



A Political History of the Akamba Community of Kenya

As told through their elected representatives, 1957-2021



Charles Hornsby January 2022

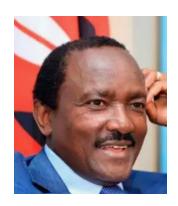
Updated March 2024



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Limitations

Excludes local government throughout.



- 1 Gusii 2 Meru **3 Ukambani**
- 4 Embu and Mbeere
- 5 Maasai and Samburu
- 6 Somali
- 7 Nakuru and Laikipia
- 8 Nairobi
- 9 Bukusu Luhya
- 10 Southern Kikuyu
- 11 Northern Kikuyu
- 12 Mombasa
- 13 Kilifi and Kwale
- 14 Kakamega and Vihiga
- 15 Taita and Taveta
- 16 South Nyanza
- 17 Busia

A history of Kamba MPs

The Kamba community are defined here as the group of Bantu Kikamba-speakers living mostly east of Nairobi and predominantly living within the boundaries of Kitui and Machakos districts at independence (universally known as "Ukambani"). The southern part of Machakos (later known as Makueni district) was lightly settled. Differentiation and sub-ethnic politics ("clannism") were limited in the Kamba, but there were historical differences between the Kamba of Kitui and of Masaku (Machakos).

Additionally, a smaller community of Kamba had settled on the Coast around Mombasa during the colonial era. A substantial number of Kamba had also moved to neighbouring Nairobi to work. Many men had taken up roles in the Colonial army and police.

Most of Kitui is semi-arid but parts of Machakos are fertile and lands close to Nairobi had been alienated for white settlement. The area bounded Kikuyu Central Province to the north-west, Nairobi to the west, Kajiado (Maasailand) to the south-west, Taita-Taveta to the south and south-east and the old Northern Frontier District to the north and east.

Machakos is traversed by the Nairobi-Mombasa railway and main road, which in the north runs along the old district border with the Maasai.

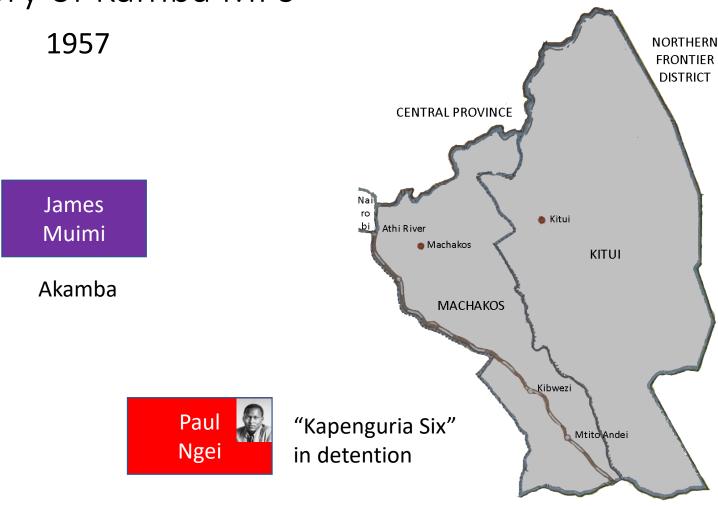
All elected MPs and above since 1959 elected in Ukambani have been Kamba, without exception. Ethnic Kamba MPs have also been elected in various periods in Nairobi, Taveta and Mombasa



Governor Renison

A history of Kamba MPs

Colonial Kenya



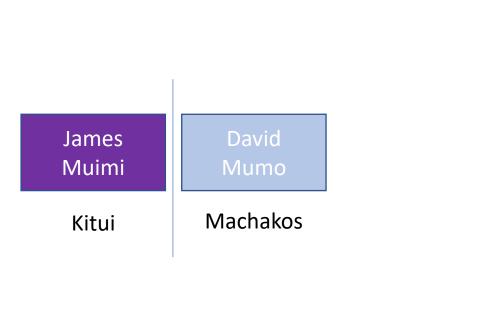
COAST PROVINCE

In 1957, the African constituency of "Akamba", covering Kitui and Machakos Districts (all Kikamba speaking) is created and won by 40-year-old teacher James Muimi. Meanwhile, Kamba KAU member Paul Ngei, ex-soldier and one of the "Kapenguria six" jailed with Kenyatta for Mau Mau activity, is in prison with him in northern Kenya.

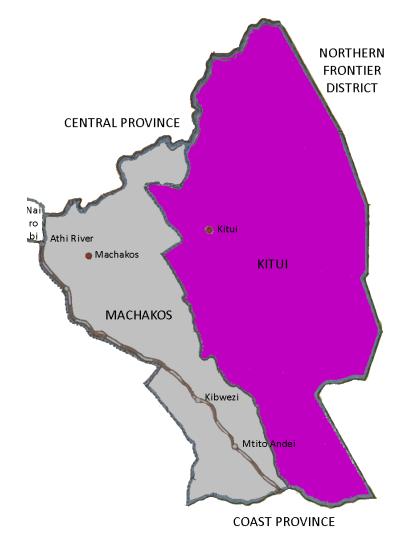


Governor Renison

1958: LegCo Enlarged







Colonial

Kenya

In 1958, six more constituencies are carved out for African Legislative Council members and the Akamba consistency is split into two, matching the two districts of Machakos and Kitui. 38-year-old teacher David Mumo is elected for Kitui

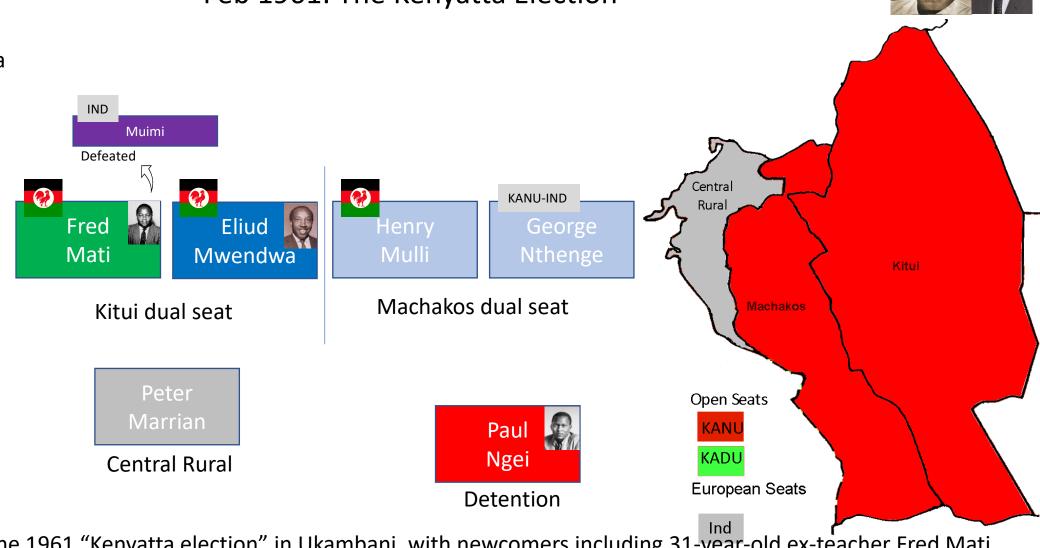




Governor Ronald Ngala Renison (KADU)



Feb 1961: The Kenyatta Election

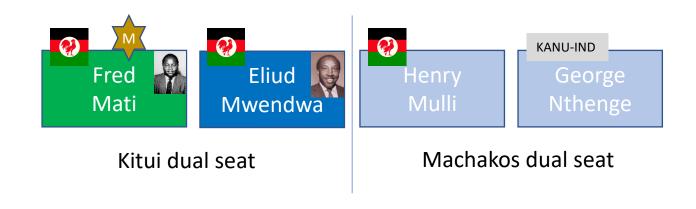


KANU decisively wins the 1961 "Kenyatta election" in Ukambani, with newcomers including 31-year-old ex-teacher Fred Mati and 38-year-old ex-teacher Eliud Mwendwa in Kitui. Parts of northern Machakos are part of the reserved Central Rural seat which is represented by white farmers leader Peter Marrian. KADU is irrelevant in Ukambani but forms a minority government.



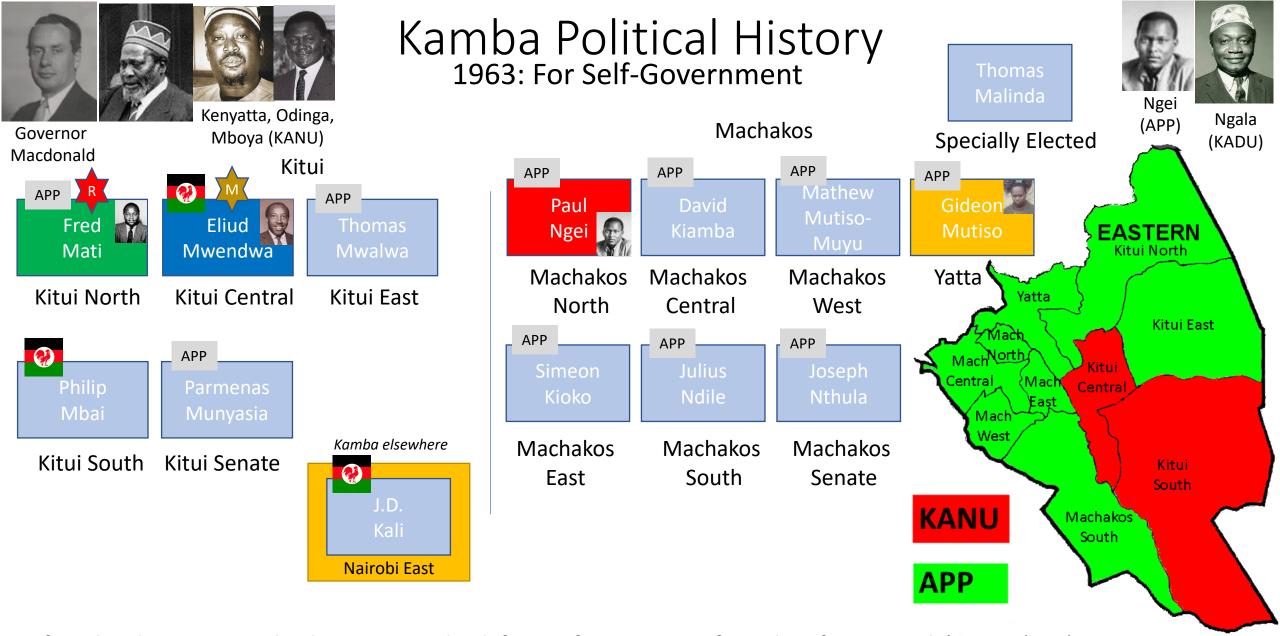
Governor Ronald Ngala Renison (KADU)

Apr 1962: Coalition Government





In May 1961, Ngei is freed. In April 1962, Mati becomes a minister in the KANU-KADU coalition government.



