

A Political History of Mombasa

As told through their elected representatives, 1957-2023



Charles Hornsby

July 2023

Updated Jan 2024

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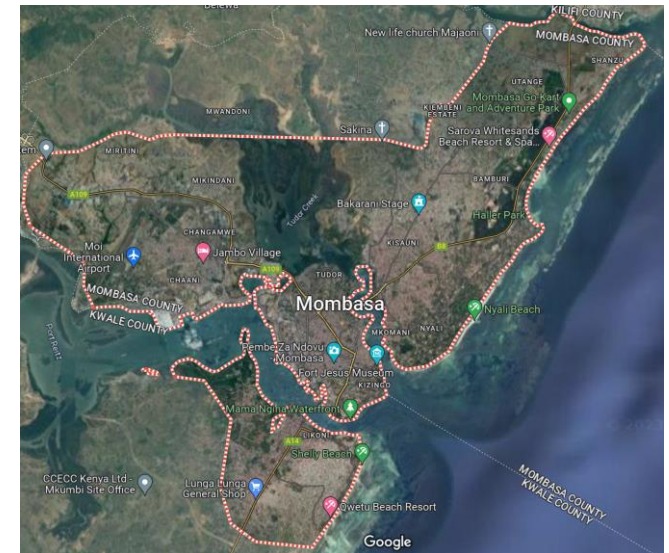
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Limitations

- 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



Mombasa Political History

A Short History of Mombasa

Mombasa is a tropical, pre-colonial urban area, one of the oldest in East Africa, which became the main cargo entrepôt in the colonial era for goods entering and leaving East Africa.

Expanded as a military fort and administrative centre by foreign powers (Portugal, later the British), it was also the centre of Arab (Omani) settlement and power, and was part of the Omani Sultanate from 1837 until the British leased the coastal strip in 1895. It remained nominally under the sultan until 1963, when the strip was incorporated into Kenya proper. It was also the centre (alongside Lamu) of the Swahili (Afro-Arab) language and culture and the centre of Kenya's Islamic traditions and culture.

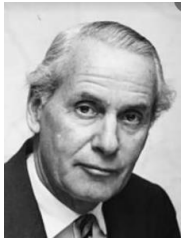
Local Mijikenda had no land rights in the 10-mile strip, which was outside the “Nyika” (as they were then known) Reserve, but squatted there nonetheless. Slavery was finally abolished in the sultanate in 1907 and some freed slaves settled in the Mombasa area. When Kenya Colony was formed in 1920, the Coastal strip remained legally outside.

Work drew many upcountry Africans into employment in Mombasa, in particular Luo and Kamba, while Kikuyu traders established business and its position as the second urban centre in the country after Nairobi led the government to site many offices there, creating a highly cosmopolitical ethnic and racial environment.

The county is home to Kenya's sole deepwater port (Kilindili), and the terminus of the old colonial and new Kenyatta-era railways. The Island is the original “Mombasa” and contains the central business district and railways station. The county is mostly urban, having the second highest population density after Nairobi (2019 Census).

