centre of power could have come to Maragoli as all western ethnic groups had recognized him as a symbol.

Kabatesi et al. [ca. 2014] reiterated he was a down to earth leader, accessible and with a listening ear. They posited he was always available to his people beyond working hours. The respondents claimed that Mudavadi was a nationalist. They averred he did not practice tribalism and was multi-lingual.

Musalia (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014), reiterated that he was a complete ignoramus who had no slight idea of the legacy his father left. He said his father had a nose for talent and assisted many people realize their dreams. He recounted various occasions when people approached him and told him quietly and sincerely of his father's kindness and bravery that he performed on their behalf. He postulated he was perplexed, as he was not aware or privy of their allegations.

He acted from his belief in people and their capacity. He stated his father had a network of comrades across the country and across ethnic lines. He echoed his father's statement that to be a leader you must endear yourself to others. He said that his father believed in endearing oneself, one was supposed to treat others with courtesy. He remembered that his dad would always treat visitors, neighbors, and relatives with courtesy, friendliness, and generosity.

In that regard, he stated that besides his father being erudite (highly knowledgeable) in Luloogoli, English, and Kiswahili, he was fluent in Dholuo and Kalenjin. Several respondents avowed that Mudavadi spoke *Kalenjin* when in Rift Valley province and spoke *dholuo* fluently when in Nyanza province. He said that his father did not amass wealth, which went against the grain of the time where leaders were greedy, arrogant, and immensely wealthy.

He stated, “*My father left behind very modest investments. He used to say that when you borrow, make sure that you pay back.*” According to (B. Semo, personal communication, June 16, 2016) and Musalia (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014), Mudavadi was too generous that he forgot himself and acquired very little for himself.

They reiterated that a quality his many friends recalled with nostalgia was that he was generous with his time and other resources, and yet he abhorred those who would waste time, especially his. Musalia (as cited in Kabatesi et al., ca. 2014) said his father occasionally articulated, “*You must have unity of purpose, no time should ever be wasted, set the pace and show by examples.*”

All the respondents agreed that the legacy of Moses Mudavadi resonated in the vibrant leadership skills in his children notably, Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi. They said Musalia took the mantle of leadership of Sabatia constituency after his father’s demise in 1989 and became a formidable politician.

Relatively the respondents cited Mudavadi’s legacy as being rife in the development projects that he mapped out and initiated. They identified them as the Mudete Tea Factory, Vihiga district hospital, Vihiga district headquarters among others; elevated Vihiga division to a District comprising of Vihiga, Sabatia and Emuhaya divisions.

They argued that he developed the infrastructure of a number of secondary schools in the area that hastened education in the area. They said the schools had always remained academic giants and gave an example of Chavakali Friends National School which in the K.C. S. E (2015) produced excellent performance.

They claimed that Mudavadi elevated the social lives of his people. That he initiated a rural electrification program that saw homes lit with electricity. He realized Kaimosi and Lunyerere water supply projects that provided clean water to schools, urban centers, and homes within Vihiga. They said he died before fulfilling his promise of constructing an airstrip and a modern stadium in Vihiga district.

The respondents agreed that towards the last two years of his death, Mudavadi had gathered confidence and settled and had started enjoying his power. That he could have accomplished a lot had he lived longer.

Briefly, Moses Mudavadi not only made Vihiga district a household name in Kenyan political arena but also an economic and social hub that the people of Vihiga were recognized and remained to enjoy the status. Mudavadi`s son Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi the Loogoli torchbearer; a true testimony of his legacy.

4.8. Conclusion

The foregoing data divulged that Moses Mudavadi was a grandee political player in president Moi`s era which was characterized by social, economic and political deprivations. It showed that Mudavadi had a personal relationship with President Moi that dated back into the 1940`s.

They met as teachers at Kabianga and in Rift valley in the 1950`s. Mudavadi as an education officer promoted Moi to a head teacher. Their relationship cemented more

when Mudavadi engineered Moi to join the Leg co representing Rift valley in 1956 and 1957, thereafter Vice President, and President of Kenya.

That upon President Kenyatta`s demise in 1978, Mudavadi as Mp of Vihiga constituency constituted President Moi`s government. In relation upon winning the general elections in 1979 he became the first minister for basic education in President Moi`s government.

From 1980, he served as the minister for water development until 1982 when President Moi appointed him minister for culture and social services. In 1983, President Moi appointed him minister for local government a post he held until his demise in 1989.

During the tenure as a political mandarin, 1979 to 1989, he served with diligence and made crucial decisions that influenced greatly on the life and economy of Kenyans. However, he also faced challenges that he overcame and kept his head high. He survived all the political turmoil and remained an invisible and impregnable Mp of Vihiga and later Sabatia constituency for a decade.

Amid his line of duty, he met some conflicts with other leaders out of Vihiga notably Martin Shikuku and the clergy too which ranged from decisions he made as a mandarin, struggles for supremacy within the ruling party (KANU) or in defense of President Moi`s politics of populism and de- Gemanization.

Additionally, Moses Mudavadi was President Moi`s ambassador for peace. He was good at simmering rifts that existed between President Moi and other leaders. That was one of the precedents that people paid him homage at his home in Mululu.

His failures were shown in his character that was aggressive, impulsive, lack of organization skills, alcoholism, belief in gossip and blind support of President Moi`s

populism, corruption and GEMA deconstruction that led to plummeting of Kenya's economy just to mention but a few.

Moses Mudavadi's death even though so many causes were advanced, were all hearsay and held no tangible evidence. The Biblical theory of death and natural attrition prevailed. His son Musalia Mudavadi took the throne after him with the same zeal as he had.

His legacy included the decade as the Mp of Vihiga/Sabatia constituency, the coveted political posts he held, projects he initiated, the friendliness, welcoming and powerful heart that made other leaders pay him homage dubbed King of Mululu and benevolence that assisted many among others.

The data depicted that Mudavadi possessed tenets of the trait theory of leadership just like other political leaders like Oginga Odinga, J.M Kariuki and Kwameh Nkurumah among others. It portrayed him having characteristics of responsibility, friendly, kind, welcoming, generous, socially adept, helpful, and trusting.

They made him have a benevolent heart that assisted many people entailing their social economic and political development. These elements of trait theory of leadership made Mudavadi endear many people including President Moi who became his friend, appointed him to lucrative posts. They also persuaded the electorate to vote for him for four consecutive times as Mp of Vihiga and later Sabatia constituency.

Moses Mudavdavi depicted dimensions of diligence, intelligence, achieving, imaginative, and fluent in speaking. These tenets of trait theory of leadership made him achieve as a political mandarin who managed the ministries he headed so well,

made crucial decisions, initiated projects, and deliberated on issues in parliament successfully.

He also depicted some neuroticism in his aggressive impulsive behavior, lacked organization skills and argumentative, emotionally unstable, and prone to security. Even though these aspects of trait theory made him score lowly as a leader, they also assisted him to tame the gigantic challenges that he faced in the then loose political set up of the time.

Concisely Moses Mudavadi depicted many of the Sogdill (1974) and the big five dimensions of trait theory of leadership of higher scorers and very few of the lower ebb that portrayed themselves in his life between 1979 and 1989. These ultimately in view of Carr (1961) assertions of a great leader qualified Moses Mudavadi as such in reminiscence of his legacy.

The researcher in his view claimed that Mudavadi just like his pal (Moi) applied the letter five of Machiavelli's commandment. He asserted he kept friends close and enemies even closer, rewarded friends and punished perceived enemies, appeared to be religious and sought to be feared than loved (Wanyande et al., 2007).