Before the elections, Ngei leads a mass Kamba defection from KANU to form the African People's Party (APP). Mati resigns to join him. APP – loosely allied with KADU - wins all Machakos, but honours are split in Kitui. Limited in choices, Kenyatta selects KANU's Mwendwa as sole Kamba minister. At independence, part of south Machakos are transferred to Taita-Taveta

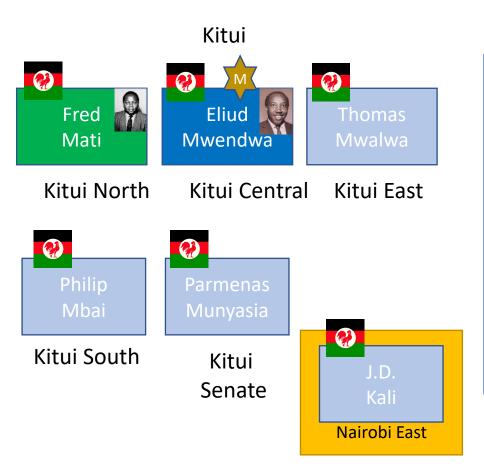


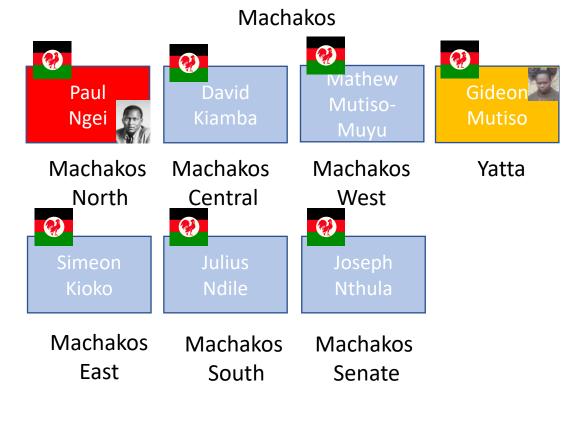
Sept 1963: APP joins KANU





(KADU)





In September 1963, Ngei does a deal and leads the APP into KANU, giving KANU close to a 2/3 majority in both houses.

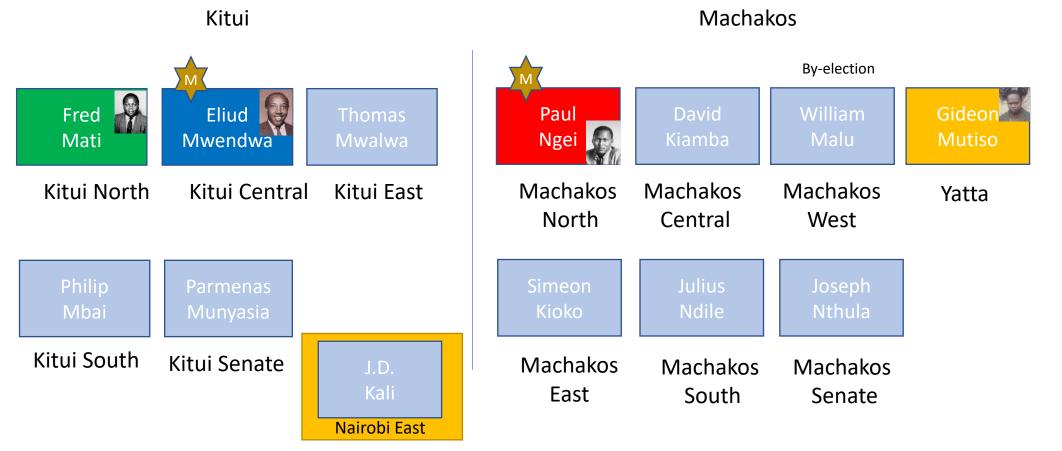


Dec 1964: Republican Constitution





(Part 1): 1964-66



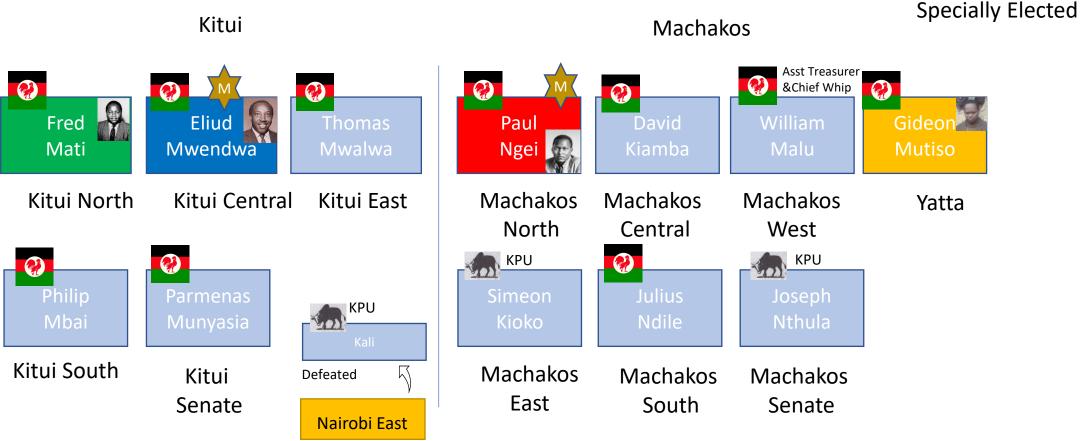
Ngei's opponent and KANU branch chair William Malu is elected Machakos West MP in May 1964 after Mutiso-Muyu dies. KADU folds and join KANU. In December 1964, the Republic is established with Kenyatta as President and regionalism ends. Ngei joins Mwendwa as the second ("Machakos") Kamba minister



1966: Little General Election - KPU vs KANU





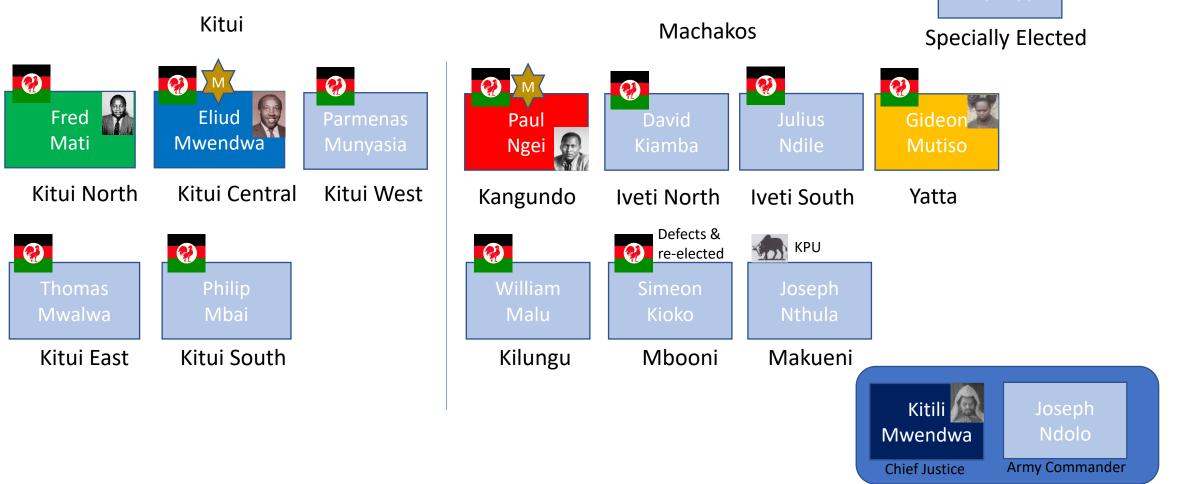


The 1966 KPU rebellion follows years of growing conflict between left and right. In the 1966 'little general election', KANU forces their opponents to go back to the people after defecting to the KPU. Ngei, suspended from office for corruption, is close to joining Odinga but eventually stays silent and his ministerial seat is restored. But two allies join KPU and are re-elected, while Kali loses in Nairobi. Malu, Mboya's point man, is now Assistant National Treasurer & KANU Chief Whip



1966-68 Thomas Malinda





Joseph Ndolo (Kamba) is appointed Army Commander Dec 1966. 1967 boundary redistribution following abolition of the Senate renames Machakos seats and creates one more MP seat in each district for the senator. One by-election as Kioko defects to KANU and is re-elected. Malu is purged as KANU Chief Whip for closeness to Mboya. Kitili Mwenda (brother of Eliud) becomes Chief Justice 1968

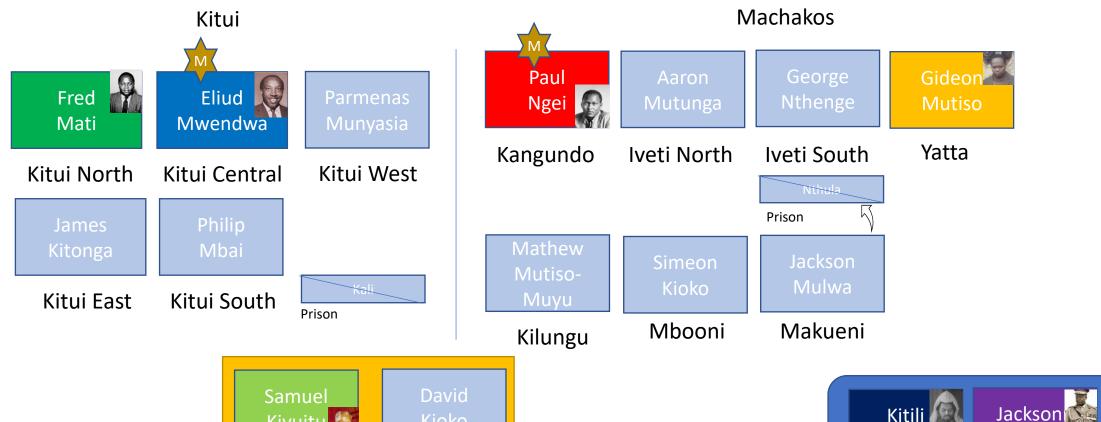


1969 General Election



Ndolo

Chief of General Staff



Kioko

Mombasa West

Kivuitu

Parklands

KPU banned, return of one-party state. Nthula detained without trial. In the 1969 elections, Ngei and Mwendwa re-elected and reappointed as Kitui and Machakos ministers. Samuel Kivuitu (from Machakos) is elected in Nairobi. Jackson Mulinge appointed Army Commander and Ndolo promoted to Chief of General Staff.