Mombasa Political History

1956-7: The First Vote for an elected African

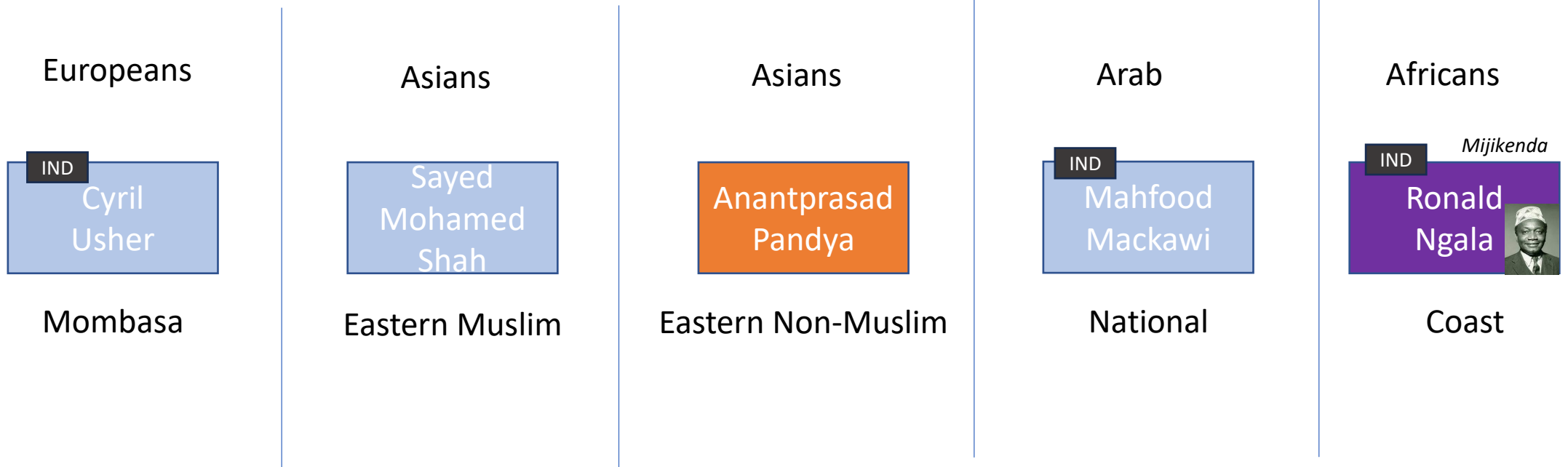


Governor
Renison



Francis
Khamisi

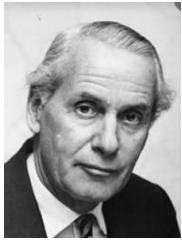
Nominated 57-58



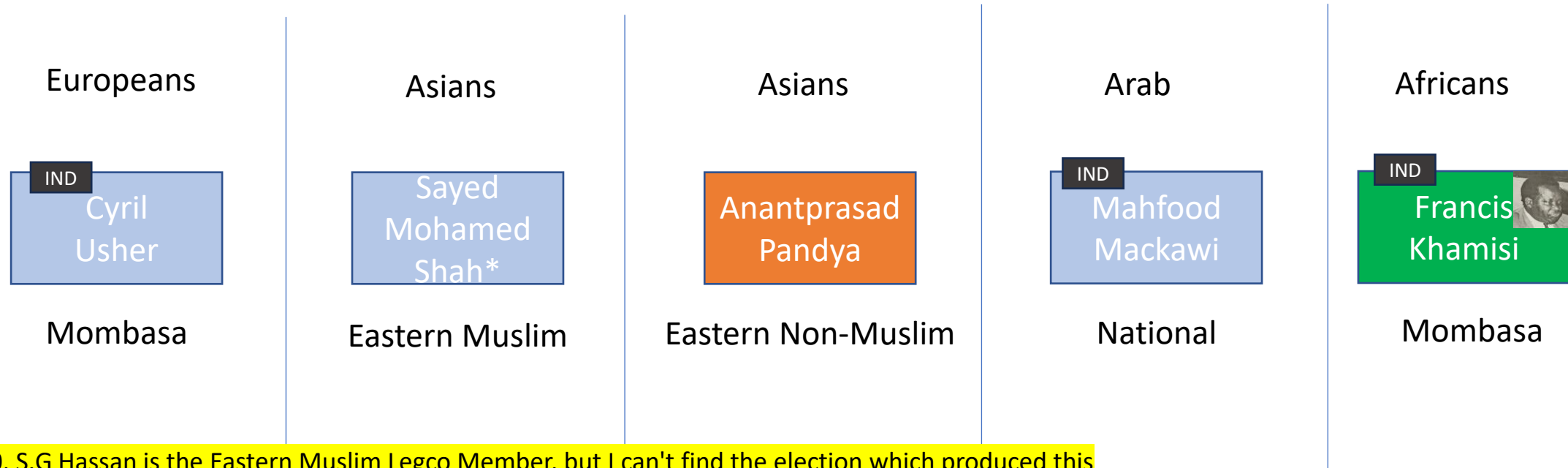
In 1957, the African constituency of “Coast” (including Mombasa) was established and won by rising Mijikenda star Ronald Ngala, defeating influential ally Francis Khamisi, who was then nominated to the LegCo. Mombasa also had separate constituencies for Europeans, Indians and Arabs, elections for which were held in 1956. Most candidates in all racial groups stood as independents (it was required for Africans).

Mombasa Political History

1958: 6 more African constituencies



Governor
Renison

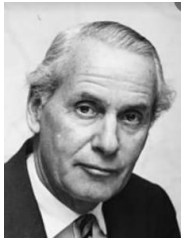


* By 1960, S.G Hassan is the Eastern Muslim Legco Member, but I can't find the election which produced this

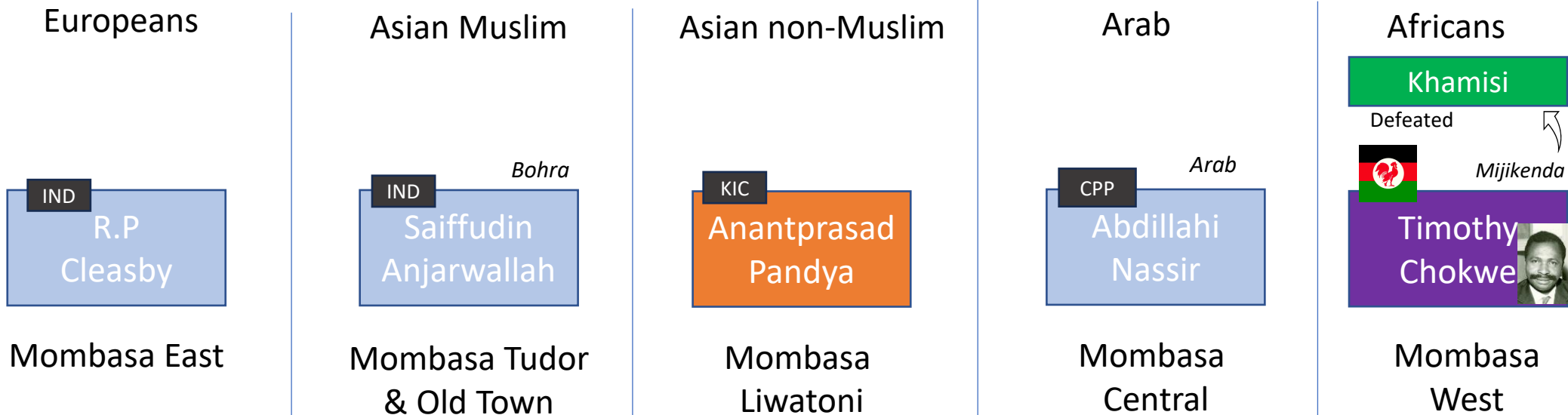
In 1958, "Coast" constituency is split, and the new seat of Mombasa formed. It is won by Francis Khamisi (leader of MADU), editor of the daily *Baraza*, Kenya's first African broadcaster and co-founder of KAU in 1944. Ngala remains LegCo member for the rest of the coast and deeply influential in Mombasa politics. In 1960 he accepts ministerial office in the restricted government. There are strong links between African political activity and the trade union movement, especially the dock workers union. Multiple regional political parties spring up during 1958-60, often with overlapping memberships.

Mombasa Political History

Feb 1961: The Kenyatta Election



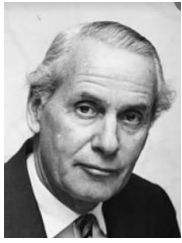
Governor Ronald Ngala
Renison (KADU)



With national political parties now 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 a racially reserved primary and then everyone can vote in the first common roll poll. Coastal autonomy is the dominant issue. Pandya is returned but all other leaders change. KANU and KADU both boycott the reserved Arab seat. In the sole African seat, the Mijikenda are with KADU and Ngala, but Khamisi (KADU) is decisively defeated by KANU’s Timothy Chokwe (an ex-KAU trade unionist).

Mombasa Political History

1961-2: KADU Government



Governor Ronald Ngala
Renison (KADU)



Mombasa Census 1962: 180,000
The population is growing rapidly
and highly cosmopolitan. Only 40%
of its residents were born in the
district

Arab

Sheikh M.A
Alamoody

National MP
April 1961

Nationally, Kenyatta is released, he takes up the leadership of KANU, then enters the Legco and the government. But in the Coast, 1961-2 is dominated by the efforts of (mostly) non-Africans in the coast to have the coastal strip become autonomous (“Mwambao”), while most Christian Africans favour integration. Land rights and religion are the key fault lines. The government’s Report on the Coastal Strip (Nov 1961) recommends it be integrated fully into Kenya, with protections including the recognition of Moslem law in Moslem personal matters and guarantees for land rights for Arab and Asians. In the KADU government of 1961-2, some Asian representatives join KADU to sustain the minority side, as does National MP Alamoody.



