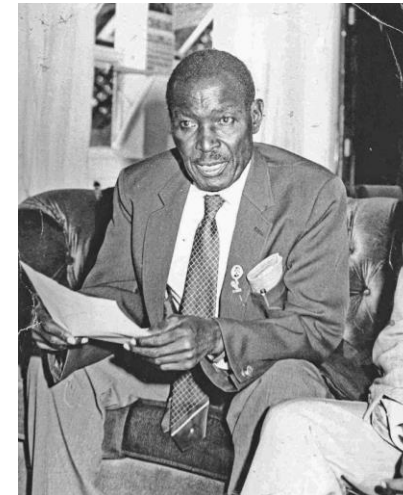


A Political History of Kakamega and Vihiga

As told through their elected representatives, 1957-2023



Charles Hornsby
September 2023



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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

Kakamega Political History

At Independence and today

At independence, Kakamega district was populated almost entirely by Baluhya-speakers, a complex and diverse Bantu language community (mostly mutually intelligible) which is generally considered as having 18 subtribes or subgroups. Kakamega – previously known as North Kavirondo, then North Nyanza – contained at least 11 Luhya-speaking groups, including the Maragoli, Tachoni, Idakho, Isukha, Wanga, Kabras, Tsotso, Banyala wa Ndombi, Tiriki, Kisa and Marama. The Maragoli were the most numerous and most developed community economically, while the Wanga had prospered under colonial rule, having joined early British pacification raids and their Chief Mumia had ruled for more than a decade over all the Luhya. There were also smaller populations of Luo in Butere and a few Nandi in the east, where regional boundaries and ethnic affiliations did not precisely match.

Most of the district was previously a colonial African reserve, to which was added at independence part of the “white highlands”, later known as Lugari, a settlement area with migrants from different communities, although Luhya were dominant.

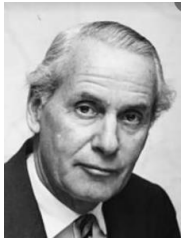
The area was densely populated and agriculturally dominated, with subsistence agriculture the primary means of living. There was also small-scale commercial sugar cane production, which expanded dramatically in the 1970s and early 80s. The region remains today predominately agricultural and is now relatively poor, with population growth not matched with indigenous or external investment and significant migration to Nairobi and elsewhere.

Vihiga district came into existence in 1989, when the densely populated southern part of the district was carved off from Kakamega.

In the sixty-two years since the region elected its first representative, in the roughly 200 electoral contests tracked here, **not one single woman** has been elected (apart from those who won the reserved Women Representative seats created in the 2010 constitution).

Kakamega Political History

1957: The First Vote for an elected African



Governor
Renison

Africans

IND

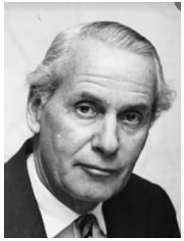
Masinde
Muliro

North Nyanza

Following racially segregated elections for other communities in 1956, in 1957, the African constituency of “North Nyanza” (covering most Luhya-speaking areas including Kakamega) is established and won by Bukusu ex-teacher Masinde Muliro (See my earlier *Bukusu Political History*). There were few non-Africans in the region, as not considered suitable for European settlement and without large urban areas.

Kakamega Political History

1958: 6 more African constituencies



Governor
Renison

Idakho



Specially Elected

Africans



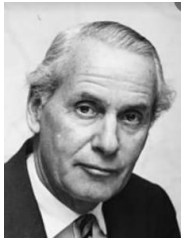
North Nyanza




In 1958, six more African seats are created and elections held, but North Nyanza is unaffected and Muliro remains the only elected Luhya politician. By 1959, however, the district has been split administratively into two: Elgon Nyanza and North Nyanza. The future Kakamega district already has representation of sorts, however, as Musa Amalemba (an Idakho journalist, Nairobi city councilor and advocate of multiracialism) is chosen as a specially elected MP in 1958 and joins the government as Minister for Housing 1958-61, breaking the boycott of government posts by elected Legco members.

Kakamega Political History

Feb 1961: The Kenyatta Election



Governor Ronald Renison
Ronald Ngala (KADU)

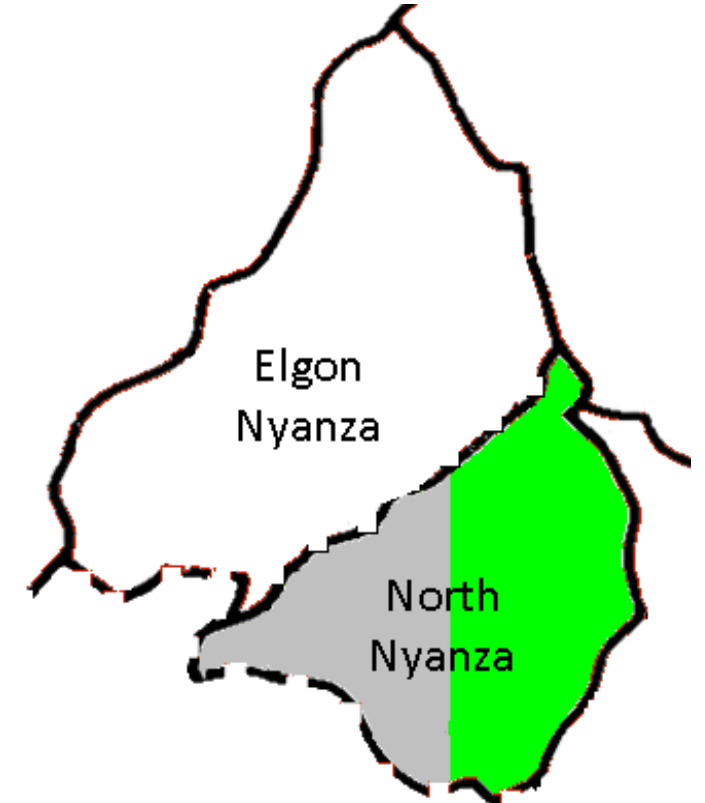
BPU *Idakho*

Musa Amalemba

North Nyanza

 *Bunyore*

Eric Khasakhala

North Nyanza



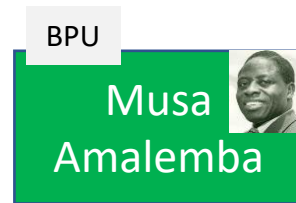
With national political parties permitted and the formation of KANU and KADU in 1960, African politics takes on a more structured form. In the 1961 “Kenyatta election”, the racial seats remain but are structured into geographical areas where non-Africans are more numerous. There is little impact here as none of the minority races are well-represented. Muliro continued as Legco member for Elgon Nyanza, but the new seat of North Nyanza is won not by KANU or KADU but by the now leader of the Baluhya Political Union (BPU) Musa Amalemba, parlaying his ministerial status into an elected post. The second elected seat in this unusual multimember constituency goes to KADU’s Edward Khasakhala, a Bunyore teacher and ally of Muliro. KADU takes office in the subsequent minority government and Amalemba joins them as a parliamentary secretary (junior minister).



Renison Kenyatta Ngala

Kakamega Political History

Apr 1962-63: Coalition Government



North Nyanza



North Nyanza

In the coalition government of May 1962-3, little changes in Kakamega. Kenyatta joins Ngala as joint leaders, both taking the title of Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs. Amalemba remains a parliamentary secretary.












Governor Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya
Macdonald (KANU)

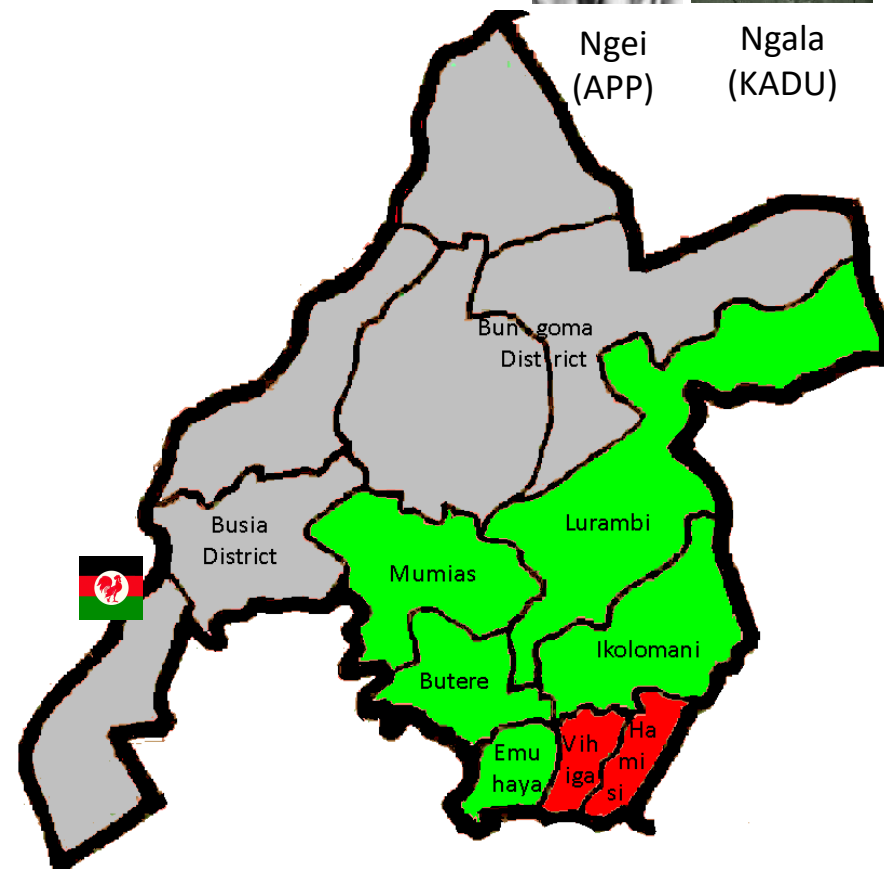
Kakamega Political History

1963: For Self-Government



Ngei (APP) Ngala (KADU)