Arguably he avowed, it was imperative to hail those who challenged Mudavadi. He aptly contended even those whom he presented as defeated made a great contribution to the ultimate result of Mudavadi as a victor in line with Tawney (as cited by Carr, 1961) thought.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter contains the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The study's main objective was an examination of the life and times of Moses Budamba Mudavadi. The study benched on three objectives anchored on Stogdill (1974) trait theory of leadership per se modified form the (big five factor).

The study was limited to Kenya, mainly in Vihiga district per se Vihiga county and its environs, Moses Mudavadi's life between 1923 and 1989, respondents' age and hearsay presumed to be true; research methodology deployed in the study. The study deployed Historical research design; purposive and snowball techniques sampled 30 human respondents from a target population of 307, 815 people. It deployed field and library search to collect primary and secondary data using interviews and observation schedules, and an archive guide as tools.

It used note taking, mobile phone technology, and photocopy to record the data analyzed using narrative, conversation, and content analyses methods; presented in prose form. The study abided by ethical considerations like consent, confidentiality, and honesty and desisted from vices like plagiarism and bribery.

The findings of objective one confirmed that indeed Moses Mudavadi was born during colonial Kenya in Sabatia in 1923, circumcised traditionally, went to school, fought in Second World War, trained as teacher, and married two wives. The data on objective two showed that Mudavadi actually was a grandee civil servant and politician in President Kenyatta's era while objective three findings established that Mudavadi was actually president Moi's pal and a key political player in his regime.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

The first objective of the study examined Moses Budamba Mudavadi's life and times in colonial Kenya, 1923 – 1963. The respondents and secondary data collected posited that Moses Mudavadi, son of Leba Munyasa and Asutsa Mudavadi Imbiyoyi was born at Budira near Sabatia in Vihiga district in Western Kenya as discussed on page 34.

The data disclosed Mudavadi lineage, as Luhya – Maragoli- Kizungu – Kevembe – Mavoho. The findings showed that he had six other siblings: four boys and two sisters. It revealed their father passed on when they were so young. That their single mother raised them as discussed on page 34 – 37.

The respondents and secondary data contradicted when it came to his date of birth. Some primary respondents and secondary data claimed he was born in 1923 and 1924. Few respondents claimed he was born in 1925. However, the ultimate argument and the date engraved on his grave as observed by the researcher presented 1923 as the date of birth as discussed on page 35 - 36.

In addition, the data disclosed that Mudavadi went to nursery school at Lotego near Chamakanga – Kaimosi – Church of God – Kima – Maseno Government School. In 1938, he underwent traditional circumcision at the age of 14 in an age set called *Lizulitsa* (remembrances) as discussed on page 38 – 40.

He enrolled in the British Kings African Rifles and fought in the Second World War (1939 – 1945). He then came back to Kenya and the British took him to Jeans school – Kabete and trained as a teacher; graduated in 1949. The data revealed the colonial government posted him to Kabianga School where he taught Kiswahili and C.R.E (pages 40 – 41).

That between 1953 and 1956 he worked as an assistant education officer attached to Nakuru district. The colonial government transferred him to Eldoret where he headed Uasin Gishu closed districts. That between 1956 and 1957; went to Leeds University in United Kingdom for further studies (pages 41 – 42).

The findings divulged that in 1958 the colonial government promoted Mudavadi to the post of district education officer of Baringo district. He improved the education of the area through staffing mainly from Western province and Nyanza regions that the colonial government had dismissed AWOL absenteeism and impregnating students among others as discussed on page 42 – 44.

The data showed in 1962, Mudavadi went for further studies to Harvard University in U.S.A where he obtained a higher diploma in Education. He came back in 1963 and the colonial government transferred him to Nairobi and promoted to the post of provincial education officer, which he held up to 1966 as discussed on page 44.

The findings disclosed he married his first wife Hannah Atianzale in 1946 and bore several children including Musalia Mudavadi. He married a second wife Rosbella Selonei; president Moi`s relative; bore a good number of children. The data proved Mudavadi was a caring loving husband who even though engrossed in his civil work had time for the family; a hospitable and friendly husband (pages, 45 – 49).

The second objective two gave an account of Moses Mudavadi`s life and times during the Kenyatta regime, 1964 – 1978. The findings divulged that Jomo Kenyatta was the first president of the republic of Kenya in 1964. That his administration composed of inherited colonial bureaucracy and its institutions (page, 53).

It found out that Moses Mudavadi was one of the senior colonial mandarins the nascent Kenya inherited. He was the P.E.O of Nairobi between 1963 and 1966, P.E.O

of Embu in 1967, and later a senior officer in the ministry of tourism and wildlife in 1968. His contributions formed part of the socio - economic gains during president Kenyatta era that recorded a 6.6% annual growth as discussed on page 53 – 54.

The information gathered revealed that Moses Mudavadi retired from the civil service in 1968 and joined politics. He participated in the 1969 general elections as a novice and lost to the youthful, charismatic, and more experienced former trade unionist – Peter Kibisu who also trounced the incumbent Mp – Daniel Otiende as discussed on page 54 – 56.

The data showed that he filed a petition against Peter Kibisu and lost. He went to work in Standard and Chartered bank; resigned to take part in the general elections of 1974. It disclosed that he lost for the second time to Peter Kibisu and went back to work again in the bank (pages 58 – 60).

The researcher found out, luck struck at Mudavadi`s door when Peter Kibisu was incarcerated for assaulting a White man. That the white man was a fellow staff of his wife in Shell Oil Company and Kibisu had slapped him for allegedly making passes at his wife (page, 60).

The data showed the imprisonment of Peter Kibisu was precedential to the 1976 by election that the then speaker of parliament, Fred Mati made official on January 15, 1976. Moses Mudavadi went ahead and won the elections in the absence of Kibisu, beating his closest rival Bahati Semo and five other candidates with a narrow margin as discussed on page 60 – 63.

The findings showed that Mudavadi had a short stint in President Kenyatta government as a backbencher; President Kenyatta demised on August 22, 1978 as discussed on page 64. However, Mudavadi made efforts to consolidate his support by

initiating some projects in Vihiga constituency and assisted more students' access education (pages, 64 – 65).

The third objective was to document Moses Budamba Mudavadi's life and times during the Moi era, 1979 – 1989. The findings revealed upon the death of President Kenyatta in 1978, President Moi officially became Kenya's second president after winning the 1979 general elections and his regime was characterized by despotism and rampant corruption that plummeted the economy (page, 67).

The data showed that Mudavadi and Moi personal relationship dated back in the late 1950`s when they were teachers in Baringo district. That Mudavadi was an education officer and Moi, a classroom teacher. It disclosed Mudavadi promoted his long time friend to the then prestigious post of a head teacher of Kabarnet School as discussed on page 68.

The findings divulged that when a political leadership opportunity arose, Mudavadi declined it but ensured that the friend, Moi became the representative of Rift Valley in the Leg co in 1955. He also ensured Moi won the elections in 1957 as discussed on page 68 – 72.

The findings displayed Mudavadi as a successful politician in President Moi era. That he won all the elections in 1979, 1983 and 1988. The data divulged that President Moi ensured that Mudavadi won even where he lost. They showed President Moi ordered judge Wicks to rule in favor of him in 1980 after Bahati Semo had petitioned the election results of 1979; Semo had strong grounds but lost the case as discussed on page 72 – 76.

The findings showed that Mudavadi initiated the split of Vihiga constituency into two: Vihiga and Sabatia constituencies. It revealed Mudavadi rewarded his diehard

political opponent Bahati Semo a free ticket to parliament as the Mp of Vihiga constituency (pages 84 – 86).

The data portrayed that during the Moi era, Mudavadi was a great political mandarin. He was the minister for basic education from 1979 to 1980 in which he had mixed success marred with 1980 teacher recruitment scandal and the 9-year primary curriculum leaked report as discussed on page 88 – 92.