Renison Kenyatta Ngala

Mombasa Political History

Apr 1962-63: Coalition Government

IND
R.P Cleasby

Mombasa East

IND
Saiffudin Anjarwallah

Mombasa Tudor & Old Town

Anantprasad Pandya

Mombasa Liwatoni

IND
Abdillahi Nassir

Mombasa Central

Timothy Chokwe

Mombasa West

In the KANU-KADU coalition government of May 1962-3, Chokwe becomes a minister. In Oct 1962, Pandya defects to KANU. In Mombasa, tensions between upcountry Africans, especially Kikuyu, and locals grow as regionalism moves forward.



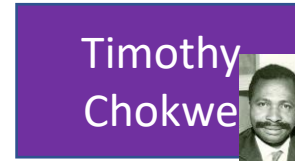
Governor Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya
Macdonald (KANU)

Mombasa Political History

1963: For Self-Government



Ngei (APP) Ngala (KADU)



Speaker of Senate



Specially Elected MP

Arab



Defeated Mijikenda



Mombasa Island North



Mombasa Island South



Mombasa Mainland



Mombasa Senate



Mayor of Mombasa

In the new unitary electoral system, with no reserved seats, Mombasa has three seats in the house and one senate seat. KANU wins nationwide but in Mombasa, KADU wins every seat. Minister Chokwe loses and is compensated with speakership of the senate until its abolition. As KADU goes into opposition, no MPs have any government role. SM Balala (businessman and KANU activist) is elected by the house as a Special MP. Odinga-ally Kombo is elected as Mombasa mayor.

Mombasa Political History

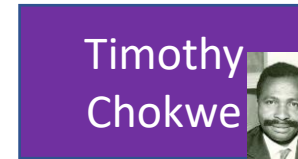
Dec 1964: Republican Constitution



One Party State
(Part 1):
1964-66



Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya
(KANU)



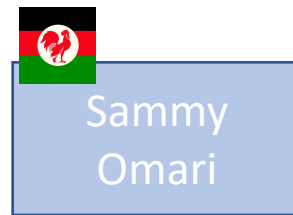
Speaker
of Senate



Specially
Elected MP



Mombasa
Island North



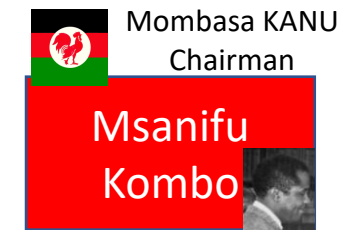
Mombasa
Island South



Mombasa
Mainland



Mombasa
Senate

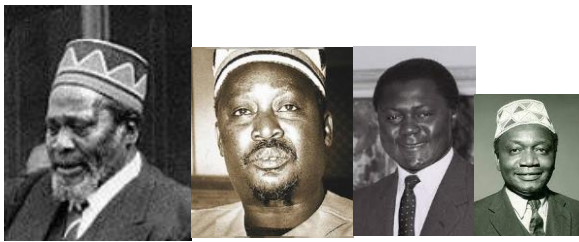


Mayor of
Mombasa

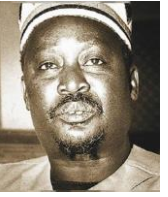
KADU folds and join KANU. Republic established with Kenyatta as President. No change otherwise.
Kombo is now Mombasa KANU chairman.


Mombasa Political History

1965-66 KPU



Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya
(KANU)



Timothy Chokwe 


Speaker
of Senate

Salim Balala

Specially
Elected MP

Mombasa
KANU
Chairman

Ronald Ngala

 Kombo


Defeated

John Mambo

Mayor of
Mombasa

 Anantprasad Pandya

Mombasa
Island North

 Sammy Omari

Mombasa
Island South

 Mwinyi Babu

Mombasa
Mainland

Msechu

Defeated

 Soud Mandano

Mombasa
Senate

August 1965's Senate one-third rotation sees Msechu lose the KANU nomination and then the seat to a Ngala ally. The 1966 KPU rebellion has no effect among Mombasa MPs; they remain loyal to Ngala and KANU. Kombo however is replaced by minister Ngala as Mombasa Chairman in 1965, and (by now a backer of Odinga and the KPU) loses the Mombasa mayoralty in 1966.

Mombasa Political History

1969 General Election



One Party State
(Part 2):
1969-82

Mombasa Census 1969:

Mijikenda	24%
Asian	16%
Kamba	12%
Luo	9%
Luhya	6%
Arab	6%
Taita	6%
Non-Kenyan Afs	6%
Kikuyu	6%
Others	9%

Mombasa
KANU
Chairman

Ronald
Ngala

Salim
Balala

Nominated MP

Mijikenda

Ibrahim
Mwaruwa

Mombasa
North

Pandya

Defeated

Mijikenda

Mohammed
Jahazi

Mombasa
Central

Mijikenda

Khalif
Mwavumo

Mombasa
South

Kamba

David
Kioko

Mombasa
West

Msanifu
Kombo

(1969)

Abdalla
Mwidau

1970-74

Mayor of
Mombasa

1967 Senate abolished and resulting boundary redistribution keeps four seats but allocates the Senator to a new seat. Chokwe departs. In 1969, the KPU is banned; return of one-party state. In Mombasa, Mijikenda newcomers win three of four seats, while Mombasa West (with the port) is won by a pro-KPU Kamba businessman Kioko. By March 1969, Kombo is back as Mayor.

Mombasa Political History

1974 General Election



Abdalla
Mwidau

Nominated MP

Arab

Said
Hemed

Mombasa
North

Mombasa
KANU
Chairman



Arab

Sharrif
Nassir

Mombasa
Central

Mijikenda

Khalif
Mwavumo

Mombasa
South

Mijikenda

Ferdinand
Mwaro

Mombasa
West

Ngala dies in 1972. In the 1974 election, all MPs change bar Mwavumo. Acting Mombasa KANU Chairman Sharrif Nassir (ally of VP Daniel arap Moi) is elected for the first time. Beating off a coup attempt in 1975, he is confirmed as chair in the 1976-77 party elections. Ex-Mayor Mwidau (an opponent of Nassir's) replaces Balala as Coast nominated MP. No other changes 1974-79



Mombasa Political History

1979 General Election




Mombasa Census 1979:	
Mijikenda	26%
Luo	13%
Kamba	12%
Luhya	8%
Asian	7%
Taita	7%
Arab	6%
Kikuyu	6%

Arab

CW


Said Hemed




Mombasa North

Mombasa KANU Chairman

Arab



Sharrif Nassir



Mombasa Central

Mijikenda

Abdalla Mwidau

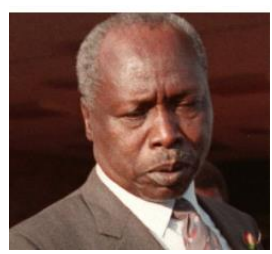
Mombasa South

Kamba

David Kioko

Mombasa West

Nassir re-elected in Mombasa Central (and becomes Assistant Minister) and Hemed becomes Chief Whip after winning Mombasa North. Kioko returns in Mombasa West. Mwidau moves from nominated to elected MP. Still no ministerial roles for Mombasa. Nassir receives significant financial support from Libya.