 <i>Marama</i> <div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: #d9e1f2; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Alfred Tsalwa </div> <p>Senator</p>	 <i>Tachoni</i> <div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: #d9e1f2; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Jonathan Masinde </div> <p>Lurambi</p>	<div style="background-color: #008000; color: white; padding: 2px; text-align: center; font-weight: bold;">Amalemba</div> <p>Defeated</p>  <i>Isukha</i> <div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: #d9e1f2; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Jonathan Muruli </div> <p>Ikolomani</p>	 <i>Wanga</i> <div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: #d9e1f2; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Abraham Mulama </div> <p>Mumias</p>
 <i>Marama</i> <div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: #ff0000; color: white; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Martin Shikuku </div> <p>Butere</p>	 <i>Bunyore</i> <div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: #00b0f0; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Eric Khasakhala </div> <p>Emuhaya</p>	  <i>Maragoli</i> <div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: #6a329f; color: white; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Joseph Otiende </div> <p>Vihiga</p>	 <i>Maragoli</i> <div style="border: 1px solid black; background-color: #d9e1f2; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Stanley Godia </div> <p>Hamisi</p>



In the new common roll, bicameral system, the densely populated Kakamega has seven house representatives and a senator. Constituencies roughly align to sub-ethnic groups but some seats remain multi-ethnic. The district gains some ex-white highlands to the north east of Lurambi. KANU wins nationwide, but in the Luhya, KADU dominates. KANU win only two seats and JD Otiende (from the Maragoli, the largest group in the district) is an easy choice as Kenyatta's "Luhya minister" in the new government. Newcomers include young firebrand Martin Shikuku, while Amalemba is humiliated and leaves politics.

Kakamega Political History

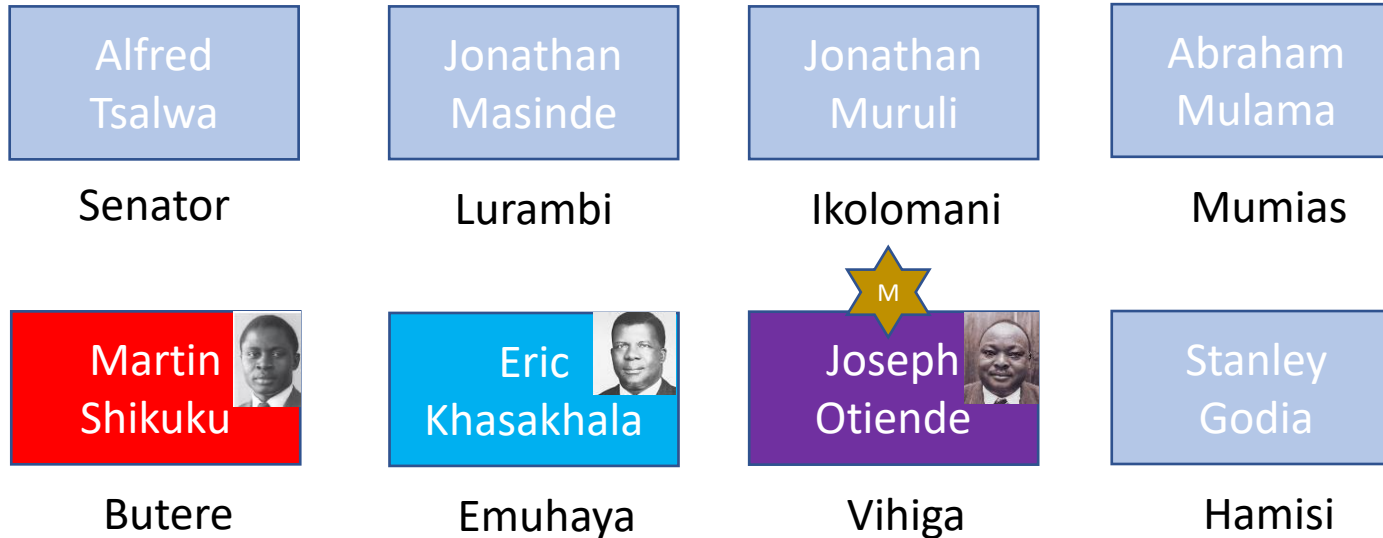
Dec 1964: Republican Constitution



One Party State
(Part 1):
1964-66



Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya
(KANU)



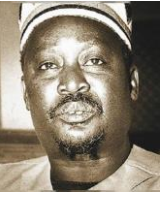
Although the Luhya leadership holds firm, elsewhere KADU is weakened by defections. In November 1964, an increasingly irrelevant KADU folds to join KANU. In December, the Republic is established with Kenyatta as President and regionalism ends. Muliro remains a backbencher and his team do not progress politically.

Kakamega Political History

1966 KPU



Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya
(KANU)



Senator



Lurambi



Ikolomani



Mumias



KANU Nat
Executive Officer



Butere



Emuhaya



Vihiga



Hamisi

The 1966 KPU rebellion has limited effect among Kakamega Luhya MPs; none defect, there are no by-elections, and none receive Ministerial office in the resulting reshuffle. However Khasakhala becomes KANU Western Province Vice President at the 1966 Limuru Conference while John O'Washika (also from the region), is National Executive Officer for the party by 1965.

Kakamega Political History

1969 General Election



One Party State
(Part 2):
1969-82

Idakho
Isaac
Lugonzo
Mayor of Nairobi

Kakamega Census 1969:
Luhya 748,528 96%
Luo 13,490 2%
Nandi 8,416 1%
Others 12,152 2%

Tachoni
Burudi
Nabwera

Lurambi North

Batsotso
Brown
Tsuma

Lurambi South

Idakho
Seth
Lugonzo

Ikolomani

NEO *Wanga*
John O'
Washika

Mumias

Marama
Martin
Shikuku

Butere

VP Western *Bunyore*
Eric
Khasakhala

Emuhaya

Otiende
Defeated *Maragoli*
Peter
Kibisu

Vihiga

Tiriki
James
Onamu

Hamisi

1967 Senate abolished and boundary redistribution adds one seat to each district. In 1969, the KPU is banned; return of one-party state. In the one-party elections, Otiende and most others are defeated and Otiende retires from politics. Newcomers include ex-Odinga ally and Ambassador to the US and UN Burudi Nabwera, trade unionist Peter Kibisu and ex-EA Leg Assembly O'Washika. None receive ministerial office, which goes to Muliro from Bungoma. In the same period, Isaac Lugonzo (from Ikolomani) is mayor of Nairobi.

Kakamega Political History

1970-73: By-elections



One Party State
(Part 2):
1969-82

Isaac
Lugonzo
Mayor of Nairobi

VP
West
ern



Eric
Khasakhala



O'Washika

Died



Francis
Obongita

Mumias

Brown
Tsuma

Lurambi South

Khasakhala

Defeated



Wilson
Mukuna

Emuhaya

Seth
Lugonzo

Ikolomani

Peter
Kibisu

Vihiga

James
Onamu

Hamisi

Burudi
Nabwera

Lurambi North

Martin
Shikuku

Butere



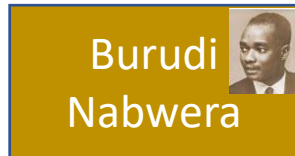
1970, Khasakhala's election is annulled and he loses the resulting rematch to Wilson Mukuna. In 1972, O'Washika dies and is replaced by a 1973 by-election by Francis Obongita.