Kitili 🌆

Mulinge

Army Commander

Mwendwa

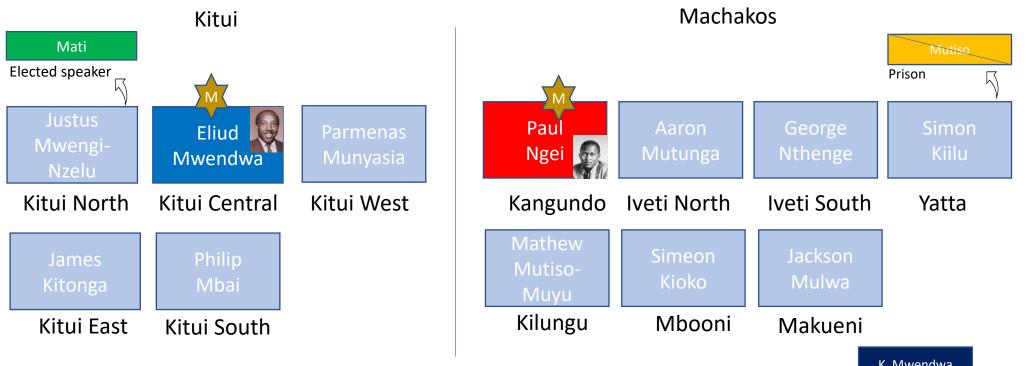
Chief Justice



1970-71 By-Elections







David

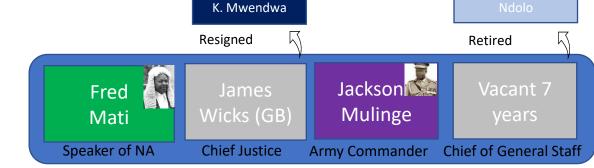
Kioko

Mombasa West

Samuel

Parklands

Kivuitu 💦

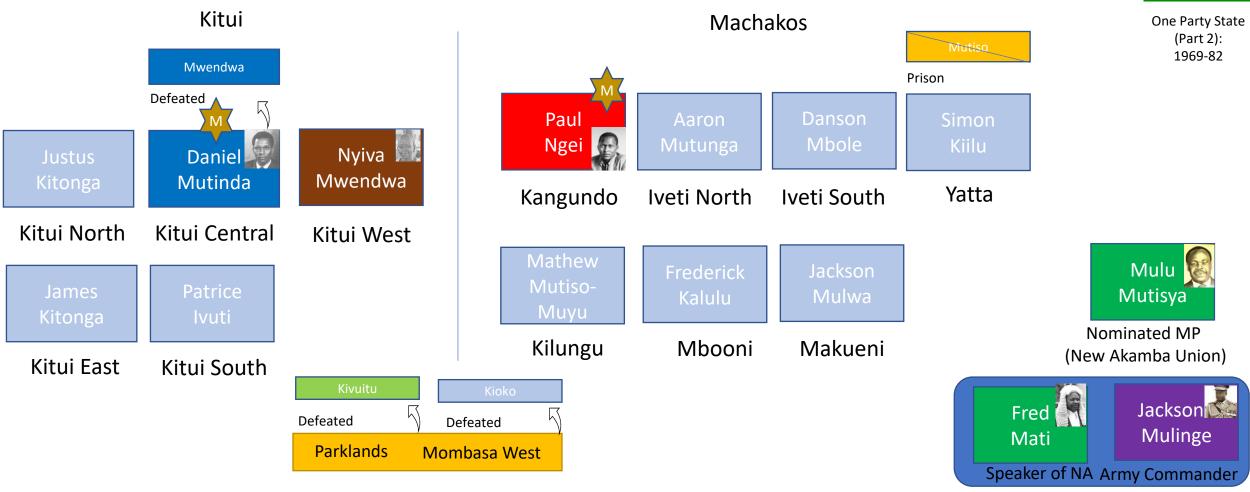


Mati is elected Speaker of the National Assembly in 1970. In 1971, Yatta MP Gideon Mutiso is jailed 9 years for participation in the abortive coup plot. Ndolo (implicated) retires and Justice Mwendwa is forced to resign



1974 General Election





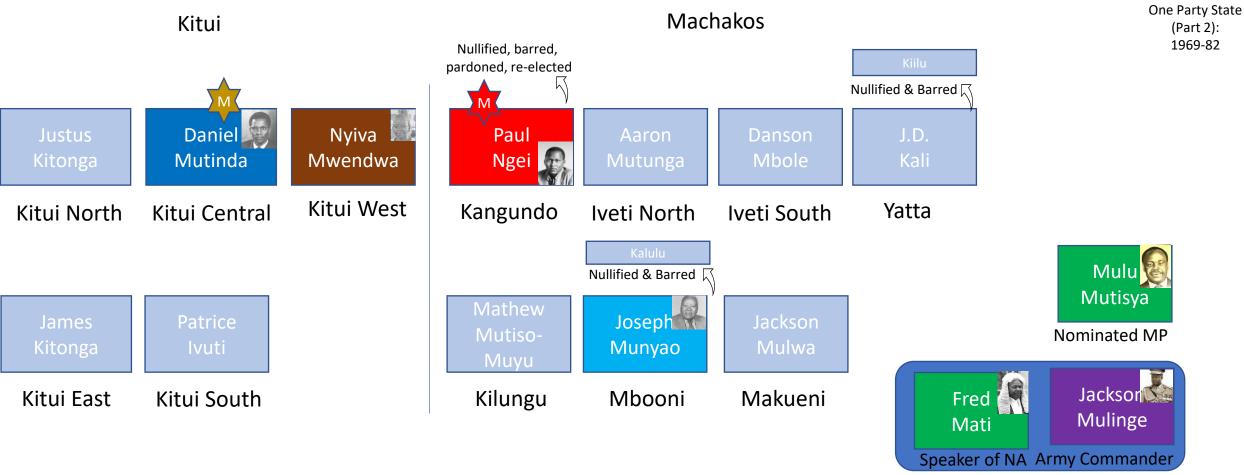
Ngei is re-elected unopposed, partly by force. Mwendwa defeated and his successor Daniel Mutinda is appointed Kitui minister. Nyiva Mwenda, wife of Kitili and Ukambani's first female MP, elected as MP. New Akamba Union Chair Mulu Mutisya is nominated to Parliament



1975-6: Slipping is not falling



(Part 2):

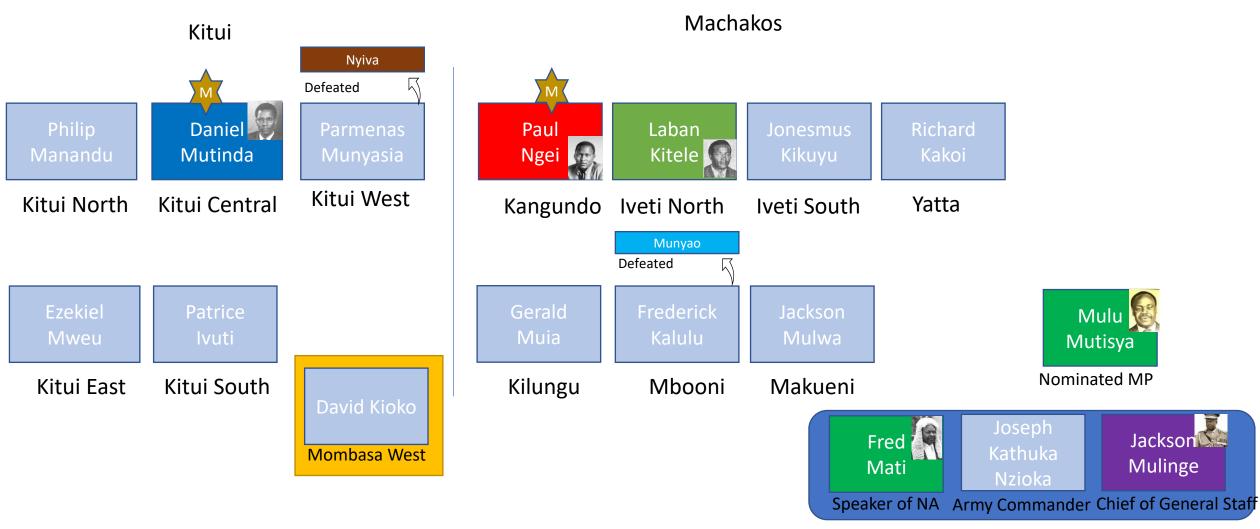


Ngei's election is nullified, barred. Constitution is changed on Kenyatta's orders to allow him to be pardoned. Re-elected in same seat, reappointed as minister. Two other MPs also nullified and barred and replaced in by-elections. Newcomers include 36-year-old Joseph Munyao in Mbooni and JD Kali returns.



Kamba Political History 1979 General Election

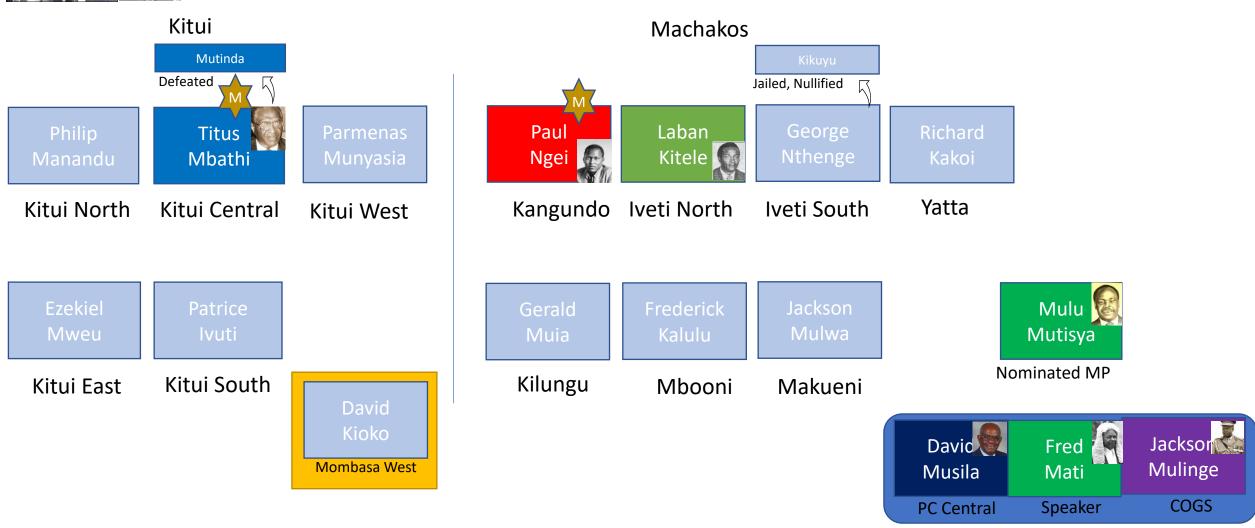




Moi's new broom sweeps away most MPs but both ministers survive and reappointed. Kamba David Kioka elected in Mombasa. Mulinge appointed Chief of General Staff and JK Nzioka Army Commander in 1978, but Nzioka dies soon after.