Mombasa Political History

1983: Snap General Election



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

Hemed

Defeated

Mijikenda

Ibrahim Mwaruwa

Mombasa North

Mombasa
KANU
Chairman



Arab

Sharrif Nassir



Mombasa Central

Mijikenda

Abdalla Mwidau

Mombasa South

Kamba

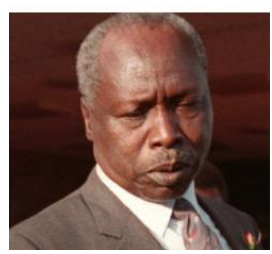
Kennedy Kiliku

Mombasa West

Ahmed Mwidani

Mayor of Mombasa

Njonjo's fall after the 1982 coup leaves Said Hemed, a close ally, exposed and he is duly defeated. Nassir is narrowly re-elected as is Mwidau. In Mombasa West, newcomer Kennedy Kiliku (another Kamba) is elected, Kioko having moved back to Ukambani.



Mombasa Political History

1984-86: by-elections



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



Ibrahim
Mwaruwa

Mombasa
North

Mombasa
KANU
Chairman



Sharrif
Nassir



Mombasa
Central

Mwidau

Died



Khalif
Mwavumo

Mombasa
South

Kennedy
Kiliku

Mombasa
West

Ahmed
Mwidani

Mayor of
Mombasa

Mwaruwa is ousted in 1984 after a petition, but re-elected. In 1984, Hemed is expelled from KANU in the anti-Njonjo purge but readmitted in 1987. Mwavumo returns in Mombasa South in 1986 after Mwidau dies of a heart attack.

Mombasa Political History


1988 (Public Queue Voting)



Mombasa Census 1989:

Mijikenda	28%
Luo	14%
Kamba	13%
Luhya	9%
Taita	7%
Kikuyu	6%
Asian	5%
Arab	5%

Arab



Said
Hemed

Kisauni

Mombasa
KANU
Chairman



Arab

Sharrif
Nassir



Mvita

Mijikenda

Abdulkadir
Mwidau

Likoni

Kamba

Kennedy
Kiliku

Changamwe

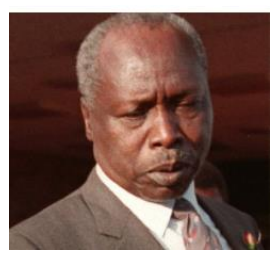
Ahmed
Mwidani

Mayor of
Mombasa

Boundary redistribution doesn't benefit Mombasa, but constituencies renamed. Nassir wins a decisive KANU primary victory and a rehabilitated Said Hemed returns. Abdalla Mwidau's son Abdulkadir is elected in Likoni, Kiliku returns in Changamwe. Soon after Nassir is re-elected in the KANU national elections, and remains Moi's fixer in Mombasa, but ministerial office and national level KANU leadership remain in the rural Mijikenda and Taita communities.

Mombasa Political History

Late 1992: Multi-Partyism



Kisauni



Mvita



Likoni



Changamwe



Mayor of
Mombasa

Queue voting abolished 1991. Multi-party democracy returns December 1991. As FORD and the DP emerge, Mombasa politics is split between pro-KANU forces led by Nassir and pro-opposition forces, centred around Luo and upcountry communities and radical Muslims led by Sheikh Balala and the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK). The incumbent Mijikenda and Arab MPs remains loyal, but Kiliku, chair of the 1992 select committee into the ethnic clashes, defects to the DP in October.


Mombasa Political History

December 1992: Multi-party General Elections



Hemed

Lost KANU Primary ↗

 Mijikenda (p)


Rashid Mzee

Kisauni

 Arab

Sharrif Nassir 

Mvita

 Mijikenda

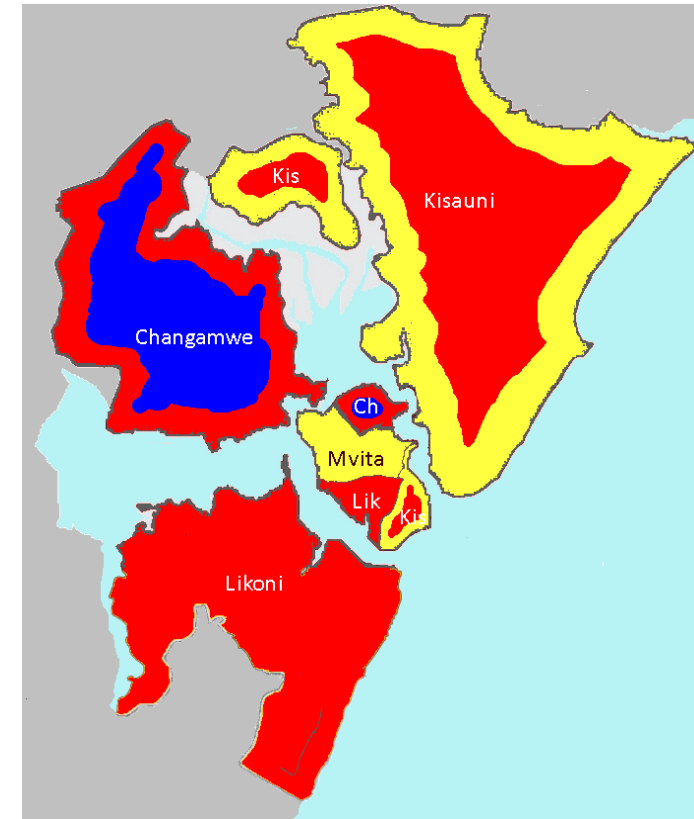
Khalid Mwavumo

Likoni

 Kamba

Kennedy Kiliku

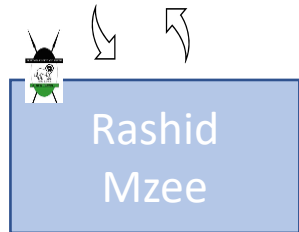
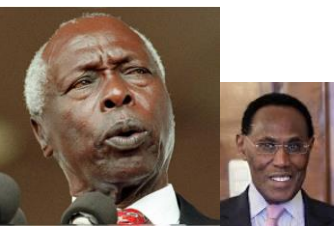
Changamwe



Moi wins two seats in the presidency and Odinga two, but three of four Mombasa MPs are from the opposition. Nassir and Kiliku re-elected