He was the M.W.D in 1980 to 1982 in which he made tremendous progress. He initiated so many water projects in both rural and urban Kenya. He was able to do that by using government of Kenya`s resources and foreign aid. Thus, he ensured a constant supply of the precious commodity as discussed on page 92 – 108.

Nevertheless, he had some scandals while serving in the ministry, which included employing many of his Luhya that the government retrenched some upon his transfer to the ministry of culture and social services in 1982 (page, 108).

President Moi appointed Mudavadi the minister of culture, and social services in 1982 and served for one year upto 1983. He organized sports and other social issues like *Maendeleo ya wanawake* (page, 109). He appointed Mudavadi the minister for local government in 1983. While in the ministry Mudavadi faced a huge task of managing all the local authorities in Kenya (pages 110 – 143).

The findings revealed that when working in the ministry Mudavadi was a dedicated and diligent leader who made sure that his ministries excelled. He made grand decisions that included the disbandment of the corrupt city council and replaced it with the Nairobi city commission (page, 111).

The data disclosed that as the minister for local government, Mudavadi sometimes handled issues touching on other ministries like tourism and wildlife (wildlife and

Iponunu Lolokile conflict case) as discussed on page 115. In addition, he also participated in matters concerning land, which lay in the ministry of lands and settlement as shown by the case of Bungoma. He referred to the collaboration as collective responsibility (pages, 120 – 121).

Mudavadi also displayed himself as a leader with economic sense who saved on government wastage as seen in the postponing of the civic elections in Nairobi, Makuyu, and Muranga as discussed on pages 130 and 137. Moses Mudavadi's character was almost tainted due to disregard to the law that almost made him conflict with it as discussed on page 143.

He nominated more councils than the number stipulated in the law to the Kakamega Municipal Council that prompted a court case. It was deduced, he escaped from the hook by amending the Local Government Act in 1988 (page, 143).

Moses Mudavadi had conflicts with politicians in his home area like Lawrence Isigi and Bahati Semo over elections in Vihiga constituency that exposed him to death threats. He also threatened the lives of his political opponents who stood on his way of political ambition as discussed on page 144– 149.

Nevertheless, he had friends too who even paid him homage as shown by the Banyore case while he helped others achieve political goals as portrayed by the case of Vincent M' maiti as discussed on page 157 – 159.

He conflicted with other leaders notably the veteran politician from Butere – Martin Shikuku, Angatia, Wameyo etc over KANU affairs and political supremacy in the Kakamega district (pages, 150 – 153). It was deduced the conflicts in western province between Mudavadi and other leaders were partly due to President Moi's

populist endeavors as leaders competed for his attention and goodies (pages, 154 – 155).

The conflicts were also said to be a struggle to check on Maragoli hegemony that had historically entrenched itself during establishment of Christianity in the region in what the researcher referred to as *de – loloogolization* (pages, 155 – 156). The data portrayed Mudavadi also conflicted with political and religious leaders outside his Kakamega area over his defense of President Moi`s policies.

He conflicted with the clergy who opposed Moi`s political strategies like bishop Muge as discussed on page 163 – 166. The information showed that he also went beyond the boundaries of Kenya in defense of President Moi`s government as cited by Obote`s Ugandan government that he accused for plotting to overturn Moi`s government as discussed on page 166.

The results showed he was also a forgiving man who easily withered animosity and arbitrated over other politicians` differences with president Moi. It was on record he amended fences between President Moi, Simeon Nyachae, and Wanyoike. He also secured release of a Libyan minister`s envoy that had been destined to his home, which the police had locked up at Kisumu police station (pages, 167 – 168).

The findings established that Mudavadi had failures that included being impulsive, temperamental, argumentative, and abetted corruption as discussed on page 168 – 172. The findings on the death of Moses Budamba Mudavadi showed that he demised on February 8, 1989 (page, 173).

They showed even though many theories emerged about the cause of Mudavadi`s death, the natural attrition and Biblical theory prevailed as there was no written document on the same and the hearsay was unreliable as discussed on page 173 – 176.

Relatively Mudavadi was accorded a state burial aired on Voice of Kenya media attended by people of all caliber led by President Moi. He was eulogized as a great man and put to rest in front of his first wife`s home adjacent to Mululu primary school according to Maragoli culture (page, 176).

The findings disclosed that there occurred some little clamor for the succession of Moses Mudavadi. Nevertheless, the dust settled when the caucus of the chiefs, KANU Sabatia branch, Kakamega KANU branch and President Moi endorsed his son Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi as the only sole contender to the seat. Following the endorsement, Musalia Mudavadi, the prince rose to the throne, bereft by the King of Mululu – Moses Mudavadi the same year, 1989 (pages, 177– 180).

The information gathered revealed that Mudavadi`s legacy was detected in his character of honesty and great leadership and the impregnable Mp of Vihiga Constituency and thereafter Sabatia Constituency. It disclosed President Moi`s government awarded Mudavadi the Elder of the Golden Heart (E.G.H) in 1980. Many identified him with the benevolence and the projects he initiated besides a great son he nurtured (Musalia Mudavadi) as discussed on page 180 – 184.

It resonated more in his role as KANU stalwart. The legacy amplified more in the decisions he made as a political mandarin more so when the minister for local government and the role he played in constructing the Luhya during President Moi`s epoch; the power he wielded per se nicknamed “King of Mululu” constituted the best of his legacy as discussed on page 67 – 184.

The findings divulged Mudavadi depicted many dimensions of the trait theory of leadership. These were openness, conscientiousness, extroversion, and agreeableness on the higher side and neuroticism on the lower side as discussed on page 25 – 26.

The traits of leadership and behavior correlated with the summation of the historical realist who recognized Moses Budamba Mudavadi as a great man worth studying, documenting, and reading about. On the contrary, the cynics who besmirched, and impugned his credibility were “unhistorical.”

The researcher a diehard student of historical realist based his summation on Carr (1961) assertion that seeing history with one eye was unscholarly and history was about success of men and not failures – the biography of great men who formed the state as discussed on page 1

5.2. Conclusion

Briefly the study's findings showed that Moses Mudavadi aka Musa a Luhya by tribe, Logooli by sub tribe; of Kizungu clan and Kevembe sub clan was born at Budira near Sabatia in Vihiga in Western Kenya in 1923 during the British barbaric colonial rule in Kenya. He was well educated and enlisted in British Kings Rifles Army after completing school at Maseno government school.

He trained as a teacher at Jeans school on coming back from the war and taught at Kabianga government school. He served as a senior administrator in colonial Kenya between 1953 and 1963; served as an assistant education officer, district education officer and provincial education officer.

He was a senior civil servant in Kenyatta regime as a provincial education officer and senior administrator in ministry of tourism and wildlife between 1963 and 1968 – a year he retired to join politics. Mudavadi made debut in politics in 1969 but lost twice to eloquent, clairvoyant trade unionist Peter Kibisu.

He stepped on the threshold of parliament for the first time in 1976 in a by election after the incumbent Kibisu erred by assaulting a Whiteman who was his wife fellow staff at Shell oil company. He subsequently won elections in 1979, 1983 and 1988. He held several ministerial posts that included education, water and development, culture and social services and local government. He had pockets of political conflicts more so with Martin Shikuku over leadership and political supremacy. He had failures that included his temperamental character, inferiority complex, and blind support of President Moi's populist theory.

The cause of Mudavadi`s death on February 8, 1989 greatly a subject of Biblical theory of death and natural attrition. The government of Kenya accorded him a state burial attended by dignitaries from all lifestyles including President Moi who eulogized him as a friend and great political mandarin. His son Musalia Mudavadi inherited his seat.

