

A Political History of the northern Kikuyu of Nyeri, Kirinyaga and Nyandarua

As told through their elected representatives, 1957-2022

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Series #11

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Limitations

- Excludes Local Government throughout.



1 Gusii
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Northern Kikuyu Political History

The Kikuyu (also Gikuyu or Agikuyu) are the largest Bantu-speaking people of Kenya, mostly living in the highland area of south-central Kenya, south and west of Mount Kenya, having migrated into the region around 400 years ago.

There was relatively little differentiation between the southern and northern Kikuyu at the dawn of colonial rule, but southern Kikuyu were the first to be integrated into the colonial economy via proximity to Nairobi, as well as colonial land alienations and the creation of the 'white highlands' to their north and west. The northern Kikuyu were less affected, but the mountains and forests of Mount Kenya and the Aberdares meant this region served as the twin centres of Mau Mau operations in 1952-55.

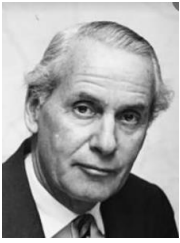
The struggles of the Kikuyu to rid themselves of colonial control, the Mau Mau war and the resulting agricultural and political settlement which transformed central Kenya's politics have been well documented elsewhere. As we open the story, Central Province remains under emergency (military) rule, the Mau Mau war is nearly over, but many detainees including their alleged ringleader Jomo Kenyatta (from Kiambu) remain in prison or exile.

The story of the Kikuyu diaspora into the Rift Valley – particularly Nakuru and Laikipia – has been told elsewhere.

In the rest of this analysis, all politicians listed are Kikuyu unless otherwise noted. If non-Kikuyu, they are coloured grey with a suffix i.e. '(Kal)' for Kalenjin.

Northern Kikuyu Political History

1957



Governor
Renison

Jomo
Kenyatta



J.M.
Kariuki



Davidson
Kuguru

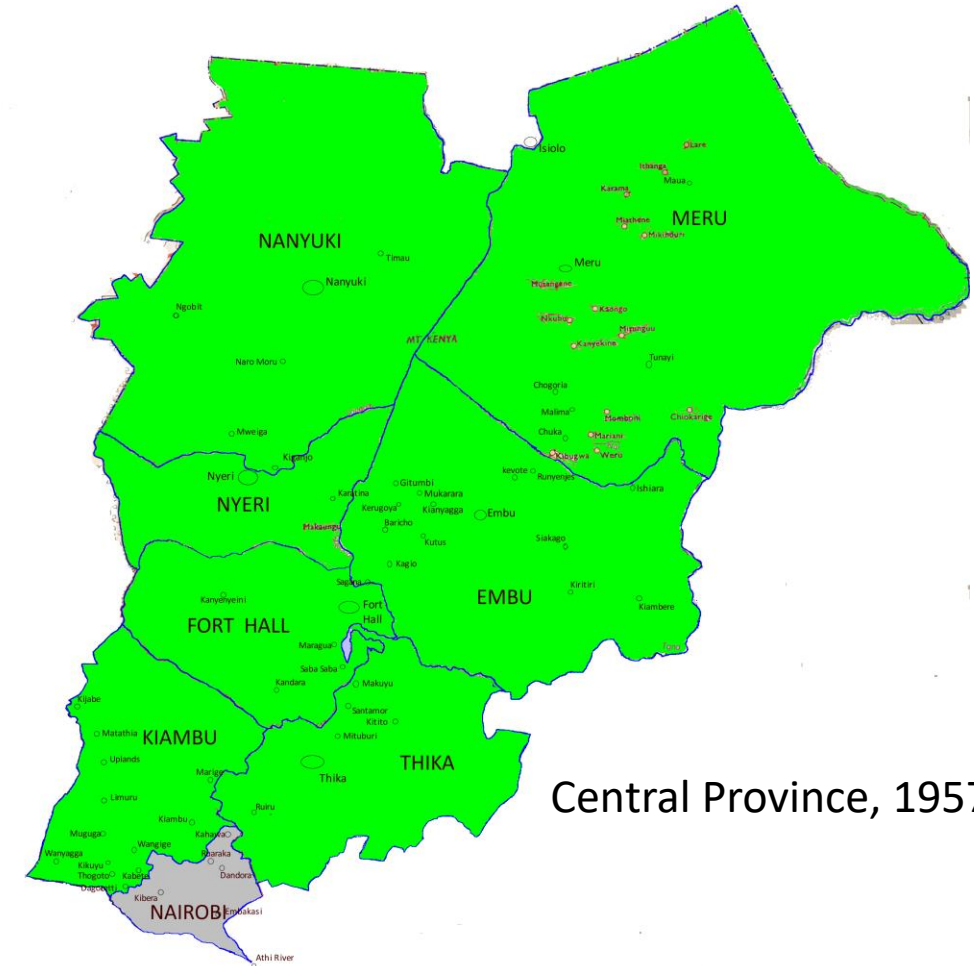


Waruru
Kanja



Bernard
Mate (M)

Central Province

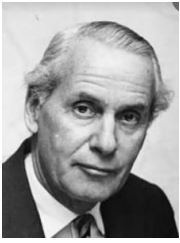


Central Province, 1957

With one constituency for the entire expansive Central Province (covering both settler territories in Thika and Nanyuki and African “reserves”) and most Kikuyu unable to meet the loyalty qualifications to vote, the first elected representative for the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru region was a Meru, Bernard Mate. Kenyatta, Josiah Mwangi (“JM”) Kariuki (from Nyeri) and other detainees including Davidson Kuguru (also Nyeri) remained imprisoned. Mau Mau leaders from the area (Dedan Kimathi, Stanley Mathenge) are mostly dead or vanished.

Northern Kikuyu Political History

1958



Governor
Renison

Jomo
Kenyatta

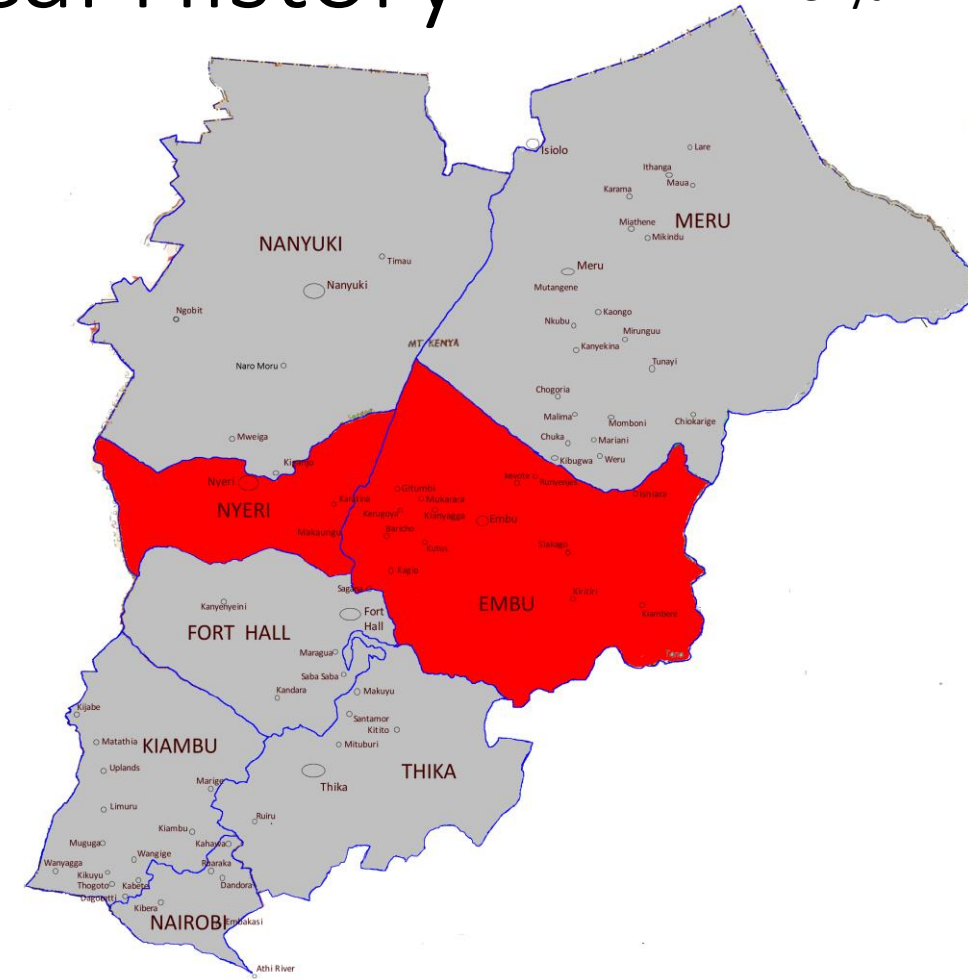
J.M.
Kariuki

Waruru
Kanja



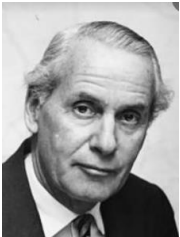
Jeremiah
Nyagah (M)

Nyeri-Embu



Central Province, 1958

With the addition of a new constituency for Nyeri-Embu, northern Central Province elects schoolteacher Jeremiah Nyagah (a Mbeere from Embu). Meanwhile, the Mau Mau hardcore remain in indefinite detention.