Mombasa Political History

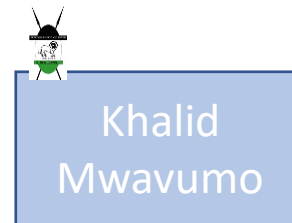
1993-5: Petitions and By-elections



Kisauni



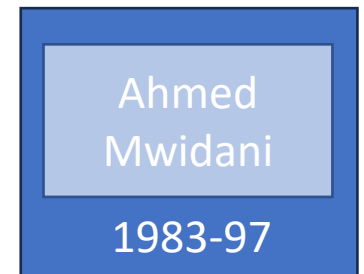
Mvita



Likoni



Changamwe

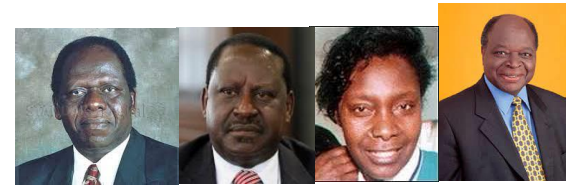


Mayor of Mombasa

Mzee's election is nullified after a petition in 1993 but he wins the seat back in November against KANU's Emmanuel Maitha. In 1995 Kiliku's election is also conveniently annulled, but he is too is re-elected for the DP. Tensions between the IPK and KANU-supporting militia led by Karissa Maitha spill over into violence periodically in the region.

Mombasa Political History

Dec 1997 General Election



Asian

Rashid
Sajaad

Nominated MP



Mijikenda

Karissa
Maitha



Kisauni



Arab

Sharrif
Nassir



Mvita

Shirikisho

Mijikenda

Suleiman
Shakombo

Likoni

Kiliku

Defeated

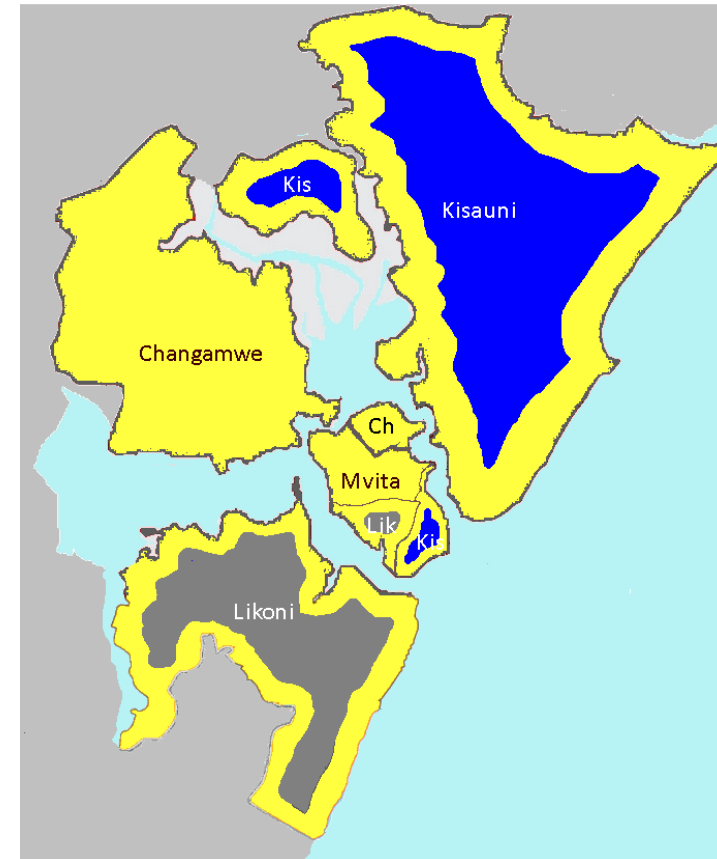


Tanzanian

Rahmadan
Kajembe



Changamwe



Boundary redistributions don't affect the city. In the runup to the polls, the coast is wracked by political violence instigated by elements within the government. After ethnic Mijikenda militia attacks on upcountry Kenyans, and then violent repression by the GSU, election turnouts are very low (37-44%) as many have fled. In the presidency, Moi wins all four seats. In parliament, KANU's Karissa Maitha (allegedly one of the architects of the violence) defects to the DP and wins. Coastal federalist party Shirikisho wins Likoni. Nassir remains in control of the Island. Kajembe seizes Changamwe from Kiliku. After the polls Moi nominates Rashid Sajaad, an Asian businessman also implicated in the clashes, to parliament.

Mombasa Political History

1998: Mombasa's first Minister



Rashid
Sajaad

Nominated MP



Karissa
Maitha



Kisauni



Sharrif
Nassir



Mvita

Shirikisho

Suleiman
Shakombo

Likoni



Rahmadan
Kajembe



Changamwe

Najib
Balala



1998-9

Masoud
Mwahima

1999-2001

Mayor of
Mombasa

In February 1998, Nassir is finally appointed as Mombasa's first minister since independence. In 1998-9, Mombasa has a new reforming mayor, businessman Najib Balala, but he is soon forced out.

Mombasa Political History

Late 2002: LDP Defection



Rashid
Sajaad

Nominated MP



Karissa
Maitha



Kisauni



Sharrif
Nassir



Mvita



Suleiman
Shakombo

Likoni



Rahmadan
Kajembe

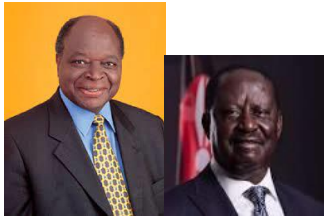


Changamwe

With the rainbow rebellion joining the national alliance, the political tide nationwide shift sharply against KANU, and even in Mombasa KANU's grip weakens. Shakombo defects to KANU in May but moves to the LDP later that year. Kajembe joins Maitha in the NARC ("National Alliance Rainbow Coalition") in October.

