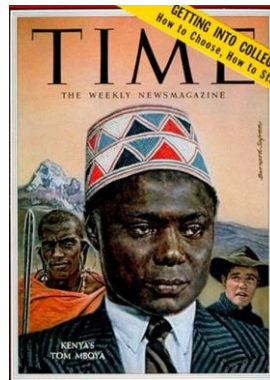


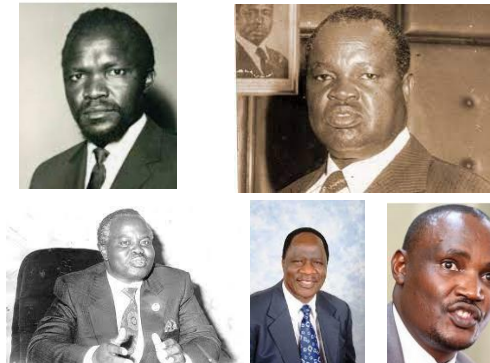
# *A Political History of the Luo, Abasuba and Kuria of South Nyanza*

As told through their elected representatives, 1957-2024



Charles Hornsby  
January 2024

(updated 7 Jan 2024)



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## Limitations:

- Excludes local government throughout.

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

# South Nyanza Political History

## A Short History of South Nyanza

Most of South Nyanza has been colonised since the 18th Century by the Luo, a large Nilotic ethnic group with origins from the north (possible South Sudan). The Luo reached South Nyanza (later to known as Homa Bay and Migori districts and then counties) between 1730 and 1760, as successive wave of Luo settlers moved south, crossing the lake from Central Nyanza and moving around the eastern gulf from Kisumu. The Luo have or had a geographically defined clan structure with – by differing assessments – up to 22 distinct clans. The Luo were the second largest ethnic group in Kenya independence, populating most of Central and South Nyanza but with substantial representation in Nairobi, Mombasa and the tea estates of the Rift Valley (they are now the fourth largest).

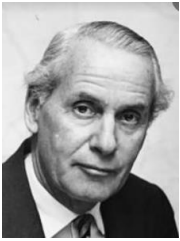
As well as the majority Luo, there was a smaller set of Basuba speakers in the far west and neighbouring islands, also immigrants from Uganda, Bantu peoples of complex and diverse origins who were gradually being absorbed into the Luo by the twentieth century, a process which has continued. Most Suba-speakers also speak Dholuo. There were also a group of “Suna” Suba (of distinct origins) in Migori and a small Luhya Maragoli settler community there also. In the far south, bordering Tanzania, lived the Kuria, a Bantu cattle pastoralist group with links to the Gusii, while to the East the Bantu Gusii occupied the fertile highlands (out of scope for this piece).

The region historically had little to no industrial development. Subsistence agriculture was the main economic activity with fishing a key resource in the huge Lake Victoria. Sugar production had begun under Indian management in Central Nyanza but less so in the South. Central Nyanza had been relatively educationally advanced, producing many of the region's new elites, South Nyanza less so. The region as relatively poor, densely populated and with poor health (including endemic malaria). There was potential for tourism, but it was limited by climate and distance from the main tourist trails of the highlands and savannah. There was small scale artisanal gold production at the Macalder mine in Migori.

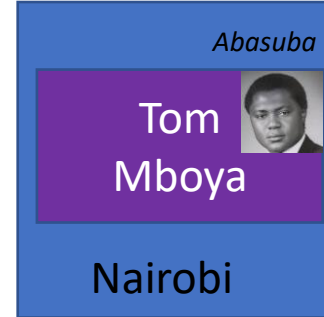
The area was known by the British as South Kavirondo until 1956.

# South Nyanza

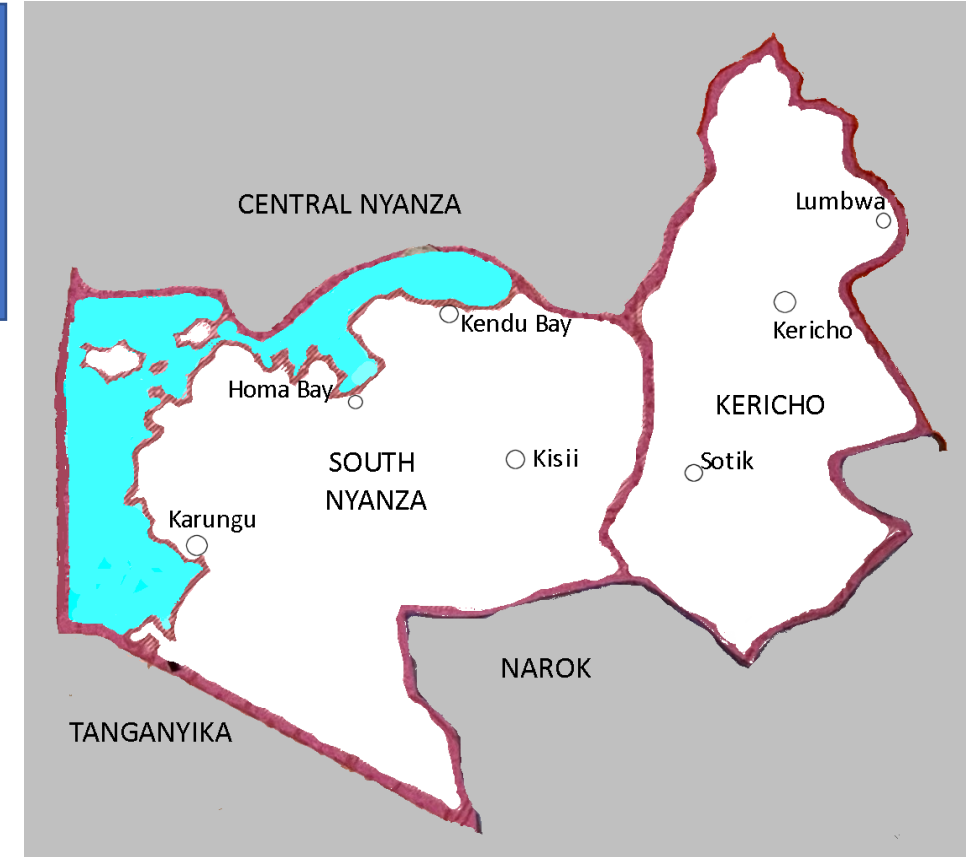
1957: First Vote for an elected African



Governor  
Renison



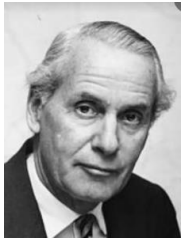
South Nyanza



In 1957, the African constituency of “South Nyanza” (covering both South Nyanza and Kericho districts), including Luo, Abasuba, Gusii and Kipsigis peoples is established and won by Abasuba (henceforth “Suba”) teacher Lawrence Oguda. The Abasuba community’s most famous son, Tom Mboya, a young, brilliant trade unionist, wins Nairobi.

# South Nyanza

1958: 6 more African constituencies



Governor  
Renison

*NPCP  
President*

Tom  
Mboya

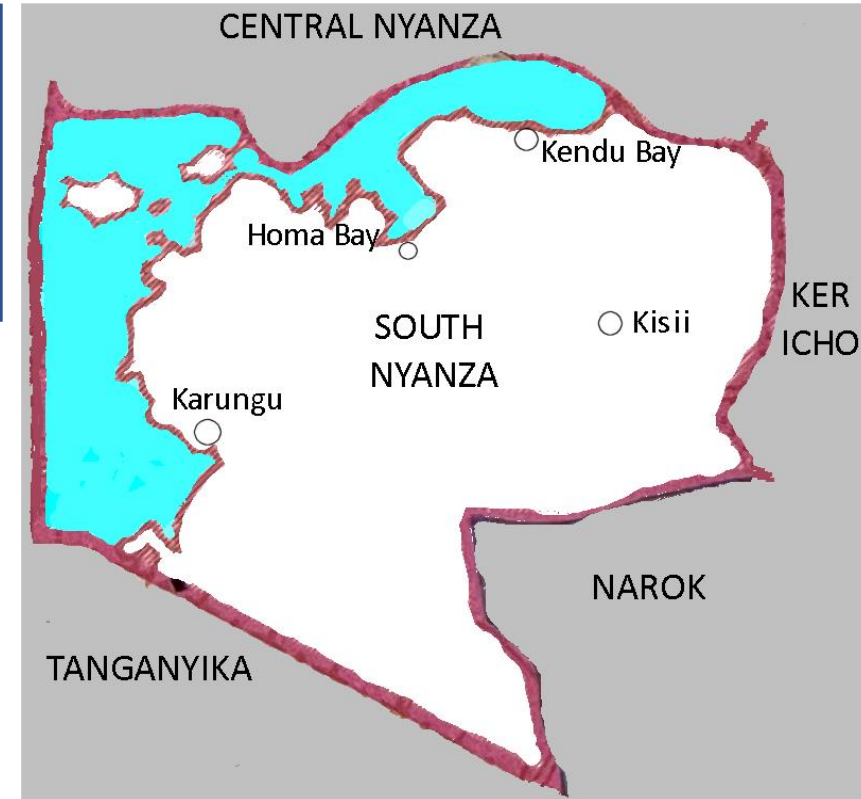


Nairobi

Lawrence  
Oguda



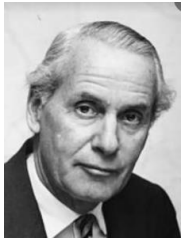
South Nyanza



In 1958, six more African seats are created and “Rift Valley Southern” (the Kipsigis area) is split off to form a new seat. In Nairobi, Mboya is president of the multi-ethnic Nairobi People’s Convention Party (NPCP) which is spreading covertly to become a national organisation, while in Central Nyanza Oginga Odinga is developing his own reputation and power base among the northern Luo.

# South Nyanza

1959: Jail for Oguda



Governor  
Renison

*NPCP  
President*

Tom  
Mboya



Nairobi

Oguda

Jailed



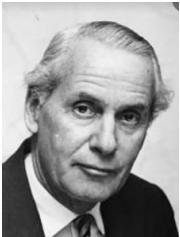
*Luo*

Samuel  
Ayodo



South Nyanza

In November 1959, Oguda is jailed for sedition and loses his seat. He is replaced in December 1959 by Samuel Ayodo (the first Kenyan Luo to study in the US in 1952-55, now a teacher, and close ally of Mboya).




Governor Ronald Ngala  
Renison (KADU)

# South Nyanza


## Feb 1961: The Kenyatta Election






Secretary-General

Abasuba



Tom Mboya

Nairobi East



Luo

Samuel Ayodo



South Nyanza




With national political parties permitted and the formation of KANU and KADU in 1960, African politics takes on a more structured form. When KANU is formed in 1960, Mboya brings his NPCP into the new alliance and is elected KANU Secretary General. In the 1961 “Kenyatta election”, South Nyanza (for the Luo, Abasuba and Kuria) and Kisii (for the Gusii) become separate seats. With both Odinga and Mboya leaders of KANU, KANU wins decisively in the region. In South Nyanza, Mboya-alloy Ayodo (KANU) defeats Oguda (a pro-KANU independent) , and Mboya wins a decisive victory in Nairobi East. However, KANU refuses office without Kenyatta’s release and KADU leads a brief minority government.





Renison Kenyatta Ngala

# South Nyanza


Apr 1962-63: Coalition Government




Secretary-General




Tom Mboya



Nairobi East



Samuel Ayodo



South Nyanza

In the coalition government of May 1962-3, Kenyatta joins Ngala as joint leaders, both taking the title of Minister of State. Mboya becomes Minister for Labour.