Governor Ronald Ngala
Renison (KADU)

Northern Kikuyu

Feb 1961: The Kenyatta Election



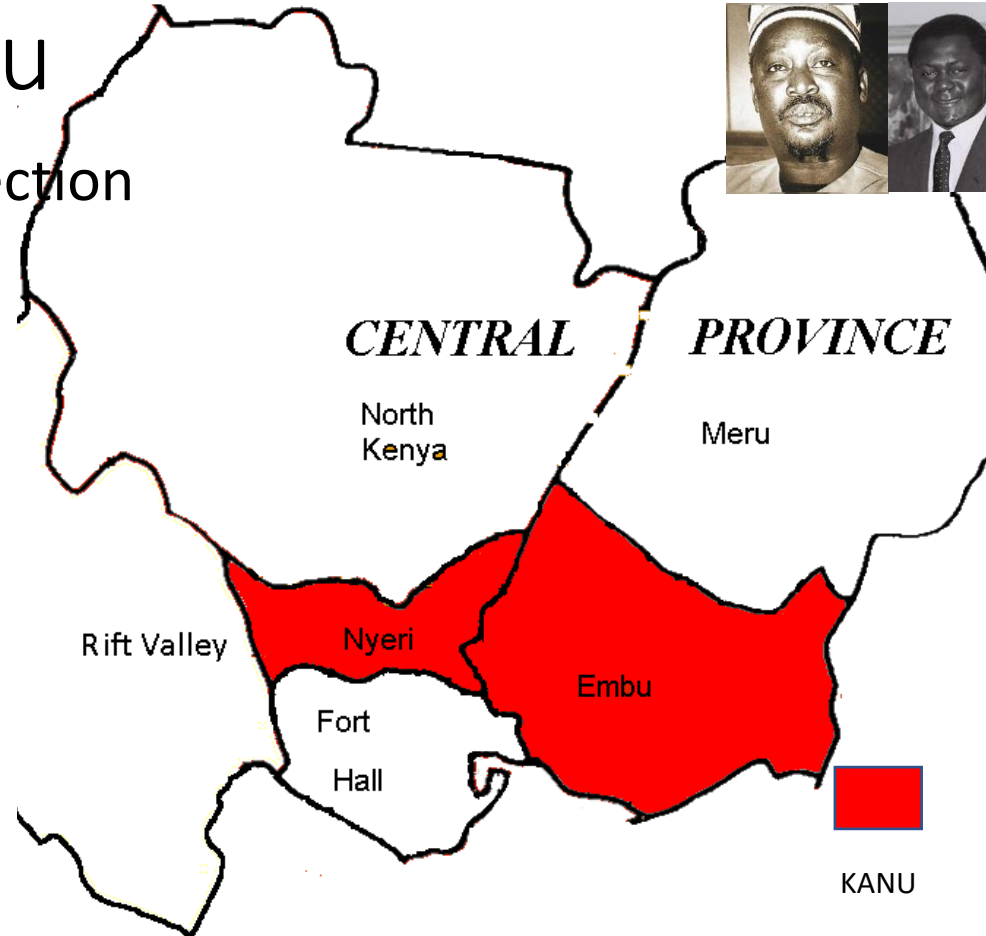
Joseph
Mathenge

Nyeri



Jeremiah
Nyagah(M)

Embu



In the 1961 “Kenyatta election”, with the gerrymandered constituencies designed to create European-only constituencies alongside African ones, the newly-formed KANU wins both African seats. Nyeri elects little-known ex-detainee Joseph Mathenge (uncle of Mwai Kibaki and ally of Tom Mboya in Nairobi). Voters in Embu - including Kirinyaga – re-elect Nyagah, defeating KANU independent Nahashon Njuno (from Kirinyaga). North Kenya and Rift Valley are “European only” constituencies.

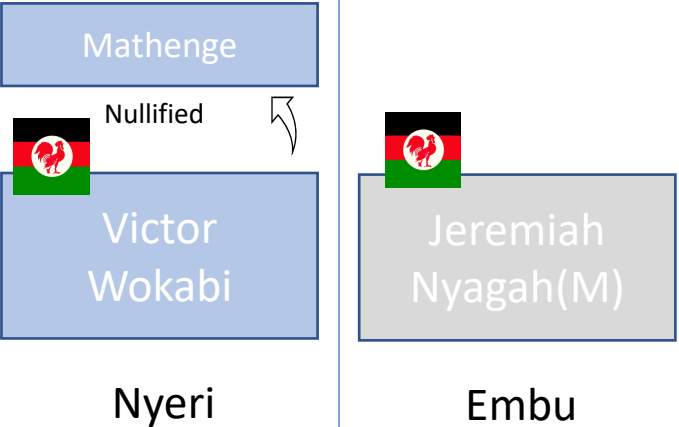
Although the largest party, KANU goes into opposition, refusing to join the government until Kenyatta is released.



Northern Kikuyu

Apr 1962-63: Coalition Government

Governor Renison Jomo Kenyatta Ronald Ngala



In December 1961, Mathenge’s election is nullified and in January 1962 he is replaced by ex-detainee and journalist Victor Wokabi (no election results are on file). In January 1962, a freed Kenyatta is elected unopposed to the Legco, a seat having been found for him



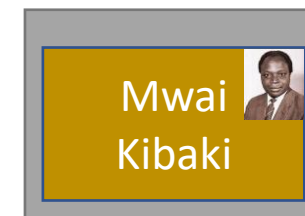
Governor
Macdonald



Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya
(KANU)

Northern Kikuyu

1963: For Self-Government



Ngei
(APP)

Ngala
(KADU)

Nyandarua



Aberdares



Nyandarua
Senate

Nyeri



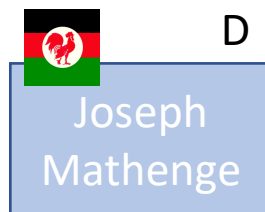
Mathira



Othaya-S. Tetu



Nyeri

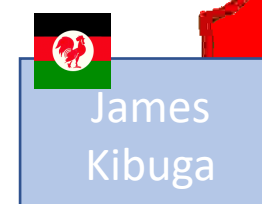


Nyeri Senate

Kirinyaga



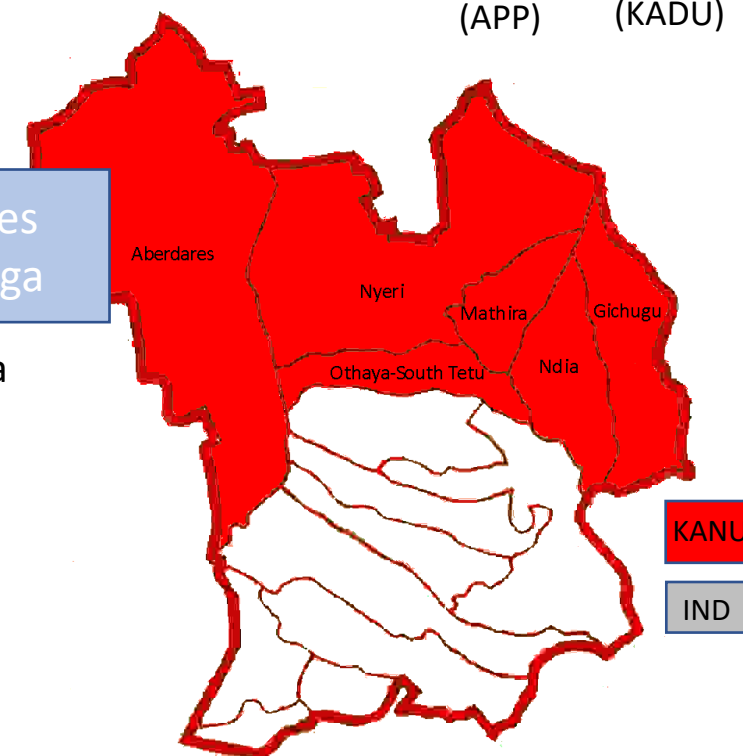
Gichugu



Ndia



Kirinyaga Senate



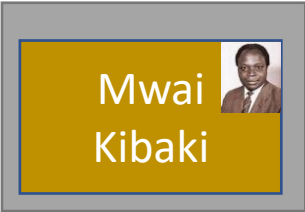
In the 1963 independence elections, the new Central Province comes into being, losing Embu, Meru and north Nanyuki, but gaining Kirinyaga from Embu, southern Nanyuki and the Aberdares mountains, now an area for Kikuyu settlement. KANU wins every seat. The new Nyandarua district elects Kenyatta's personal secretary JM Kariuki as MP. Mathenge returns as Nyeri senator and the region elects relative radicals, many of them ex-detainees. No ministers are chosen from any of the districts and (apart from 'JM') the region's politicians do not prosper. KANU leader and Nyeri Kikuyu Mwai Kibaki is however elected in Nairobi.



Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya, Ngala

Northern Kikuyu

1964: The First One-Party State



Nyandarua



Aberdares



Nyandarua
Senate

Nyeri



Mathira



Othaya-S. Tetu



Nyeri



Nyeri Senate

Kirinyaga



Gichugu



Ndia



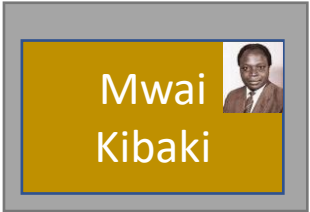
Kirinyaga Senate

In November 1964, Ngala and Muliro fold KADU and join KANU, creating a *de facto* one party state. In December, Kenya becomes a republic with Kenyatta elevated to President. Ministers swap portfolios but all stay in office.

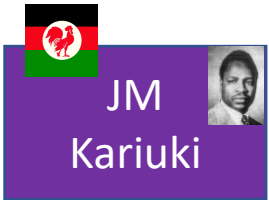


Northern Kikuyu

1966: Little General Election



Nyandarua



Aberdares



Nyandarua
Senate

Nyeri



Mathira



Othaya-S. Tetu



Nyeri



Nyeri Senate

Kirinyaga



Defeated



Gichugu



Ndia



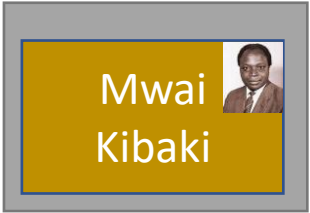
Kirinyaga Senate

In 1966, Murang'a political leader Bildad Kaggia joins Odinga to form the KPU. Although Wariithi has long been close to the Odinga wing, he does not defect. Only Gichoya joins Kaggia and is defeated in the resulting little general election. All other MPs and senators from the region remain loyal.



Northern Kikuyu

1967 Boundary Redistribution



Nyandarua



Nyandarua
North



Nyandarua
South

Nyeri



Mathira



Othaya



Nyeri



S. Tetu-
Mukurueini

Kirinyaga



Kirinyaga East



Kirinyaga West



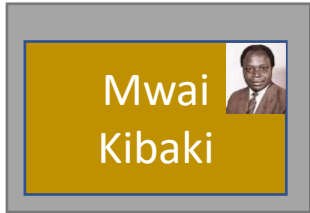
Kirinyaga South

The Senate is abolished, and Senators are assigned to three new constituencies.



Northern Kikuyu

1969 General Election

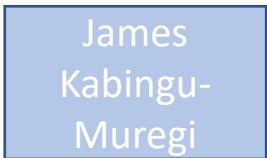


One Party State
(Part 2):
1969-82

Nyandarua



Nyandarua
North



Nyandarua
South

Nyeri



Mathira



Othaya

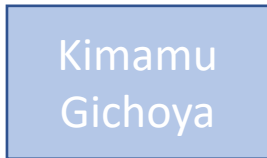


Nyeri



S. Tetu-
Mukurueini

Kirinyaga



Kirinyaga East



Kirinyaga West



Kirinyaga South

The KPU is banned, Odinga detained. Return of one-party state. Most MPs lose their seats but the influential populist Kariuki is re-elected easily. Newcomers include the radical ex-Mau Mau Waruru Kanja and ex-detainee Davidson Kuguru, and in Kirinyaga 28-year old James Njiru. No-one is appointed a minister. Kariuki, who was expecting and widely tipped for a ministry, is made assistant minister only and takes an increasingly confrontational position towards Kenyatta.