Mombasa Political History

2002: Moi Retires, Kibaki Elected



  *Mijikenda*

Karissa Maitha 

Kisauni

Nassir

Defeated 

  *Arab*

Najib Balala 

Mvita

 *Mijikenda*

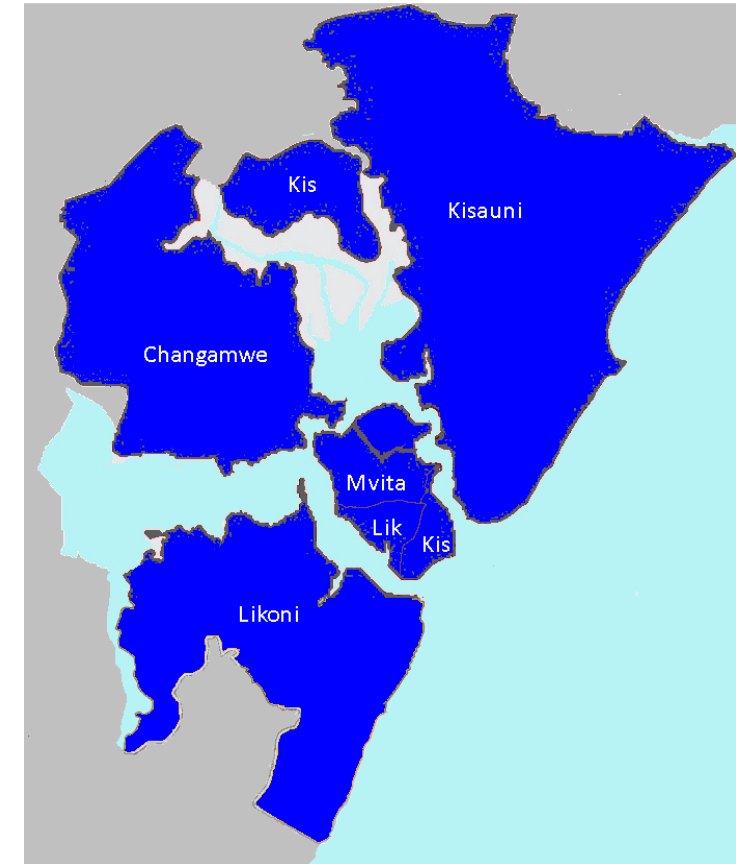
Suleiman Shakombo

Likoni

 *Tanzanian*

Rahmadan Kajembe 

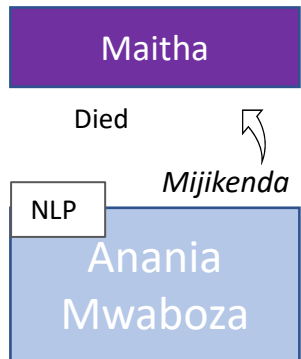
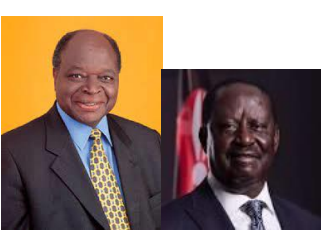
Changamwe



Moi retires and his successor Uhuru is defeated for the Presidency by Kibaki. In Mombasa, the story is the same with a clean sweep for Kibaki. NARC (dark blue) also wins all four seats in Parliament. Nassir finally loses Mvita to Najib Balala. Karissa, Shakombo and Kajembe win, now all in NARC. Maitha and Balala both become ministers.

Mombasa Political History

2004: Maitha Dies, By-election



Kisauni



Mvita



Likoni



Changamwe

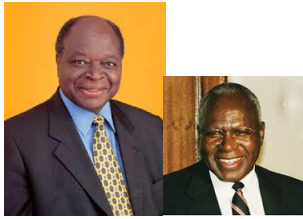


Mayor of
Mombasa

In 2004, new Mijikenda “kingpin” Maitha dies suddenly. He is replaced by little-known Mwaboza (backed by the (ex-DP) NAK wing of the coalition), defeating NARC’s Hassan Joho (backed by the LDP wing). In Kibaki’s first 2004 coalition government, there is no change

Mombasa Political History

2005: Second Coalition Government



NLP *Mijikenda*
Anania Mwaboza

Kisauni

NARC **S**
Najib Balala 

Mvita

NARC
Suleiman Shakombo

Likoni

NARC **M**
Rahmadan Kajembe 

Changamwe

Ali Shekue
2005-7

Mayor of Mombasa

In the 2005 Banana-Orange referendum split, Mombasa votes decisively (4-1) no. Balala backs the Orange side and is sacked. In November 2005, digging deep, Kibaki appoints Kajembe as a minister.

Mombasa Political History

2007: General Election and Subsequent Chaos




Swahili

Ali Hassan
Joho




Kisauni




Arab

Najib
Balala



Mvita



Mijikenda

Masoud
Mwahima

Likoni

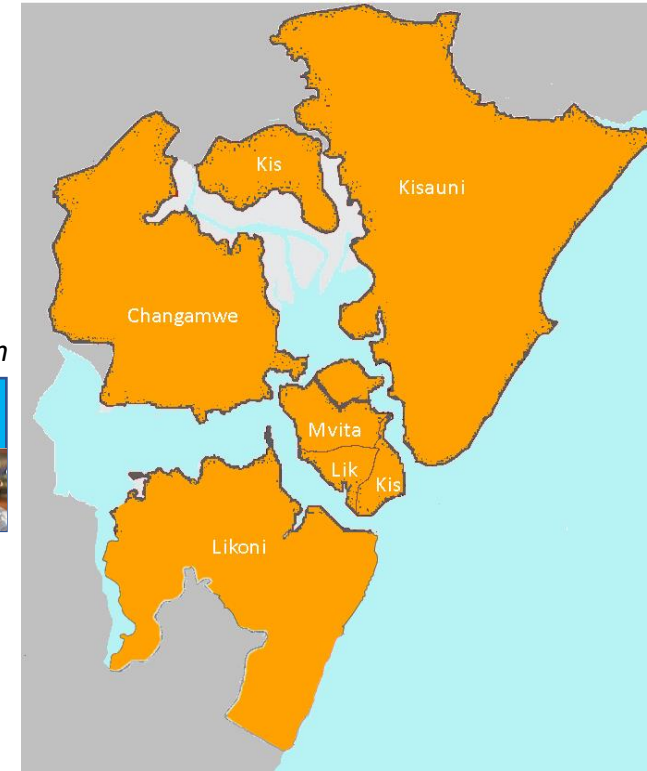


Tanzanian

Rahmadan
Kajembe



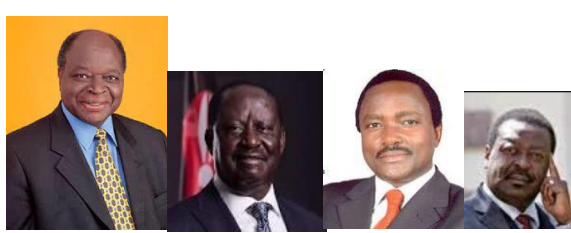
Changamwe



ODM-PNU battle nationwide. Balala campaigns for the ODM nomination against Odinga but stands down, facing inevitable defeat, and is nominated as one of Odinga's "Pentagon" of key leaders. Kibaki declared the winner in contested presidential polls. In Mombasa, Odinga beats Kibaki more than 2-1 and ODM (orange) takes all four seats, with controversial businessman Ali Joho the most notable new entry.