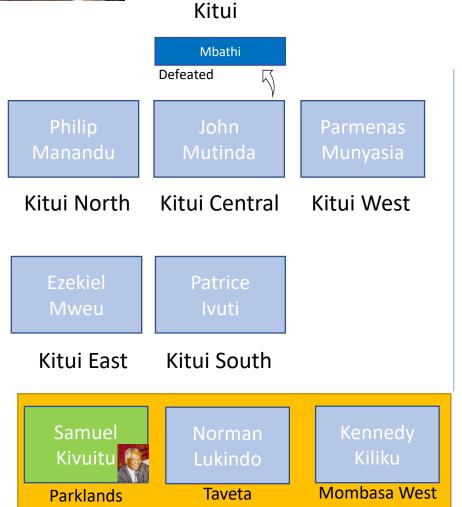
1980 Mutinda's election is nullified in an election petition. Titus Mbathi succeeds him and is also appointed a minister. JM Kikuyu jailed for commenting that Kibaki would one day become President

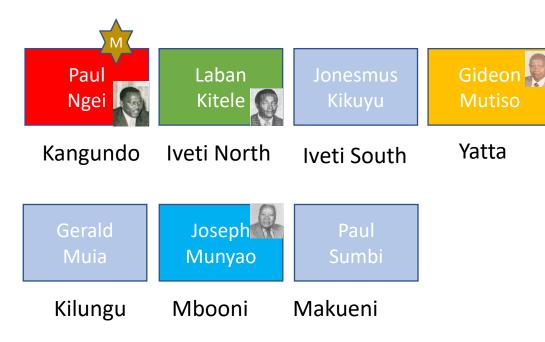


1983: Snap General Election



One Party State (Part 3): De Jure 1982-91





Machakos

David Mathew Fred Jackson Musila Muli Mati Mulinge

PC Central Attorney-General Speaker COGS

Mulu 🌋

Mutisya

Nominated MP

Mbathi is defeated (due to his Njonjo links) by Mutinda's brother John. Ngei is now only Kamba minister. Kitui in the cold. Gideon Munyao, freed from prison, returns to parliament. Mathew Muli (from Machakos) appointed Attorney General just before election



Parklands

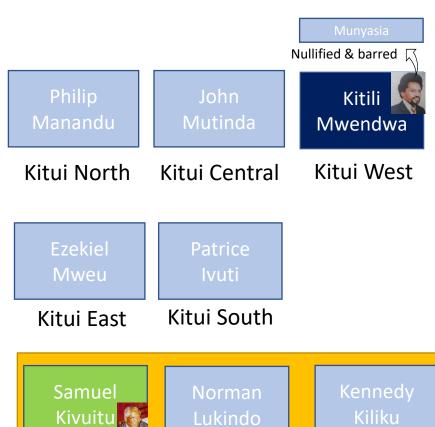
Kamba Political History

1984: By-Election

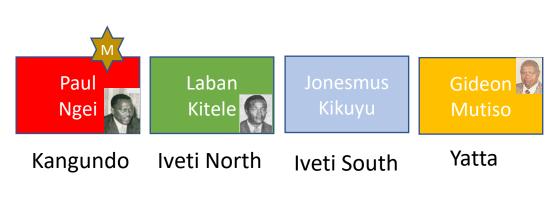


One Party State (Part 3): De Jure 1982-91



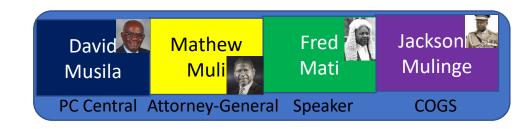


Taveta









Mombasa West



Parklands

Kamba Political History

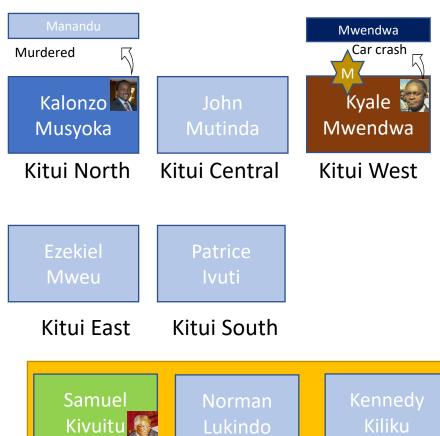
1985: By-Elections



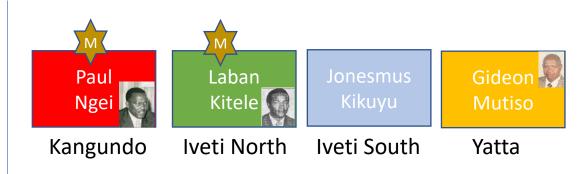
One Party State (Part 3): De Jure 1982-91

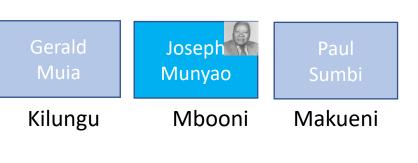


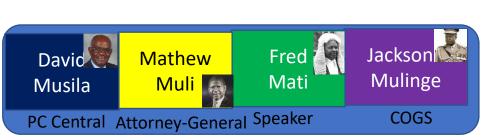
Mombasa West



Taveta







Mulu 🍯

Mutisya

Nominated MP

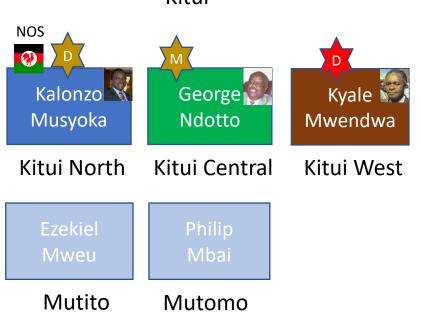
Kitili killed in car crash, replaced by his brother Kyale, appointed a minister. Kitui North MP murdered and replaced by young lawyer Kalonzo Musyoka, protégé of Mulu Mutisya. 1987 Laban Kitele appointed Minister alongside Ngei

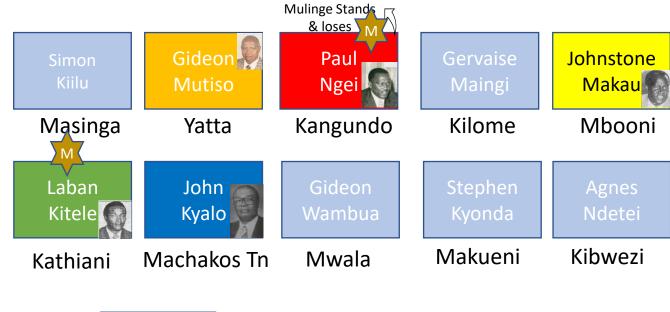


1988 (Public Queue Voting)



One Party State (Part 3): De Jure 1982-91





Machakos

Mulinge







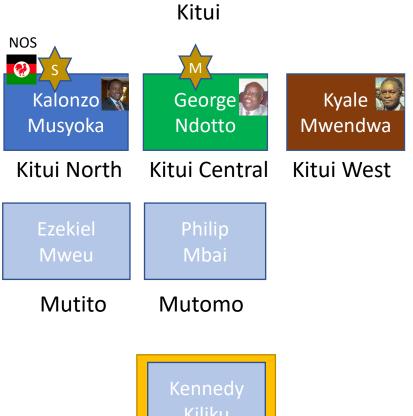
Boundary redistribution gives three more seats, all to Machakos. Ngei beats retired general Mulinge, Kyale Mwendwa elected but dropped, replaced as Kitui minister by newcomer George Ndotto while Ngei somehow endures in Machakos, alongside Kitele. Mati retires. Musyoka elected Deputy Speaker and KANU National Organising Secretary.



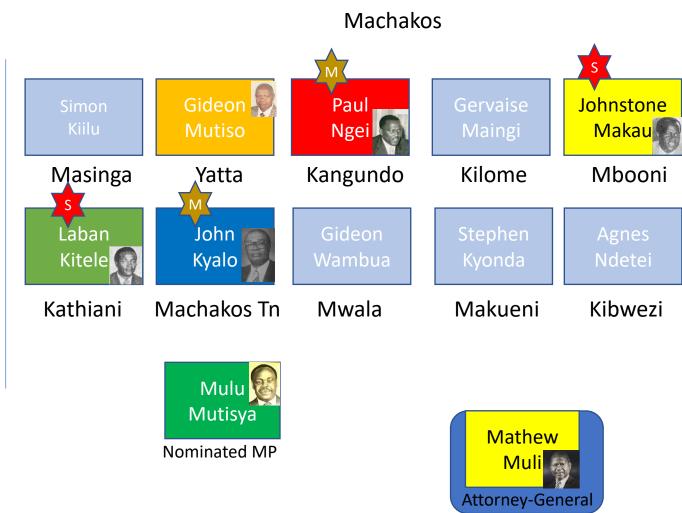
1989-90: reshuffles



One Party State (Part 3): De Jure 1982-91



Changamwe



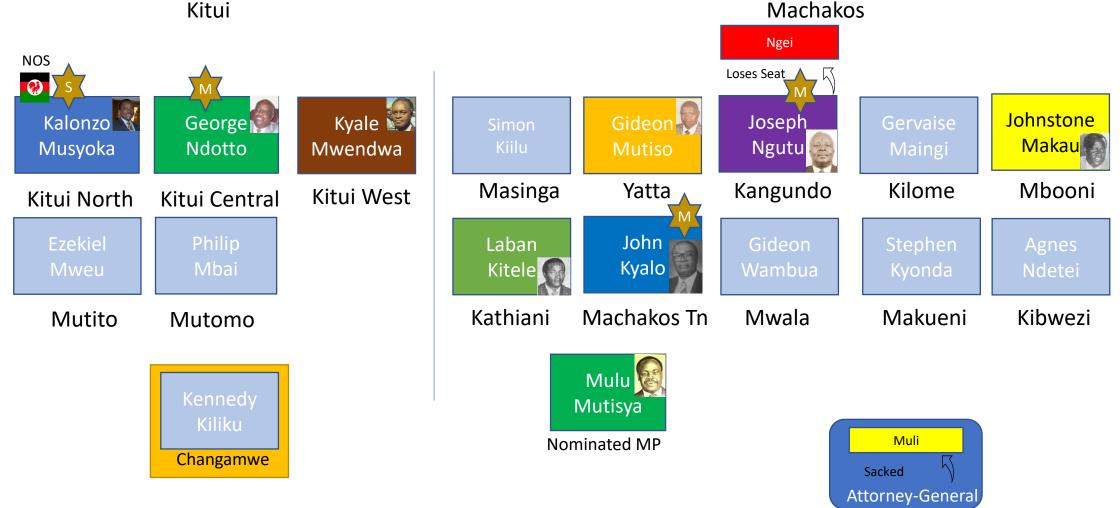
Kitele fired 1989. Makau appointed third Kamba minister then also sacked 1990, replaced by John Kyalo.