Northern Kikuyu, 1960s and 70s

Nyeri

Kirinyaga

Eliud
Mahihu

PC 1964-80

Isaiah
Mathenge

PC 1965-82

Duncan
Ndegwa

Sec to Cab 1963-67; Dir. of Personnel
CBK Gov 67-82

Joseph
Gethenji

1968-78

James
Kanyotu

Special Branch Head
1965-91

Geoffrey
Kariithi

Civil service
head 1967-79

Matere
Keriri



Head, DFCK
1972-82

Matu
Wamae



Head ICDC
1969-79

Stephen
Muriithi

Dep-Dir Intelligence
1965-82

Ignatius
Nderi

Head of CID
1973-84

Philip
Ndegwa

PS; Chairman AFC -74
CBK Gov 1982-88

Although senior state jobs don't flow as freely to northern as to southern Kikuyu, they still flow. Except for Nyandarua, which as a settlement area has few indigenous people. Most settlers there look back to their home districts politically in this period. Most of these senior figures eventually move into active politics in the 1980s.

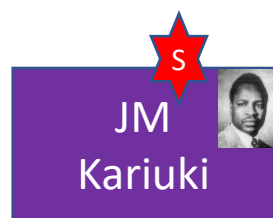


Northern Kikuyu

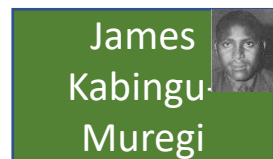
1974 General Election



Nyandarua



Nyandarua
North



Nyandarua
South

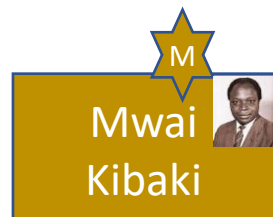
Nyeri



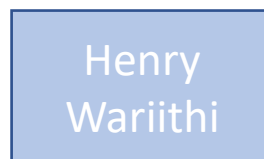
Mathira



Nyeri

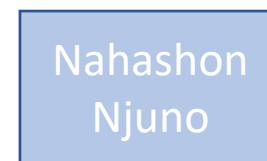


Othaya

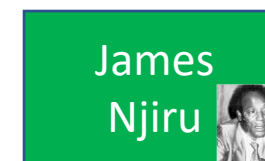


S. Tetu-
Mukurueini

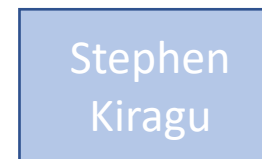
Kirinyaga



Kirinyaga East



Kirinyaga West



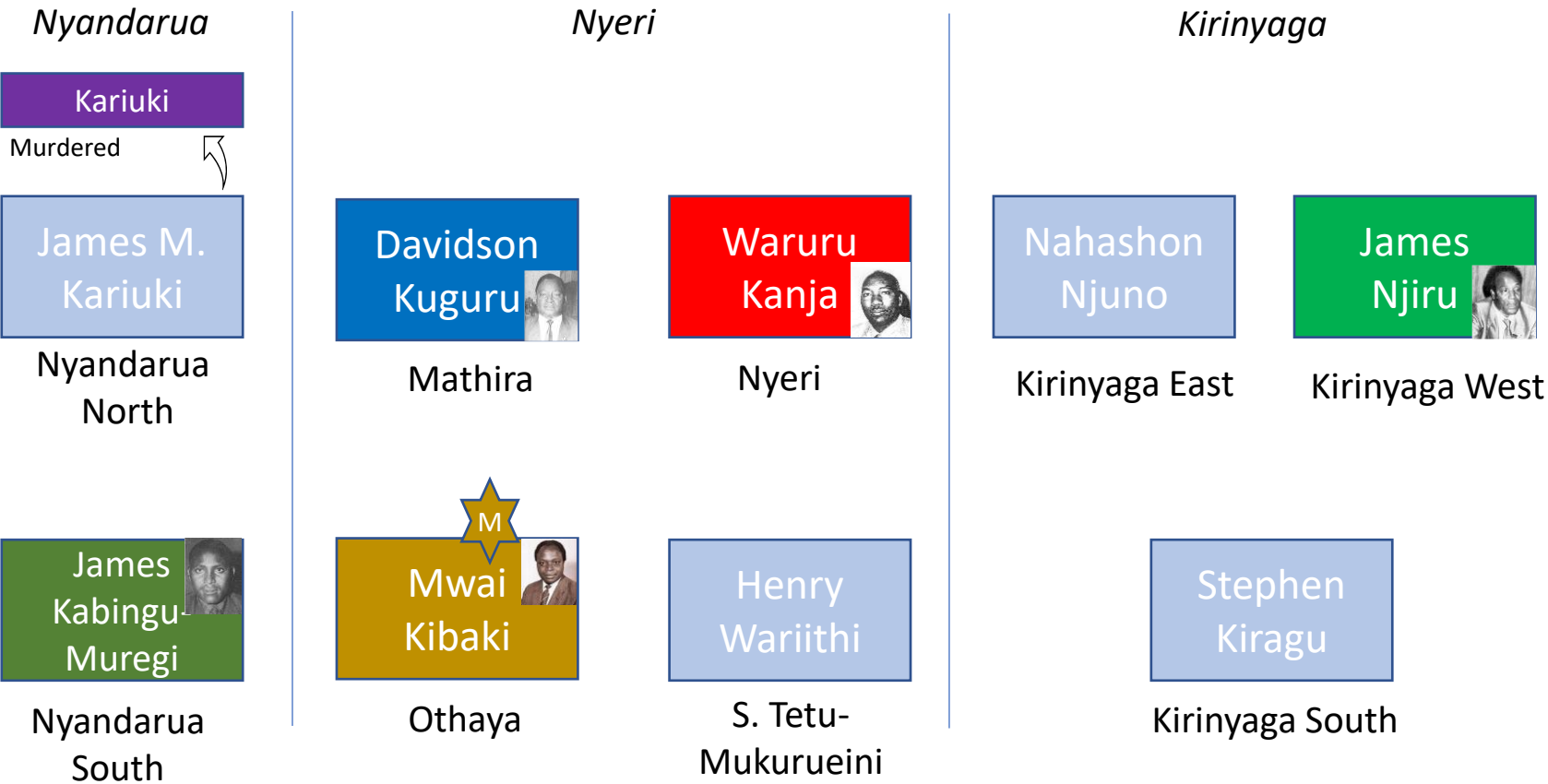
Kirinyaga South

1974 general election. The height of Kikuyu dominance of Kenya. Although barred from campaigning, Kariuki is re-elected by a landslide. Kibaki moves from Nairobi to a safer seat at home in Othaya. Wariithi returns, most others re-elected. Kibaki finally brings the ministerial 'flag' to the northern Kikuyu. Kariuki is dropped as an Assistant Minister.

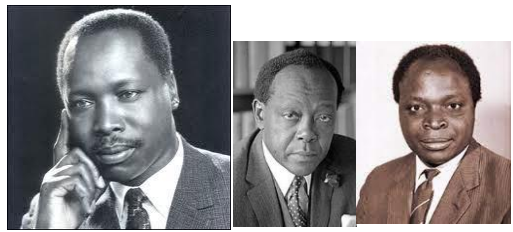


Northern Kikuyu

1975-76: JM Kariuki's murder



In 1975, Kariuki is murdered by state security officials in a botched interrogation. Kenya comes close to civil unrest and the government's authority is severely damaged. He is replaced in a by-election. Kiragu loses his seat in a petition but is re-elected



Northern Kikuyu

Aug 1978 Kenyatta Dies



Nyandarua

James M.
Kariuki

Nyandarua
North

James
Kabingu-
Muregi

Nyandarua
South

Nyeri

Davidson
Kuguru

Mathira



Vice-
President

VP

Mwai
Kibaki

Othaya

Waruru
Kanja

Nyeri

Henry
Wariithi

S. Tetu-
Mukurueini

Kirinyaga

Nahashon
Njuno

Kirinyaga East

James
Njiru

Kirinyaga West

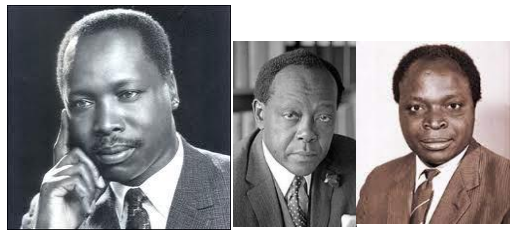
Stephen
Kiragu

Kirinyaga South

President

Daniel
Arap Moi

Kenyatta dies in August 1978 and Daniel arap Moi is sworn in as acting and then full president (having survived efforts to change the constitution to prevent this during 1976-77). He is backed by some Kikuyu leaders, notably Kibaki, whose star is rising. In October 1978, Kibaki is appointed national Vice-President and is elected as KANU National Vice President two weeks after



Northern Kikuyu

1979 General Election: No New Broom



Nyandarua

James M.
Kariuki

Nyandarua
North

Kimani wa
Nyoike

Nyandarua
South

Nyeri

Davidson
Kuguru

Mathira



Vice-
President

VP

Mwai
Kibaki

Othaya

Waruru
Kanja

Nyeri

Henry
Wariithi

S. Tetu-
Mukurueini

Kirinyaga

Nahashon
Njuno

Kirinyaga East

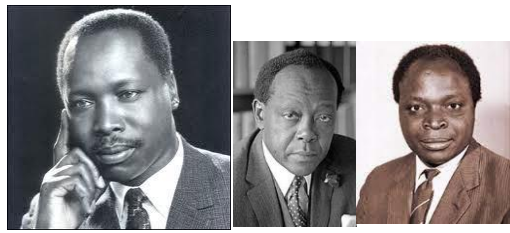
James
Njiru

Kirinyaga West

Stephen
Kiragu

Kirinyaga South

In Nyeri, Kibaki is re-elected (unopposed) as are all the incumbents. In Kirinyaga the situation is the same. In Nyandarua the sole newcomer is trade unionist and relative radical Kimani wa Nyoike. Vice-President Kibaki remains the region's sole minister.