Kakamega Political History

1974 General Election

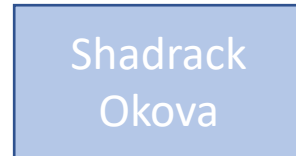


Tachoni



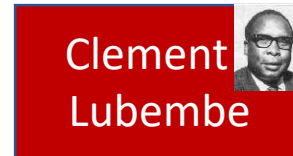
Lurambi North

Banyala wa Ndombi



Lurambi South

Isukha



Ikolomani

Wanga



Mumias

VP
West
ern



Marama



Butere

Bunyore



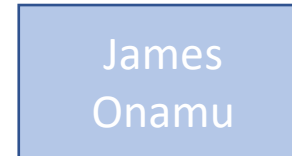
Emuhaya

Maragoli



Vihiga

Tiriki



Hamisi


1974 election, Kibisu, Shikuku and Nabwera all return and are joined by veteran trade unionist and ex-Nairobi senator Clement Lubembe. Khasakhala loses again to Mukuna but remains Western KANU VP. Nabwera and Shikuku, who have been assistant minister since 1969, are both dropped, indicating extreme displeasure at their activism and alignment with JM Kariuki. Again, no ministerial office



Kakamega Political History

1975-76 Kariuki Murder and KANU is dead



Burudi Nabwera 

Lurambi North

Shikuku

Prison

Richard Litunya


Butere

Shadrack Okova

Lurambi South

Wilson Mukuna

Emuhaya

Clement Lubembe 

Ikolomani

Kibisu

Prison

Moses Mudavadi 

Vihiga

Francis Obongita

Mumias

James Onamu

Hamisi

1975 Kikuyu presidential contender J.M. Kariuki is murdered by state security officers. Kibisu joins Masinde Muliro in voting against the government and is immediately sacked and soon after imprisoned. The government teeters. In 1975-6, the state cracks down on dissent and after Shikuku's comment in Parliament that 'KANU is dead', he is detained without trial until 1978. Both are replaced in by-elections, Kibisu by Moi's old friend Moses Mudavadi. In 1978, Khasakhala's position of regional KANU VP is abolished.



Kakamega Political History

1979 General Election



Nabwera

Defeated

Kabras

Joshua
Angatia



Lurambi North

Lubembe

Defeated

Isukha

Jeremiah
Murila

Ikolomani

Elon
Wameyo

Mumias

Wycliffe
Ndombi

Lurambi South

Banyala wa Ndongi

Wanga

Kakamega Census 1979:

Luhya	975,225	95%
Luo	23,364	2%
Kalenjin	10,489	1%
Others	21,809	2%

Marama

Martin
Shikuku

Butere

Bunyore

Eric
Khasakhala

Emuhaya

Maragoli

Moses
Mudavadi

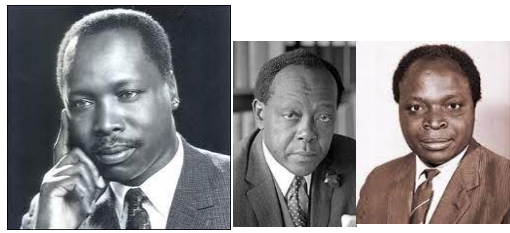
Vihiga

Tiriki

James
Onamu

Hamisi

Moi's first election sees divergent trends. Mudavadi is re-elected with his support and soon after becomes Kakamega's first Minister since 1969 and dominant figure in the region, but critics elected include a reinvigorated Shikuku, freed by Moi in 1978, and Joshua Angatia, who defeats Nabwera. Khasakhala returns in Emuhaya.



Kakamega Political History

1980-82: No change



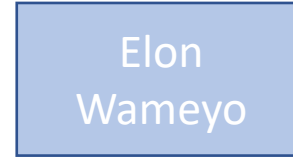
Lurambi North



Lurambi South



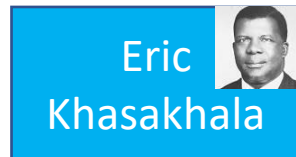
Ikolomani



Mumias



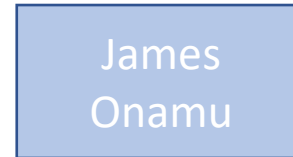
Butere



Emuhaya

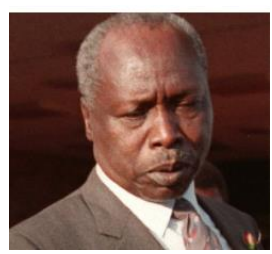


Vihiga



Hamisi

Despite the political ferment surrounding the reestablishment of the one party state, Njonjo's bid for power and the 1982 coup, little changes in the Kakamega leadership. Shikuku is an uncomfortable Assistant Minister once more.



Kakamega Political History

1983: Snap General Election



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

Kabras

Joshua
Angatia



Lurambi North

Batsotso

Reuben
Otutu

Lurambi South

Idakho

Seth
Lugonzo

Ikolomani

Wanga

Elon
Wameyo

Mumias

Marama

Martin
Shikuku



Butere

Bunyore

Eric
Khasakhala



Emuhaya

Maragoli

M

Moses
Mudavadi



Vihiga

Tiriki

Samson
M'Maitsi

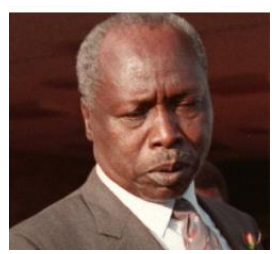
Hamisi

Maragoli

Philemon
Indire

Nominated MP

Njonjo's fall after the 1982 coup is followed by a snap general election, but little changes in Kakamega. Mudavadi continues as Minister and his star continues to rise.



Kakamega Political History

1984-5: Manoeuvres and Reshuffles



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

Joshua
Angatia



Lurambi North

Reuben
Otutu



Lurambi South

Seth
Lugonzo

Ikolomani

Elon
Wameyo

Mumias


Sec-Gen  Burudi
Nabwera 

Martin
Shikuku



Butere

Eric
Khasakhala



Emuhaya

 Moses
Mudavadi 

Vihiga

Samson
M'Maitsi

Hamisi

Maragoli
Philemon
Indire

Nominated MP


In 1984, as the political system tightens, ex-MPs Lubembe and Litunya are expelled from KANU for association with Njonjo. In 1985 Shikuku is finally sacked as an assistant minister. In the 1985 KANU elections, Mudavadi ally and hardliner Nabwera re-emerges as KANU Secretary-General.


Kakamega Political History

1988 (Public Queue Voting)



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

Sec-Gen  *Tachoni*

Burudi Nabwera 

Lugari

Kabras

Joshua Angatia 

Malava

Banyala wa Ndombi

Wasike Ndombi

Lurambi

Idakho

Seth Lugonzo

Ikolomani

Khasakhala

Defeated *Bunyore* ↗

Sammy Muhanji

Emuhaya

 *Maragoli*

Moses Mudavadi 

Sabatia

Isukha

Japheth Lijoodi 

Shinyalu

Wanga

Elon Wameyo

Mumias

Shikuku

Rigged out *Kisa* ↗

Jesse Opembe

Butere

Maragoli

Bahati Semo

Vihiga

Tiriki

Samson M'Maitsi

Hamisi

Maragoli

Jarius Akibaya

Nominated MP

With Mudavadi ascendant, the decennial boundary redistribution adds three seats (splitting Vihiga, Lurambi North and Ikolomani), and most seats are renamed. In rigged primaries and general elections Angatia survives but Shikuku is rigged out. Mudavadi and opponent-turned-ally Semo are both unopposed. Nabwera is 'elected' in Lugari at the primary stage. Mudavadi continues to have his Maragoli nominated MP.