His legacy resonated in his tenure as the Mp for Vihiga and later Sabatia constituency for over a decade; acts of benevolence and amiability; the development projects he initiated; ministerial portfolios he held and decisions he passed.

To crown it all he nurtured his son – Musalia Mudavadi who took from him with the same zeal; people paid him homage and dubbed him the “*King of Mululu.*” From the findings, Mudavadi depicted many of the aspects of Stogdill (1974) per se big five-factor leadership theory that summarized him as a great trait theorist leader.

Ultimately, Carr (1961) in his book *What is History* defined history as a biography of great men who formed the state and made commendable contributions to social transformations. Undisputedly Moses Mudavadi answered to his description and the researcher had no qualms about his greatness. He listened to the voice of the astral power, undertook the study, and documented the actions of *the King of Mululu* filling the knowledge gap and providing a preserve for posterity.

5.3. Recommendations

From the conclusions of the study, the researcher recommended the following:

Moses Budamba Mudavadi`s history be annulled into the books of history as no authentic documented history of his existed irrespective of being a renown political mandarin in Kenya. It would fill the historical knowledge gap that existed besides availing the history for posterity.

Additionally, Well-wishers including book publishers, ministry of education, ministry of sports and culture, the county government of Vihiga to sponsor the writing of a book from the thesis to avail a portable well-documented history of Moses Mudavadi for eased access, dissemination and posterity.

In relation, a grandeur coliseum to be constructed in Vihiga County in his memory and honor as a political grandee who made land mark contributions to the people of Vihiga district and Kenya in general.

Relatively, other researchers to carry out related studies using other research designs, methods, and theories. They might add data or fill some gaps that might arise moreover from inability to access some high profiled respondents like former president of Kenya, Daniel Toroitich Moi.

Ultimately, the researcher believed the implementation of the recommendations should provide an enriched civic history for social, economic, and political gains. He envisaged the documented history would be a formidable lasting preserve for posterity. He urged all and sundry to extend their knowledge, skills, positive attitudes and benevolence in realization of the noble course.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Asava, H.M. (2009). *Tsing`ano Tsiegitsa: “Yanza Wigi Utsimanye”*:
Vikevo Kutura 1740 – 2001. Kericho: Mwakay General Agencies.
- Aseka, E. (1993). *Makers of Kenya`s History*: Ronald Ngala. Nairobi:
East African Educational Publishers.
- Aseka, E. (2001). *Makers of Kenya`s History*: Jomo Kenyatta. Nairobi:
East African Educational Publishers
- Asirvatham, E., & Misra, K.K. (2011). *Political Theory*.
New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
- Assimeng, M. (1997). *Foundation of African Social Thought: A Contribution
to the Social Thought: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge*.
Accra: Ghana Universities press
- Atieno-Odhiambo, E .S. (1993). *Makers of Kenya`s History*: Jaramogi
Oginga Odinga. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
- Bernard, H.R. (2013). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative &
Quantitative Approaches*. London: SAGE Publications Inc
- Boehm, G.R., Hoone, C., McGowan, T.M., Mckinnery -Browning.,
MC., Miramontes., B.O., & Porter, P.H. (2002). *United States*:
Harcourt Brace Social Studies. Orlando: Harcourt and Brace Company.
- Carr, E.H. (1961). *What is History?* .New York: Random House, Inc.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.) (2000). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*

(2nd Ed.). London: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Dooley, D. (2003). *Social Research Methods* (2nd ed.) New Delhi:

Prentice Hall of India Private Limited

Dowswell, P. (2002). *20TH Century Leaders*. Churchill. New York:

White Thompson Publishing Ltd.

Eshiwani, G.S. (1993). *Education in Kenya since Independence*. Nairobi:

East African publishers.

Foreman, L. (2004). *The Epic Story of the Warrior: Alexander the Conqueror*.

Cambridge: Da Capo press.

Fulcher, J. & Scot, J. (2011) *Sociology* (4th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Gikaru, J., Wekamba, C., Muraya, F., Ngeno, A., Murithi, J. and Obonyo, G.

(2011) (2nd ed.). *The Comprehensive Primary Atlas*. Nairobi :

LONGHORN Publishers (Kenya) Ltd.

Gilbert, A. (2002). *Franklin D. Roosevelt*. London: Franklin Watts

Gordimer, N. (1961). *Heroes of Our Time: The Man Who Burned His Pass*.

London: Victor Gollancz

House, C. (2002). *Nelson Mandela: Fighters for Humanity*. Nairobi:

Sasa Sema Publication

Huffman, K. (2010) (9th ed.). *Psychology in Action* Jefferson City: R.R Donnelley

Johnson, C. & Alderman, B. (2000) *The Photo biography of Martin*

Luther King, Jr. New York: Penguin Group

Karugu, G.K. (2007). *Introduction to Educational Research*. Nairobi.

Kenya Institute of Special Education

- Kihoro, W. (2005). *The price of Freedom. The story of Political Resistance in Kenya*. Nairobi: Mvule Africa publishers.
- King, L. (2010). *Experience Psychology*. New York: McGraw Hill
- Kombo, D.K. & Tromp, D.L. (2011). *Proposal and Thesis Writing: An Introduction*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa.
- Kothari, C.R. (2004) (2nd ed). *Research Methodology Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New International (P) Ltd
- Kutswa, B. (1997). Daniel T. Arap Moi: Which Way Africa? Nairobi: Government press.
- Lindsey, L., Beach, S., Ravelli , B., & Booth, C. (2009). *Core Concepts in Sociology*. Toronto: Pearson Education.
- Morton, A. (1998). *The Making of an African Statesman*. London: Michael O`mara Books Ltd.
- Mouton, J.B. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town: Oxford University
- Myers, D.G. (2004) (7th ed.). *Psychology*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Ochieng W.R. (Ed.). (2002). ***Historical studies and social change in Western Kenya: Essays in memory of professor Gideon S. Were***. Nairobi: East African Educational publishers.
- Ogot, B.A. (Ed.). (1968). ***Zamani: A Survey of East African History***. Nairobi: Longman Kenya.
- Oruka, O.H. (1990). *Ethics: A Basic Course for Undergraduates Studies*. Nairobi: Nairobi University Press.
- Oyugi, W.O. (Ed.). (1994). ***Politics and Adminstration in East Africa***. Nairobi : East African Educatonal Publishers.

- Nzioki, M. & Dar, M. B. (Eds.). (1982). *Who is Who in Kenya 1982 – 1983: Politics, Local Authorities, Civil Service, Parastatals, Professors, Business and Commerce, Religion and Industry*. Nairobi: Africa Book Services (E.A) Ltd.
- Timothy, B. (1994). *Kwameh Nkurumah: The Man who brought Independence to Ghana*. London: Longman group Limited
- Thomas, R.A. (Ed.) (1993). *The Weekly Review Index 1975 – 1989*. Nairobi: Stellagraphics Ltd.
- Seale, C. G., Gobo, G. Gubrium, J.F. & Silverman, D. (Eds.). (2007) *Qualitative Research Practice*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publication.
- Shamoo, A. & Resnik, D. (2009) (2nd ed.). *Responsible Conduct of Research*. Wandibba ,S. (2004). *Makers of Kenya`s History: J.M. Kariuki*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
- Wanyande ,P.(2002). *Makers of Kenya`s History: Joseph Daniel Otiende*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wanyande, P., Omosa, M. & Ludeki, C. (Eds.). (2007). *Governance and Transition Politics in Kenya*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press.
- Wenstein M.,& Foard, N. (2009). *A critical Introduction to Social Research* (2nd ed.) New Delhi SAGE Publications PVT Ltd.
- Were, G.S. (1967). *A History of the Abaluhya of Western Kenya C. 1500 – 1930*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

Wintle, J. (Ed.) (2007). *New Makers of Modern Culture Volume 1 A-K*. London:
London Routledge.