Northern Kikuyu

1982: The Storm Breaks



Nyandarua

James M.
Kariuki

Nyandarua
North

Kimani wa
Nyoike

Nyandarua
South

Nyeri

Davidson
Kuguru

Mathira



Vice-
President

VP

Mwai
Kibaki

Othaya

Kanja

Jailed



John
Githua

Nyeri

Henry
Wariithi

S. Tetu-
Mukurueini

Kirinyaga

Nahashon
Njuno

Kirinyaga East

James
Njiru

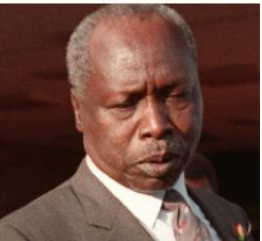


Kirinyaga West

Stephen
Kiragu

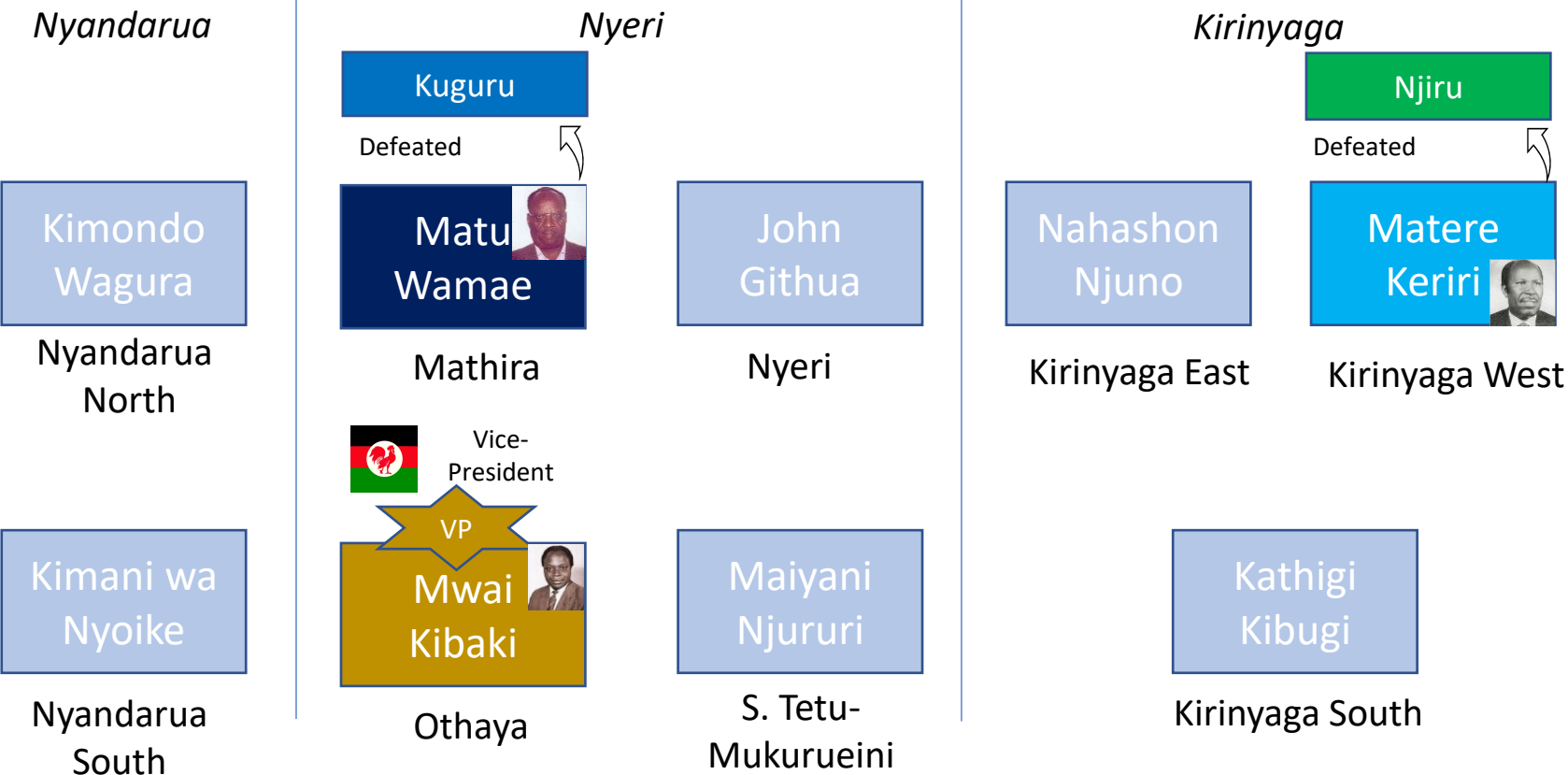
Kirinyaga South

In 1981-2, political tensions become open. Kenya becomes a formal one party state. Detention without trial returns. Kanja is sacked as assistant minister (in 1980), jailed for exchange control violations (1981) and replaced in a rigged by-election (1982). A failed Luo-led August 1982 coup attempt leads to the rapid deconstruction of Kikuyu power. Njonjo loses Moi's trust and becomes a marked man, but Kibaki remains apparently in favour.

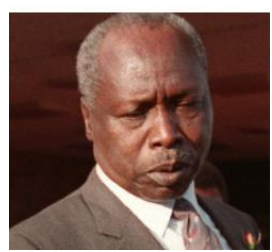


Northern Kikuyu

1983: Snap General Election



The 1983 snap election sees efforts to remove pro-Njonjo leaders but also (less successfully) those allied to Kibaki. Allies Wamae and Keriri defeat Kuguru and Njiru, strengthening Kibaki's hand, and he is reappointed Vice President, but Moi is coming to see him as his next Kikuyu opponent.



Northern Kikuyu

1984-87: Calm amid the Storm



Nyandarua

Kimondo
Wagura

Nyandarua
North



Kimani wa
Nyoike

Nyandarua
South

Nyeri

Matu
Wamae



Mathira

John
Githua

Nyeri



Vice-
President

VP

Mwai
Kibaki



Othaya

Maiyani
Njururi

S. Tetu-
Mukurueini

Kirinyaga

Nahashon
Njuno

Kirinyaga East

Matere
Keriri



Kirinyaga West

Kathigi
Kibugi

Kirinyaga South

1984 is dominated by the Njonjo inquiry which ends inconclusively with his retirement from public life. Kenya becomes more paranoid and repressive. Despite the tension outside, the 1983 dramatis personae remain in post for five years mostly unchanged (in 1987, Assistant Minister wa Nyoike is sacked). Kibaki's influence is increasingly restricted by the hidden hand of presidential disfavour.



Northern Kikuyu

1988 (Public Queue Voting)



Nyandarua

James
Kabingu
Muregi



Kipipiri

Kimondo
Wagura

Ndaragwa

Josiah
Kimemia

Kinangop

Nyeri

Muruthi
Mureithi

Kieni

Waruru
Kanja



Nyeri Town

Mwai
Kibaki



Othaya

Nahashon
Kanji



Tetu

Davidson
Kuguru



Mathira

Maiyani
Njururi

Mukurueini

Wamae

Defeated



Kirinyaga

Keriri

Defeated



James
Njiru



Ndia

Geoffrey
Kariithi

Gichugu

Kathigi
Kibugi

Mwea

Eliud
Mahihu

Nominated MP

The 1987 boundary redistribution adds one seat to Nyandarua and two to Nyeri. In the rigged queue-voting primary and then general elections of 1988, several pro-Kibaki leaders are defeated, some openly rigged out. Although Kibaki wins overwhelmingly, he is dropped by Moi as VP but accepts a lesser ministerial post. Soon after, he is dropped as KANU Vice-President. Kanja, now a Moi insider, returns as second minister for Nyeri, a deliberate provocation. Njiru, another Moi loyalist, is Kirinyaga's first minister.



Northern Kikuyu

1989-91: Weakness, Instability



Nyandarua

James
Kabingu
Muregi



Kipipiri

Kimondo
Wagura

Ndaragwa



Josiah
Kimemia

Kinangop

Nyeri

Kanja

Expelled from KANU

Muruthi
Mureithi

Kieni

Isaac
Ndirangu

Nyeri Town



Davidson
Kuguru



Mathira



Mwai
Kibaki

Othaya



Nahashon
Kanji



Tetu

Maiyani
Njururi

Mukurueini

Kirinyaga



Geoffrey
Kariithi

Gichugu



James
Njiru



Ndia

Eliud
Mahihu

Nominated MP

Kathigi
Kibugi

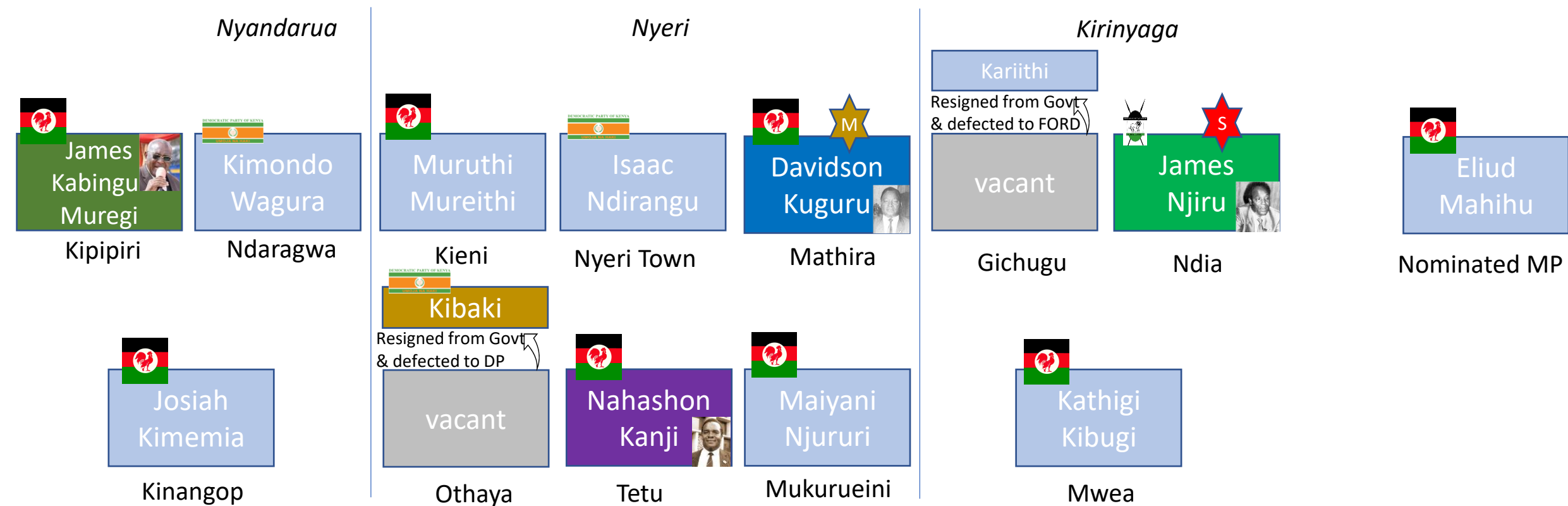
Mwea

Gripped by cycles of instability and political tension, Kenya gains a new (southern Kikuyu) vice president in 1988 and loses him again in 1989. In that year Kuguru becomes a third Nyeri minister. Then Kanja is sacked, expelled from KANU and replaced in a by election and as minister by Nahashon Kanyo. Ex-civil service head Kariithi and MP Kimemia are sacked as assistant ministers in 1989. In May 1990, Matiba and Rubia lead 'Saba Saba' multi-party protests and are detained, but Kibaki remains loyal and the northern Kikuyu are less vocal. Moi recognises that political change is inevitable and KANU begins internal reforms. In February 1991 queue voting is abolished.