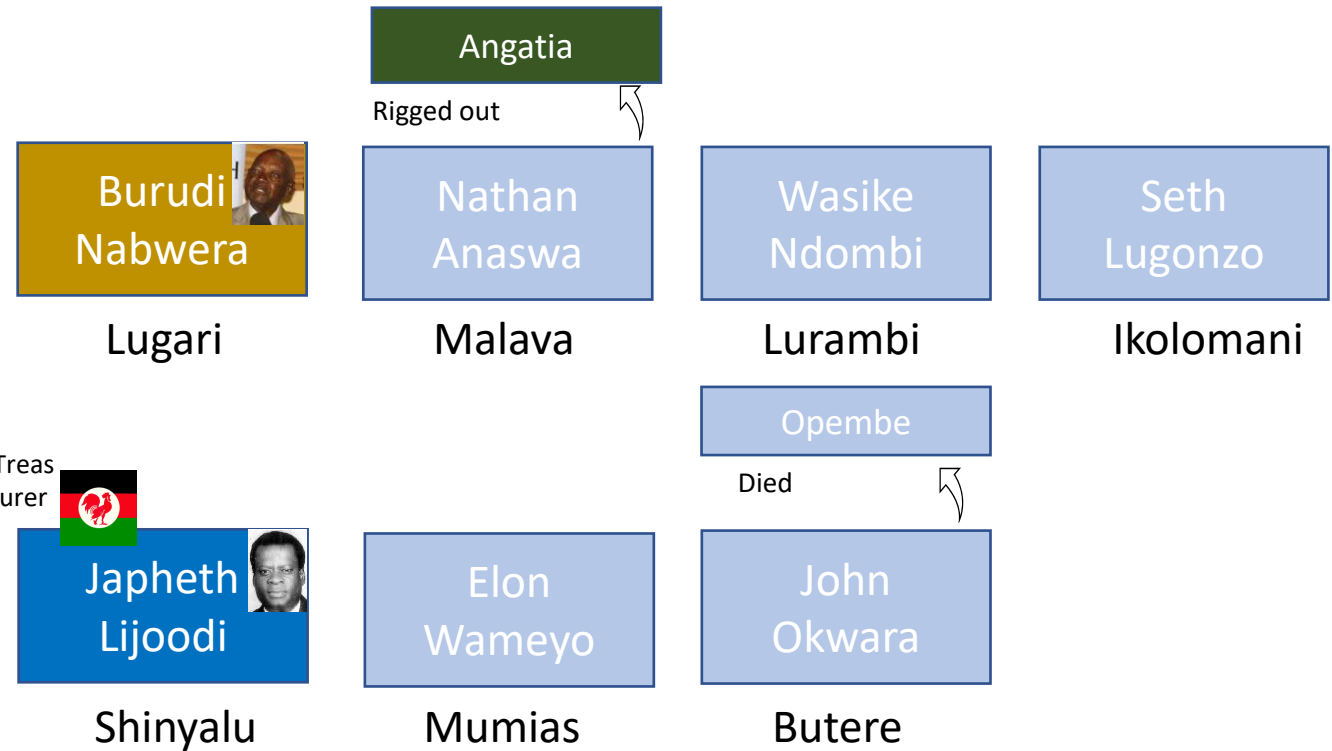
Kakamega and Vihiga

1988-90: Times of Change

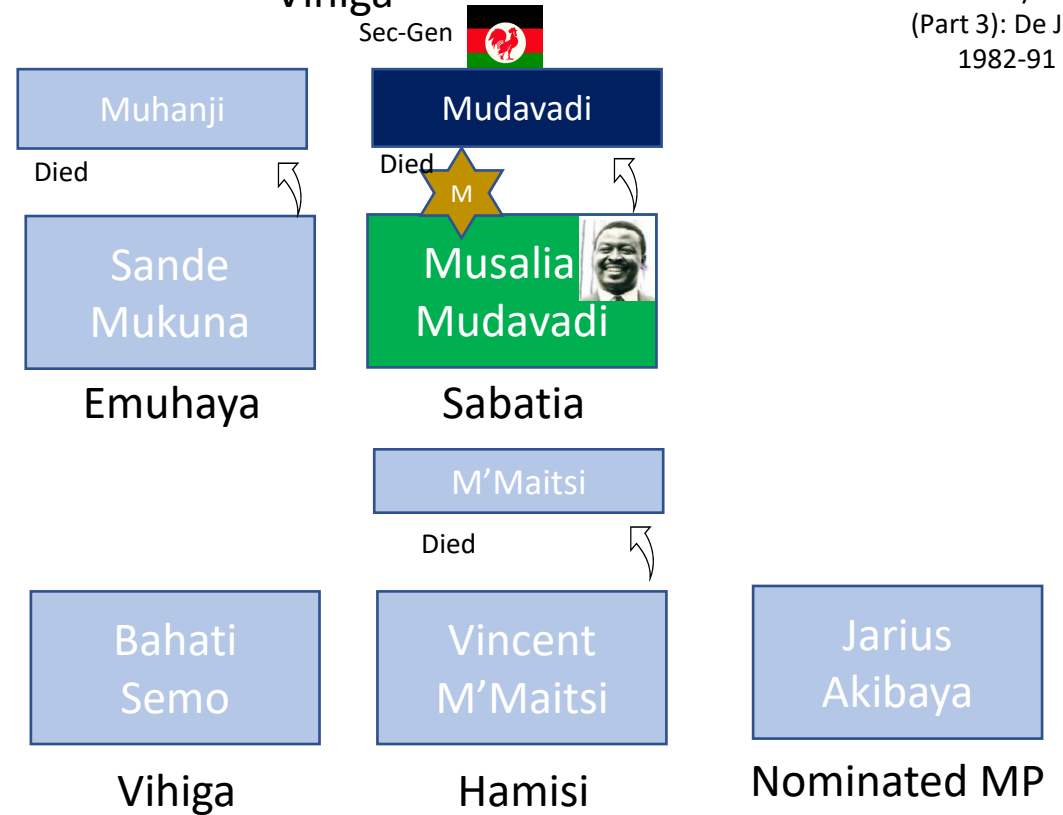


One Party State
(Part 3): De Jure
1982-91

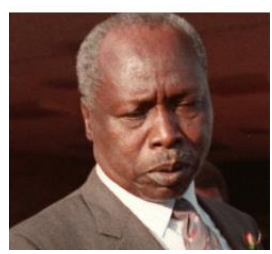
Kakamega



Vihiga

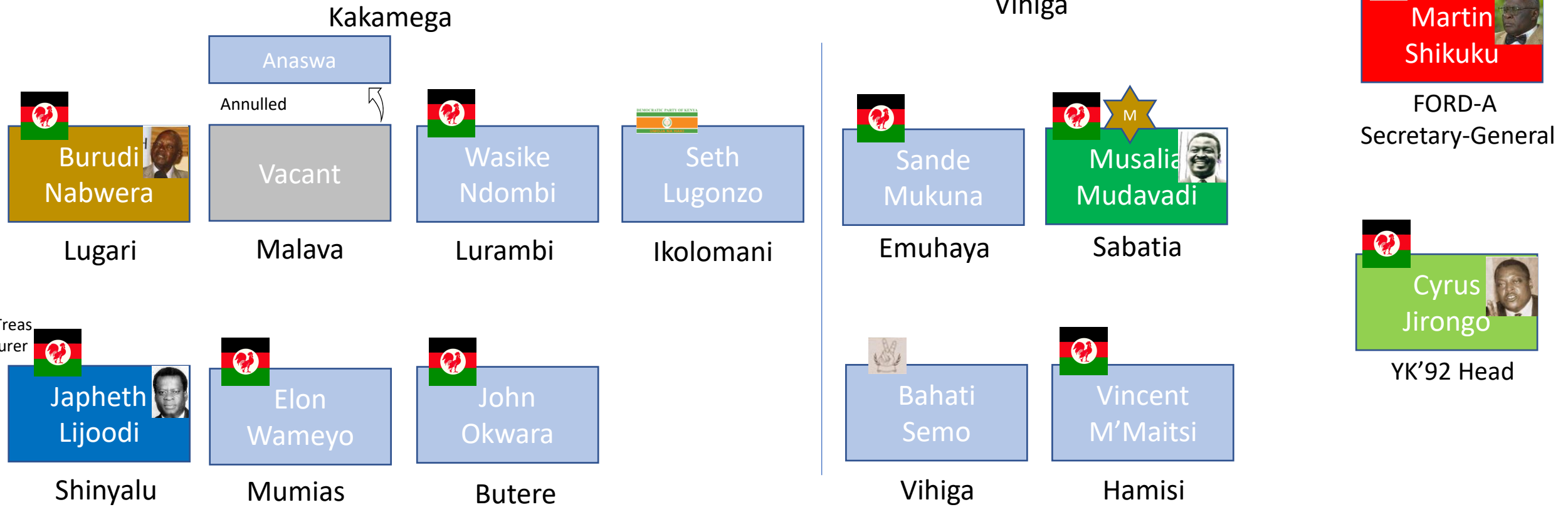


1988-90 is a troubled period in southern Kakamega, with an unprecedented four dead incumbents. Shikuku's replacement Opembe dies and again he is rigged out in favour of a newcomer. Samson M'Maitsi dies in a car crash and is replaced by his son Vincent. In February 1989, Mudavadi dies and is replaced by his son Musalia (who also inherits his ministerial seat) and soon after Angatia also has his election conveniently annulled and loses the resulting by-election. Then Muhanji dies and is replaced by Wilson's son Sande Mukuna. In the 1988 KANU elections, meanwhile, Mudavadi has replaced Nabwera as Secretary General; then after his death, to fill the regional void Lijoodi becomes KANU National Treasurer. In 1989, Vihiga is split off as a new district, the first changes since 1967. Kakamega (Lugari) seems to gain more settlement land.