Governor Macdonald      Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya (KANU)

# South Nyanza



## 1963: For Self-Government




Ngei (APP)      Ngala (KADU)

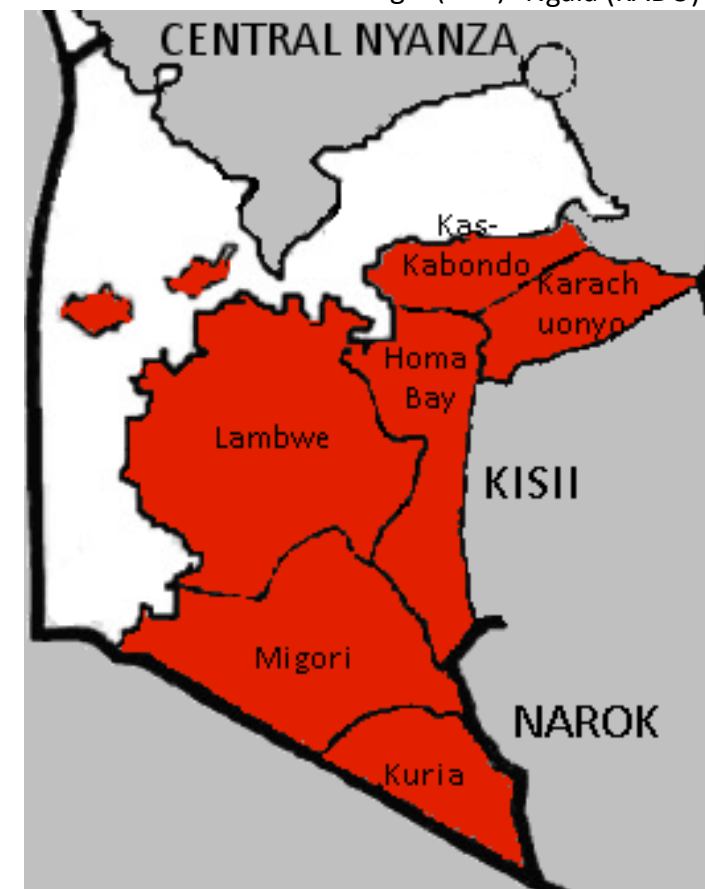
 <div> <i>Luo</i>    <b>Joseph Odero-Jowi</b> </div> <p>Lambwe</p>	 <div> <i>Luo</i>  <b>Clement Ngala-Abok</b> </div> <p>Homa Bay</p>	  <div> <i>Luo</i>    <b>Samuel Ayodo</b> </div> <p>Kasipul-Kabondo</p>	<div> <i>Pro-KANU IND</i>  <i>Luo</i>  <b>Elijah Omolo-Agar</b> </div> <p>Karachuonyo</p>
 <div> <i>Suba</i>    <b>John Okwanyo</b> </div> <p>Migori</p>	 <div> <i>Kuria</i>  <b>Benjamin Maisori- Itumbo</b> </div> <p>Kuria</p>	 <div> <i>Suba</i>  <b>Shelemia Mbeo-Onyango</b> </div> <p>Senate</p>	

  
 Secretary-General

*Suba*  
  
**Tom Mboya**

Starehe



In the new common roll, bicameral system, South Nyanza is split into six seats, including one seat for the Kuria in the south, plus one senate seat. KANU wins every seat, and Mboya's men, including Odero-Jowi, Ayodo, and John Okwanyo are victorious against pro-Odinga KANU independents everywhere. The northern seats are all Luo; Migori and the senate seat are won by Suba candidates. From Nairobi, Mboya becomes Justice and Constitutional affairs Minister (while KANU Secretary-General) in Kenyatta's first cabinet.





Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya  
(KANU)

# South Nyanza


Dec 1964: Republican Constitution



One Party State  
(Part 1):  
1964-66



Joseph Odero-Jowi




Lambwe



Clement Ngala-Abok

Homa Bay





Samuel Ayodo




Kasipul-Kabondo


Pro-KANU IND

Elijah Omolo-Agar

Karachuonyo



John Okwanyo



Migori



Benjamin Maisori- Itumbo

Kuria




Shelemia Mbeo-Onyango

Senate




Secretary-General





Tom Mboya



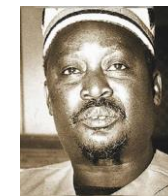
Starehe

In November 1964, an increasingly irrelevant KADU folds to join KANU. In December, the Republic is established with Kenyatta as President and regionalism ends. No change in South Nyanza, though with regionalism now dead, Mboya moves to Economic Planning and Development, to be architect of Kenya's transformation to come.



# South Nyanza

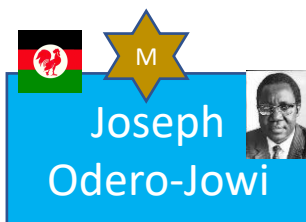
1966-67: The KPU and the return of unicameralism



Kenyatta, Mboya, Ngala  
(KANU)



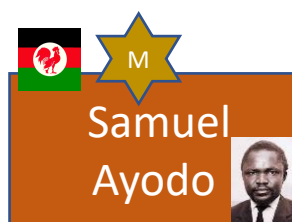
Mbita



Ndhiwa



Homa Bay



Kasipul-Kabondo



Karachuonyo

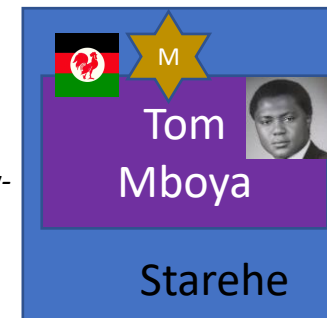


Migori



Kuria

  
*Secretary-  
General*



The 1966 KPU rebellion follows years of growing conflict between left and right, a conflict which positions the Luo, especially in Odinga's north, as leftist and critics of Kenyatta's Kikuyu-first capitalism. In South Nyanza, however, Mboya still reigns supreme, buttressed by the resources of the US. While 30 seats are up for grabs in the 1966 'little general election', as KANU forces their opponents to go back to the people after defecting, not a single one is in South Nyanza. In 1967, with the establishment of the East African Community, Odero-Jowi is appointed Minister for the EAC. In the seat redistribution which follows the abolition of the Senate, Lambwe is split and renamed Ndhiwa, and a new seat created, Mbita.

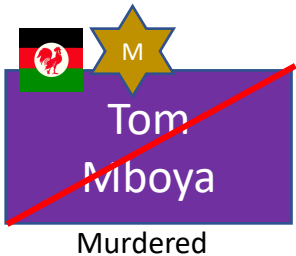
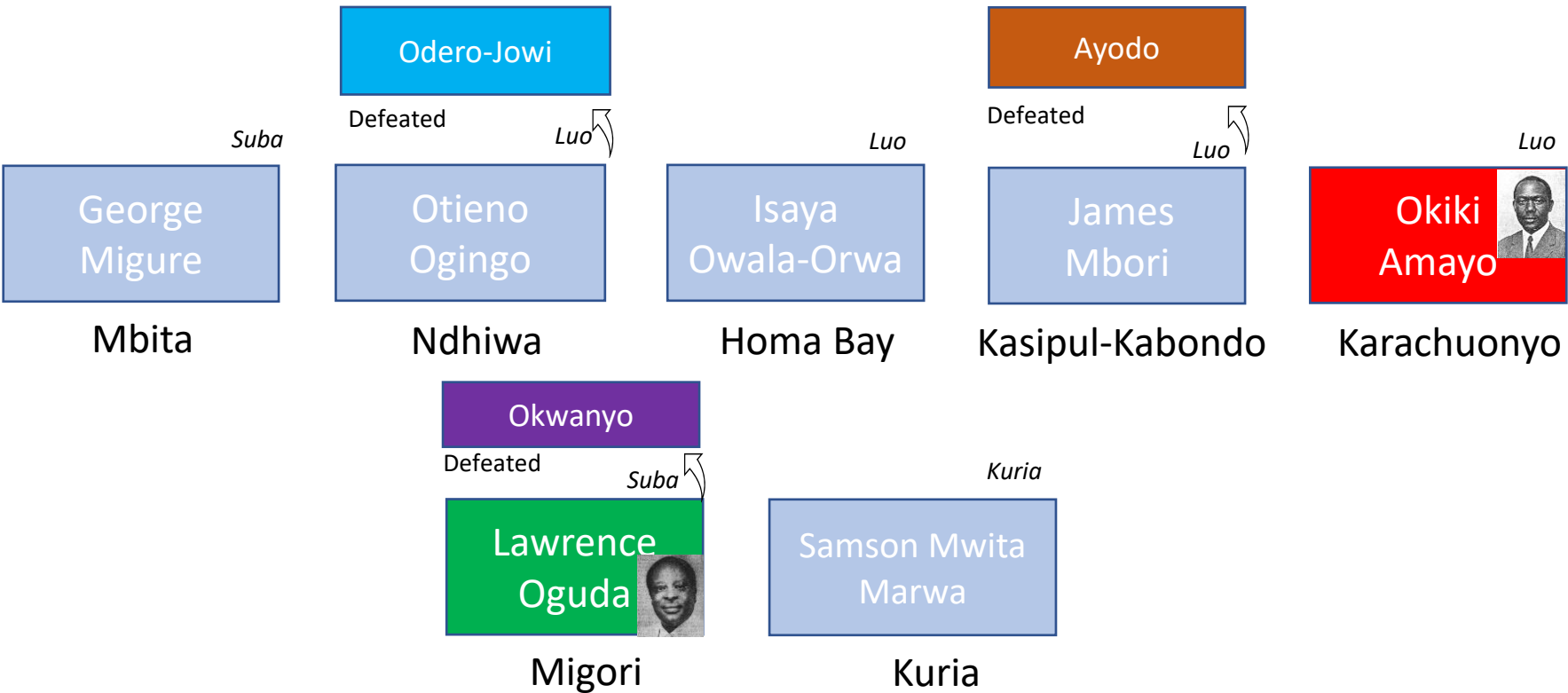


# South Nyanza

## 1969 General Election



One Party State  
(Part 2):  
1969-82



### South Nyanza Census 1969:

Luo	588,547	89%
Kuria	56,053	8%
Luhya	11,412	2%

In 1969, Tom Mboya is murdered and four months later, the KPU is banned; return of the one-party state. South Nyanza politics is now leaderless. KANU is unopposed, but in the nominal party primaries, furious Luo and Abasuba vote out every incumbent. Newcomers including David Okiki Amayo and Oguda returns. To control Odinga's influence, Central Nyanza gets two ministers and the Gusii one, leaving South Nyanza with no ministerial representation in the government. Mboya is replaced as acting Secretary-General of KANU by a Mijikenda, Robert Matano. Meanwhile the first post-independence census has been conducted. The Abasuba do not have a category and must declare themselves Luo.



# South Nyanza

## 1970-71: The Coup Attempt



One Party State  
(Part 2):  
1969-82

By-election



George  
Migure

Mbita

Otieno  
Ogingo

Ndhiwa

Isaya  
Owala-Orwa

Homa Bay

James  
Mbori

Kasipul-Kabondo

Okiki  
Amayo



Karachuonyo

Lawrence  
Oguda



Migori

Samson Mwita  
Marwa

Kuria

In 1970, Ogingo's election is nullified in Ndhiwa, but he is re-elected in a by-election. In 1971, plans for a coup attempt against Kenyatta are disclosed and those imprisoned include a Makerere university lecturer from Homa Bay, Joseph Ouma Muga (who had sought Nyerere's support for their plans). Meanwhile, tobacco farming is introduced by BAT to Kuria in the south for the first time, which will grow to be the area's major cash crop.