Northern Kikuyu

1992: Multi-Party Wave 2



KANU reforms and the west piles pressure on Kenya to restore democracy. Ethnic clashes begin. Multi-party democracy returns Dec 1991. Kibaki's Democratic Party and FORD are formed and Kibaki and Kariithi defect and lose their seats. These are not declared vacant, leaving their constituencies without MPs for a year. Kabingu-Muregi is briefly made a minister. Other MPs stay put. Ken Matiba is in London recuperating, then returns to launch a no-compromise bid to take the presidency via FORD, leading to the creation of two "FORD" (-Asili and -Kenya) parties and a four-way battle for the presidency. In October 1992 with parliament dissolved, more MPs defect including Njiru, who is sacked.

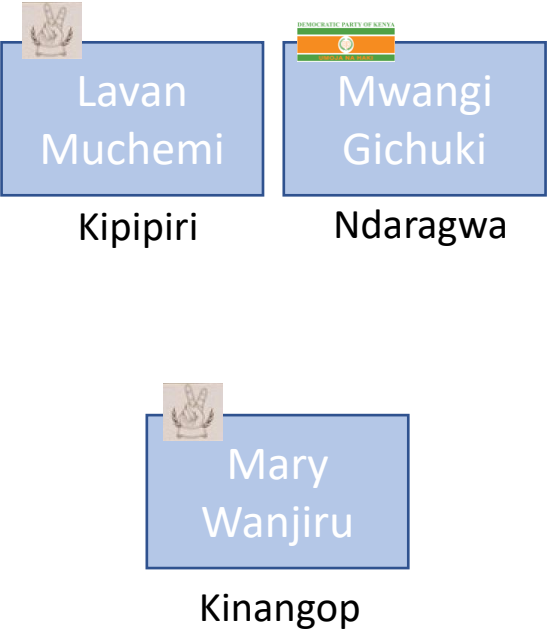


Northern Kikuyu

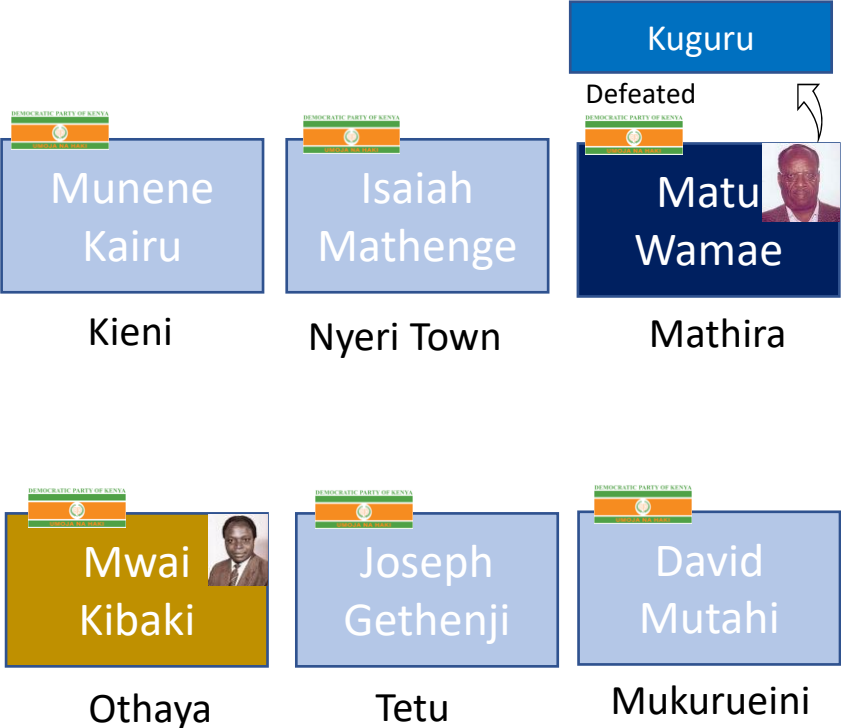
December 1992: Multi-party General Elections



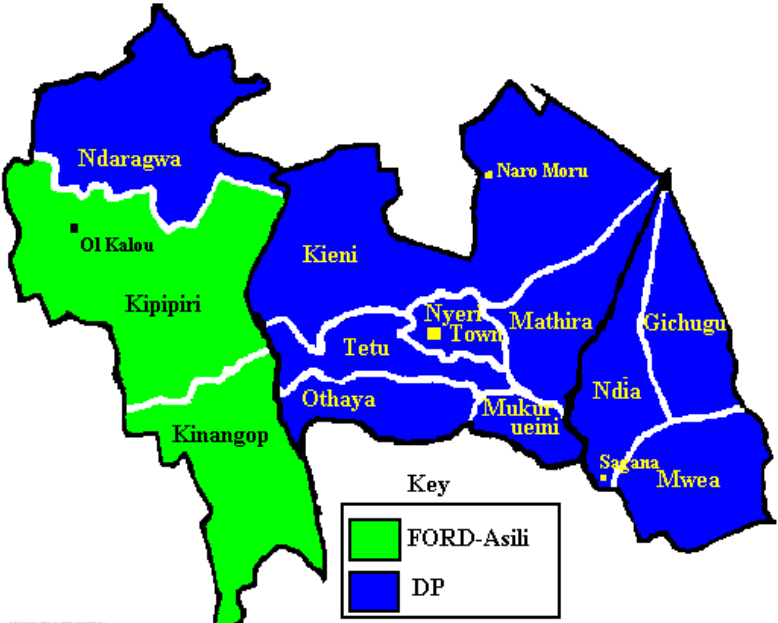
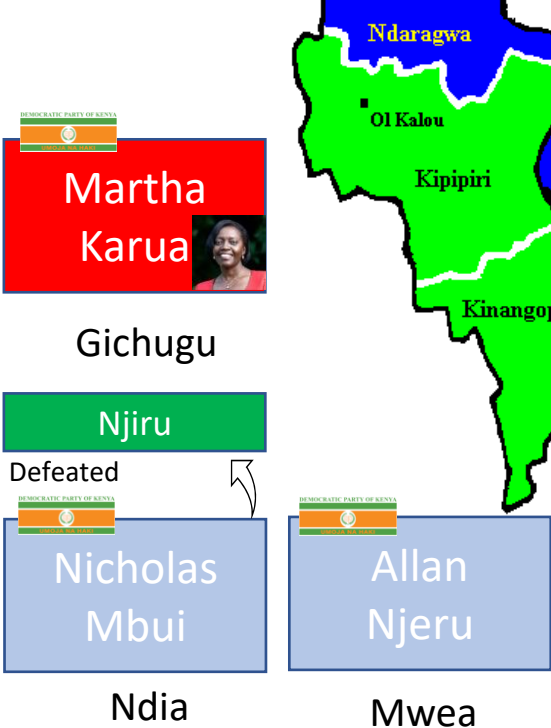
Nyandarua



Nyeri



Kirinyaga



In the December 1992 elections, Kibaki's DP does well, winning every seat except for southern Nyandarua (which follows Matiba's FORD-Asili) but comes third in the presidential poll. KANU and Moi win nothing. The DP sits in opposition and the region has no representation in government. Martha Karua in Kirinyaga and Mary Wanjiru in Nyandarua are the region's first female elected MPs.



Northern Kikuyu

1995 Death and a Byelection



Nyandarua



Kipipiri



Ndaragwa



Kinangop

Nyeri



Kieni



Nyeri Town



Mathira



Othaya



Tetu



Mukurueini

Kirinyaga



Gichugu

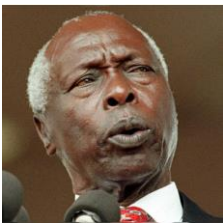


Ndia



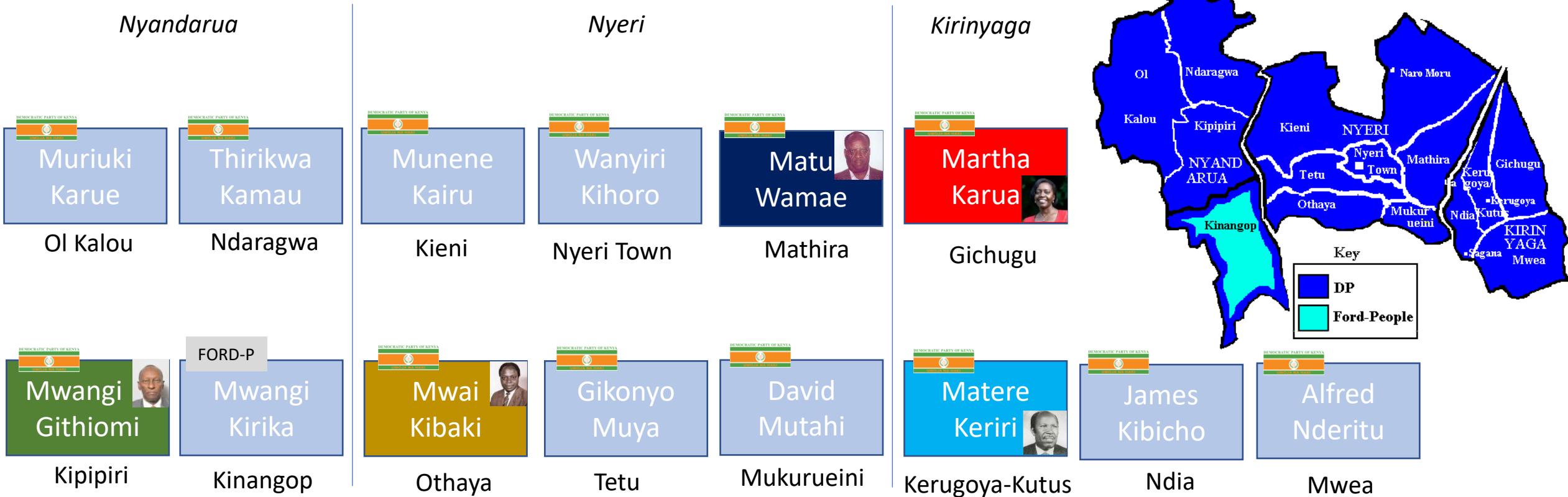
Mwea

In 1995 Lavan Muchemi dies, but despite state pressure, the region elects a DP MP, Mwangi Githiomi. Kibaki's home team stay loyal, though the DP faces losses elsewhere.