Kakamega and Vihiga

Late 1992: Multi-Partyism



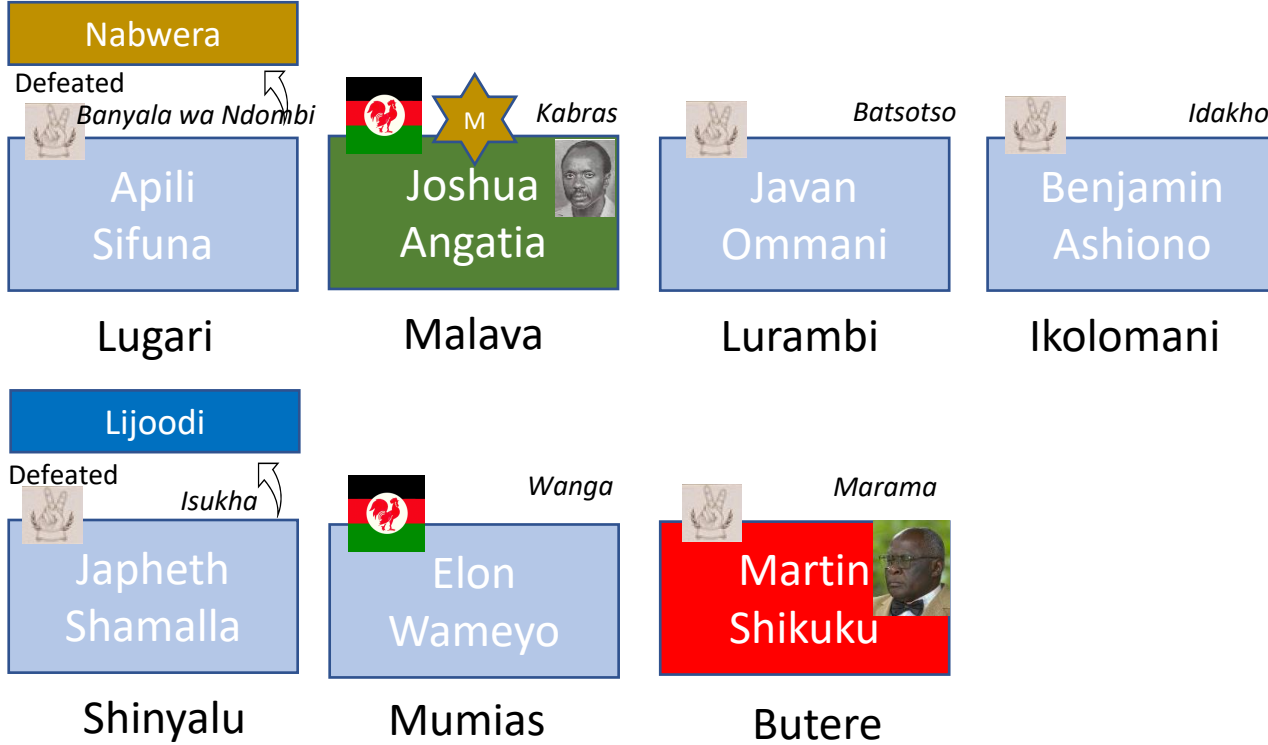
Queue voting abolished. Multi-party democracy returns Dec 1991. As FORD and the DP emerge, western Kenya is divided between supporters of KANU, allies of Odinga and Muliro and supporters of Shikuku, one of the original six who fronted FORD in 1990-91, now rallying the region to Matiba. However, in Kakamega most (rigged in) KANU incumbents remain loyal (except for Anaswa, who has his 1989 by-election victory finally annulled just before the 1992 polls). Cyrus Jirongo, from the region, becomes notorious as head of KANU's election campaign and mass bribery squad YK'92.

Kakamega and Vihiga

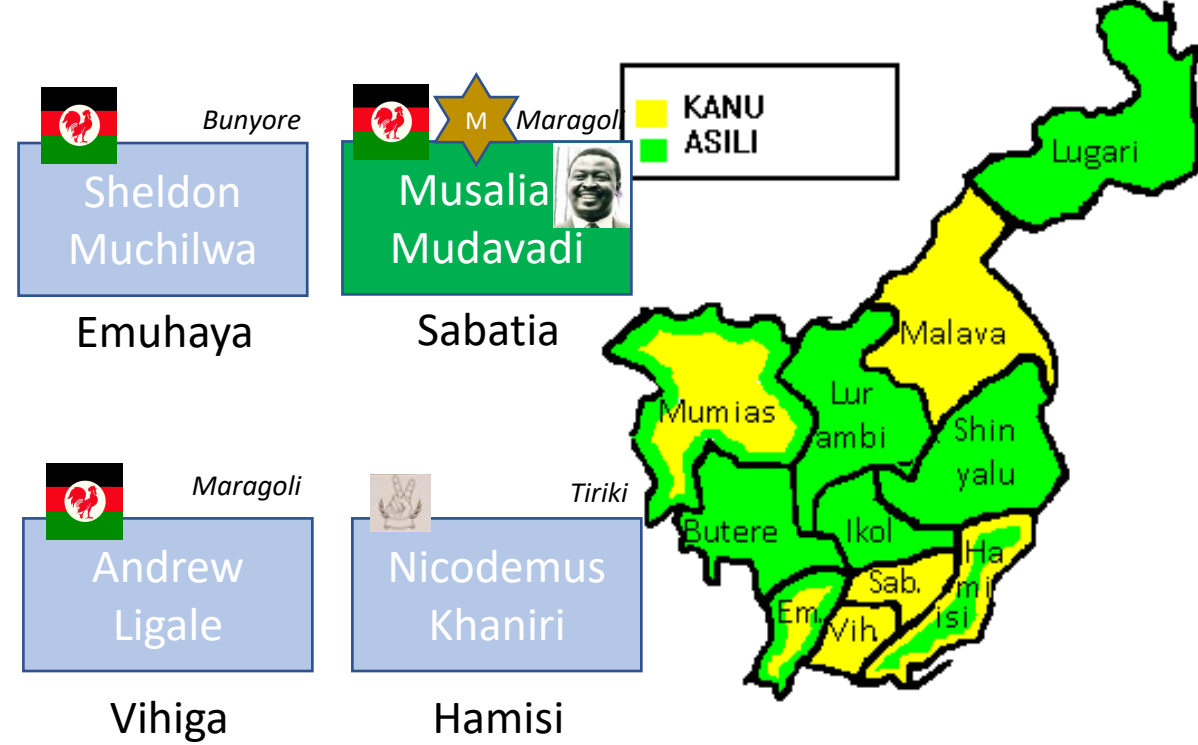
December 1992: Multi-Party General Elections



Kakamega



Vihiga



In the 1992 multi-party elections, KANU is triumphant nationwide against a split opposition, but in Kakamega to some surprise FORD-Asili, Matiba and Shikuku dominate. Moi wins only four seats in the presidency and four in parliament to Matiba and Asili's six. Although to the south and north FORD-Kenya dominates in the Bukusu and Luo, Odinga performs poorly here and Kibaki and the DP are irrelevant. Mudavadi becomes Finance Minister in the new KANU government. Angatia unexpectedly returns to KANU and wins Malava and is rewarded with a second Ministerial role.



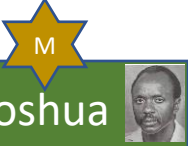





Kakamega and Vihiga






1994: The death of FORD-Asili



Kakamega

Vihiga

 Apili Sifuna Lugari	  Joshua Angatia Malava	 Javan Ommani Lurambi	 Benjamin Ashiono Ikolomani
 Japheth Shamalla Shinyalu	 Elon Wameyo Mumias	 Martin Shikuku Butere	

 Sheldon Muchilwa Emuhaya	  Musalia Mudavadi Sabatia
	Khaniri
 Andrew Ligale Vihiga	 George Khaniri Hamisi

Died ↗

1993-4 sees the imposition of the official opposite Ford-Asili in Western, the result of Matiba's increasing imbalance and intense financial and administrative pressure on local FORD-Asili MPs. MP after MP (Hamisi, Lugari, Shinyalu, Ikolomani, then Lurambi) defect to KANU and are gifted the KANU nomination for the byelection. Each is victorious by fair mean or foul, leaving Shikuku entirely alone by June 1994. In 1996, Nicodemus Khaniri dies and is succeeded by his son George. YK'92 meanwhile has been dismantled and Jirongo begins a lifetime in court after the extraordinary resource extractions which took place in 1992 to secure KANU's victory.