Mombasa Political History

2008: Grand Coalition



Ali Hassan
Joho



Kisauni



Najib
Balala



Mvita



Masoud
Mwahima

Likoni



Rahmadan
Kajembe



Changamwe

In the grand coalition (PNU-ODM-ODM-K), Balala returns, now as Tourism minister.

Mombasa Political History

2009-12



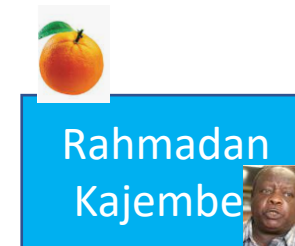
Kisauni



Mvita

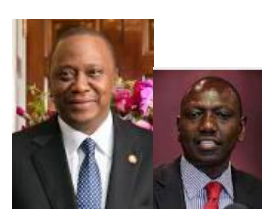


Likoni



Changamwe

With the new constitution gradually coming in effect, the coalition stumbles on, as do the ICC cases against Kenyatta and Ruto. In Mombasa, in March 2012, Balala is sacked at Odinga's request, as too close to the Kibaki wing. Soon after he defects to Mudavadi's UDF, hopeful that he will be Mudavadi's running mate. Meanwhile Kenyatta is building his National Alliance (TNA) and Ruto the URP under the umbrella of the Jubilee Alliance. 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. Balala meanwhile has formed his own micro-party, the Republican Congress Party. In 2010, Joho is named as a cocaine and heroin smuggler by the US government.



Mombasa Political History

2013: New Constitution

M
Najib Balala




CS for Mining

Luo
Hezron Bolo





Nyali

Mijikenda?
Rashid Bedzimba




Kisauni

Arab
Abdulswamad Nassir


Mvita

Mijikenda
Masoud Mwahima



Likoni

Swahili, Arab?
Bady Bady



Jomvu

Mijikenda
Omar Shimbwa



Changamwe


Arab
Ali Hassan Joho





Governor

Kaiembe
Balala

Defeated



Arab

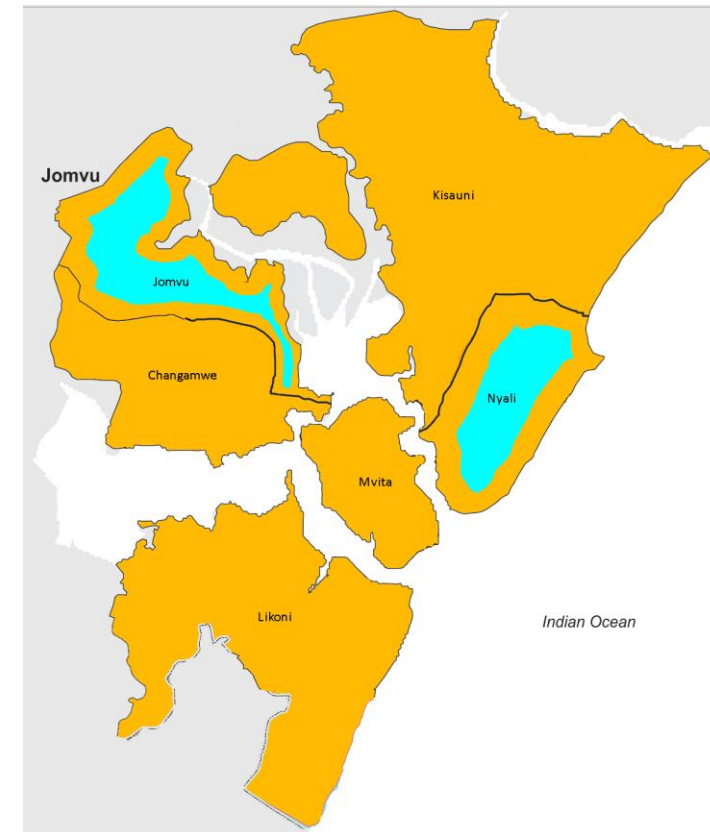


Senator

Swahili
Mishi Juma



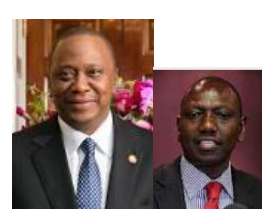

Women's Rep



New constitution, new boundaries (and two new seats for Mombasa), bicameral parliament, Governors. Ministers (Cabinet Secretaries) no longer MPs. TNA and URP in alliance win the election, but Mombasa is a clean sweep for the CORD alliance. Odinga (ODM) wins every seat in the presidency. Joho wins the governorship for ODM. Balala and Kajembe both lose as Senator. ODM and Wiper win all the MPs seats. Mishi Juma becomes Mombasa's first elected woman representative. Nassir's son wins "back" Mvita. Balala returns as one of Kenyatta's cabinet secretaries.

Mombasa Political History

2014-16: Joho's elevation



Najib Balala



CS, Tourism

Hezron Bolo

Nyali

Rashid Bedzimba

Kisauni

Abdulswamad Nassir

Mvita

Masoud Mwahima

Likoni

Bady Bady

Jomvu

Omar Shimbwa

Changamwe

Deputy Leader

Ali Hassan Joho

Governor

Hassan Omar

Senator

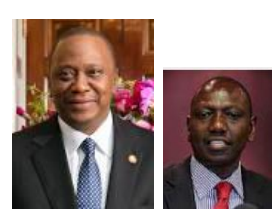
Mishi Juma

Women's Rep

2014 Joho becomes ODM deputy leader to Odinga. It is alleged he is a major financial donor to the party. However, he faces allegations relating to drug smuggling and forgery of a school exam certificate to get into university. Balala faces reports of a \$1m bribe demand as Mines CS, but survives.


Mombasa Political History

2017: Gen Elections



M

Najib Balala




CS, T&W

IND Borana

Mohamed Ali


Nyali

Mijikenda




Ali Mbogo

Kisauni



Arab

Abdulswamad Nassir



Mvita



Swahili

Mishi Juma



Likoni



Swahili, Arab?