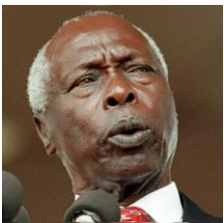


Northern Kikuyu

Dec 1997 General Election



Boundary redistribution adds one seat to Nyandarua and Kirinyaga. Some electoral reforms implemented. The region votes pro-opposition again, and Kibaki wins every seat in the presidency and all but one in parliament, Matiba having boycotted the election. Moi nonetheless wins the presidency on a five-way split. Keriri returns but otherwise there is little change. The region remains in opposition.




Northern Kikuyu

1998: Death




Nyandarua




Muriuki Karue

Ol Kalou



Thirikwa Kamau


Ndaragwa



Mwangi Githiomi

Kipipiri

FORD-P




Mwangi Kirika


Kinangop

Nyeri

Kairu


Died






Chris Murungaru

Kieni




Wanyiri Kihoro

Nyeri Town




Matu Wamae

Mathira




Mwai Kibaki

Othaya



Gikonyo Muya


Tetu



David Mutahi


Mukurueini

Kirinyaga




Martha Karua

Gichugu




Matere Keriri

Kerugoya-Kutus



James Kibicho

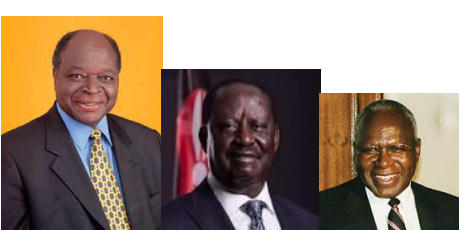
Ndia



Alfred Nderitu

Mwea

In 1998, Munene Kairo, an old ally of Kibaki, dies and is replaced by Chris Murungaru. The region remains in opposition with little prospect of change



Northern Kikuyu


2002: The Switch



Nyandarua


Nyeri

Kirinyaga




Muriuki Karue

Ol Kalou



Thirikwa Kamau

Ndaragwa




Mwangi Githiomi

Kipipiri

FORD-P


Mwangi Kirika

Kinangop




Chris Murungaru

Kieni




Wanyiri Kihoro

Nyeri Town




Matu Wamae

Mathira




Mwai Kibaki

Othaya




Gikonyo Muya

Tetu




David Mutahi

Mukurueini




Martha Karua

Gichugu




Matere Keriri

Kerugoya-Kutus



James Kibicho

Ndia



Alfred Nderitu

Mwea

In March 2002. KANU restructures itself. Uhuru Kenyatta becomes Vice Chairman. Against intense opposition. Moi drives Uhuru's selection as his successor, leading to a mass walkout by party leaders from other regions, who make common cause as NARC with the opposition centred round Kibaki. Little changes in northern Kikuyu, as DP candidates and MPs adopt the “NARC” brand, except that Githiomi is seduced to Uhuru’s KANU and gets a ministerial post for three months.




Northern Kikuyu

2002-3: Moi Retires, Kibaki Elected




Nyandarua




Muriuki Karue

Ol Kalou




Geoffrey Muchiri

Ndaragwa




Githiomi

Defeated



Amos Kimunya


Kipipiri



Mwangi Kirika

Kinangop


Nyeri



Chris Murungaru


M

Kieni



Peter Muriithi


Nyeri Town



James Gachagua


Defeated

Mathira




Mutahi Kagwe

Mukurueini



Wangari Maathai

Tetu




Mwai Kibaki

President

Othaya


Kirinyaga



Martha Karua

M


Gichugu



Daniel Karaba


Defeated

Kerugoya-Kutus




Robinson Githae

Ndia



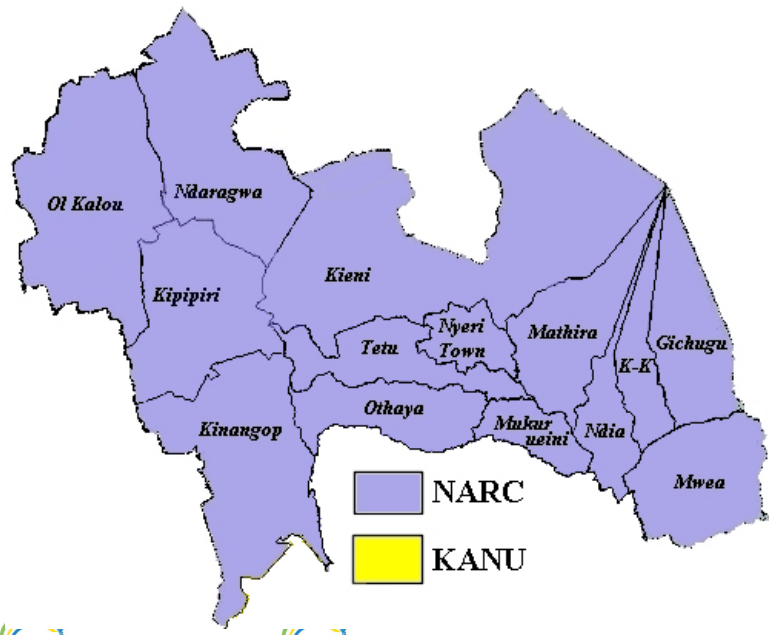
Alfred Nderitu

Mwea



Keriri

Defeated



The NARC alliance has a clean sweep in presidency and parliament. Nyeri’s leadership is now a stellar cast (including environmental activist Wangari Mathai), but Wamae and Keriri both lose NARC primaries. In his contested, slimline NARC Cabinet, President Kibaki appoints Kimunya, Murungaru and Karua as ministers (one per district), which (alongside a series of Meru appointments) creates a nexus of power in the region. Kibaki almost immediately has a stroke and his health and judgement are severely impaired for some time.







Northern Kikuyu







2004-6 Dissent and Restructuring







Nyandarua

 Muriuki Karue Ol Kalou	 Geoffrey Muchiri Ndaragwa
 Amos Kimunya Kipipiri	 Mwangi Kirika Kinangop

Nyeri

 Chris Murungaru Kieni	 Peter Muriithi Nyeri Town	 James Gachagua Mathira
 Mwai Kibaki Othaya	 Wangari Maathai Tetu	 Mutahi Kagwe Mukurueini

Kirinyaga

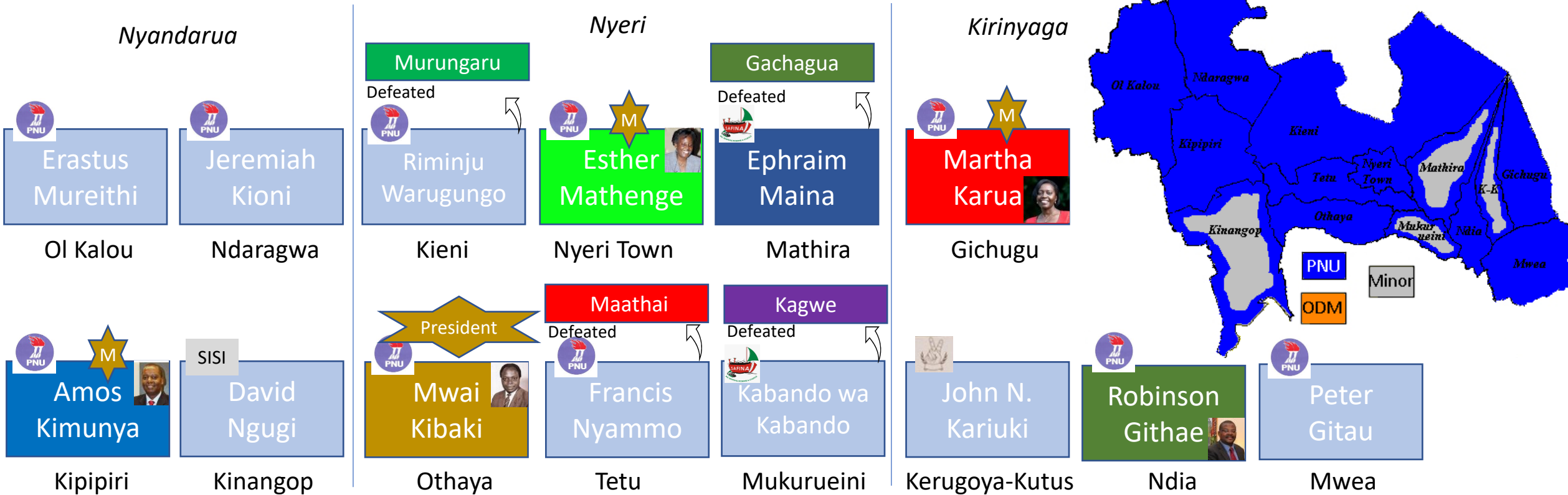
 Martha Karua Gichugu	 Daniel Karaba Kerugoya-Kutus	 Robinson Githae Ndia	 Alfred Nderitu Mwea
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As NARC collapses in 2004, with constitutional reform and power sharing among the causes, Kibaki brings old colleagues into government, but little changes in northern Kikuyu. In 2005, the botched constitutional reform referendum ends in defeat and the “No campaign” Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) is founded. All northern Kikuyu incumbents support “yes” and stay with NARC. In November 2005, the government is dissolved and restructured. The controversial Murungaru is sacked and Kagwe replaces him. Kibaki meanwhile has lost control of NARC and creates in turn two new parties – NARC-Kenya and the PNU - as a re-election vehicles for pro-government forces.



Southern Kikuyu

2007-8: General Election, Chaos and Coalition




An ODM-PNU battle nationwide, but northern Central Province is wholly pro-Kibaki. In Parliament, all MPs are pro-PNU but from varied parties. Murungaru, Kagwe, Gachagua and Maathai all lose, introducing a mostly new set of MPs. Kibaki controversially and unexpectedly wins the presidency, triggering mass unrest, and Karua and Kimunya are made ministers in his first partial cabinet. Nothing changes in the April 2008 coalition government with ODM except that Esther Mathenge is added as Nyeri minister.