1990-91: Ngei declared Bankrupt



One Party State (Part 3): De Jure 1982-91

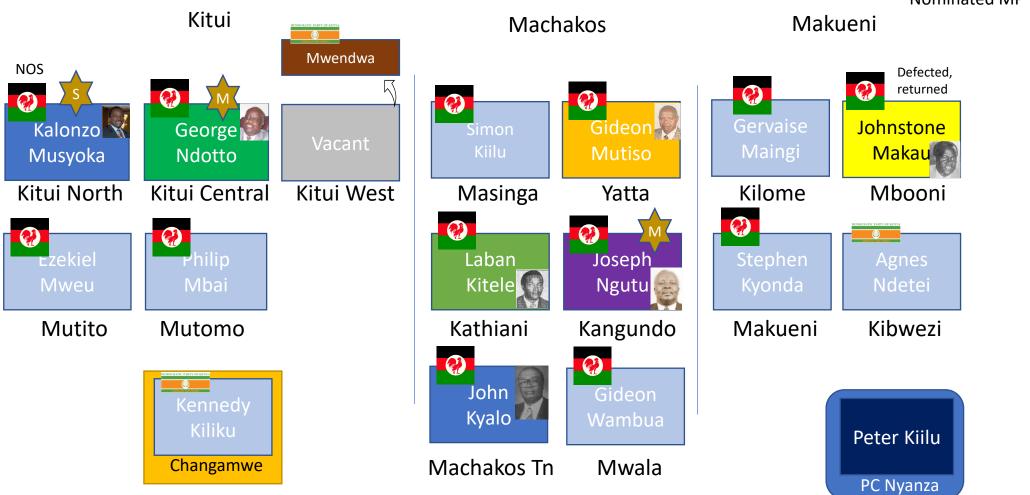




Late 1992: Multi-Partyism



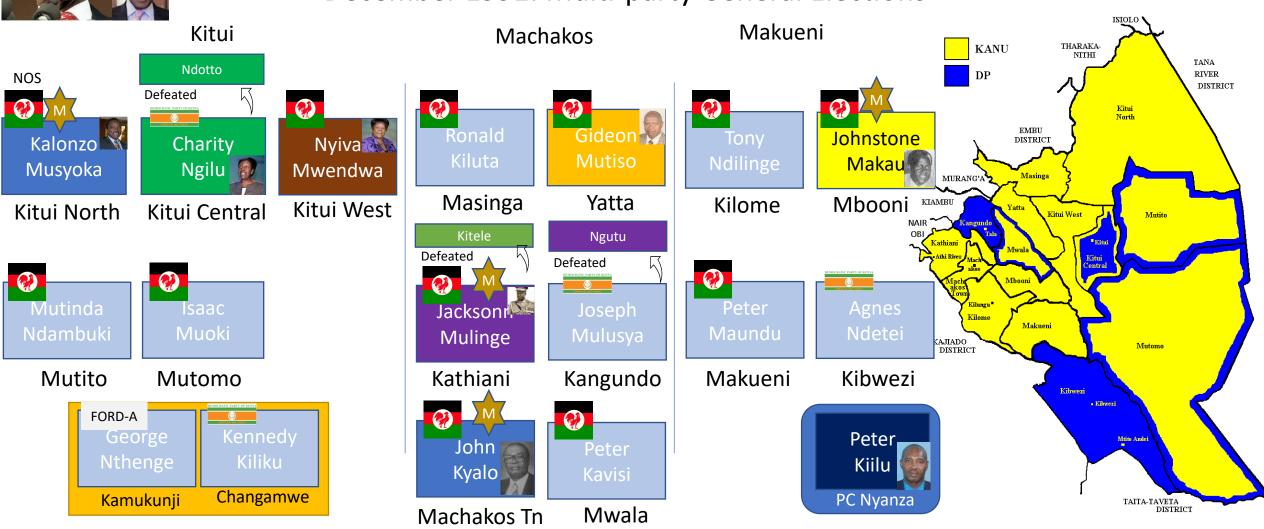




Queue voting is abolished 1991. Multi-party democracy returns Dec 1991. Makueni district created. As FORD and the DP emerge, a few MPs defect, the first group including Mwendwa losing their seats. But the Kamba remain a swing community. Many of the 'class of 88' remain loyal



December 1992: Multi-party General Elections

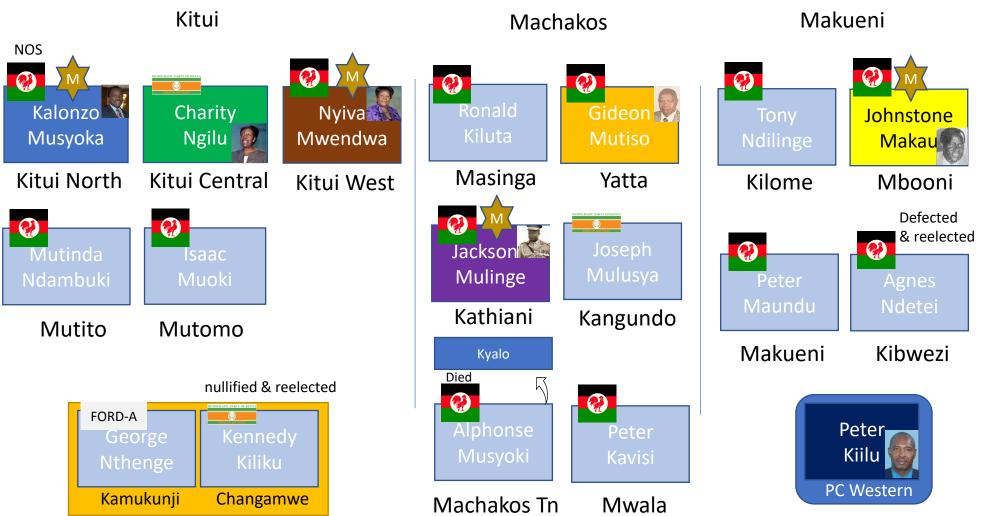


Dec 1992 elections KANU wins most seats, but many changes of members. Three KANU ministers ousted. Moi dominates in presidency but Kibaki wins five seats. In parliament, DP wins only three, some rigging against them. FORD-Asili and FORD-Kenya are invisible. Newcomers include Charity Ngilu in Kitui. Uniquely, Moi appoints four ministers from the region, including Musyoka and Mulinge. Mulu Mutisya retires.

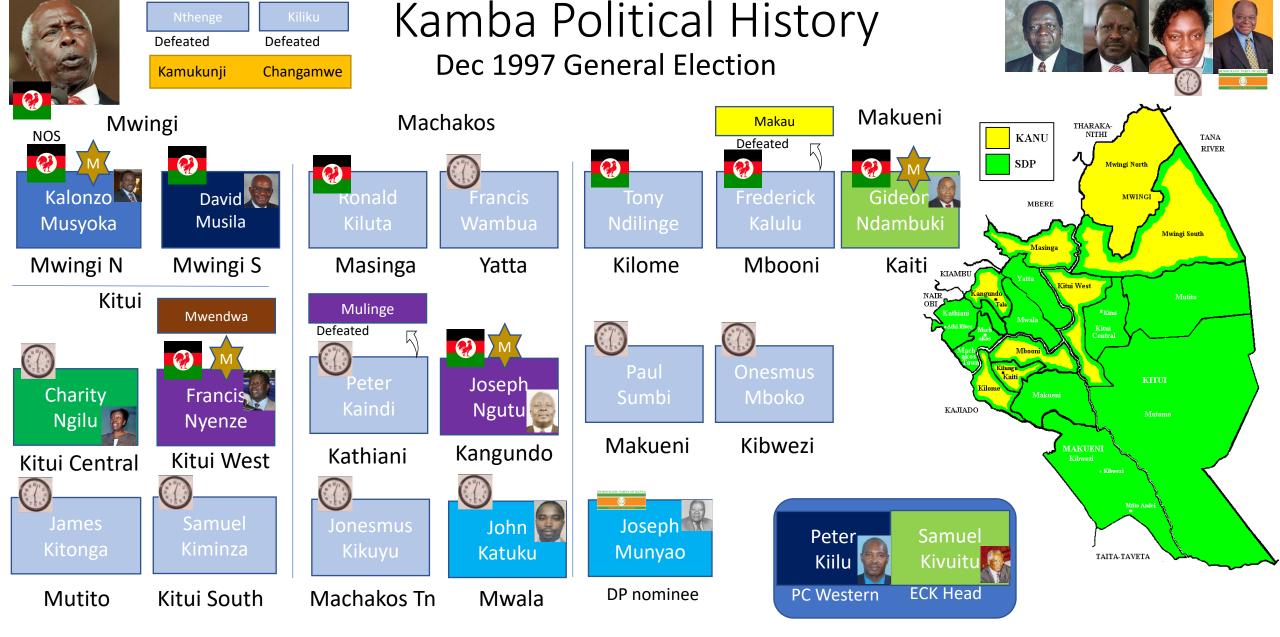




1995-6: By-elections and defections



Kyalo dies 1995, replace as Minister by Nyiva Mwendwa, Ukambani's first ever female minister.

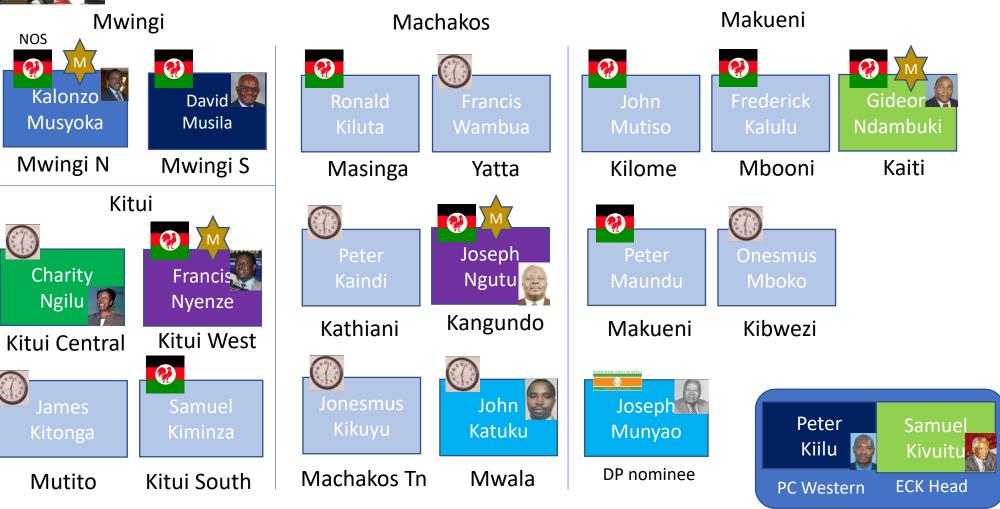


Boundary redistribution adds one seat to Makueni and one to Kitui. Mwingi district created. Kivuitu appointed Electoral Commission Chair. Ngilu si first serious Kamba presidential candidate. Moi beats divided opposition again but no majority in parliament. Ngilu and SDP (the "clock") dominate Ukambani in presidency and parliament and evidence of pro-KANU rigging in several MPs seats. Again 4 KANU Kamba ministers (one per district). David Musila (Ex-PC) joins Kalonzo in Mwingi