PAMPHLET

Kibisu, K., Liyai, H., Ngwalla, M. & Opanga. [ca. 2014]. *25th Commemoration of the Late Hon. Moses Substone Budamba Mudavadi, 1923 – 1989* (Pamphlet). Nairobi.

GOVERNMENT REPORTS

Government of Kenya. Department of Attorney General Office. (2010)

Government of Kenya. Department of Kenya Bureau of Statistics. Vol. 1 A. (2010)

INTERNET SOURCE

Barack Obama-Biography.com. Retrieved May 5, 2015

from <http://www.biography.com/people/barack.oba>

Barack Obama –US Presidents-History.com. Retrieved.

from <http://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/barack-obama>

Behavioral Theories of Leadership – TechnoFunc, Retrieved Dec 17, 2015

from

<http://www.technofunc.com>Home>leadershipskills>leadershipTheories>.

Bulimo, S. (2009). Fact to Face with Shikuku: Where in the world do you

start writing a story spanning 56 years? In the beginning, there was...Retrieved July 7, 2016

from http://www.abeingo.com/profiles/ShikukuMartin_profile.pdf.

Compensating for criticisms of Trait Approach Leadership. Retrieved Dec 9, 2015

from <http://www.sites-psu.edu/leadership/2012/09/09...>

Critics towards Trait Theory Approaches. Retrieved Dec, 9

from <http://www.tlu/~sirvir/IKM/Leadership%2...>

Criticism And Arguments Against Transformational Leadership.

Retrieved Dec 7 2015

from <http://www.ukessays.com.>UKEssays>Essays>management>

Criticism of Trait Theories-personality can be any color! Retrieved Dec 9, 2015

from <http://www.474030080244362128.weebly.com/criti...>

Criticism to the Transaction Cost Theory –Management Bytes-.

Retrieved Dec 17, 2015 from <http://somanagement.blogspot.com/2012/03/c...>

Daniel Arap Moi/ biography-president of Kenya/Encyclopedia Britannica.

Retrieved May 2, 2015

from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/387733/Daniel- arap-Moi>

Techniques.New Delhi: New International (P) Limited.

Leadership Theories-In chronological order. Retrieved

from <http://www.leadership-central.com/leadership>

The 2002 Kenya elections. Retrieved May 2, 2015

from

http://www.nationaudio.com/elections/moisuccesion/succession_Mudavadis6html

The Leadership Quarterly. Retrieved Dec 8, 2015

from <http://www.elsevier.com/Locate/Leaqua>

Mathenge, O. (2016), Pangani 6, Muthaiga 2 ‘earned’ time in cell. Retrieved from

<http://www.the-star.co.k.co.ke>Home>NationalNews>

Timona, L. (2010, January) Windows into our Heritage: Music in

the Kenyan Communities. Paper presented at First International

workshops. Silvia Santagata Research Centre – Ebla Turin, Italy

retrieved April 20, 2010 from <http://www.eblacenter.unito.it/>.

Trait Theories. Retrieved Dec 8, 2015 from http://www.le.ac.uk/.../page_06htm

Trait Theory-leadership-central. Com. Retrieved Dec 8, 201 from

<http://www.leadership-central.com/trait-th...>

Transactional Leadership: Definition Examples, Traits.

Retrieved Dec 17, 2015 from

<http://www.online.stu.edu/transactional-leader...>

Transformational Leadership. Characteristics and Criticisms.

Retrieved Dec 17, 2015 from <http://www.leadingtoday.or/weleadinlearni...>

Weber`s Charismatic Leadership –knowledge center. Retrieved Dec 17, 2015

from http://www.12manage.com/methods_Webster-Char...

HANSARDS

Parliament of Kenya. Legislative Assembly. (1980). *Parliamentary debates (Hansard)*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Legislative Assembly.

Parliament of Kenya. Legislative Assembly. (1981). *Parliamentary debates (Hansard)*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Legislative Assembly.

Parliament of Kenya. Legislative Assembly. (1983). *Parliamentary debates (Hansard)*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Legislative Assembly.

Parliament of Kenya. Legislative Assembly. (1984). *Parliamentary debates (Hansard)*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Legislative Assembly.

Parliament of Kenya. Legislative Assembly. (1985). *Parliamentary debates (Hansard)*. Nairobi, Assembly: Kenya Legislative Assembly.

Parliament of Kenya. Legislative Assembly. (1986). *Parliamentary debates (Hansard)*. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Legislative Assembly.

PERIODICALS

1. Kulundu, C. (1976, February 8). Weekly Review p. 3-4
2. Kulundu, C. (1976, March 8). Weekly Review p. 5-6
3. Ng`eno, H. (1979, June 1). Weekly Review p. 33
4. Ng`eno, H. (1979, November 16). Weekly Review p. 4
5. Ng`eno, H. (1980, April, 18). Weekly Review p. 7
6. Ng`eno H. (1980, June , 6) Weekly Review p. 21
7. Ng`eno, H. (1980, June, 27) Weekly Review p. 11
8. Ng`eno, H. (1980, August, 15). Weekly Review p. 13
9. Ng`eno, H. (1981, January 2) Weekly Review p. 11
10. Ng`eno H. (1981 April, 24) Weekly Review p. 8
11. Ng`eno, H. (1981, May 1). Weekly Review p. 7
12. Ng`eno, H. (1981, December 4). Weekly Review p. 15
13. Ng`eno, H. (1982, February 26). Weekly Review p. 5
14. Ng`eno, H. (1982, March 12). Weekly Review p. 44
15. Ng`eno, H. (1982, April 30). Weekly Review p. 9
16. Ng`eno, H. (1982, August 26). Weekly Review p. 23
17. Ng`eno, H. (1982, September 3) Weekly Review p. 14
18. Ng`eno H. (1983, February 25) Weekly Review p. 5
19. Ng`eno, H. (1983, September 2). Weekly Review p. 4
20. Ng`eno, H. (1983, September 3). Weekly Review p. 14
21. Ng`eno, H. (1983, December 2). Weekly Review p. 6

22. Ng`eno, H. (1984, February 10). Weekly Review p. 11
23. Ng`eno, H. (1984, May 25). Weekly Review p. 15
24. Ng`eno, H. (1985, 25 January) Weekly Review p. 5
25. Ng`eno H. (1985, March 29) Weekly Review p. 8
26. Ng`eno, H. (1985, April 12). Weekly Review p. 10
27. Ng`eno, H. (1986, February 12). Weekly Review p. 33
28. Ng`eno, H. (1986, February 19). Weekly Review p. 16
29. Ng`eno, H. (1986, July 25). Weekly Review p. 6
30. Ng`eno H. (1986, August 12). Weekly Review p. 14
31. Ng`eno, H. (1986, August 15). Weekly Review p. 6
32. Ng`eno, H. (1986, September 5). Weekly Review p. 4
33. Ng`eno, H. (1986, September 19). Weekly Review p. 4
34. Ng`eno, H. (1986, November 7). Weekly Review p. 22
35. Ng`eno, H. (1987, July 17). Weekly Review p. 10
36. Ng`eno, H. (1987, September 4). Weekly Review p. 7
37. Ng`eno, H. (1987, October 16). Weekly Review p. 5
38. Ng`eno, H. (1987, December 4). Weekly Review p. 4
39. Ng`eno, H. (1987, December 18). Weekly Review p. 29
40. Ng`eno H. (1988, February, 12) Weekly Review p. 33
41. Ng`eno, H. (1988, April 22). Weekly Review p. 12
42. Ng`eno, H. (1988, June 3). Weekly Review p. 12
43. Ng`eno, H. (1988, August 12). Weekly Review p. 14
44. Ng`eno, H. (1988, October 28). Weekly Review p. 13
45. Ng`eno, H. (1988, December 23). Weekly Review p. 9

46. Ng`eno, H. (1989, February 3). Weekly Review p. 5
47. Ng`eno, H. (1989, February 24). Weekly Review p. 7
48. Ng`eno, H. (1989, March 10). Weekly Review p. 8
49. Ngeno, H. (1989, March 17.) Weekly Review p. 8

TELEVISION

Matiang`i, F. (interviewee). (2016, July19). *The Senate Parliamentary Proceedings*
[Television broadcast]. Citizen Television.