Northern Kikuyu


2010-12

Nyandarua





Erastus Mureithi

Ol Kalou




Jeremiah Kioni

Ndaragwa



Amos Kimunya


Kipipiri



David Ngugi



Kinangop

Nyeri




Riminju Warungu

Kieni





Esther Mathenge

Nyeri Town



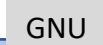
Ephraim Maina

Mathira




Mwai Kibaki

Othaya



Francis Nyammo



Tetu



Kabando wa Kabando

Mukurueini

Kirinyaga




Martha Karua

Gichugu



Kariuki

Nullified




Joseph Gitari

Kerugoya-Kutus



Robinson Githae

Ndia



Peter Gitau

Mwea

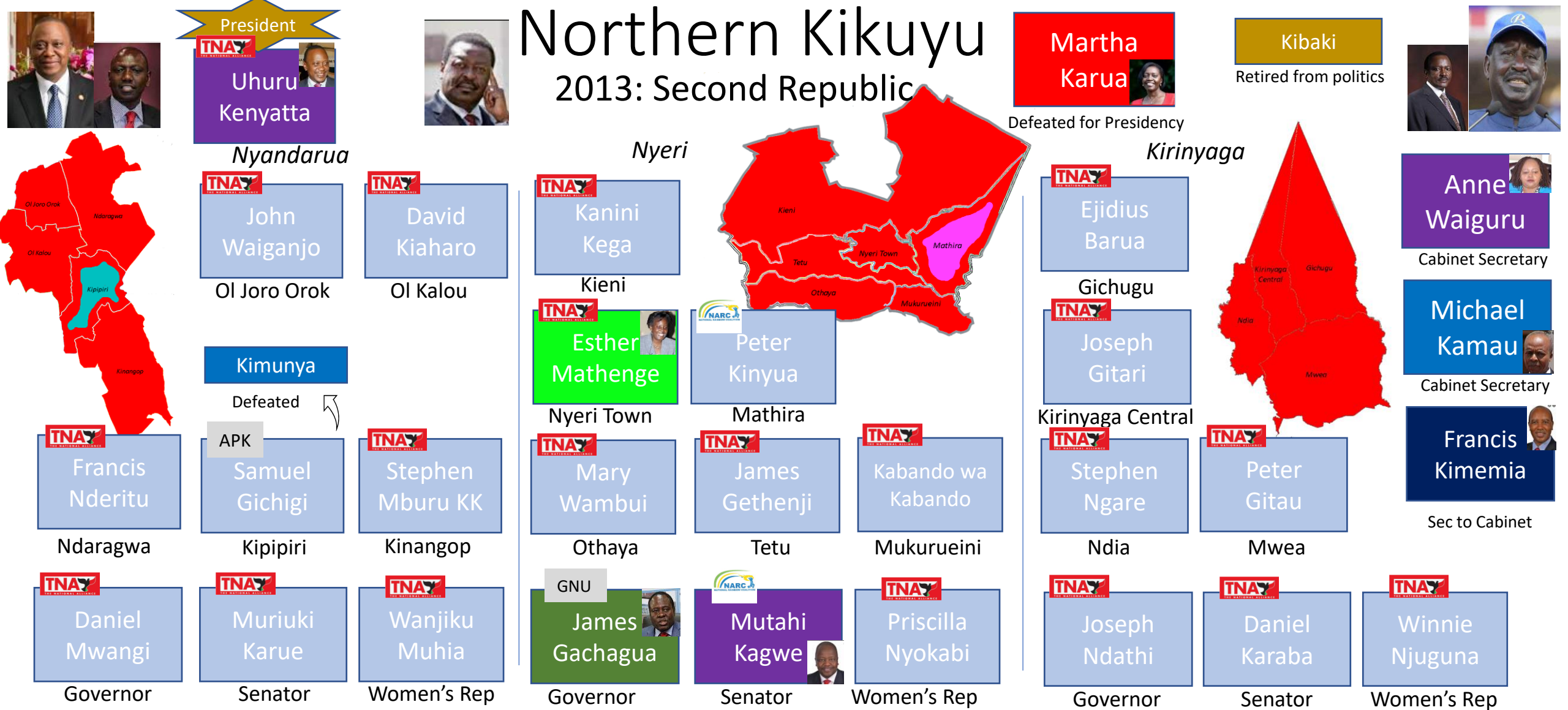
Joseph Kinyua

PS Finance

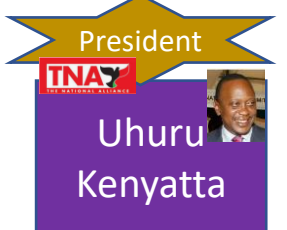
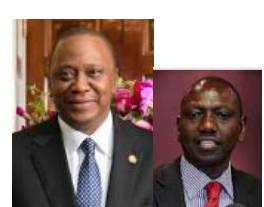
Francis Kimemia

Head of Civil Service

In 2009, Karua resigns as Justice Minister in protest at interference from the Office of the President. She is replaced as “Kirinyaga minister” by Robinson Githae. With the new constitution endorsed in 2010 but not in effect, 2010-12 is a period of confusion and change. In 2011, John Kariuki's election is nullified, and he is replaced in a by-election. In late 2012, along with many Kikuyu allies, Kenyatta defects to new party The National Alliance (TNA), while Kioni joins Mudavadi’s UDF and Nyammo joins the GNU. Those who remain nominally in PNU orient themselves toward Kenyatta’s TNA in the dying days of the coalition. In 2012, Francis Kimemia from Nyandarua is made head of the civil service.



New constitution, new boundaries. Kirinyaga and Nyeri remain the same but Nyandarua gains a seat. Bicameral parliament, Governors. Ministers no longer MPs. Allied with William Ruto, Kenyatta wins every seat by massive margins and TNA takes 20 of 24 posts. Karua stands but is irrelevant, as is ODM. Most MPs new. Kimunya defeated. Gachagua and Kagwe return as Governor and Senator for Nyeri. Githae loses governor primaries for TNA in Kirinyaga and Ephraim Maina loses as TNA Senator in Nyeri. Uhuru is elected President and appoints a mostly non-political cabinet including Anne Waiguru (Kirinyaga) and Michael Kamau (Nyeri).



Northern Kikuyu

2014-16: Cabinet reshuffles



Nyandarua



Ol Joro Orok



Ol Kalou

Nyeri



Kieni



Nyeri Town



Mathira

Kirinyaga



Gichugu



Kirinyaga Central



Ndia



Mwea



Sacked from
Cabinet Nov 2015



Sacked from
Cabinet May 2015



Sacked Apr 2015



Head of Civil Service



Ndaragwa



Kipipiri



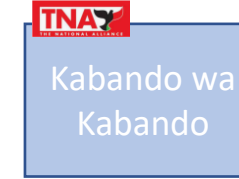
Kinangop



Othaya



Tetu



Mukurueini



Governor



Senator



Women's Rep



Governor



Senator



Women's Rep



Governor

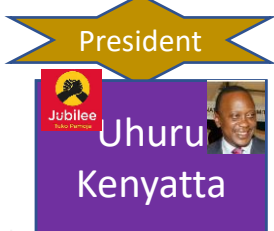
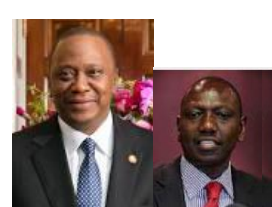


Senator



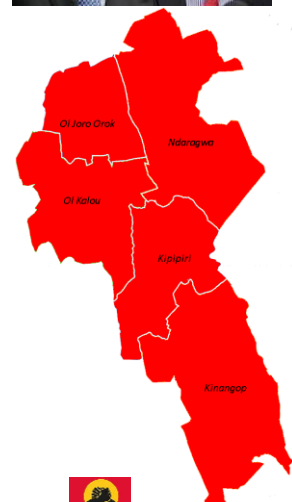
Women's Rep

No by-elections between 2013 and 2017 in the region. But carnage amongst the new cabinet secretaries as seven of 18 new CSs are sacked during 2014-15 for incompetence or corruption, including Waiguru and Kamau, and Secretary to the cabinet Kimemia also goes. They are replaced from elsewhere, leaving the region with no cabinet representation. Seriously ill governor Gachagua is impeached in 2016 but this is overturned by the Senate. In 2016, the political system shifts again as Kenyatta and Ruto persuade smaller parties to join their umbrella TNA+URP "Jubilee Alliance", with Kenyatta as party leader.