Bady Bady

Jomvu



Mijikenda


Omar Shimbwa

Changamwe


Omar

Deputy Leader


Defeated



Ali Hassan Joho




Governor



Swahili

Moh'd MwinyiHaji



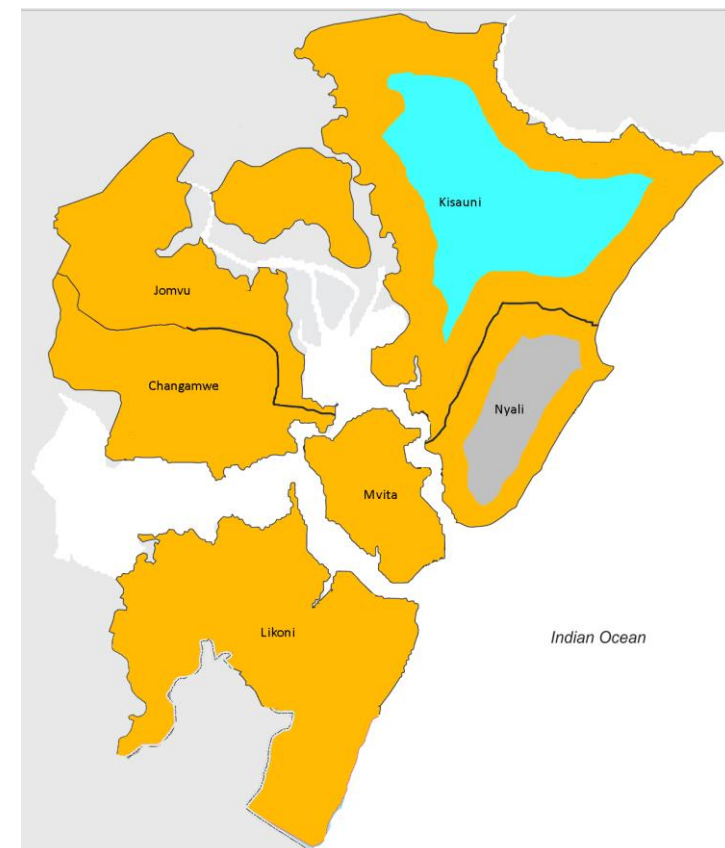
Senator



?

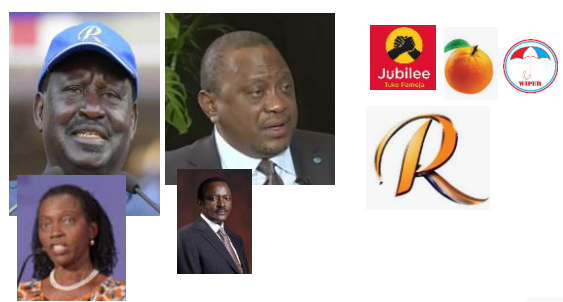
Asha Mohamed

Women's Rep



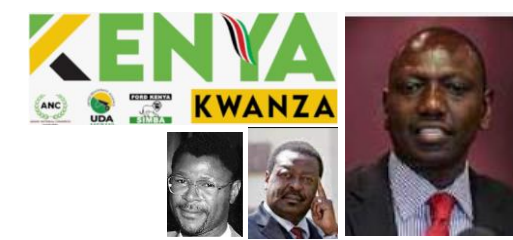
Mombasa Census 2019:
1.2 million people
No ethnic results published (though they exist) but 50 per cent of voters reported by the media to be Mijikenda







Wiper rejoins ODM in NASA but loses to the Jubilee alliance of TNA and URP. Odinga (ODM) wins all seats in the presidential polls. Joho is reelected as governor and NASA take all other Mombasa seats again bar a pro-Raila independent, journalist Ali Mbogo in Nyali. Juma moves from Women Rep to constituency MP. Balala returns as Tourism & Wildlife CS. Joho's company is awarded a contract for the new inland container depot in Mombasa in 2018 in questionable circumstances.





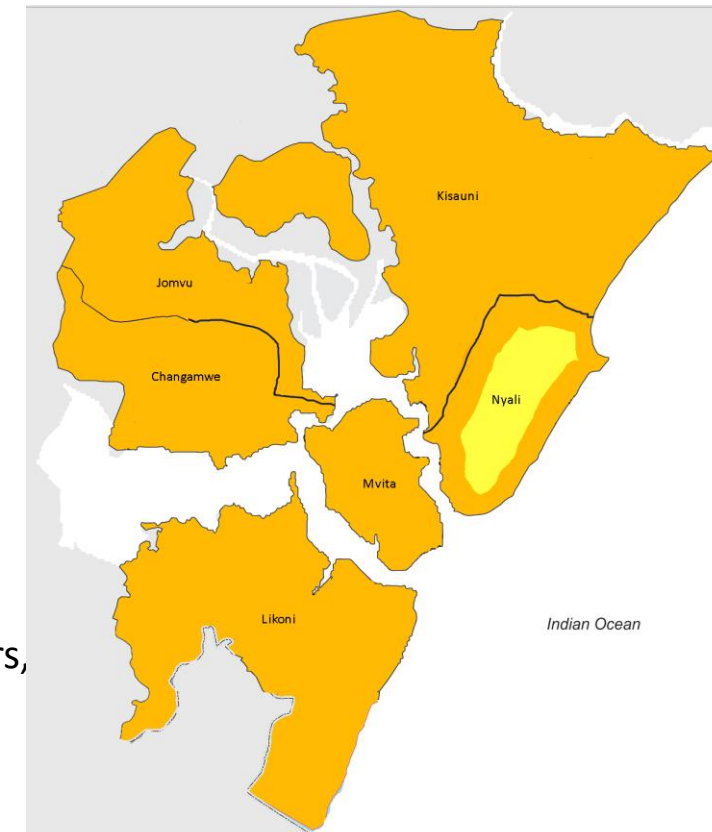
Mombasa Political History

August 2022: Ruto's Revenge



 <i>Borana</i> Mohamed Ali Nyali	 <i>Mijikenda</i> Rashid Bedzimba Kisauni	 ? Mohamed Machele Mvita	 <i>Swahili</i> Mishi Juma Likoni	 <i>Swahili, Arab?</i> Bady Bady Jomvu	 <i>Mijikenda</i> Omar Shimbwa Changamwe
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Joho ineligible Arab ↗ Abdulswam ad Nassir Governor	 <i>Swahili</i> Moh'd MwinyiHaji Senator	 ? Zamzam Mohamed Women's Rep
---	--	---



Odinga loses narrowly to Ruto nationwide, but in Mombasa he again wins every seat, though more narrowly (161,000 votes to 114,000) as Ruto has some support in the Mijikenda and urban voters everywhere. Joho cannot stand (two-term limit) and initially declares for the presidency himself, then supports the Odinga campaign. Gubernatorial elections are delayed two weeks due to ballot paper errors, but result is as expected and Joho's nominee Nassir wins. ODM fields the same team (no primaries) and wins all seats except Nyali, which Ali retains on a personal vote for UDA. Wiper no longer holds any Mombasa seat.