UNPUBLISHED

Otuche, F. & Otuche, D. (n.d). *History of the People of Vihiga* .

ANONYMOUS

Transition and Country in Kenya, Moi – Selected and Prefaced extract
from the public speeches of his Excellency Daniel. T. Moi President
of the Republic of Kenya made during the period August
1978 to October 1979: East African publishers.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX (I) LIST OF RESPONDENTS

Name of Respondent		Age Yrs	Residence	Description	Contact
1	Assa Mambuya	69	Chamakanga Village	Civil servant	0726962183
2	Bahati Semo	83	National Housing Corporation House – Nairobi	Political opponent	0723964815
3	Clifton Ongadi	42	Chamakanga Village	political Proponent	0722177226
4	Ebby Mudavadi	Na	Mululu Primary	Kin	0722518554
5	Elijah Mahali	74	Mululu village	Farm Worker	c/o 0722518554
6	Elizabeth Karani	71	Wanaliava village	Political Proponent	N/A
7	Ellam Lumbago	Na	Wanaliava Village	Political Associate	0722869222
8	Enos Lumbago	74	Wanaliava Village	Political Proponent	c/o 0725827630
9	Erastus Mahiva	78	Mwilitsa village	Civil servant	0711208388
10	Evaline Muzembi		Gavudia	Political Proponent	N/A
11	Fredrick Ngetich	60	Wanaliava	Political Proponent	N/A
12	Henry Mulindi	77	Mago	Political Associate	0712697482
13	Henry Chakava	N/A	Karen	Political Associate	0722516274
14	Henry Malova	75	Mululu Village	Political Proponent	N/A

15	Herman Mulinya	86	Gahumbwa	Political Opponent	0725827630
16	Harun Mbere	N/A	Museywa	Civil servant	0723042399
17	Japheth Ihaji	93	Mululu Village	Kin	c/o 0722518554
18	Japheth Muzembi	68	Gavudia	Civil servant	N/A
19	Justus A. Mudavadi	80	East Hills Gardens – Nairobi	Kin	0722524716
20	Joel Alemba	90	Chamakanga Vilage	Elder	0726476648
21	Joel Banyako	N/A	Muhudu	Political Proponent	c/o 0725827630
22	Mercy Openge	Na	Mululu Primary	House help	c/o 0722518554
23	Naomi Sagalla	85	Muhudu	Political Opponent	N/A
24	Paul K. Ngase	N/A	Wanaliava	Political Associate	N/A
25	Richard Kemoli	81	Karen	Political Associate	0722363285
26	Reuben Luseno	38	Kipchekwen	Civil servant	0723040267
27	Simon Otanga	55	Mbale	Political Proponent	N/A
28	Thomas Sagalla	89	Muhudu	Civil servant	c/o 0725827630
29	Verah Mulinya	81	Gahumbwa	Political Opponent	c/o 0725827630
30	William Mweresa	77	Mago village	Political Proponent	c/o 0712697482

APPENDIX (2)

GLOSSARY

- Angola Musumbiji – A criminal gang in Butere and its environs
- Atozo/ Anzeze/ Mavoho – Children of Kevembe / social units or families of Kevembe
- Emagombe – A Lulogoli word meaning the home for the dead
- Kitagwa – Another word for Kevembe – a sub clan of Kizungu
- Kizungu – A clan of Maragoli and one of the four sons of Mulogoli
- Kwivila – A Maragoli term equivalent to Zamani meaning forgotten dead
- Lizuliza – Remembrance of the dead
- Luhyanism – Pride to be a Luhya
- Mkihadisi - Maragoli term for a world of the unknown
- Mulogoli - Logooli or Maragoli son of Luhya
- Nembo mbo mboo, nisu suu – a Lulogoli dictum that shows ultimate authority
literary meaning when I have said I have said, When I refuse I have refused
- Ngoroko – A Lulogoli term for bandits or enemies
- Sasa - a Kiswahili term that refers to now and immediate time after death
- Vandu vi tsimbemba - gossipers
- Viparachuto - A Maragoli word for traitors or enemies
- Visaramembe – People who do not do as told
- Woluyali – A Maragoli word for a respected person
- Zamani - A Kiswahili word meaning long ago and used to mean the forgotten dead.

APPENDIX (3)

ORAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR OBJECTIVE (1)

1. Tell me about Moses Mudavadi`s parents
2. Give an account on the date and place Mudavadi was born
3. Tell me the experience you had with Mudavadi as wife/son/daughter/
brother etc
4. Where did Mudavadi go for primary, secondary, higher education,
college etc
5. When did Mudvadi start working?
6. Tell about organizations, companies or institutions Mudavadi worked
in during colonial epoch?
7. Generally, how did you relate with Mudavadi?
8. Any other information you may have on Moses Mudavadi`s life from
his birth to independence in 1963?

APPENDIX (4)

ORAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR OBJECTIVE 2

- 1.** May you explain what might have prompted Moses Mudavadi to venture into politics after independence?
- 2.** In your view what factors made Moses Mudavadi win elections during president Jomo Kenyatta`s era?
- 3.** Kindly give an account of Moses Mudavadi`s leadership roles and political achievements during president Kenyatta`s era from 1964- 1978
- 4.** Any other information you can tell on the life of Moses Mudavadi during President Kenyatta regime.

APPENDIX (5)

ORAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR OBJECTIVE 3

1. Kindly account for the elections Moses Mudavadi won during president Moi`s era
2. May you state how Moses Mudavadi related with president Moi between 1979 and 1989?
3. May you discuss the leadership positions Moses Mudavadi held and his achievements during president Moi`s era?
4. Briefly discuss the relationship between Moses Mudavadi and other politicians during president Moi`s era?
5. In your view what could be Moses Mudavadi`s failures during president Moi regime?
6. Account for the death of Moses Mudavadi and succession
7. According to you what could be Moses Mudavadi`s legacy?
8. Any other information you may add on Moses Mudavadi`s life during president Moi era?

APPENDIX (6)

GUIDELINE TO COLLECT DATA FROM ARCHIVES

- 1.** Archived data on the early life and times of Moses Mudavadi during colonial period (1923 – 1963)
- 2.** Archived information on the life and times of Moses Mudavadi during President Kenyatta era (1963-1978)
- 3.** Archived data on the life and times of Moses Mudavadi during the reign of president Moi (1978 – 1989).
- 4.** Any other relevant data

APPENDIX (7)

AN OBSERVATION SCHEDULE FOR DATA COLLECTION

- 1.** Entry behavior of the respondent (s) to the oral interview
- 2.** Ability to recall the information and the body language involved
- 3.** Emotional attachment of the respondent(s) to the narrative
- 4.** Exit behavior of the respondent (s) after the interview
- 5.** Any other behavior depicted by respondents.

APPENDIX (8)

LETTER OF AUTHORITY FROM NACOSTI



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: +254-20-2213471.
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
when replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No
NACOSTI/P/16/89590/9975

Date:

5th May, 2016

Charles Karani Luhambo
Mount Kenya University
P.O. Box 342-01000
THIKA.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*A biography of Moses Mudamba Mudavadi; Kenyan Iconic Mandarin, 1923-1989,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Vihiga County** for the period ending **29th April, 2017.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Vihiga County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

**DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Vihiga County.

The County Director of Education
Vihiga County.