Northern Kikuyu

2017: General Elections



Nyandarua



Ol Joro Orok



Ol Kalou



Ndaragwa



Kipipiri



Kinangop



Governor



Senator



Women's Rep

Nyeri



Nyeri



Nyeri Town



Othaya



Governor



Mathira



Tetu



Senator



Mukurueini



Women's Rep

Kirinyaga



Kirinyaga Central



Ndia



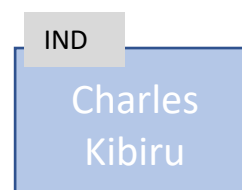
Governor



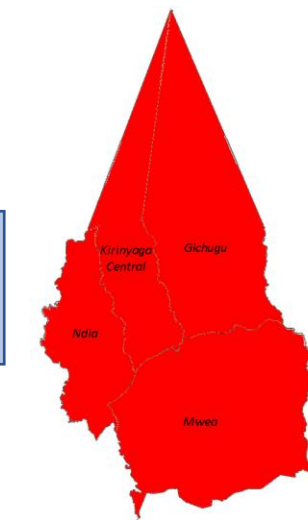
Gichugu



Mwea

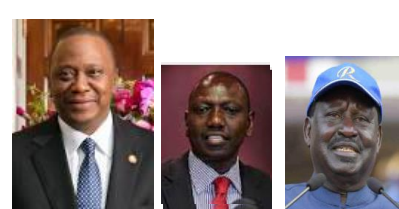


Senator



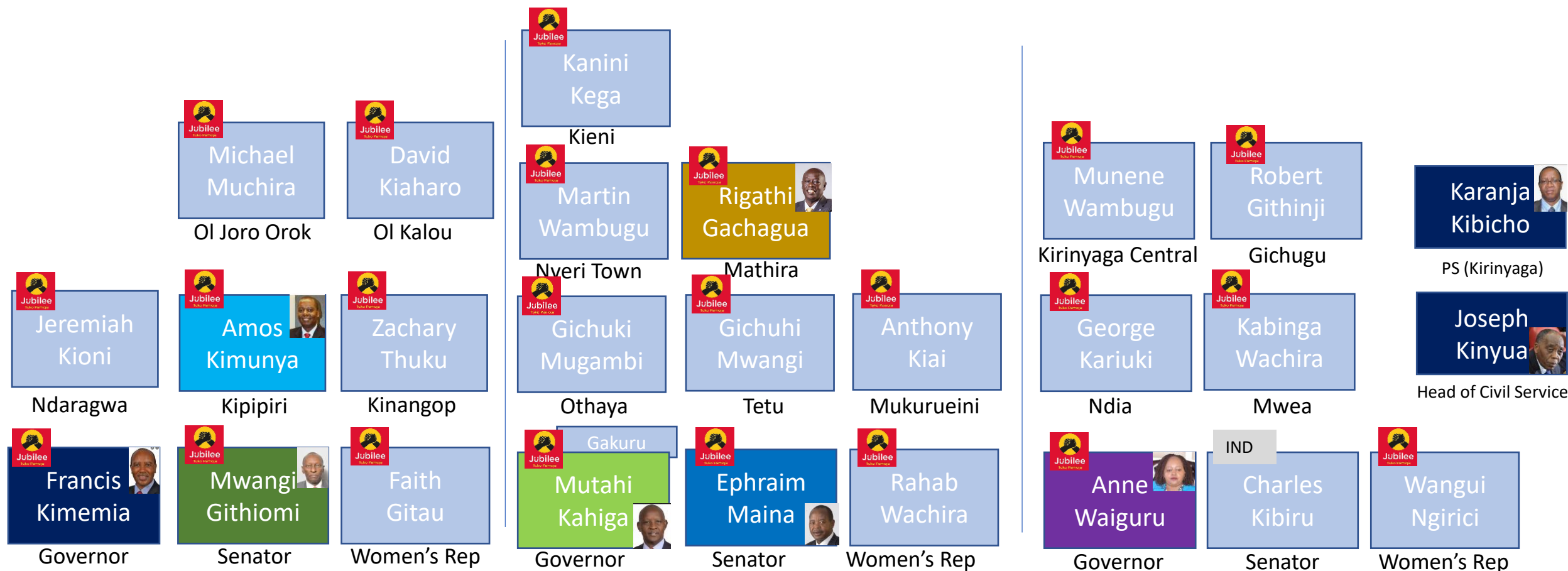
Women's Rep

Kenyatta and Ruto win a second victory, now as Jubilee, over Odinga and Kalonzo. In the region, the result is a repeat of 2013, with every seat for Kenyatta/Ruto by huge margins and Jubilee winning 23/24 seats. Nyeri governor Gachagua dies just before the polls and is succeeded by Patrick Gakuru, who dies in a car crash soon after. Ex-cabinet Secretary Kimemia returns as Nyandarua governor and Waiguru as Kirinyaga governor. Newcomer MPs include brother of the late governor Rigathi Gachagua. Kimunya returns. In a shock move, the court nullifies Kenyatta and Ruto's victory, forcing a second presidential election in August, which Odinga boycotts, ensuring the same result.



Northern Kikuyu

2018: The Handshake




The Cabinet is reconstituted only in Jan 2018, with no representation from the region (apart from Kinyua as Public Service head and some PS, including Karanja Kibicho from Kirinyaga). In March 2018, growing tensions lead to a personal handshake between Kenyatta and Odinga which is to change Kenya's path. Relations rapidly deteriorate between Kenyatta and Ruto. In Nyeri Gakuru dies and is replaced by his deputy Mutahi Kahiga.

Northern Kikuyu


2019-22: Handshake vs Tangatanga





Michael Muchira

Ol Joro Orok



David Kiaraho

Ol Kalou



Jeremiah Kioni

Ndaragwa



Amos Kimunya

Kipipiri



Zachary Thuku

Kinangop



Francis Kimemia

Governor




Mwangi Githiomi

Senator




Faith Gitau

Women's Rep




Kanini Kega

Kieni




Martin Wambugu

Nyeri Town




Gichuki Mugambi

Othaya




Mutahi Kahiga

Governor




Rigathi Gachagua

Mathira




Gichuhi Mwangi

Tetu




Ephraim Maina

Senator




Rahab Wachira

Women's Rep




Anthony Kiai

Mukurueini




Munene Wambugu

Kirinyaga Central




Robert Githinji

Gichugu




George Kariuki

Ndia




Kabinga Wachira

Mwea




Anne Waiguru

Governor



Charles Kibiru

Senator



Wangui Ngirici

Women's Rep

Mutahi Kagwe

Cabinet Secretary

Karanja Kibicho

PS (Kirinyaga)

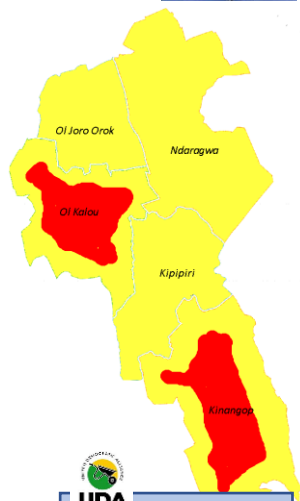
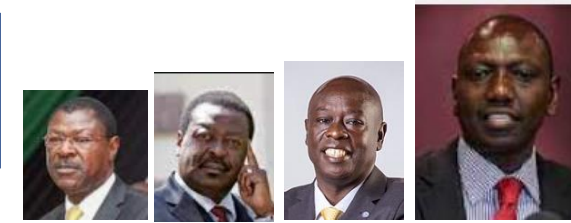
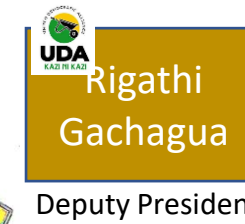
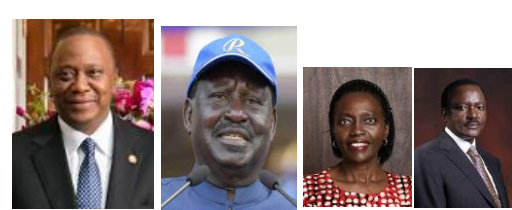
Joseph Kinyua

Head of Civil Service

Kenyatta's handshake with Odinga drives a wedge between him and his Deputy. Ruto strikes out alone, determined to succeed his boss in 2022. Kenyatta gradually brings his strongest opponents into favour, waiting to the last moment to confirm that his preferred successor is Odinga. In 2020, Kagwe is appointed to the cabinet. In the meantime, Ruto has built a populist machine (the United Democratic Alliance) in Mount Kenya which outmatches the absentee Kenyatta's. His UDA allies come under state pressure. Some switch back and forward. The handshake team eventually settle on Azimio as a reelection vehicle for the Presidency, but ODM and Jubilee continue as pro-Azimio brands at the regional level.

Northern Kikuyu

2022 Elections: The End of an Era



Ndaragwa



Governor



Women's Rep



Senator



Kieni



Nyeri Town



Othaya



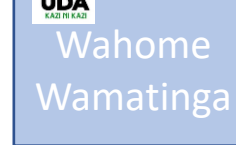
Senator



Mathira



Tetu



Women's Rep



Mukurueini



Women's Rep



Kirinyaga Central



Ndia



Governor



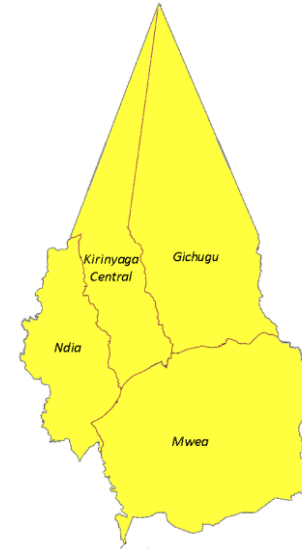
Gichugu



Mwea



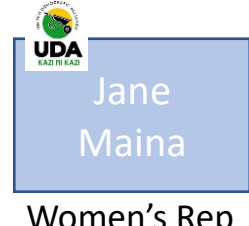
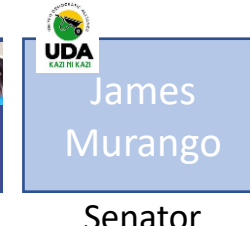
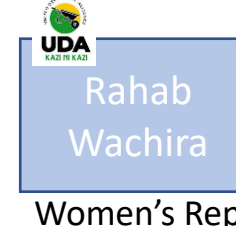
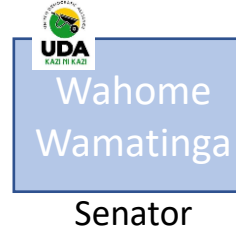
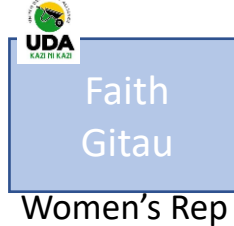
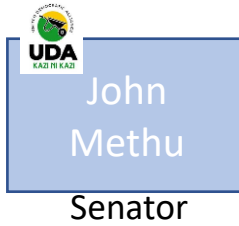
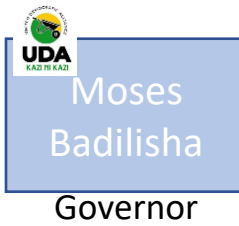
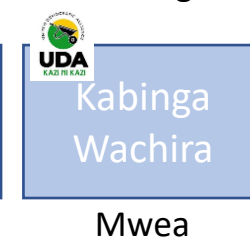
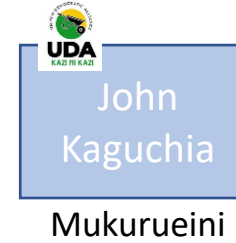
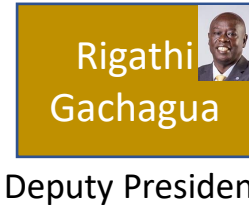
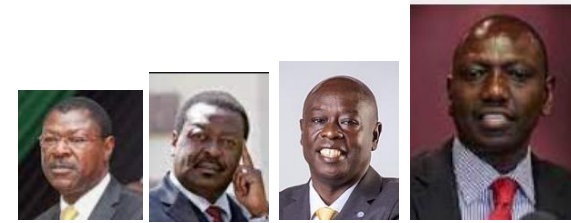
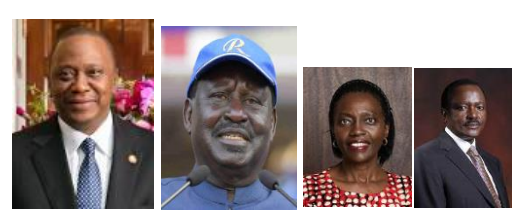
Women's Rep



In early 2022 Ruto allies with Mudavadi (ANC) and Wetangula (Ford-Kenya) and smaller parties to create Kenya Kwanza, to face Azimio's state-backed, broader, pro-Odinga alliance. Ruto chooses Gachagua as his deputy while Raila chooses Karua, both seeking the Mount Kenya vote. In a tightly-fought context Ruto narrowly wins the presidency (50%-49%) against expectations. Kenyatta's Jubilee collapses in the region, winning only two seats in Nyandarua on local issues. Kimemia and Kimunya are defeated. Waiguru and Kahiga re-elected as Governors.

Northern Kikuyu

2022 Elections: The New Government



In Ruto's new Cabinet, Gachagua is the only representative clearly from the region