Kakamega and Vihiga

Dec 1997 General Election

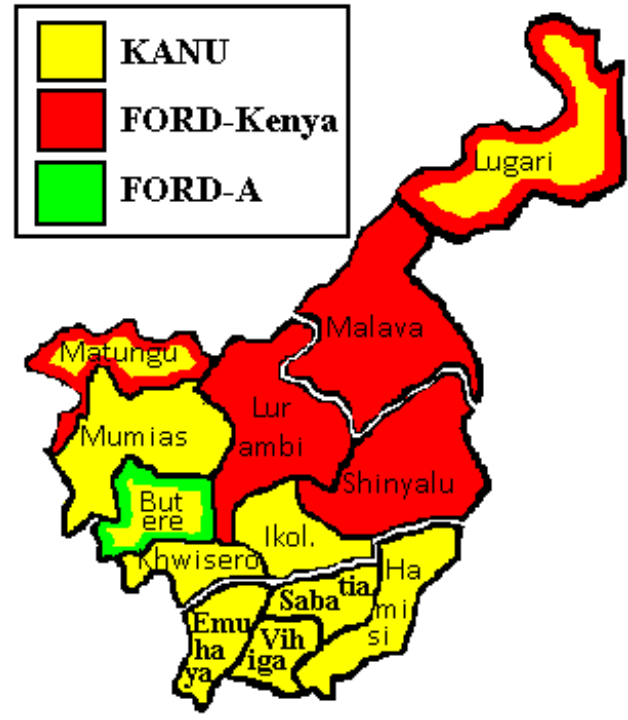


Kakamega

Vihiga

	Angatia	
 <i>Tiriki</i> Cyrus Jirongo Lugari	 <i>Kabras</i> Soita Shitanda Malava	 <i>Banyala wa Ndombi</i> Newton Kulundu Lurambi
 <i>Idakho</i> Joseph Mugalla Ikolomani	 <i>Isukha</i> Daniel Khamasi Shinyalu	 <i>Wanga</i> Wycliffe Osundwa Mumias
 <i>Wanga</i> Joseph Wamukhoya Matungu	 <i>Shikuku</i> <i>Marama</i> Frederick Anangwe Butere	 <i>Kisa</i> Harrison Odongo Khwisero

 <i>Bunyore</i> Sheldon Muchilwa Emuhaya	 <i>Maragoli</i> Musalia Mudavadi Sabatia
 <i>Maragoli</i> Yusuf Chanzu Vihiga	 <i>Tiriki</i> George Khaniri Hamisi



1996 Boundary redistributions add two more seats, splitting Butere and Mumias. In the presidency, Moi dominates Vihiga and wins three Kakamega seats, but with FORD-Kenya now led by a Luhya, Michael Wamalwa, the party performs well in northern Kakamega, winning five seats in the presidency and three in parliament. Shikuku is dethroned in Butere as MP but bizarrely wins the presidency for himself in the same seat. Anangwe gets a ministerial seat as reward. Mudavadi returns as a Minister.
















Kakamega and Vihiga







2001: Reshuffles and Realignmentments



Kakamega

Vihiga

  Cyrus Jirongo  Lugari	 Soita Shitanda  Malava	 Newton Kulundu  Lurambi
 Joseph Mugalla Ikolomani	 Daniel Khamasi Shinyalu	 Wycliffe Osundwa Mumias
 Joseph Wamukhoya Matungu	  Frederick Anangwe  Butere	 Harrison Odongo Khwisero

 Sheldon Muchilwa Emuhaya	  Musalia Mudavadi  Sabatia
 Yusuf Chanzu Vihiga	 George Khaniri Hamisi

As Moi seeks allies in the opposition and KANU is riven by internal strife, in 2001 Anangwe is sacked as Minister. Soon after he is replaced by Jirongo, for a while flirting with the opposition, who is now one of KANU's "young Turks".

Kakamega and Vihiga

Late 2002: LDP Defection



Cyrus
Jirongo

Lugari



Soita
Shitanda

Malava



Newton
Kulundu

Lurambi



Joseph
Mugalla

Ikolomani



Daniel
Khamasi

Shinyalu



Wycliffe
Osundwa

Mumias



Joseph
Wamukhoya

Matungu



Frederick
Anangwe

Butere



Harrison
Odongo




Khwisero



Sheldon
Muchilwa

Emuhaya

KANU
Vice-
President



Musalia
Mudavadi

Sabatia



Yusuf
Chanzu

Vihiga



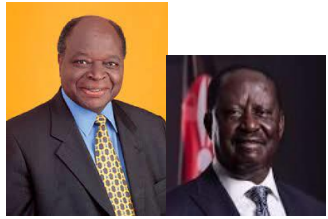
George
Khaniri

Hamisi

With the rainbow rebellion joining the National Alliance, the political tide nationwide shifts sharply against KANU, but most local MPs remain loyal until the end (apart from Osundwa and Khaniri). Appointed one of four KANU Vice-president in March 2002, Musalia Mudavadi is made national Vice-President to keep him on-side in the dying days of the KANU regime, but it is a fundamental miscalculation.

Kakamega and Vihiga

2002: Moi Retires, Kibaki Elected



Jirongo Enoch Kibuguchy Lugari	Kabras Soita Shitanda Malava	Banyala wa Ndombi Newton Kulundu Lurambi
Idakho Boni Khalwale Ikolomani	Isukha Daniel Khamasi Shinyalu	Wanga Wycliffe Osundwa Mumias
Luo/Luhya David Were Matungu	Marama Wycliffe Oparanya Butere	Kisa Julius Arunga Khwisero

Bunyore Kenneth Marende Emuhaya	Maragoli Epanitous Akaranga Sabatia
Maragoli Andrew Ligale Vihiga	Tiriki George Khaniri Hamisi



Moi retires and his chosen successor Uhuru is defeated for the Presidency by Kibaki. In Vihiga and Kakamega, it is a bloodbath as KANU loses every seat in parliament and Presidency to Kibaki and NARC. As predefined Mudavadi does not see the inside of Parliament as VP, as even he is defeated. NARC newcomers as MPs include Khalwale, Oparanya, Marende and Akaranga, a strong political wave. In Kibaki's new government, Kulundu is to slight surprise the sole Minister. KANU nominates Ruth Oniang'o as nominated MP



Kakamega and Vihiga

2005-7: Second Coalition Government




Enoch
Kibuguchy

Lugari



Soita
Shitanda

Malava



Newton
Kulundu

Lurambi



Boni
Khalwale

Ikolomani



Daniel
Khamasi

Shinyalu



Wycliffe
Osundwa

Mumias



David
Were

Matungu



Wycliffe
Oparanya

Butere



Julius
Arunga

Khwisero



Kenneth
Marende

Emuhaya



Epanitous
Akaranga

Sabatia



Andrew
Ligale

Vihiga



George
Khaniri

Hamisi












Ruth
Oniang'o






In the cobbled-together coalition of 2005 after the failed referendum, Akaranga and Shitanda both become ministers; the price of continued alliance. Kulundu remains with Kibaki as the split formalises with Odinga and the new Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). In the run-up to the 2007 elections, numerous local NARC incumbents join ODM.

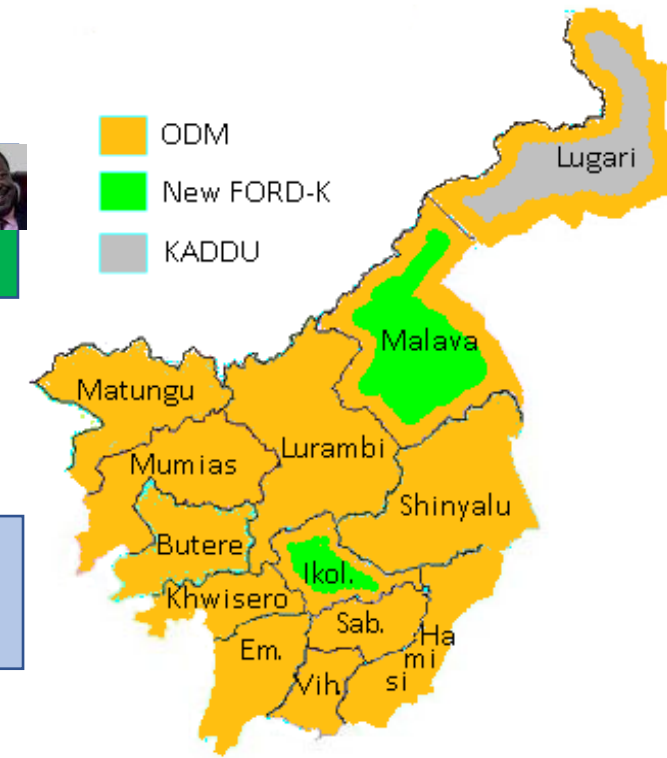
Kakamega and Vihiga

2007: General Election and Subsequent Chaos



 Cyrus Jirongo Lugari	 Soita Shitanda Malava	 Defeated Atanas Keya Lurambi
 Boni Khalwale Ikolomani	 Charles Lilechi Shinyalu	 Benjamin Washiala Mumias
 David Were Matungu	 Wycliffe Oparanya Butere	 Evans Akula Khwisero

 Kenneth Marende Emuhaya	 Defeated  Musalia Mudavadi Sabatia
 Yusuf Chanzu Vihiga	 George Khaniri Hamisi





















ODM-PNU battle nationwide but in Kakamega and Vihiga the “Kibaki friendly” parties are different. FORD-Kenya is now split between two hostile parties and Shitanda and Khalwale return for pro-Kibaki New FORD-Kenya. Regionally, though, ODM is dominant. Odinga wins every seat by 3-1 margins against Kibaki, and ODM candidates win 10 of 13 seats in parliament. In Vihiga, Mudavadi reclaims his seat by a huge margin. Jirongo returns for his personal KADDU party. Nonetheless, Kibaki is sworn in as President, triggering nationwide violence. In the short-lived government of Jan-April 2008, Shitanda is the sole Minister.