APPENDIX (9)

APPENDIX (9)

**PERMIT FROM NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY,
AND INNOVATION**




THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MR. CHARLES KARANI LUHAMBO
of MOUNT KENYA UNIVERSITY, 0-50316
BANJA, has been permitted to conduct
research in Vihiga County
on the topic: A BIOGRAPHY OF MOSES
MUDAMBA MUDAVADI; KENYAN ICONIC
MANDARIN, 1923-1989
for the period ending:
29th April, 2017


Permit No. : NACOSTI/P/16/89590/9975
Date Of Issue : 5th May, 2016
Fee Received : Ksh. 1000

Applicant's Signature

Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation



APPENDIX (10)
PERMIT FROM KENYA NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND DOCUMENTATION
SERVICE

<p>Permit No. 19378</p> <p>Name: CHARLES KARANI</p> <p>Address: BOX 200 - 50308 SEREM 0721118460</p>	<p>Valid from 2/6/16 to 2/6/17 Kenya National Archives and Documentation Service P.O. Box 49210 Issued by: [Signature]</p> <div style="text-align: center;"></div> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p>
---	---

APPENDIX (11)
LETTER TO THE LATE HON. MOSES MUDAVADI'S FAMILY
CHARLES KARANI LUHAMBO
P.O BOX 20 -50316
BANJA,
11 / 09 / 2015

THE IN CHARGE,
HON. MOSES MUDAMBA MUDAVADI FAMILY
P.O BOX 36
CHAMAKANGA

Dear Madam/ Sir

REFERENCE: HON. MOSES MUDAVADI BIOGRAPHY

I hereby humbly request the family members and relatives of the late Hon. Moses Mudavadi to grant me permission and cooperation in carrying out a research study titled “A *Biography of Moses Mudamba Mudavadi, 1923 -1989*” I’m a master student of Mount Kenya University; registration number MAHS/2013/47435 undertaking a Master Degree in History. It is a requirement of the university for students of my kind to write a Thesis as part of the course and the said is my research topic. I hope you will allow me to undertake the study whose major objective is to carry out a thorough study on the life and contribution of your departed kin cum hero in the political development of Kenya (Moses Mudavadi) and document his history. Your compliance cum prompt replies, a godsend.

Yours sincerely,

Charles Karani Luhambo

Email: Charleskarani81@yahoo.com/charleskarani10@gmail.com

Mobile No`s +254721118460/ +254771578750

APPENDIX (12)

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER FROM THE COUNTY

COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

Email: vihigacc1992@gmail.com
Telephone: Vihiga 0771866800
When replying please quote

**COUNTY COMMISSIONER,
VIHIGA COUNTY,
P.O. BOX 75-50300,
MARAGOLI.**

REF: VC/ED 12/1 VOL.1/129

19th February, 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

This is to introduce to you Mr. Charles Karani Luhambo of Mount Kenya University to conduct research study on "*A biography of Moses Mudamba Mudavadi, Kenyan Iconic Mandarin, 1923 - 1989*" for a period ending 31st July, 2016

Kindly accord him all the necessary support.


**GLORIAH KUGUN
FOR: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
VIHIGA COUNTY**

APPENDIX (13)

COUNTY COMMISSIONER'S RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT**

Email: vihigacc1992@gmail.com
Telephone: Vihiga 0771866800
When replying please quote

**COUNTY COMMISSIONER
VIHIGA COUNTY
P.O. BOX 75-50300
MARAGOLI**

REF: VC/ED 12/1 VOL.1/160

13th June, 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

This is to introduce to you Mr. Charles Karani Luhambo of Mt. Kenya University who has been authorized by the National Commission for Science and Technology and Innovation to conduct research on "*A biography of Moses Mudamba Mudavadi: Kenya Iconic Mandarin, 1923-1989,*" in Vihiga County, for a period ending 29th April, 2017.

Kindly accord him all the necessary assistance to enable him undertake the study.

**ERASTUS KEYA
FOR: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
VIHIGA COUNTY**

Copy to:

The Deputy Commission Secretary,
National Commission for Science (Yours Ref. NACOSTI/P/16/89590/9975 of 5th May, 2016)
Technology and Innovation,
P O Box 300623-00100,
NAIROBI.

APPENDIX (14)

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER FROM THE COUNTY

EDUCATION DIRECTOR'S OFFICE

**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**

Telegrams:
Telephone: (056) 51450
When replying please quote



**COUNTY EDUCATION OFFICE,
VIHIGA COUNTY,
P.O. BOX 640,**

MARAGOLI.

REF: MOE/VC/ADM/24/154

13th June , 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**RE: AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT RESEARCH
CHARLES KARANI LUHAMBO**

The above subject refers.

Permission is hereby granted to the above named student from National Commission for science, Technology and Innovation to carry out research on "**A biography of Moses Mudamba Mudavadi: Kenya Iconic Mandarin, 1923-1989,**" in Vihiga County, to enable him write a project/research to meet the university requirements.

Kindly give him the necessary assistance.

P.P

P. Mwangi
For: County Director of Education
VIHIGA COUNTY

c.c
County Commissioner
VIHIGA

APPENDIX (15)

AUTHORIZATION/ COOPERATION LETTER TO COLLECT RESEARCH
DATA FROM MOUNT KENYA UNIVERSITY

Mount Kenya  University

KAKAMEGA CAMPUS

OFFICE OF COORDINATOR SCHOOL POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

P.o Box 553-50100

Tel:0202556843

Cell: 0706135160

Email:kakamegacampus@mku.ac.ke

Ref: MKU08/SPGS/003/VOL 1_2012

Date: 17TH DEC 2015

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: AUTHORIZATION/COOPERATION TO COLLECT RESEARCH
DATA


I wish to introduce to you the above named student who wishes to collect research data for his/her Master's Thesis.

The bearer Mr./Ms: ...C.HARLIS...KARANI...LUHAMBO... is a bonafide student at MOUNT KENYA UNIVERSITY studying MASTERS IN HISTORY at KAKAMEGA CAMPUS.

I further wish to assure you that the information collected will be used solely for academic research purposes. The data collected will be disseminated and disposed in a professional manner to ensure your privacy and security. The Ethics Committee at Mount Kenya University has cleared the student to do research in this area.

Please feel free to verify this information with MOUNT KENYA UNIVERSITY- KAKAMEGA CAMPUS by phone, mail or other means available.

Thank you.


Prof. Charles Oriaro (Ph.D)
Ass. Dean Sch. Of Postgraduate Studies
Kakamega Campus

Mount Kenya University
KAKAMEGA CAMPUS
School of Post Graduate
Studies

CO/rm

APPENDIX (16)

RECOMMENDATION LETTER FROM MOUNT KENYA UNIVERSITY TO
COLLECT RESEARCH DATA

Mount Kenya  University

SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

P.o Box 553-50100

Tel:0202556843

Cell: 0706135160

Email:kakamegacampus@mku.ac.ke

FROM: The Associate Dean of SPGS (Prof Charles A. Oriaro PhD)

DATE: 17th February 2016

TO: WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Ref: Recommendation for Mr Charles Karani of Admission No MAHS/2013/47435

I am writing to appraise the above named gentleman who is a student in the school of Postgraduate studies at Masters of arts Degree in History at Mount Kenya University Kakamega Campus. **Mr Karani** has completed his course work and has submitted a proposal in readiness for research and writing of thesis for his Masters Degree. The said thesis proposal has been approved by the school of Post Graduate Studies. He is now ready to go to the field and collect the data.