# South Nyanza

## 1974 General Election

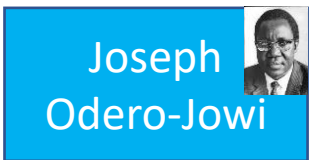


*Suba*



Mbita

*Luo*



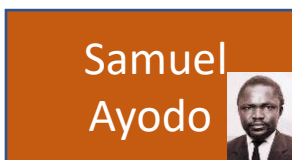
Ndhiwa

*Luo*



Homa Bay

*Luo*



Kasipul-Kabondo

*Luo*



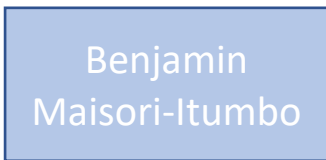
Karachuonyo

*Suba*



Migori

*Kuria*



Kuria

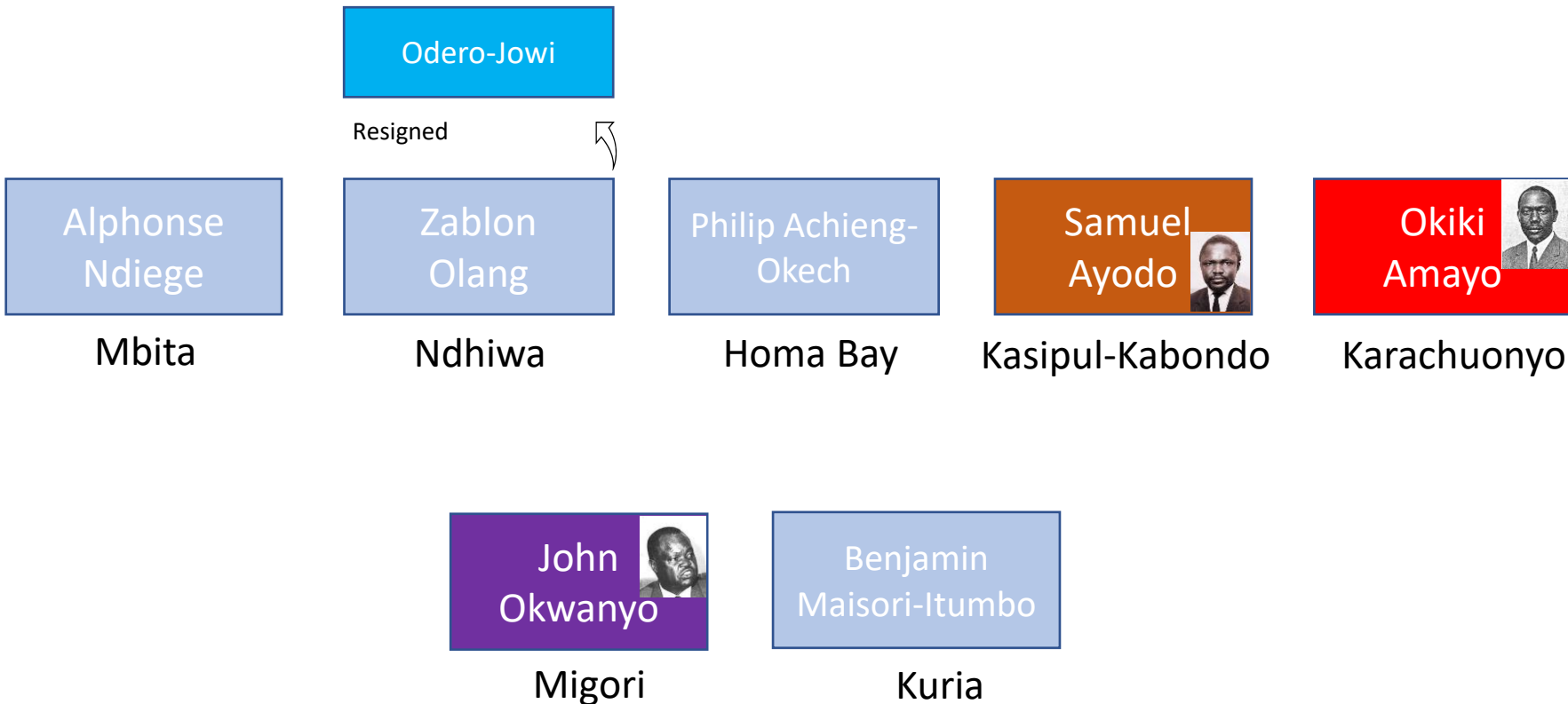
In the 1974 election, Mboya's brother Alphonse Ndiege is elected in his home Mbita seat. Odero-Jowi returns as does Ayodo and Okwanyo, as voters bring back their first Mboya-era team, in an attempt to select leadership with more experience and better ability to develop the region. But again, none receive ministerial office.



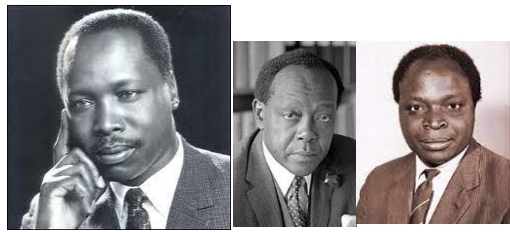
# South Nyanza



1975-77: Kariuki's murder, KANU is dead and Changing the Constitution

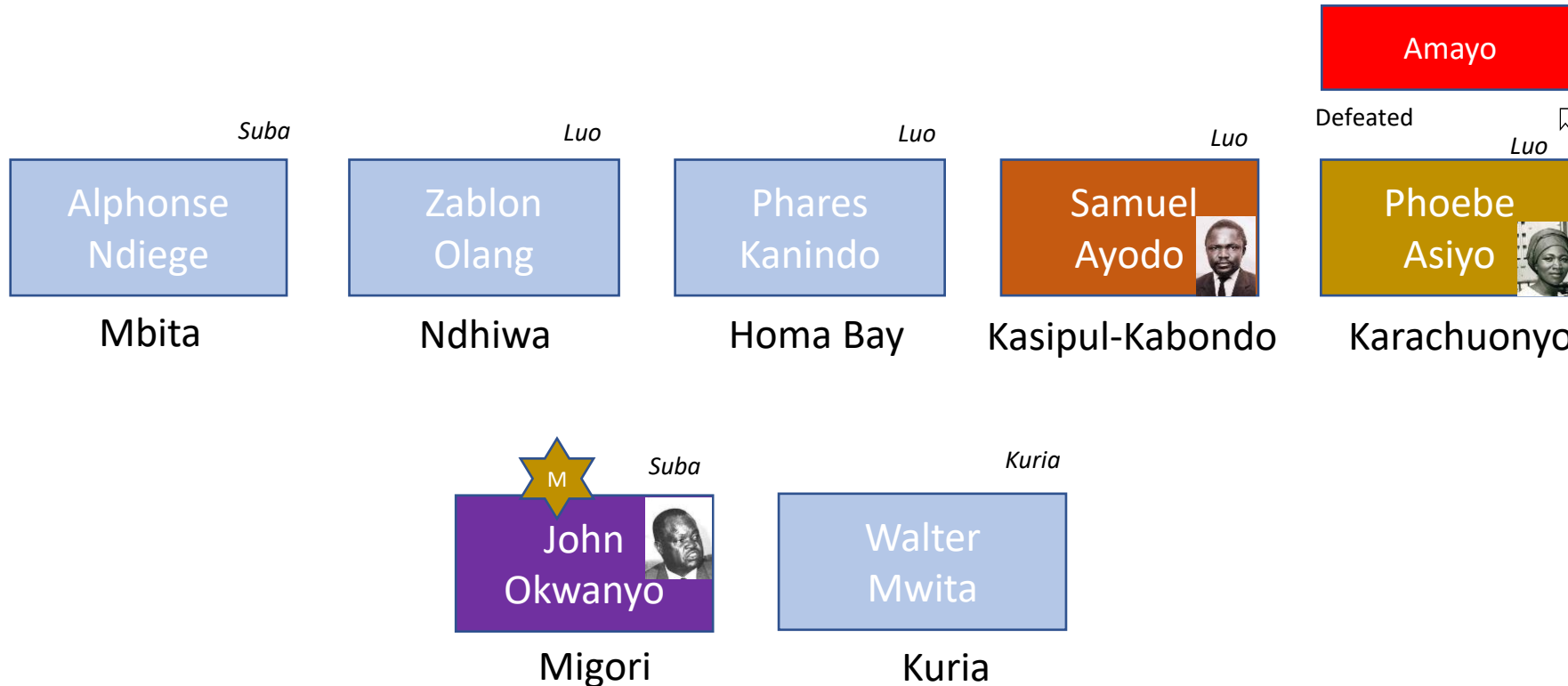


1975 Kikuyu presidential contender J.M. Kariuki is murdered by state security officers. The government teeters. In 1975-6, the state cracks down on dissent and the political system tightens as Kenyatta ages and elites fight for the presidential succession, but the political ferment mostly passes the region by. In 1976, a disappointed Odero-Jowi resigns his seat to take a up a trade union job overseas and is replaced in a 1977 by-election.



# South Nyanza

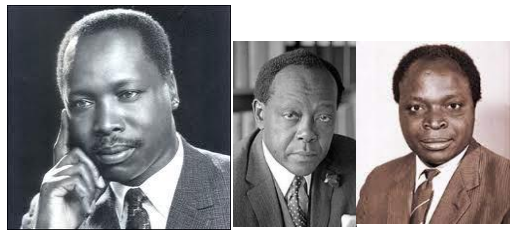
## 1979 General Election



South Nyanza Census 1979:		
Luo	646,486	79%
Kuria	80,282	10%
Basuba	58,650	7%
Luhya	18,570	2%

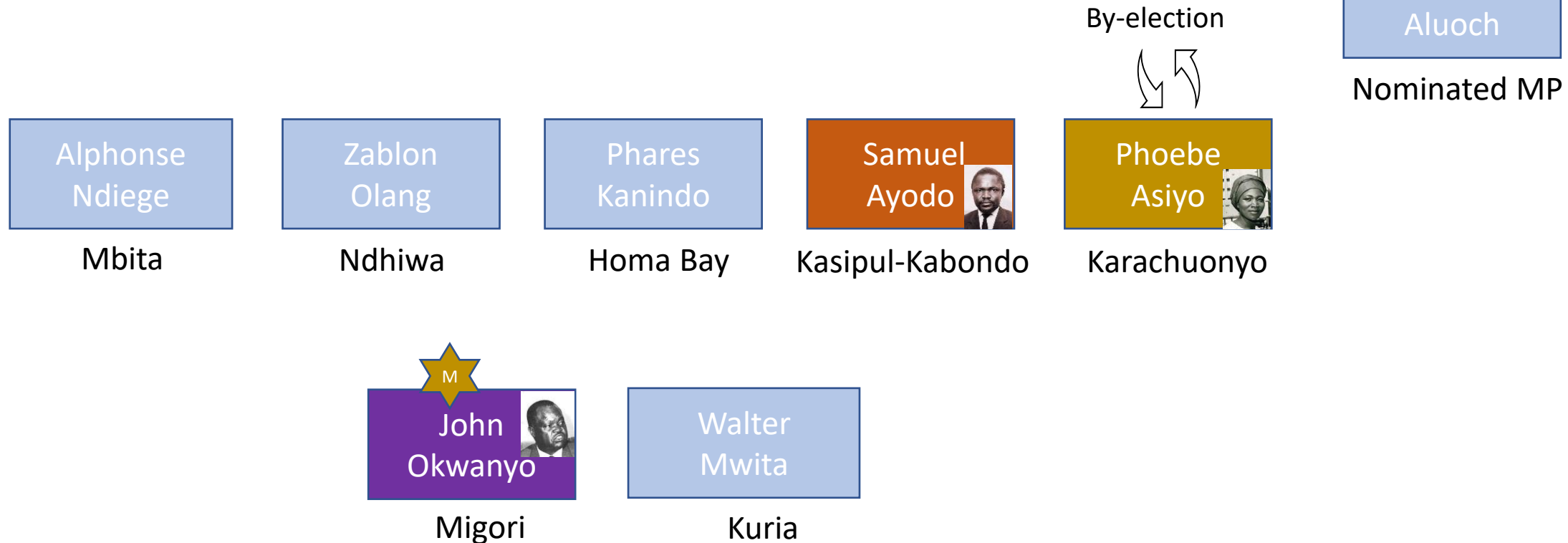
Moi's first election sees divergent trends. Okwanjo and Ayodo are elected but Moi's ally Amayo is defeated by a newcomer, 47-year-old Phoebe Asiyo, once Senior Superintendent of Prisons, now the region's first female MP. Moi selects Okwanyo over old-timer Ayodo as the region's first minister for a decade. The 1979 census meanwhile sees the Basuba accepted for the first time as a distinct ethnic community, part of Moi's broader support for minority and disadvantaged groups and 59,000 (7% of the district) declare themselves now Basuba.