1999-2001: By-elections-death and defection

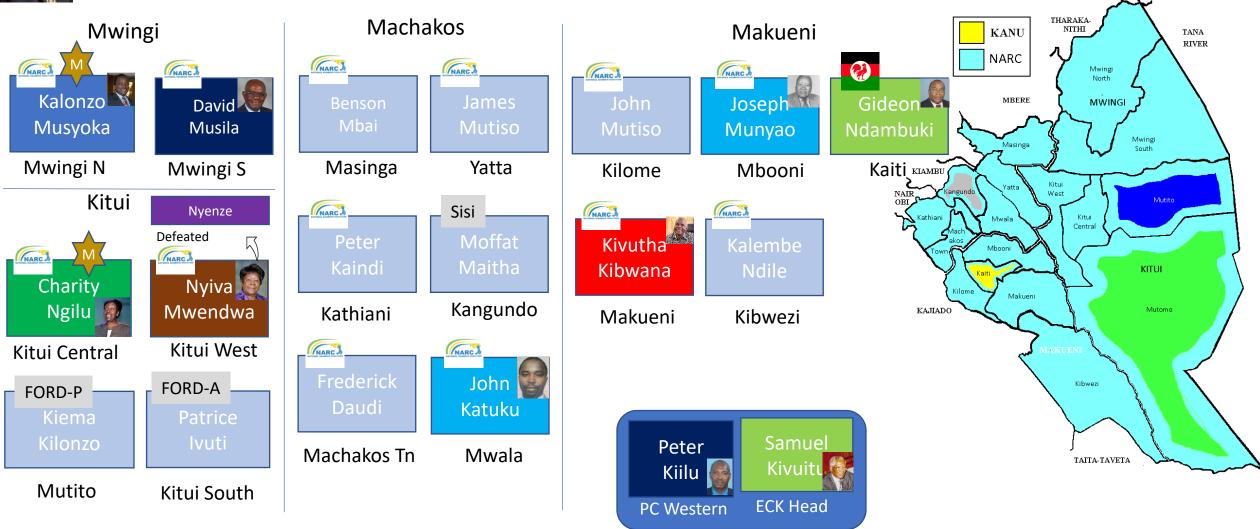






2002: Moi's Retirement, Kibaki Elected



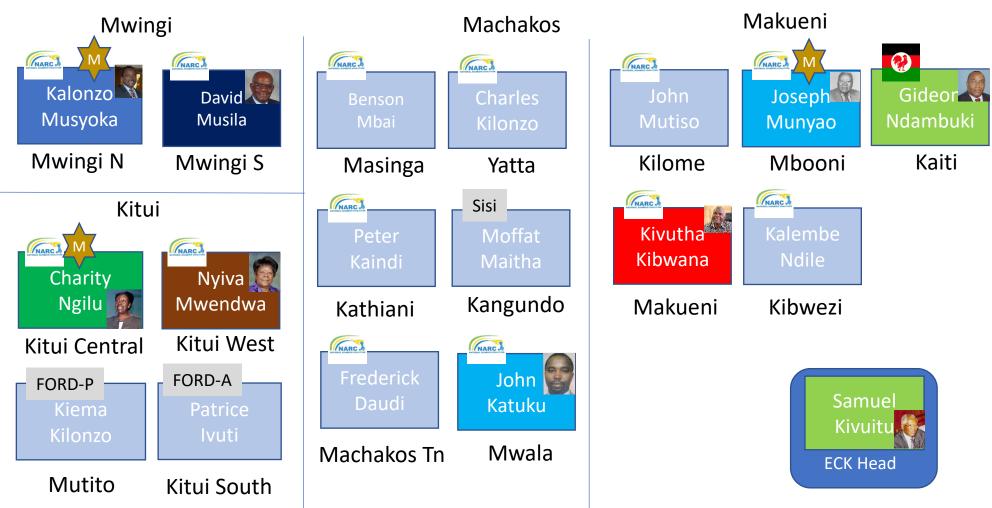


NARC is formed and most local politicians join up including Kalonzo. Kibaki, backed locally by both Ngilu and Kalonzo, defeats Uhuru Kenyatta.

NARC wins Ukambani overwhelmingly, with only one KANU MP surviving. Musyoka and Ngilu both made ministers in Kibaki's 'slimline' cabinet.



2003: One by-election, new minister

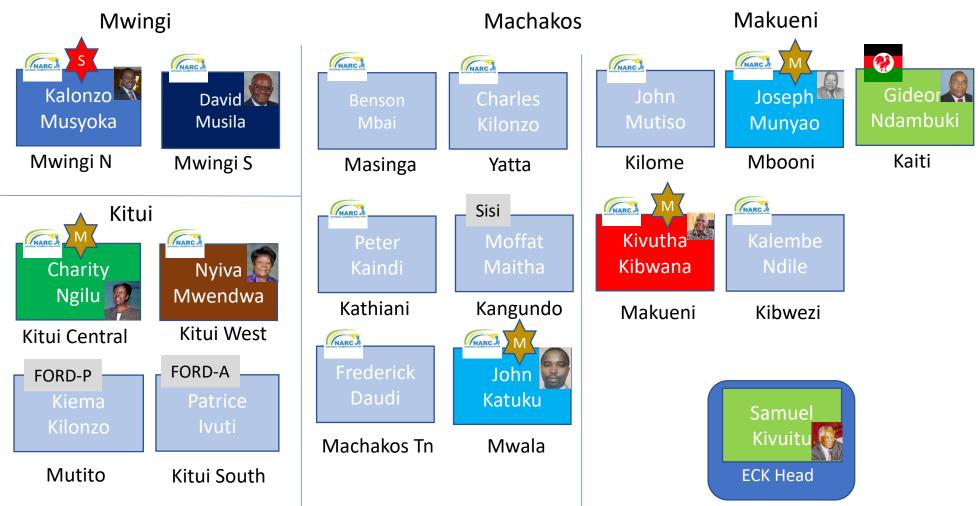


NARC government starts well but soon enters choppy political waters. 2003 Munyao appointed minister





Nov-Dec 2005: Govt Reconstruction

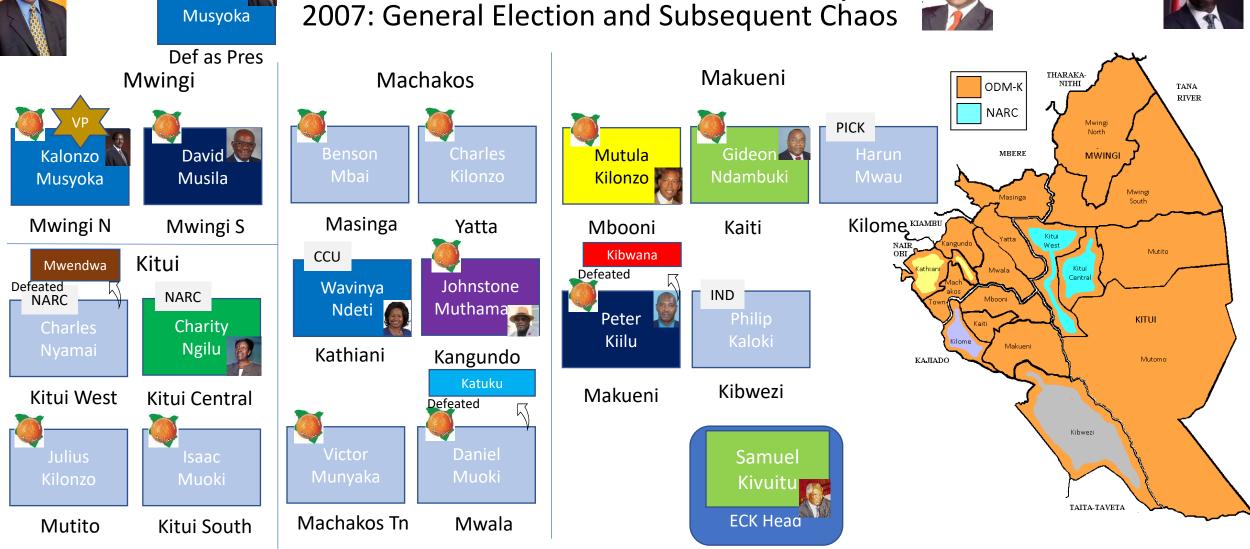


Wako referendum rejected nationwide and in Ukambani, which votes no ("Orange") in every constituency. Collapse of first Kibaki government. Musyoka amongst many orange leaders dropped as minister. Katuku (Ngilu ally) and Kibwana replace him. Ngilu remains in government until late 2007





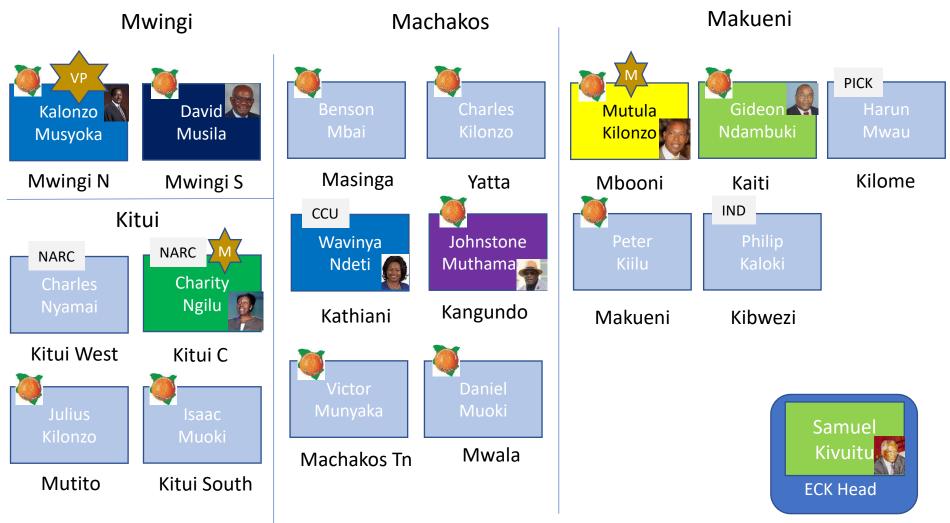




After an acrimonious split with Odinga, Musyoka goes it alone and in the December 2007 elections, he and his ODM-Kenya party wins every seat in Ukambani in the presidency and most parliamentary seats, but not much more. Newcomers include Wavinya Ndeti in Kathiani, Moi's old lawyer Mutula Kilonzo in Mbooni, wealthy gemstones dealer Johnstone Muthama in Kangundo and ex-PC Peter Kiilu in Makueni. Pro-Kibaki ministers Katuku, Kibwana defeated. Ngilu wins as NARC. Kenya burns. Musyoka joins Kibaki in a first brief coalition as his VP.