Please accord him the assistance he needs to meet his goals. Feel free to verify the information with me at your convenience.

Thank you.



Prof. Charles Oriaro (PHD)

ASS DEAN SCHOOL OF PGS

Cc: Director
DD ARA
.....OP

Mount Kenya University
KAKAMEGA CAMPUS
School of Post Graduate
Studies

APPENDIX (17)

AUTHORIZATION LETTER FROM MOSES MUDAVADI'S FAMILY

SEPTEMBER, 11TH 2015.

THE OFFICE OF HON. WYCLIFFE MUSALIA MUDAVADI
P.O. BOX 25512
Lavington 0603
Nairobi
Email: kibisukabatesi@gmail.com
Cell: 0722812797

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Mr. Charles Karani Luhambo is a Post-Graduate student at Mt. Kenya University, registration number MAHS/2013/47435. He is undertaking a Master of Degree in History at Kakamega Campus.

The family of the late Hon. Moses Mudamba Mudavadi wish to inform you that it has permitted him to carry out a study titled "*A Biography of Moses Mudamba Mudavadi; Kenyan Iconic Mandarin, 1923 -1989*".

This is to therefore kindly request you to accord him all the necessary support.

Also feel free to verify the information with me at your convenience.

Yours Sincerely,



KIBISU KABATESI

PRIVATE AND PRESS SECRETARY

**FOR: HON. MUSALIA MUDAVADI, EGH
- AMANI NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) LEADER**

APPENDIX (18)

**AUTHORIZATION LETTER FROM TEACHERS SERVICE COMMISSION FOR
RESEARCHER'S STUDY LEAVE**

TEACHERS SERVICE COMMISSION

Telephone: 2892000
0722-208-552 Nairobi
Email: info@tsc.go.ke
Web: www.tsc.go.ke
When replying please quote
Ref. N^o:TSC/410101/125



TSC HOUSE
KILIMANJARO ROAD
UPPER HILL
PRIVATE BAG - 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Date: 5th May 2016

✓ Charles Karani Luhambo
Thro'

The Headteacher
Jeviriri Primary School
P.O. Box 20 - 50316
BANJA

Dear Sir/Madam,

STUDY LEAVE WITH PAY

The Commission acknowledges receipt of your application dated 19/02/2016. I am pleased to inform you that you have been granted study leave with pay with effect from 01/05/2016 to 31/07/2016 to pursue Masters in History at Mount Kenya University.

The Head of Institution/School should clear you before you proceed on this leave. If for any reason you are unable to proceed for the course within thirty days, you should resume teaching duties and inform the Commission in writing through your Headteacher.

You should notify the Commission of any changes in the institution of learning, area of study or extension of study period at least thirty days in advance so that a decision on the change can be made.

You will be expected to submit documentary evidence that you utilized the leave for the purpose it was granted at the end of the study leave period.

On expiry of this leave or in case you complete your studies earlier; you will be required to report back to your current station immediately for assignment of duties. Your salary will automatically stop on the expiry of the leave if you will not have reported.

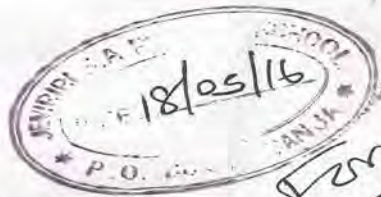
The Commission wishes to bring to your attention that if you fail to report for duty on the expiry of the study leave, you will be treated as having deserted and disciplinary action will be taken against you accordingly.

On behalf of the Commission and the teaching service at large, I wish to take this opportunity to wish you success in your studies.

Yours faithfully,


M. REGERO
FOR: SECRETARY/ CHIEF EXECUTIVE
TEACHERS SERVICE COMMISSION

Copy to: The TSC County Director – VIHIGA COUNTY



*Forwarded.
Step H.S.*

APPENDIX (19)
MAP OF KENYA SHOWING LOCATION OF VIHIGA COUNTY AND ITS
ENVIRONS



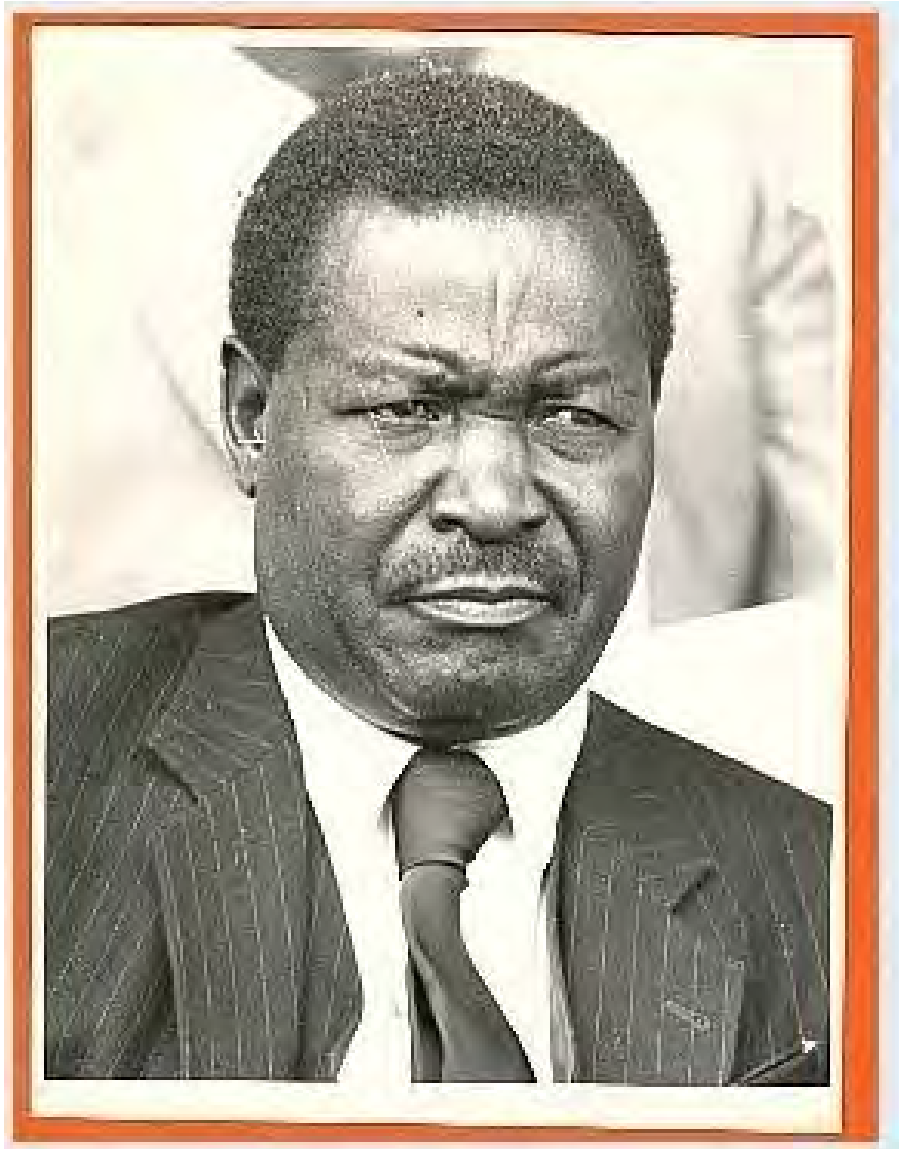
APPENDIX (20)

PHOTOGRAPH OF MUDAVADI'S BROTHER JAPHETH IHAJI



APPENDIX (21)

PHOTOGRAPH OF MOSES BUDAMBA MUDAVADI





International Journal of

Sciences: Basic and Applied Research

Print & Online

Published by:



Visit: www.gssrr.org

ISSN 2307-4531 (Print & Online)