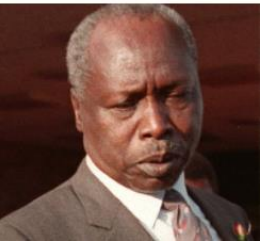


# South Nyanza

1980-81: By-Election, Rapprochement and Crisis



Somehow, Asiyo's election is nullified, in order to give Amayo another chance, but he again loses, with Asiyo receiving the covert support of the now resurgent Odinga team, planning a return to the political mainstream after Kenyatta's death and seeking an accommodation with Moi. This fails at the last moment in April 1981, taking Kenya on a sharp turn towards authoritarianism. Also in 1981, Linus Aluoch is nominated to parliament from Homa Bay constituency.



# South Nyanza

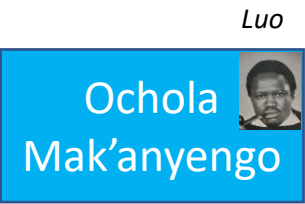
## 1983: Snap General Election



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



Mbita



Ndhiwa



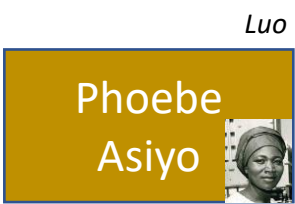
Homa Bay



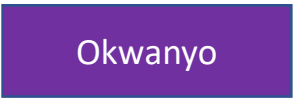
Defeated



Kasipul-Kabondo



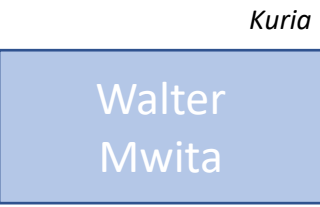
Karachuonyo



Defeated



Migori

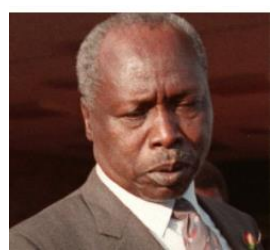


Kuria



PC Rift Valley 1981-86

Njonjo's fall after the 1982 coup is followed by a snap general election, and the change in South Nyanza is pronounced. Okwanyo is defeated and the ministerial baton moves to fellow Basuba, banker Peter Nyakiamo. Newcomers include Ochola Mak'anyengo, ex-KPU leader and trade unionist, jailed for seven years under Kenyatta. Meanwhile a new power is rising: Hezekiah Oyugi, from Rongo in Homa Bay, who is now PC for the Rift Valley and Moi's confidante.



# South Nyanza

## 1985: KANU elections



Mbita



Ndhiwa



Homa Bay



Kasipul-Kabondo



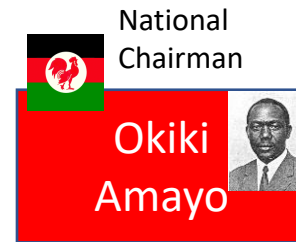
Karachuonyo



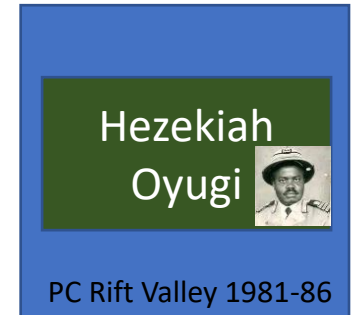
Migori



Kuria



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



In 1985, KANU national elections offer a lifeline for Amayo, who is elected KANU National Chairman and soon makes a reputation for himself as a hardliner. He chairs the KANU National Disciplinary Committee which 'makes and breaks' politicians for the next few years. Meanwhile, South Nyanza Sugar Company has been established in 1980 in Awendo in north-east Migori, taking cane from local growers. Performance is poor and in 1985-6 management shifts from Mehta Group to Booker Tate.

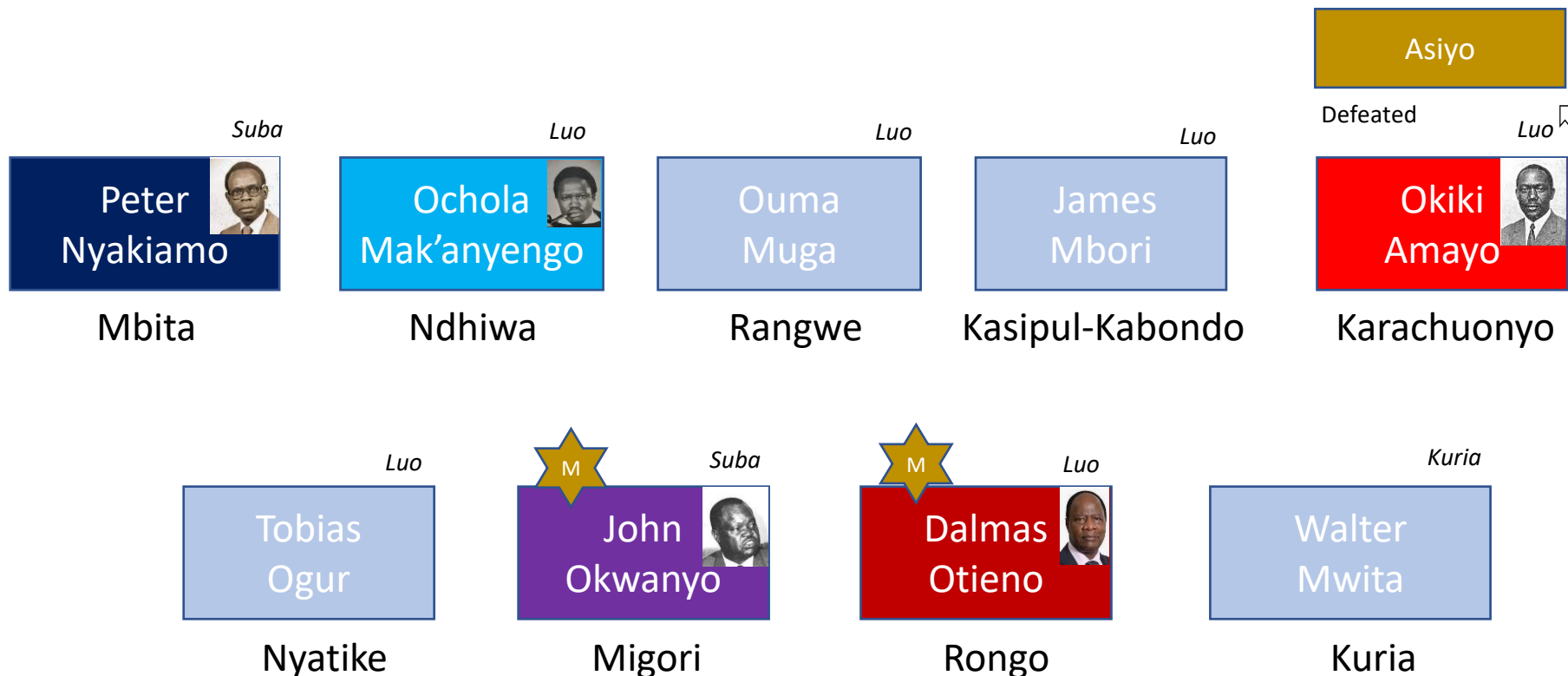


# South Nyanza

## 1988 (Public Queue Voting)



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



The decennial boundary redistribution adds two seats, splitting Homa Bay into Rangwe and Rongo and creating Nyatike from parts of Mbita and Migori. In the primaries and general elections that followed, the elections are substantially rigged, on the instruction of Hezekiah Oyugi, now PS for internal security and most powerful person in Kenya after Moi and Biwott. Nyakiamo is re-elected and Amayo and Okwanyo return. In Rongo, Oyugi ensures the victory of protégé Dalmas Otieno. 1971 coup plotter and now *Nyayo*-loyalist Ouma Muga is elected. In the new government, Nyakiamo is dropped and both Okwanyo and Otieno become ministers. In the 1988 KANU elections which follow, Amayo steps down from the chairmanship.

# South Nyanza

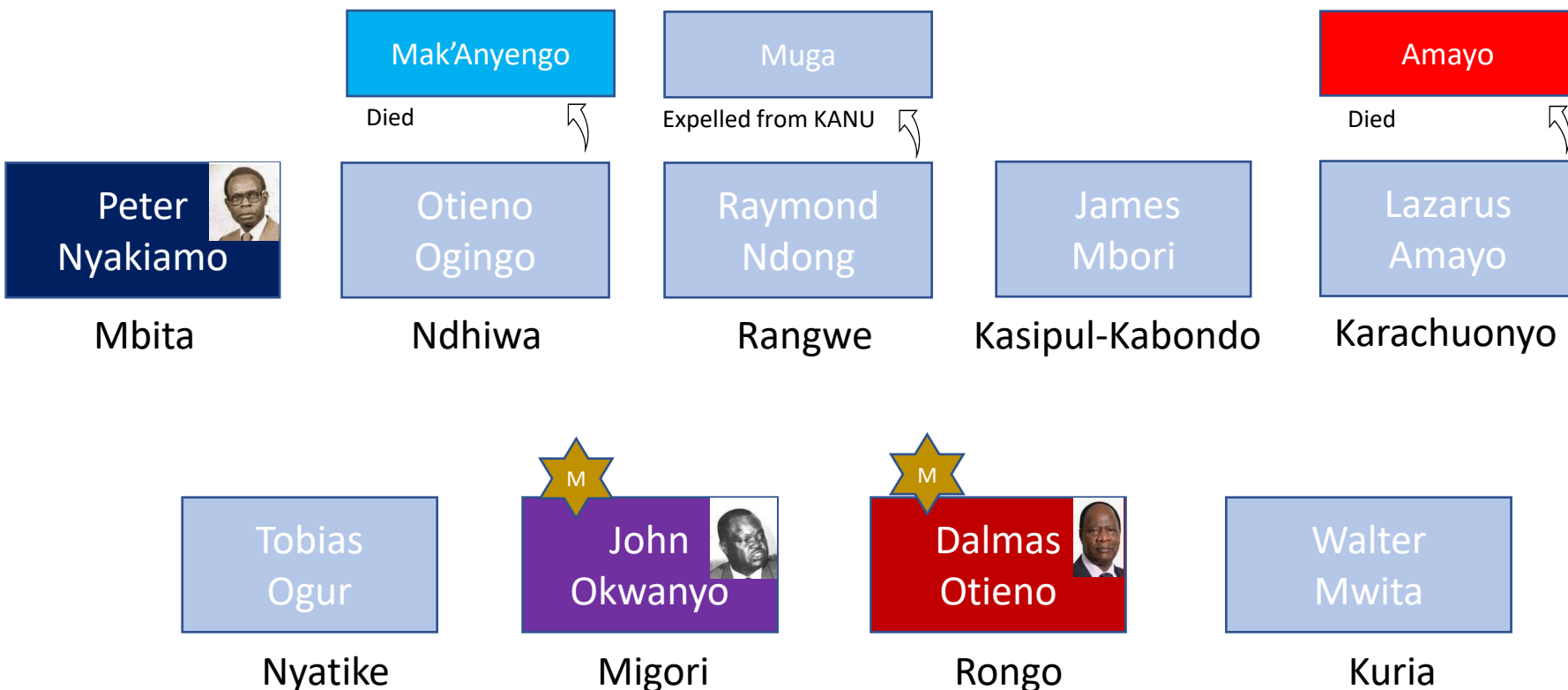
Death, Disaffection and dismissal, 1989-91