Kakamega and Vihiga

2008: Grand Coalition



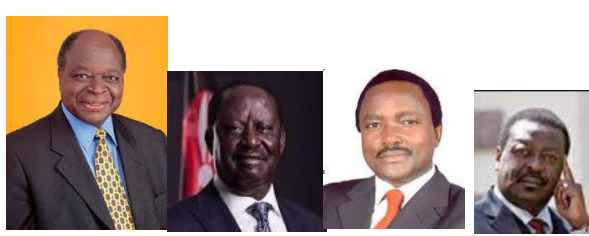
 Cyrus Jirongo Lugari	  Soita Shitanda Malava	 Atanas Keya Lurambi
 Boni Khalwale Ikolomani	 Charles Lilechi Shinyalu	 Benjamin Washiala Mumias
 David Were Matungu	  Wycliffe Oparanya Butere	 Evans Akula Khwisero






















 Marende Speaker	  Musalia Mudavadi Sabatia	 Kenneth Marende Speaker
 Wilbur Ottichillo Emuhaya	 Yusuf Chanzu Vihiga	
	 George Khaniri Hamisi	










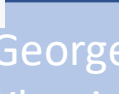
In the grand coalition (PNU-ODM-ODM-K), Mudavadi becomes Deputy PM and Minister for Local Government and Oparanya also receives ministerial office for ODM. Meanwhile ODM has shown it controls parliament, electing Kenneth Marende as Speaker, triggering a by-election in Emuhaya, which it duly wins through Wilbur Ottichillo.

Kakamega and Vihiga

2009-12



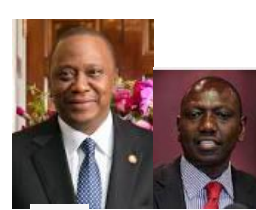
   <p>Cyrus Jirongo</p> <p>Lugari</p>	   <p>Soita Shitanda</p> <p>Malava</p>	  <p>Atanas Keya</p> <p>Lurambi</p>
  <p>Boni Khalwale</p> <p>Ikolomani</p>	  <p>Lilechi</p> <p>Justus Kizito</p> <p>Shinyalu</p>	  <p>Benjamin Washiala</p> <p>Mumias</p>
  <p>David Were</p> <p>Matungu</p>	   <p>Wycliffe Oparanya</p> <p>Butere</p>	  <p>Evans Akula</p> <p>Khwisero</p>

  <p>Wilbur Ottichillo</p> <p>Emuhaya</p>	   <p>Musalia Mudavadi</p> <p>Sabatia</p>	 <p>Kenneth Marende</p> <p>Speaker</p>
  <p>Yusuf Chanzu</p> <p>Vihiga</p>	  <p>George Khaniri</p> <p>Hamisi</p>	

With the new constitution gradually coming in effect, the coalition stumbles on, as do the ICC cases against Kenyatta and Ruto. Kenyatta is building his National Alliance (TNA) and Ruto his URP under the umbrella Jubilee Alliance. Meanwhile in 2009 Lilechi dies and is replaced and in 2011, Khalwale's election is nullified but he wins back the seat. In 2012, he and Shitanda defect to Mudavadi's new UDF, which picks up some ethno-regional support but never looks like sweeping the region. In December 2012, in a stunning piece of political theatre, Uhuru concedes leadership of a new combined alliance to Mudavadi, then abrogates the deal and goes forward with Ruto as his deputy.

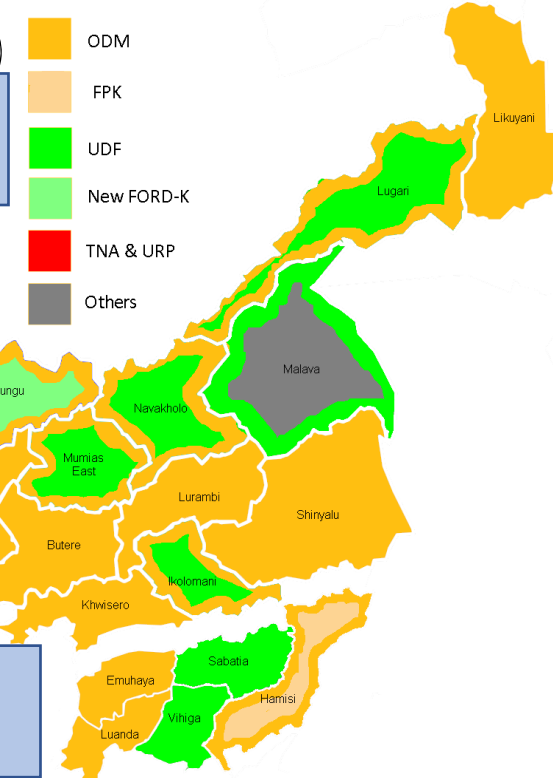
Kakamega and Vihiga

2013: New Constitution



Enoch Kibung'ochy Likuyani	UDF Ayub Savula Lugari	Maendeleo Moses Injendi Malava	Rafael Otaalo Lurambi
UDF Emmanuel Wangwe Navakholo	Silverse Lisamula Shinyalu	UDF Bernard Shinali Ikolomani	UDF Benjamin Washiala Mumias East
Johnson Naicca Mumias West	David Were Matungu	Andrew Anyanga Butere	Benjamin Andayi Khwisero
Shitanda Wycliffe Oparanya Governor	UDF Jirongo Boni Khalwale Senator	Rachel Omolo Women's Rep	

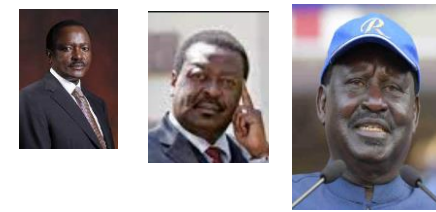
Wilbur Ottichillo Emuhaya	Christopher Omulele Luanda	Mudavadi Alfred Agoi Presidency
UDF Yusuf Chanzu Vihiga	FPK Charles Gimose Hamisi	
PPK Epanitous Akaranga Governor	George Khaniri Senator	Dorcas Kedogo Women's Rep



New constitution, new boundaries (three new seats for Kakamega, one for Vihiga), bicameral parliament, Governors. Ministers (Cabinet Secretaries) no longer MPs. TNA and URP in alliance defeat Odinga's ODM and Mudavadi's UDF, but here ODM dominates. Mudavadi wins only 3 seats in the presidency to Odinga's 14 and Kenyatta's none. Oparanya becomes Kakamega's first Governor (ODM) while Akaranga returns with his own party as Vihiga Governor. In Kenyatta and Ruto's first government, there are no Cabinet Secretaries from the area. Marende is defeated as Speaker

Kakamega and Vihiga

2015-16: Party Swaps



Enoch Kibunguchy Likuyani	Ayub Savula Lugari	Moses Injendi Malava	Rafael Otaalo Lurambi
Emmanuel Wangwe Navakholo	Silverse Lisamula Shinyalu	Bernard Shinali Ikolomani	Benjamin Washiala Mumias East
Johnson Naicca Mumias West	David Were Matungu	Andrew Anyanga Butere	Benjamin Andayi Khwisero
Wycliffe Oparanya Governor	Boni Khalwale Senator	Rachel Omolo Women's Rep	

Wilbur Ottichillo Emuhaya	Christopher Omulele Luanda	Alfred Agoi Sabatia
Yusuf Chanzu Vihiga	Charles Gimose Hamisi	
Epanitous Akaranga Governor	George Khaniri Senator	Dorcas Kedogo Women's Rep

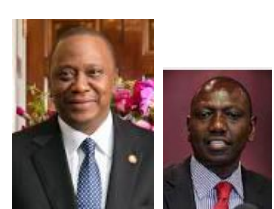
Kakamega the poorest county in Kenya

Monday, November 10, 2014

Mudavadi struggles for relevance as a third force, eventually forms a new party, the ANC in 2016 (appropriating another “word of power” this time from South Africa). New FORD-Kenya merges with Jubilee and several UDF MPs join them. Khalwale moves to FORD-Kenya, which moves closer to ODM. Meanwhile Kakamega is officially declared the poorest county in Kenya