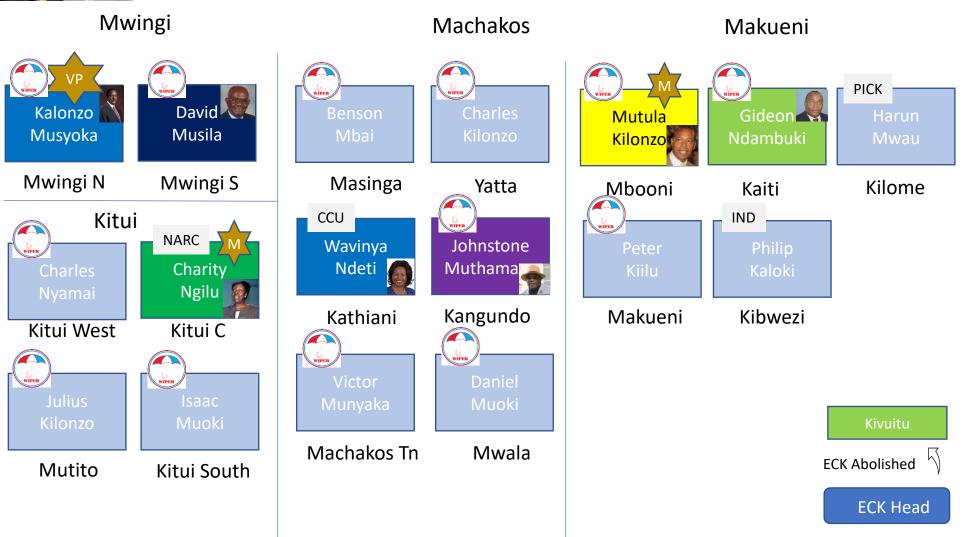
2008: Grand Coalition



Mutula Kilonzo (ODM-Kenya) and Ngilu (NARC) appointed ministers in the Kibaki-Odinga grand coalition alongside VP Musyoka



2011: ODM-K rebrands to Wiper Democratic Movement

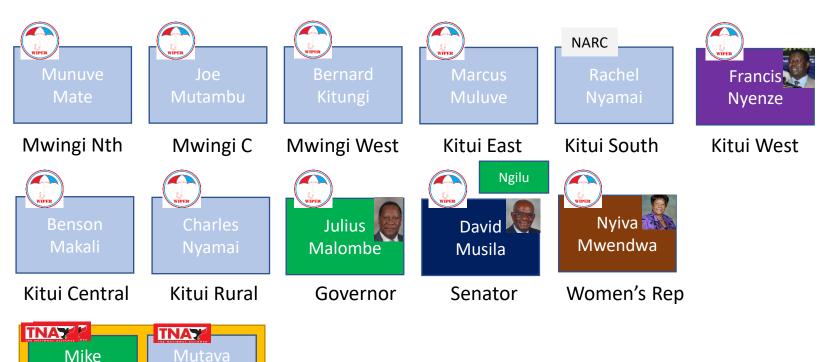






2013: New Constitution - Kitui







All Kamba elsewhere

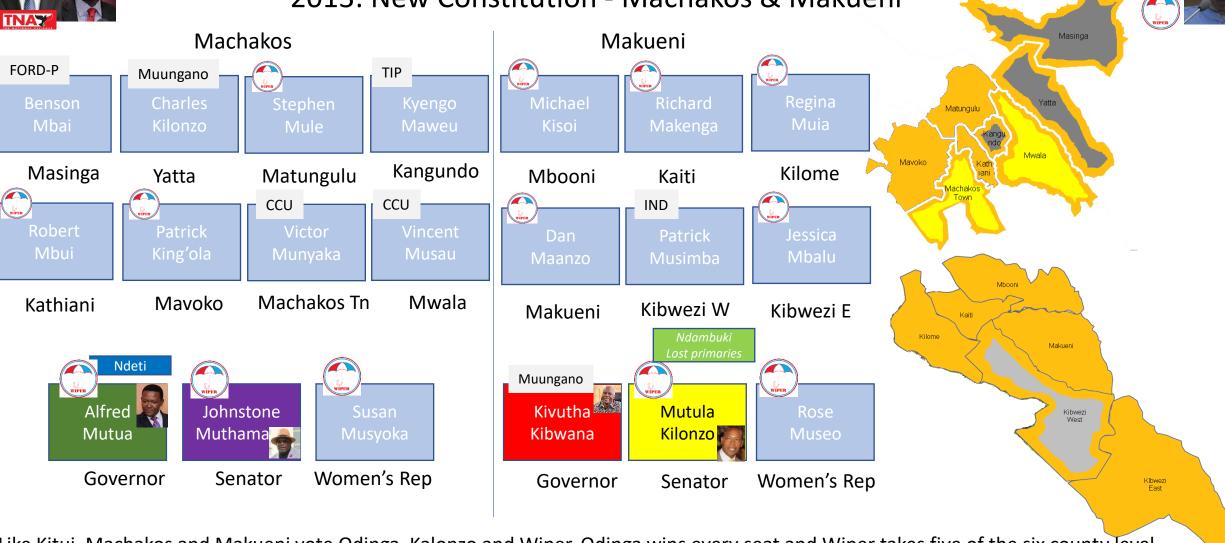
Mbeere South

Sonko 🌇

Nairobi Senator

New constitution, new boundaries, bicameral parliament, Governors. Two new seats for a reunited Kitui. Ministers (Cab Secs) no longer elected MPs. TNA and URP in alliance win the election. Musyoka allies with Raila as his Deputy President but loses and is out of office entirely. Kitui votes overwhelmingly for Odinga, Kalonzo and Wiper. Newcomer Malombe takes the governorship, Musila moves to the senate (beating Ngilu) and Nyiva Mwenda becomes the first women's rep. But Ngilu's deal with Uhuru and Ruto is delivered and she gets a cabinet position. Mike Sonko, whose family is from Ukambani (though he was born in Mombasa) becomes Nairobi senator





Like Kitui, Machakos and Makueni vote Odinga, Kalonzo and Wiper. Odinga wins every seat and Wiper takes five of the six county level positions (Kivutha Kibwana being the exception, on a personal vote), but six MP seats go to smaller parties, indicative of botched primaries. Newcomer Alfred Mutua becomes Machakos Governor and Muthama the Senator, as does Mutula Kilonzo in Makueni.





Governor



Kamba Political History

2013: By-elections



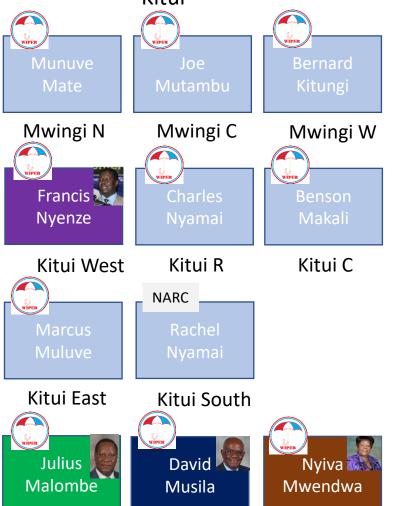
Mike

Sonko 🍒

TNA Mutavu Musyimi

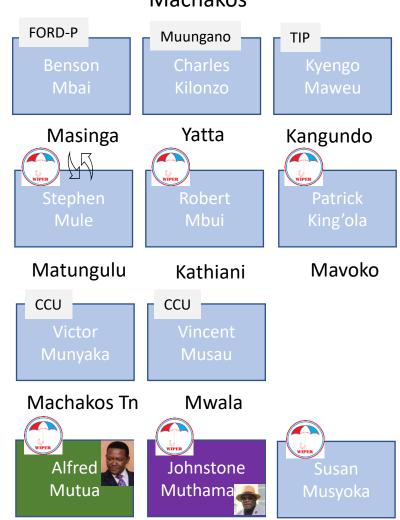






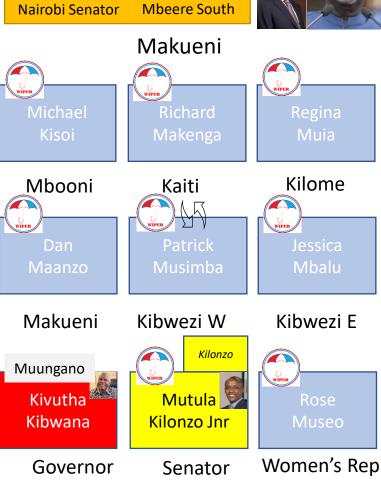
Senator

Women's Rep



Senator

Women's Rep



Kilonzo died, replaced by his son (also Wiper) in a by-election. Wiper wins two more by-elections after results nullified by courts