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

## South Nyanza Census 1989:

Luo	815,831	76%
Basuba	102,183	10%
Kuria	96,677	9%
Luhya	30,406	3%

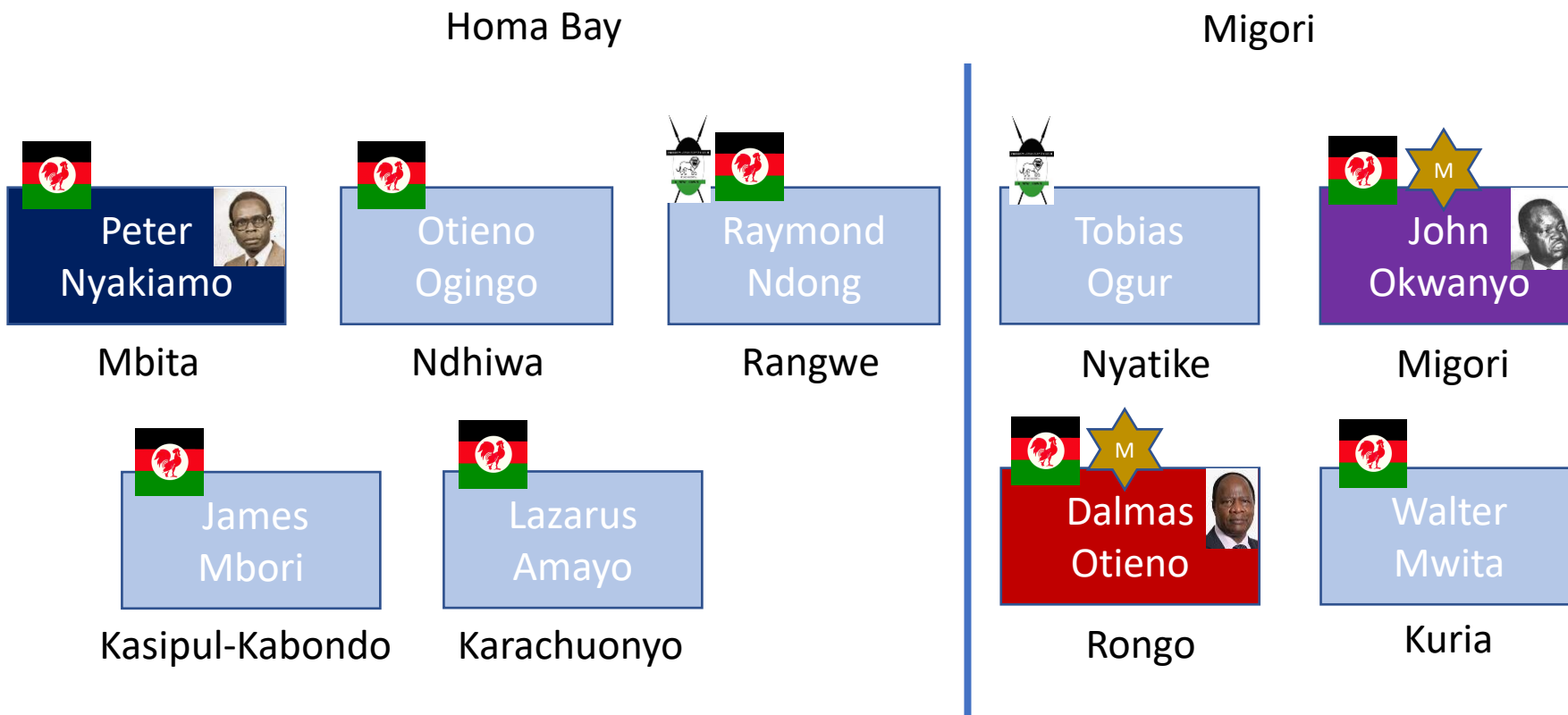


Kenya politics becomes more dangerous, culminating with the murder of foreign minister Robert Ouko (from Kisumu) in 1990, often alleged to have been the work (in part at least) of Hezekiah Oyugi. In 1989, Amayo dies and is replaced by his younger brother. MPs are promoted and sacked with increasing frequency, including Muga, sacked and expelled from KANU in 1989. In 1990, Mak'Anyengo dies and is replaced by his predecessor Ogingo. Election rigging, Ouko's death, repression and the formation of FORD (encouraged by the wind of change with the fall of the Soviet Union) galvanise the Luo into open opposition to KANU.

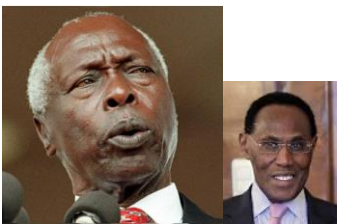


# South Nyanza

## Late 1992: Multi-Partyism



October 1991, Oyugi and Biwott are sacked and briefly imprisoned. Multi-party democracy returns Dec 1991. As FORD and the DP strengthen, South Nyanza is with Odinga and his branch of FORD (now known as Ford-Kenya), but most MPs (unable to face their constituents without state support) stay loyal and go down with the ship. Kalenjin-led tribal clashes ravage the highlands. Ndong defects to FORD but returns to KANU a few months later. Only Ogur defects and stays. Meanwhile, in early 1992, South Nyanza has been split into Homa Bay and Migori districts.



# South Nyanza

December 1992: Multi-Party General Elections



Nyakiamo

Defeated

Suba

Valentine Opere

Mbita

Luo

Tom Obondo

Ndhiwa

Luo

Ouma Muga

Rangwe

Luo

Gerald K'Opiyo

Kasipul-Kabondo

Luo

Phoebe Asiyi

Karachuonyo

Luo

Tobias Ogur

Nyatike

Defeated

Luo

Linus Aluoch

Rongo

Okwanyo

Defeated

Suba

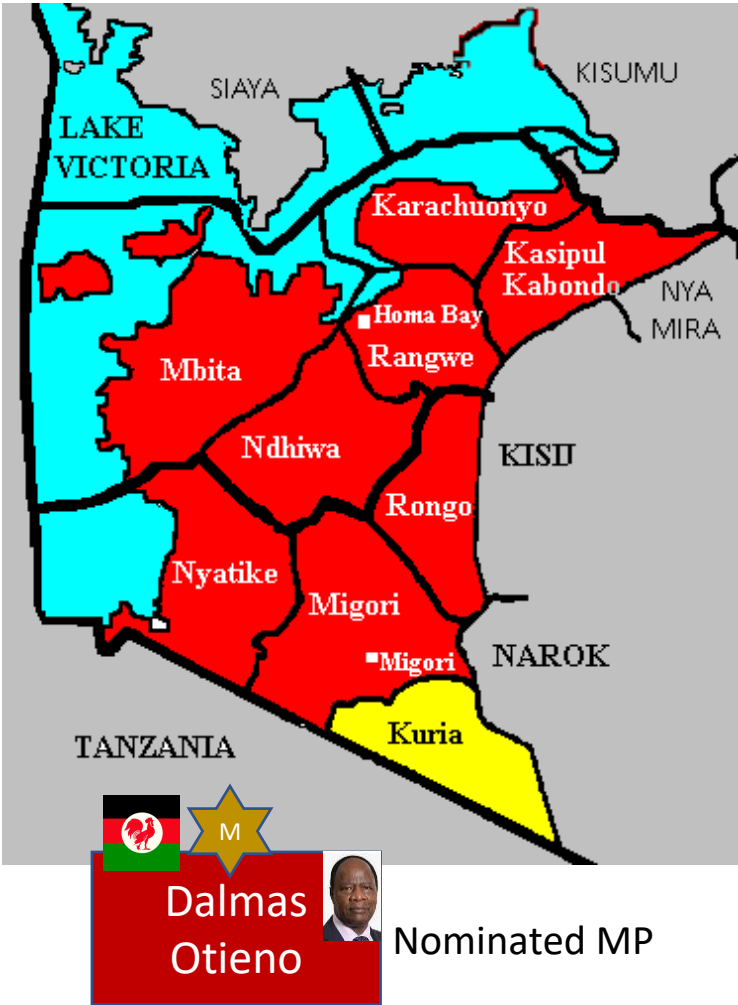
Charles Owino

Migori

Kuria

Shadrack Manga

Kuria



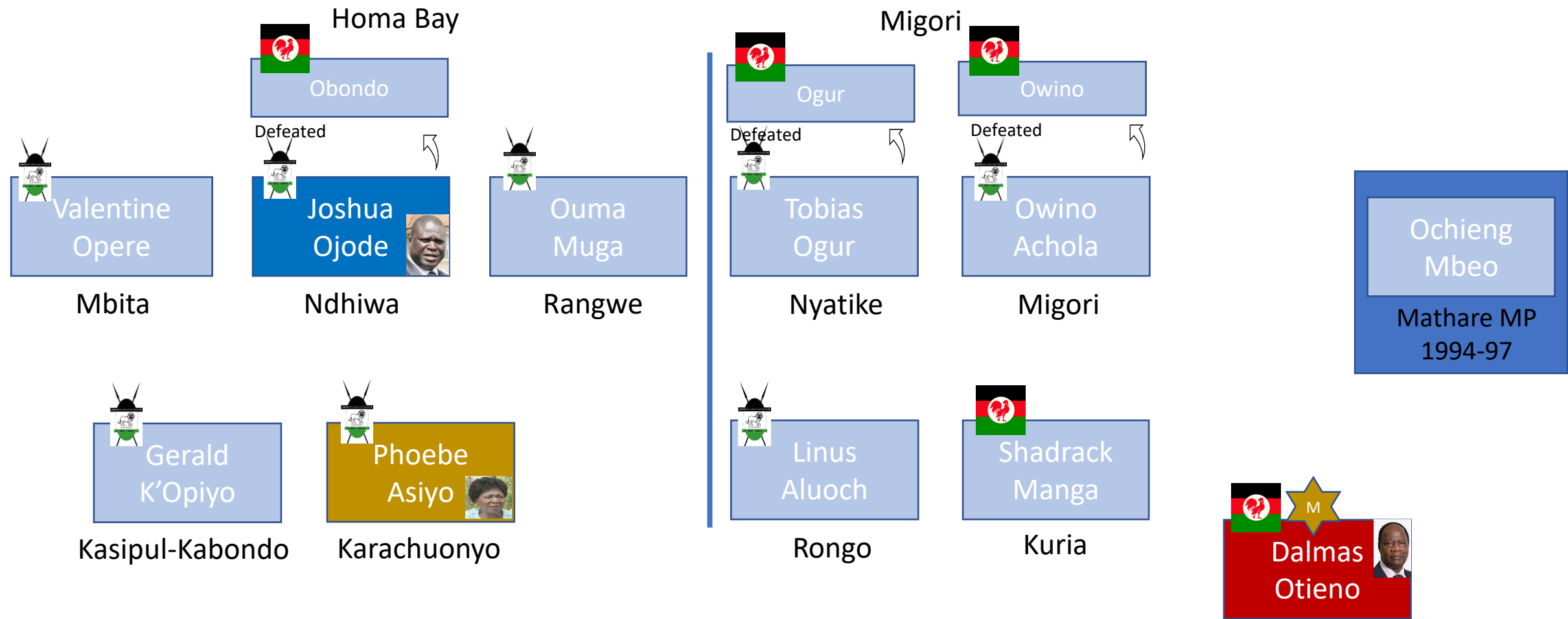
In the 1992 multi-party elections, KANU is wins narrowly nationwide against a split opposition, but in South Nyanza, FORD-Kenya triumphs. Odinga wins every seat for the presidency and FORD-Kenya candidates win every parliamentary seat, except Kuria where KANU wins both. Asiyi returns, but in general the new Homa Bay and Migori MPs are not a distinguished team. In Moi's new multi-party government, despite his defeat, Dalmas Otieno is nominated and returns as a KANU minister.