Kakamega and Vihiga

2017: Gen Elections

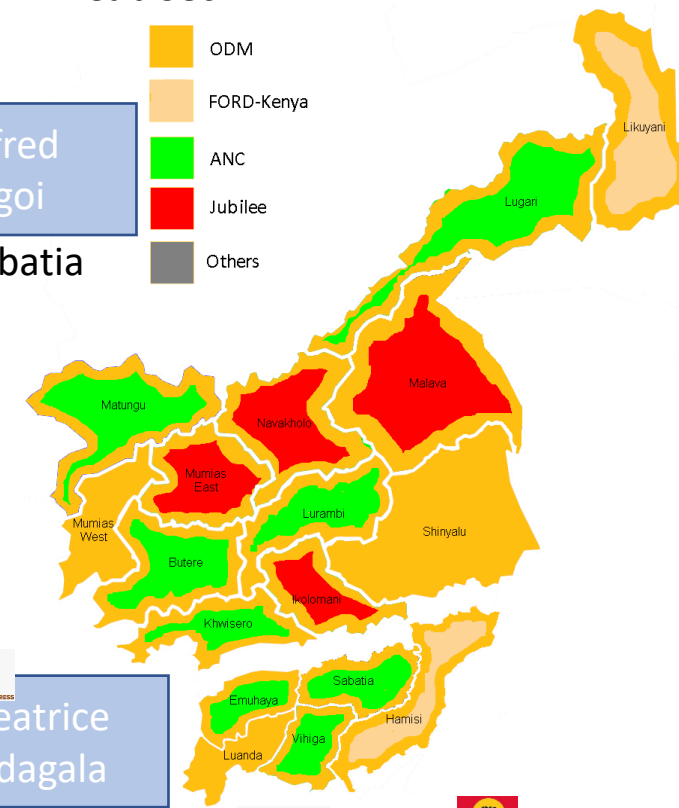


Cab Sec

Enoch Kibunguchy Likuyani	Ayub Savula Lugari	Moses Injendi Malava	Bishop Khamala Lurambi
Emmanuel Wangwe Navakholo	Justus Kizito Shinyalu	Bernard Shinali Ikolomani	Benjamin Washiala Mumias East
Johnson Naicca Mumias West	Justus Makokha Matungu	Tinde Mwale Butere	Christopher Wangaya Khwisero
Wycliffe Oparanya Governor	Cleophas Malala Senator	Elsie Muhanda Women's Rep	

Jeremiah Milemba Emuhaya	Christopher Omulele Luanda	Alfred Agoi Sabatia
Ernest Kivai Vihiga	Charles Gimose Hamisi	
Akaranga Governor	George Khaniri Senator	Beatrice Adagala Women's Rep

- ODM
- FORD-Kenya
- ANC
- Jubilee
- Others



Godfrey Osotsi Nominated MP	Jennifer Shamalla Nominated MP
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Wiper rejoins ODM and FORD-Kenya in NASA but loses to Jubilee. Without Mudavadi contesting, Odinga (ODM) wins every seat in the presidential Polls. Mudavadi strengthens his position considerably, even though he himself does not stand, but supports NASA. Oparanya beats off a challenge from Khalwale to hold the Kakamega Governorship but Akaranga loses to ODM's Ottichilo. In parliament, four Jubilee defectors triumph, ODM takes just two seats, ally FORD-Kenya two and the ANC 8. in Kenyatta and Ruto's second cabinet only sworn in in January 2018 after the second presidential poll, Rachid Echesa from Mumias (a class 7 dropout and ex-manual labourer at Mumias Sugar) is unexpectedly appointed cabinet secretary.

Kakamega and Vihiga

2018-22: The Handshake and the Divorce



 Enoch Kibunguchy Likuyani	 Ayub Savula Lugari	 Moses Injendi Malava	 Bishop Khamala Lurambi
 Emmanuel Wangwe Navakholo	 Justus Kizito Shinyalu	 Bernard Shinali Ikolomani	 Benjamin Washiala Mumias East
 Johnson Naicca Mumias West	 Peter Nabulindu Matungu	 Tinde Mwale Butere	 Christopher Wangaya Khwisero
 Wycliffe Oparanya Governor	 Cleophas Malala Senator	 Elsie Muhanda Women's Rep	

 Jeremiah Milemba Emuhaya	 Christopher Omulele Luanda	 Alfred Agoi Sabatia
 Ernest Kivai Vihiga	 Charles Gimose Hamisi	
 Wilbur Ottichilo Governor	 George Khaniri Senator	 Beatrice Adagala Women's Rep
		 Godfrey Osotsi Nominated MP

With Ruto increasingly out of favour and the handshake between Odinga and Kenyatta the driver of political events, the situation becomes tougher for the Ruto team. Ally Echesa is sacked in 2019 after several scandals. Nonetheless, when in 2021 Ruto sets up the UDA as the vehicle of choice for his presidential bid, a couple of MPs support. In 2021 the Matungu MP dies and ANC holds the seat. Mudavadi, Moi and Musyoka try to sustain their third force One Kenya Alliance (OKA) throughout 2021 but January 2022 sees dramatic change as Mudavadi and Wetangula bring their parties into the Kenya Kwanza alliance with Ruto. Multiple ANC MPs defect immediately to Azimio, ODM and its Luhya-dominated offshoot DAP-K. ANC also gained some lost MPs, Jubilee vanishes entirely from the region.



Kakamega and Vihiga

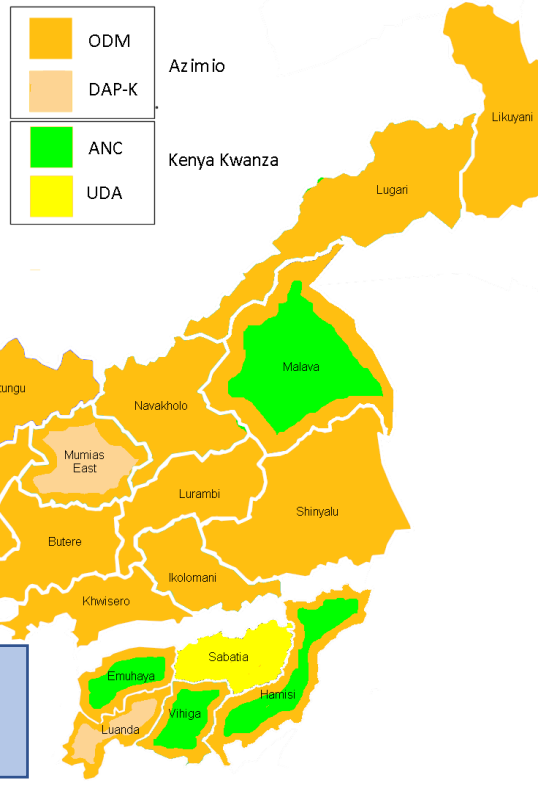
August 2022: Ruto's Revenge

Musalia Mudavadi
Prime Cab Sec



 Innocent Mugabe Likuyani	 Darius Nabwera Lugari	 Moses Injendi Malava	 Bishop Khamala Lurambi
 Emmanuel Wangwe Navakholo	 Frederick Ikana Shinyalu	 Bernard Shinali Ikolomani	 Peter Salasya Mumias East
 Johnson Naicca Mumias West	 Peter Nabulindu Matungu	 Tinde Mwale Butere	 Christopher Wangaya Khwisero
 Fernandes Barasa Governor	 Boni Khalwale Senator	 Elsie Muhanda Women's Rep	

 Jeremiah Milemba Emuhaya	 Dick Oyugi Luanda	 Clement Sloya Sabatia
 Ernest Kivai Vihiga	 Charles Gimose Hamisi	
 Wilbur Ottichilo Governor	 Godfrey Osotsi Senator	 Beatrice Adagala Women's Rep



With Mudavadi, Ruto and Wetangula all aligned, Kakamega and Vihiga is no longer safe for Odinga, but he still performs very well. While Wetangula delivers in the Bukusu, Mudavadi struggles to deliver votes to Ruto. Only in his Sabatia does Ruto win; Odinga sweeps the rest presidentially. The Kakamega Gubernatorial poll is delayed two weeks but ODM still wins (Oparanya unable to stand) and Ottichilo holds Vihiga also. Khalwale however wins the Kakamega senate for UDA on a personal vote. In Parliament, Azimio parties hold 11 seats and most of Kakamega and Kenya Kwanza six and most of Vihiga. Ruto wins a narrow presidential victory and there is no overall control of the House for a few days until defections cement his control. Mudavadi becomes Prime Cabinet Secretary in the new government.