Governor



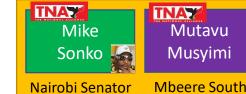


Governor

Cab Sec 2015-18

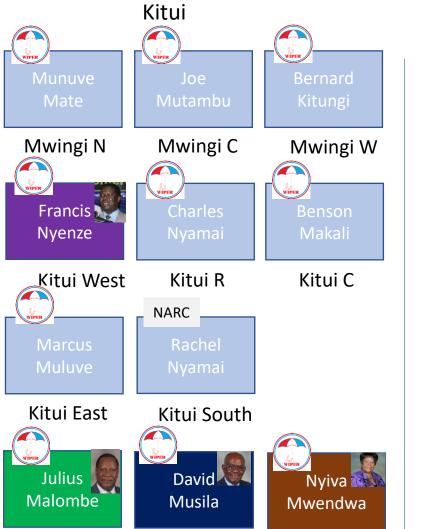
Kamba Political History

2015: new CS



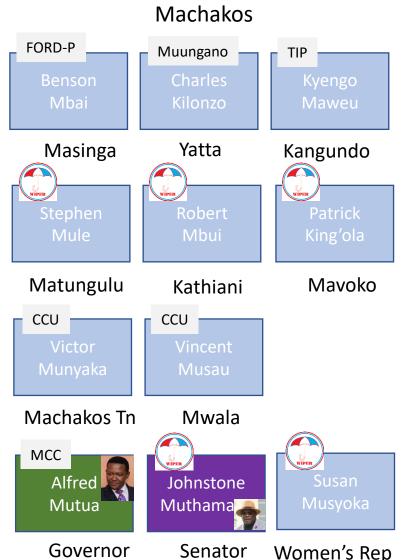


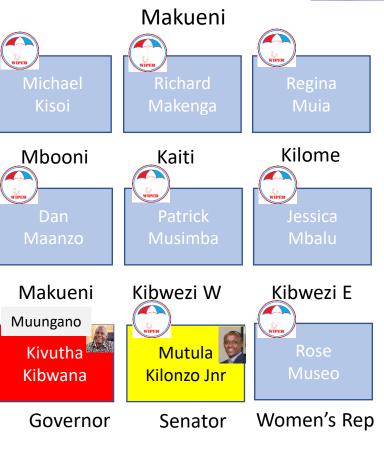




Senator

Women's Rep







Mike

Sonko 🍒

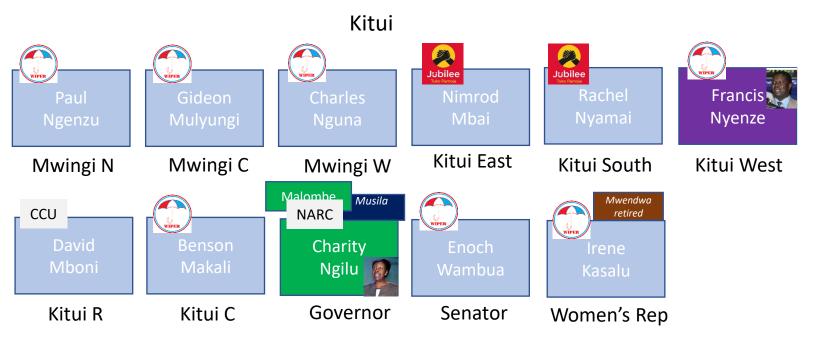
Nairobi Governor Embakasi South

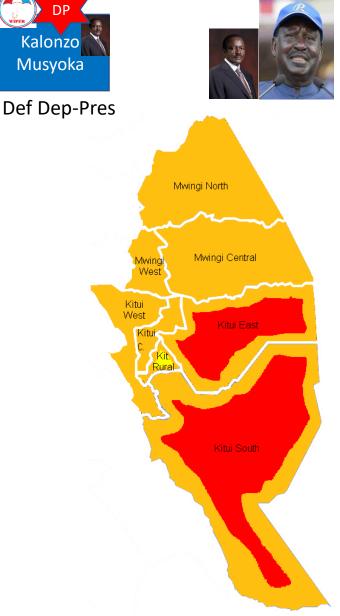




Kamba Political History

2017: Gen Elections - Kitui

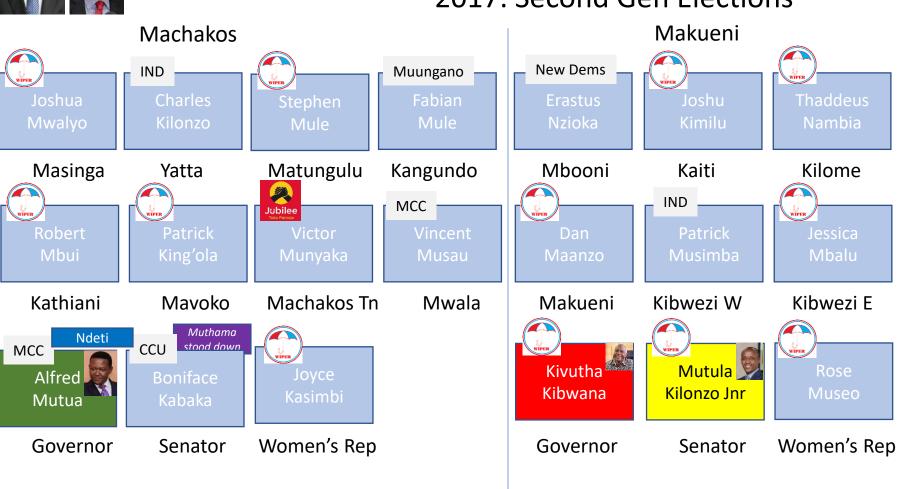


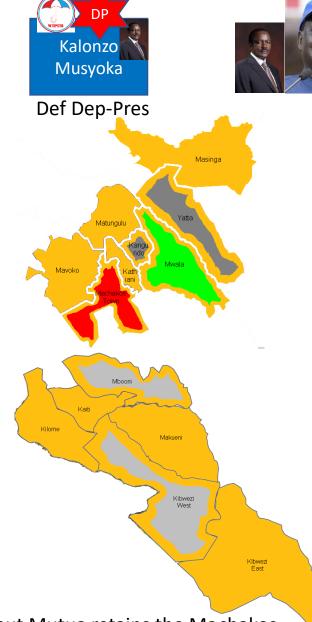


Wiper rejoins ODM in NASA but loses to the Jubilee alliance (of TNA and URP). Wiper wins most Kitui seats but in the governorship, Musila is denied the Wiper nomination for Malombe, stands as an independent and Ngilu is elected on a three-way split. Jubilee candidates win two seats in Kitui. Monica Juma (from Kitui) becomes CS once the repeat presidential polls are completed. Sonko wins Nairobi governorship



2017: Second Gen Elections





Raila and Kalonzo win all seats in the presidency. Wiper wins most other Machakos and Makueni seats, but Mutua retains the Machakos governorship, now for MCC. Kibwana is also re-elected, now for Wiper. Muthama, under pressure from pro-Kalonzo forces, stands down as Senator in protest.



Governor

Senator

Monica Juma Cab Sec

Women's Rep

Kamba Political History

2018-22: Handshake, Divorce, By-Elections

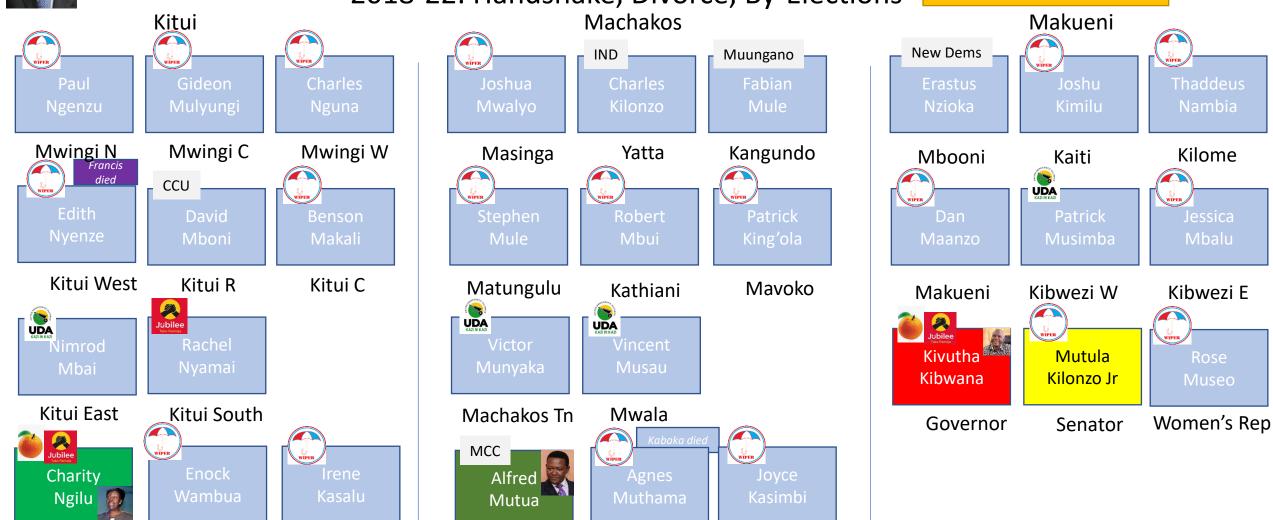
Sonko

Julius

Mawathe

Nairobi Governor Embakasi South





Kalonzo, aligned with neither Ruto nor Odinga and his new ally Kenyatta, drifts politically but remains in control of most of the Kamba vote. Sonko, friendly with Ruto, is impeached. Machakos Senator Kabaka dies and is replaced by Muthama's ex-wife Agnes. Muthama, now allied with Ruto, is defeated. Francis Nyenze also dies and is replaced by his wife Edith. Several Kamba MPs defect informally to UDA, while Ngilu and Kibwana both turn away from Kalonzo and join the Azimio bandwagon.

Senator

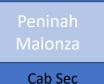
Women's Rep

Governor

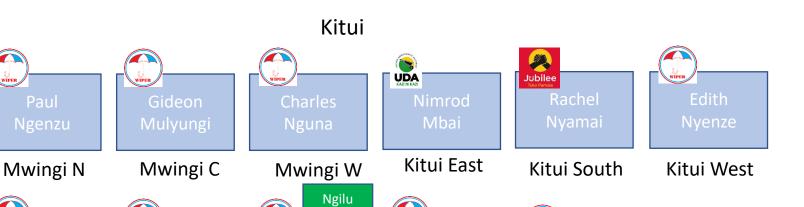




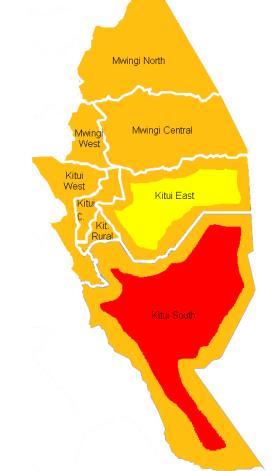
2022: Ruto's Revenge







Senator





Kitui R

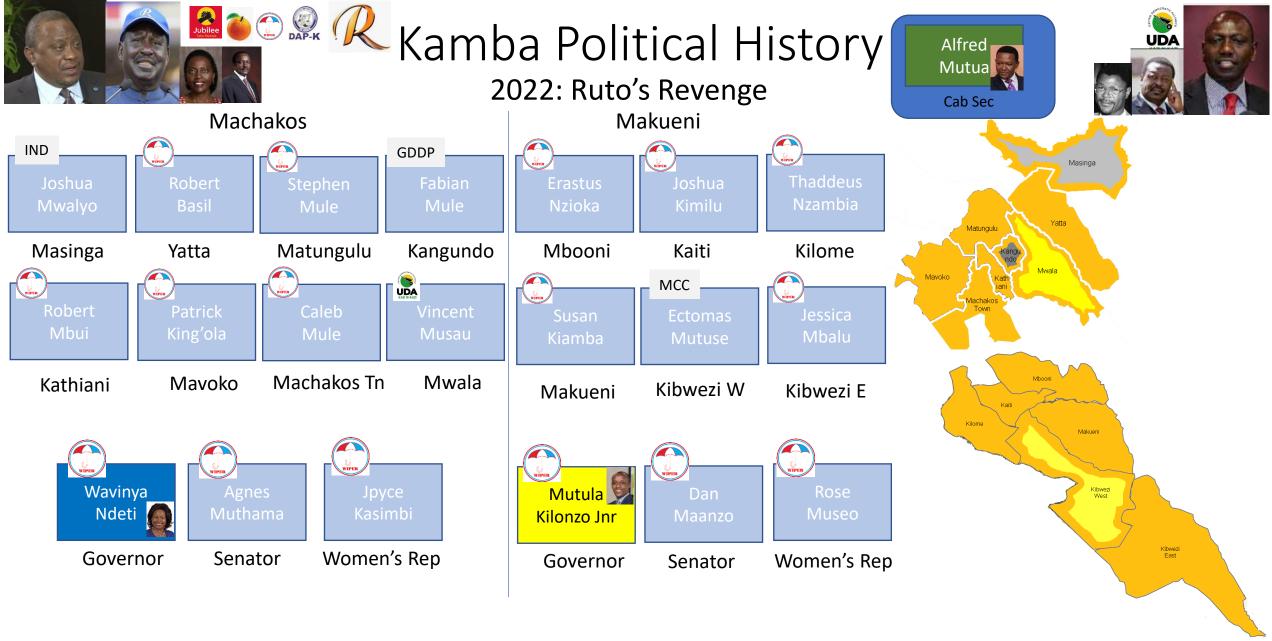


Julius 🎏 Malombe

Governor

Wiper eventually and grudgingly joins Azimio, but Kalonzo is no longer the deputy presidential candidate, as that must go to a Kikuyu (Karua). Sonko is barred from standing for Wiper in Mombasa. Ngilu stands down for Malombe for Wiper, promised a job again. No Wiper primaries. All MPs renominated without contest permitted and most are reelected. With Kalonzo without a seat at the table, Kitui still votes Odinga but with less enthusiasm (roughly 3-1). But Wiper sweeps every seat bar one, which UDA wins on a personal vote, and Nyamai who retains her seat for Jubilee. Juma stays on, now National Security Advisor (of cabinet rank) with little known CS Peninah Malonza (also from Kitui) now joining her.

Women's Rep



Azimio/Wiper sweep again. Odinga beats Ruto 3-1 in the presidency as in Kitui. Ndeti wins Governor of Machakos and Mutula Kilonzo Junior moves from Senator to Makueni governor. Mutua's MCC wins only one seat, but after Ruto's narrow victory, Mutua gets the Cabinet Secretary seat he was promised. Muthama, easily defeated by Ndeti, does not. One UDA MPs elected on a personal vote.