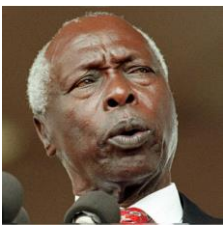


# South Nyanza

1993-94: Odinga's Death and Party Defections

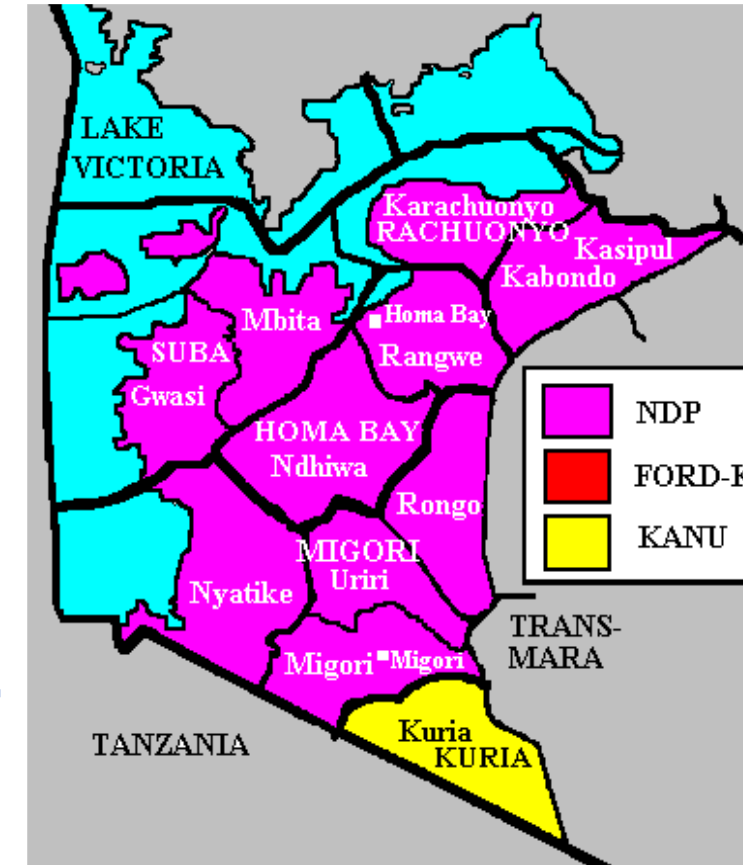
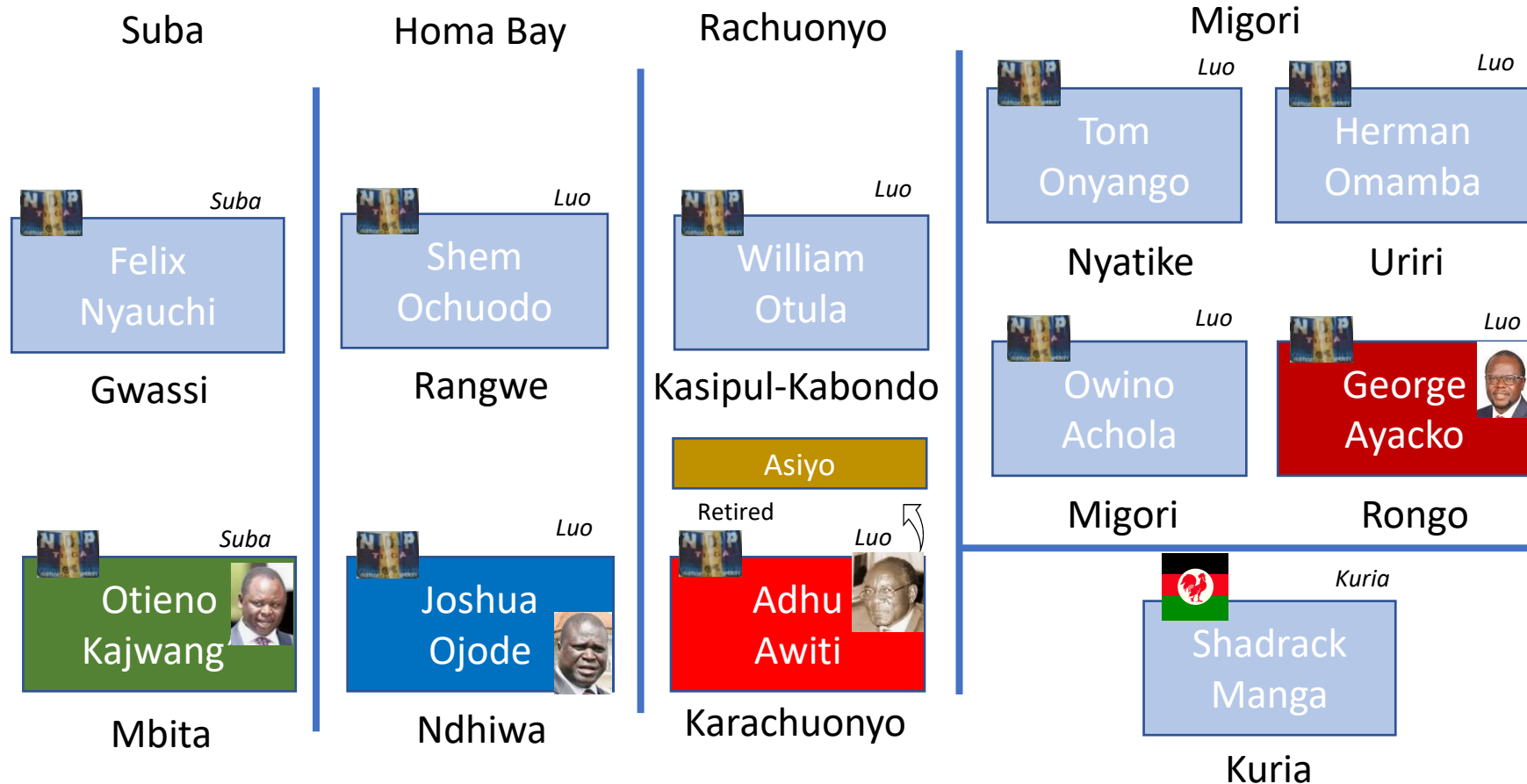


As soon as parliament resumes, KANU starts to woo the FORD-Kenya South Nyanza team with promises of automatic nomination for KANU and substantial financial incentives. Owino (Migori) is the first to go, but loses his seat to FORD-Kenya. In May 1993, Odinga begins a path of cooperation with KANU, but in January 1994 he dies, and FORD-Kenya returns to opposition. In 1994, Obondo (Ndhiwa) defects to KANU and loses and in 1995 Ogur (Nyatike) also take KANU's shilling and is duly defeated. Ochieng Mbeo (from Homa Bay) is Mathare MP.



# South Nyanza

## December 1997 General Election

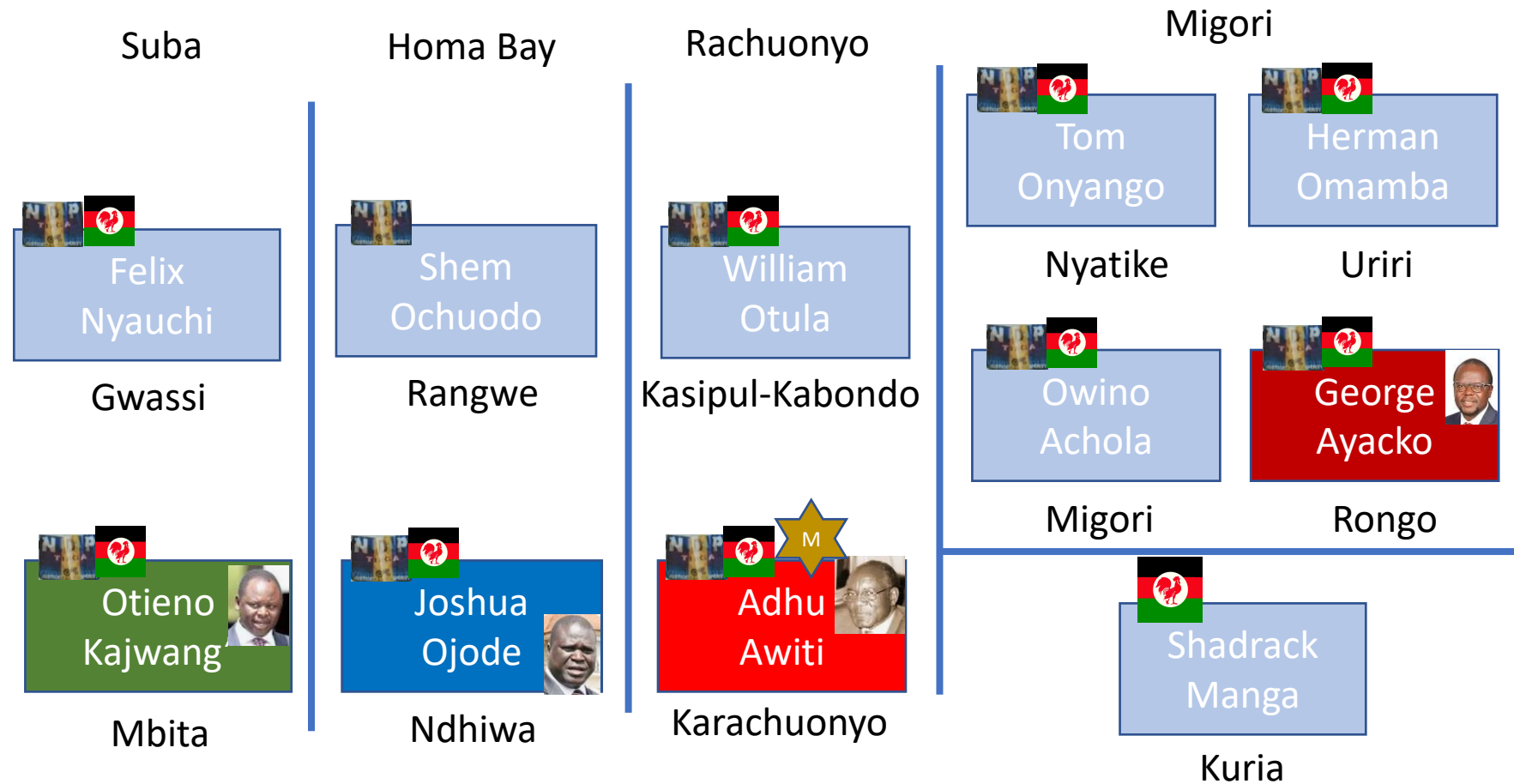


The 1996 boundary redistributions splits Mbita to create a new Gwasssi seat and Migori is split to create Uriri. There is an explosion of new districts. Meanwhile following the death of Odinga, FORD-Kenya has shattered in two over the succession, between supporters of Raila Odinga, Jaramogi's son, and those of (Luhya) Michael Wamalwa, his nominal successor. In January 1997, Raila forms his own National Democratic Party and in a decisive political shift, most Luo follow him. In the 1997 elections, facing four regional opponents (Raila, Wamalwa, Kibaki and Charity Ngilu) KANU again wins nationwide. In South Nyanza, Raila's NDP wins all seats in parliament and the presidency (bar the Kuria, who back KANU).

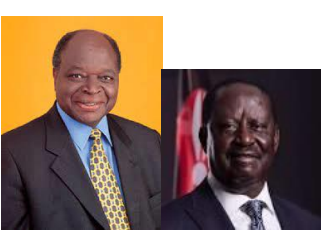


# South Nyanza

## 1998-2002: Cooperation and Merger

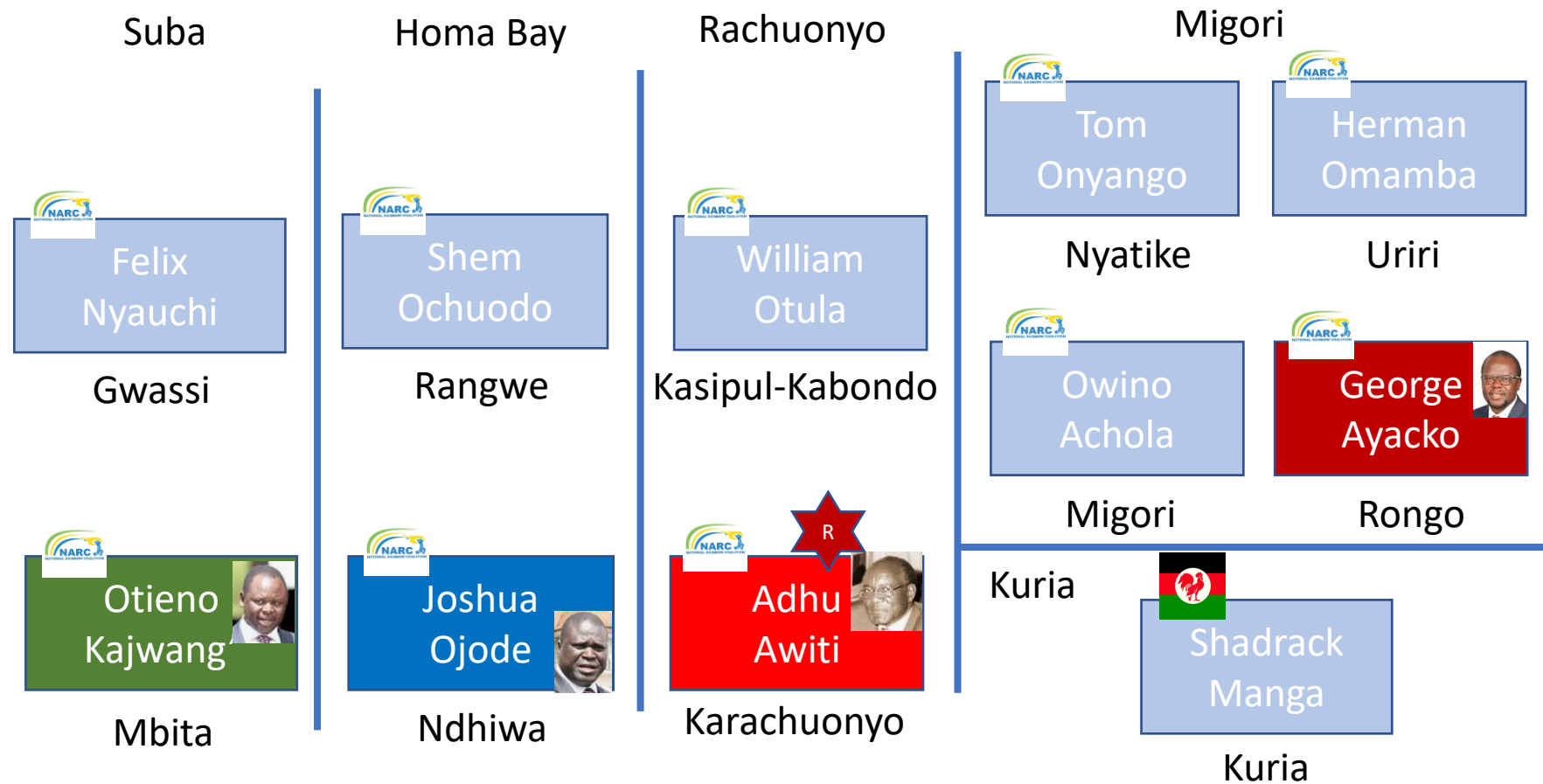


As Moi seeks allies in the opposition, KANU is riven by internal strife. Raila leads the NDP into cooperation with his opponent and seeks power from within, as the NDP leadership grow closer to KANU. In 2001, Raila and Awiti join the government as ministers in Kenya's first coalition since 1963. In August 2001, the parties agree to merge. Most South Nyanza MPs follow Raila into the merger with KANU which culminates in the merger conference of March 2002.

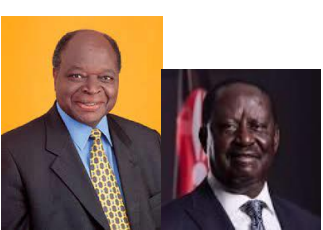


# South Nyanza

Late 2002: LDP Defection

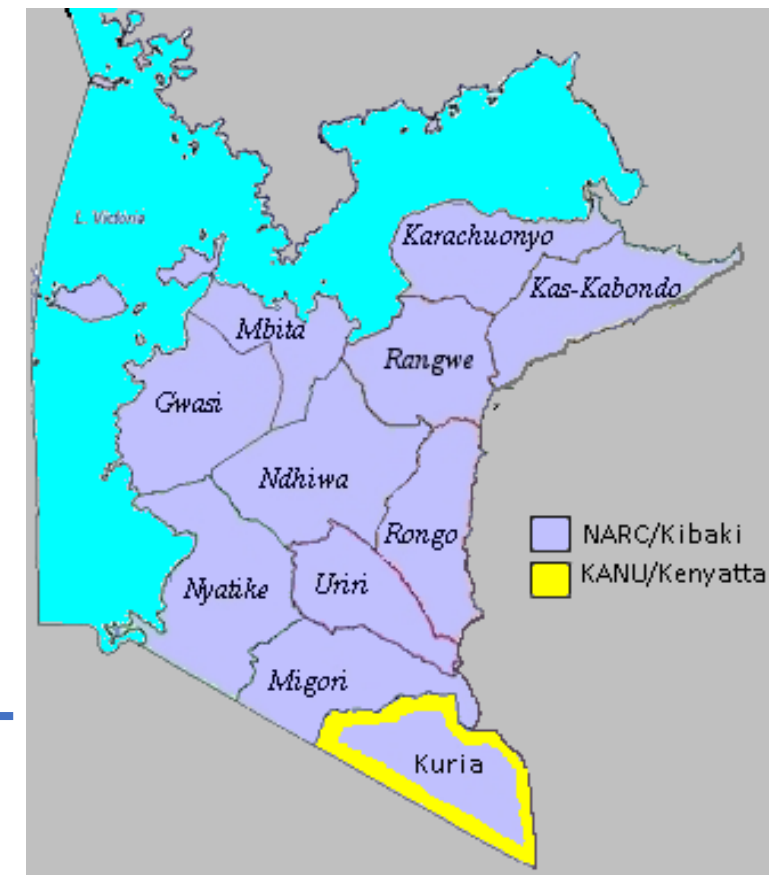
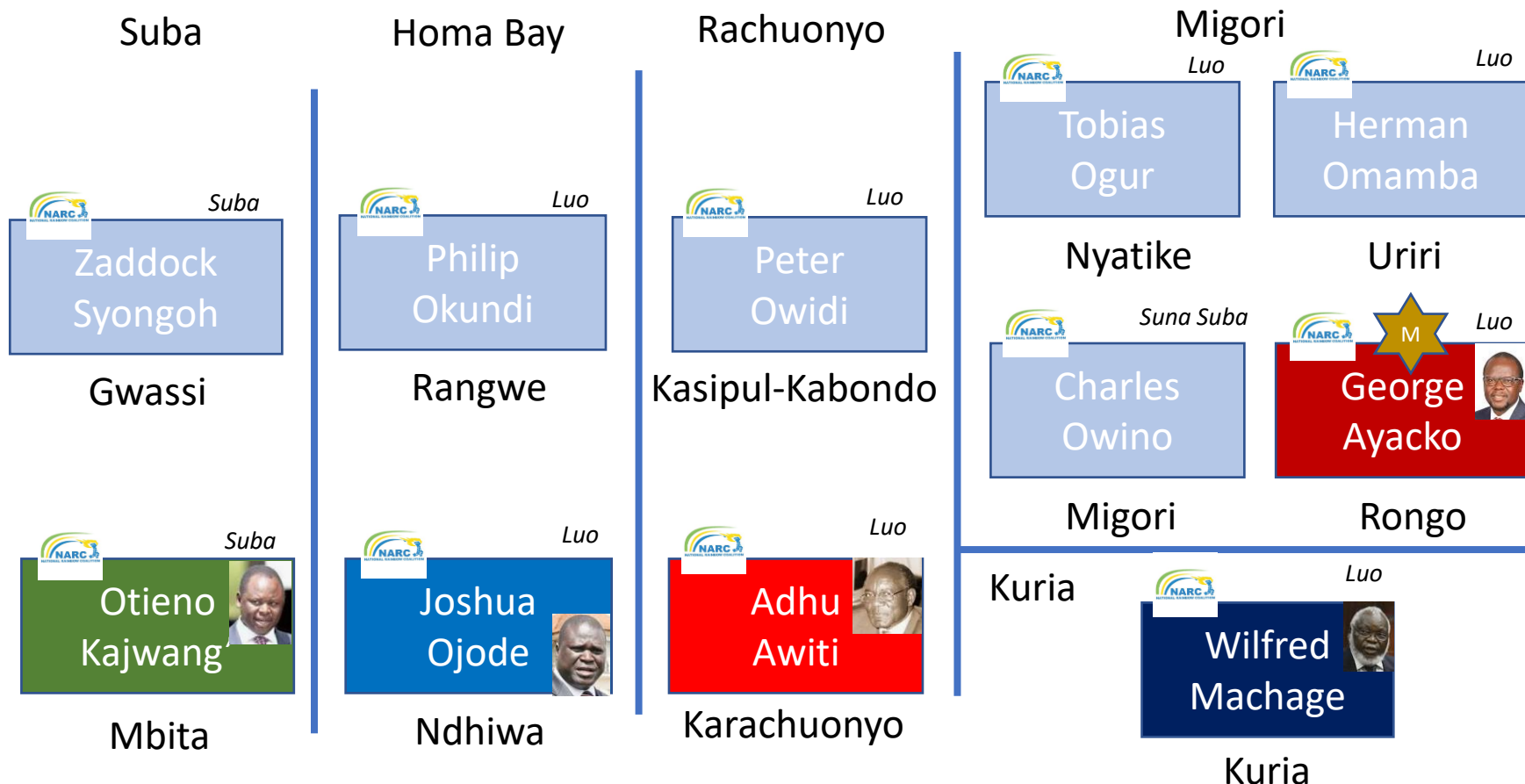


At the last minute, Raila realises that Moi has had no intention of passing the succession baton to him, and leads an internal rebellion within KANU against Moi's choice of Uhuru Kenyatta as his successor. With their "rainbow rebellion" joining the National Alliance of Kibaki, Wamalwa and Ngilu. the political tide nationwide shifts sharply against KANU in mid-2002. Most ex-NDP KANU MPs join the new Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), part of the broader NARC ("National Alliance Rainbow Coalition") and Awiti joins Raila in resigning from the KANU government.



# South Nyanza

## 2002: Moi Retires, Kibaki Elected



Note: where there are two colours for a constituency, it means the presidential and parliamentary vote went to different parties. The outer border represents the presidential vote and the centre the winner for the MPs seat

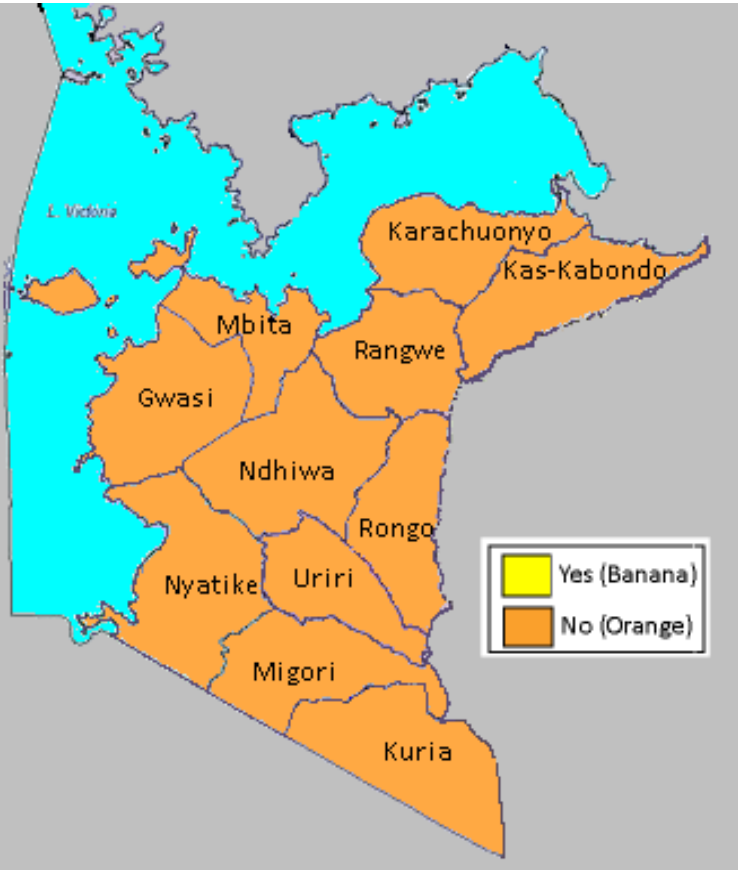
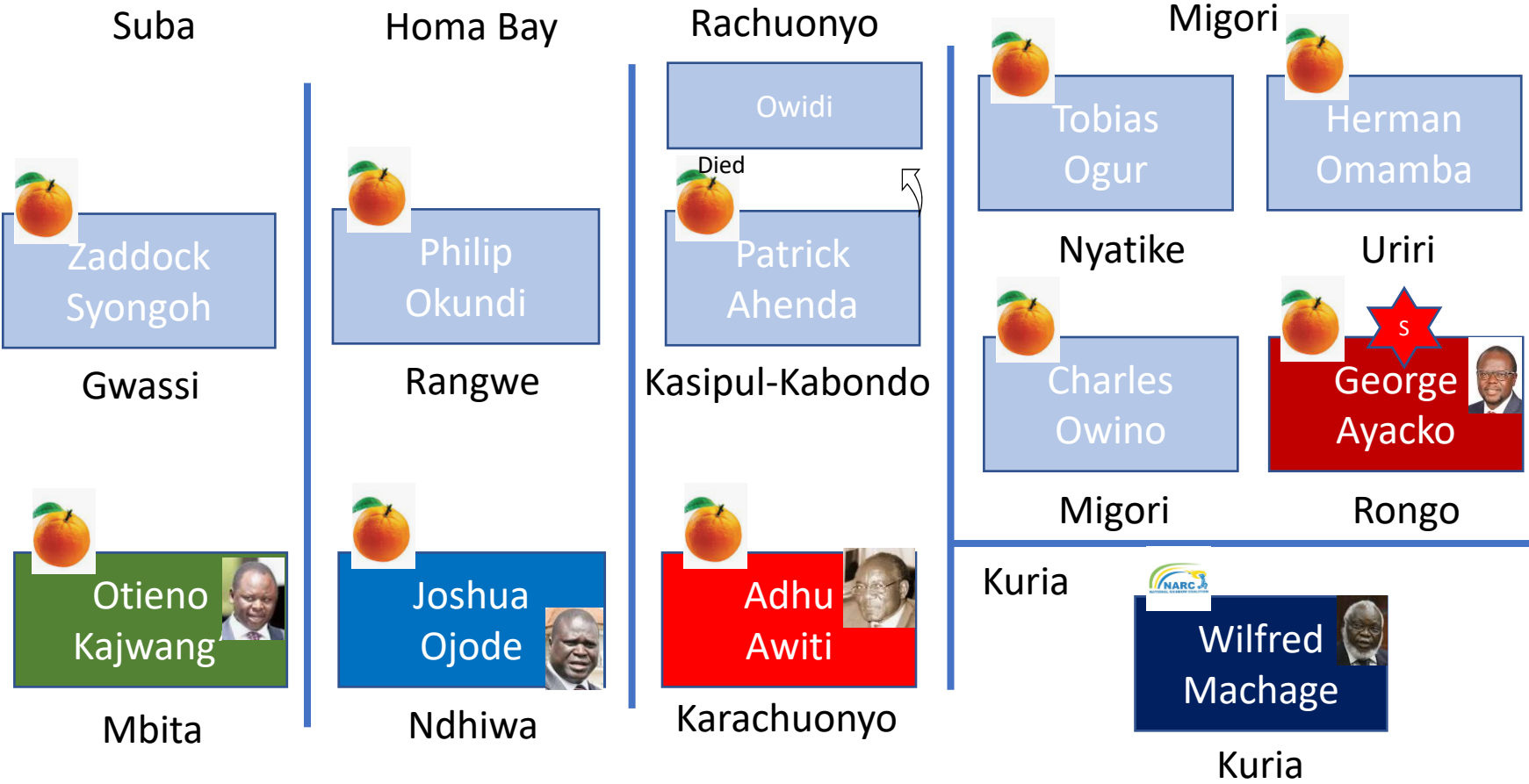
Moi retires and his chosen successor Uhuru is defeated for the Presidency by Kibaki. With Raila's endorsement, Kibaki also beats Kenyatta (and Nyachae) in every South Nyanza seat by huge majorities of 20-1 or more (except, again, the loyal Kuria, which vote Uhuru but elect NARC's Wilfred Machage). In the slimmed down NARC government of 2003, Ayacko is made a minister alongside Raila, but others are passed over.





# South Nyanza

## 2005-7: Second Coalition Government

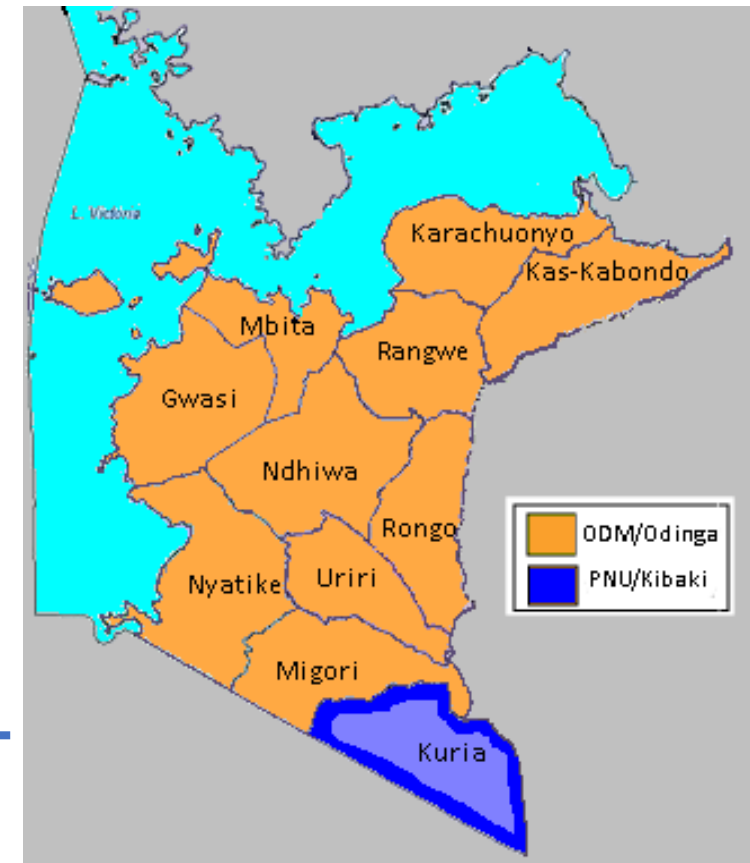
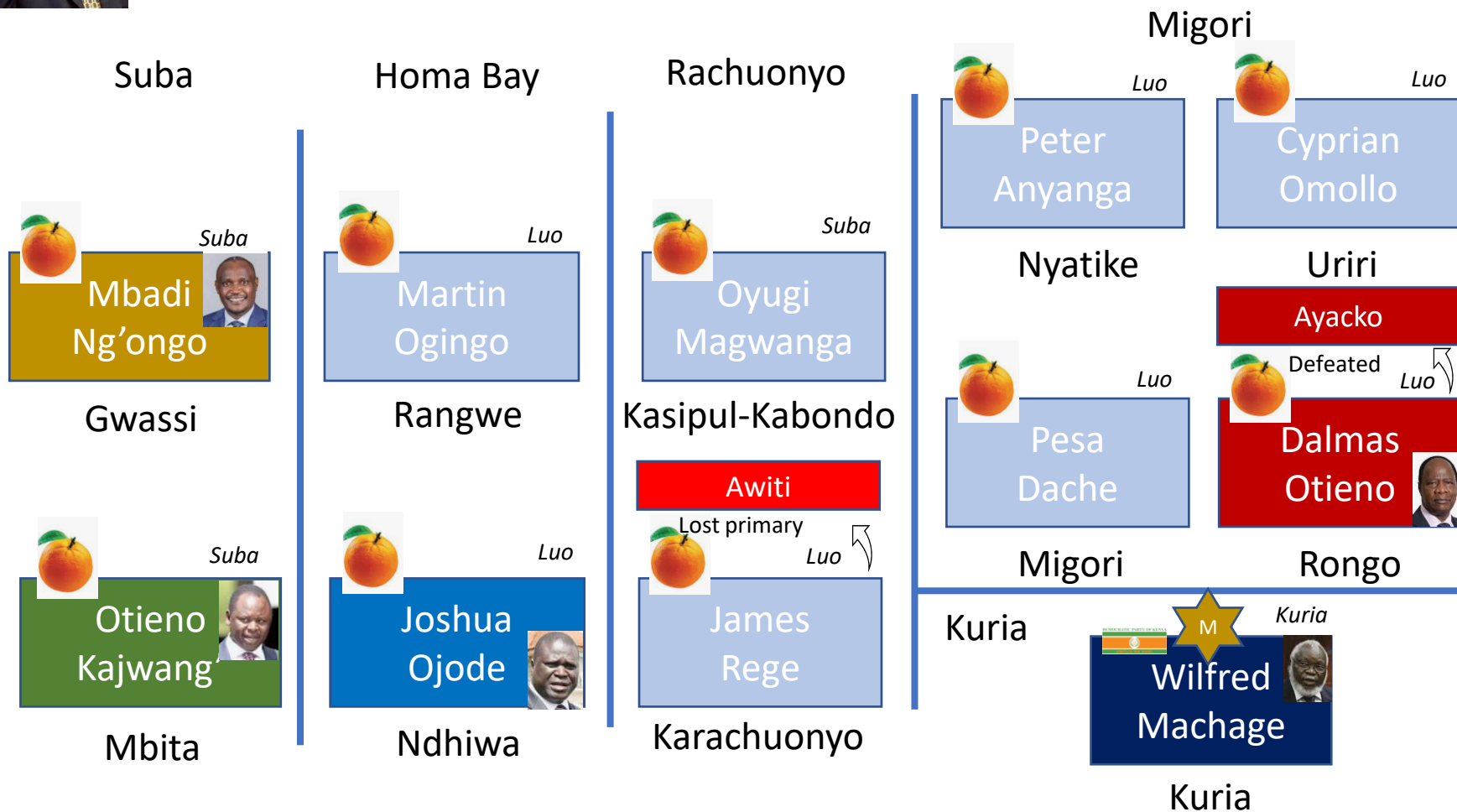


After two years of internal strife, NARC cracks in half after the failed referendum of 2005. Kibaki drops all the “Orange” ministers (who voted against the Wako constitution, as did every seat in South Nyanza) and reaches out to allies anywhere he can find them. Every Luo and Suba South Nyanza MP follows Raila's lead as the LDP and Orange movement morph into a new political party “ODM” during 2006-7. Owidi dies in 2005 and is replaced. In October 2007, Kibaki briefly appoints the loyal Machage as a minister, the Kuria’s first ministerial post.



# South Nyanza

2007: General Election and Subsequent Chaos



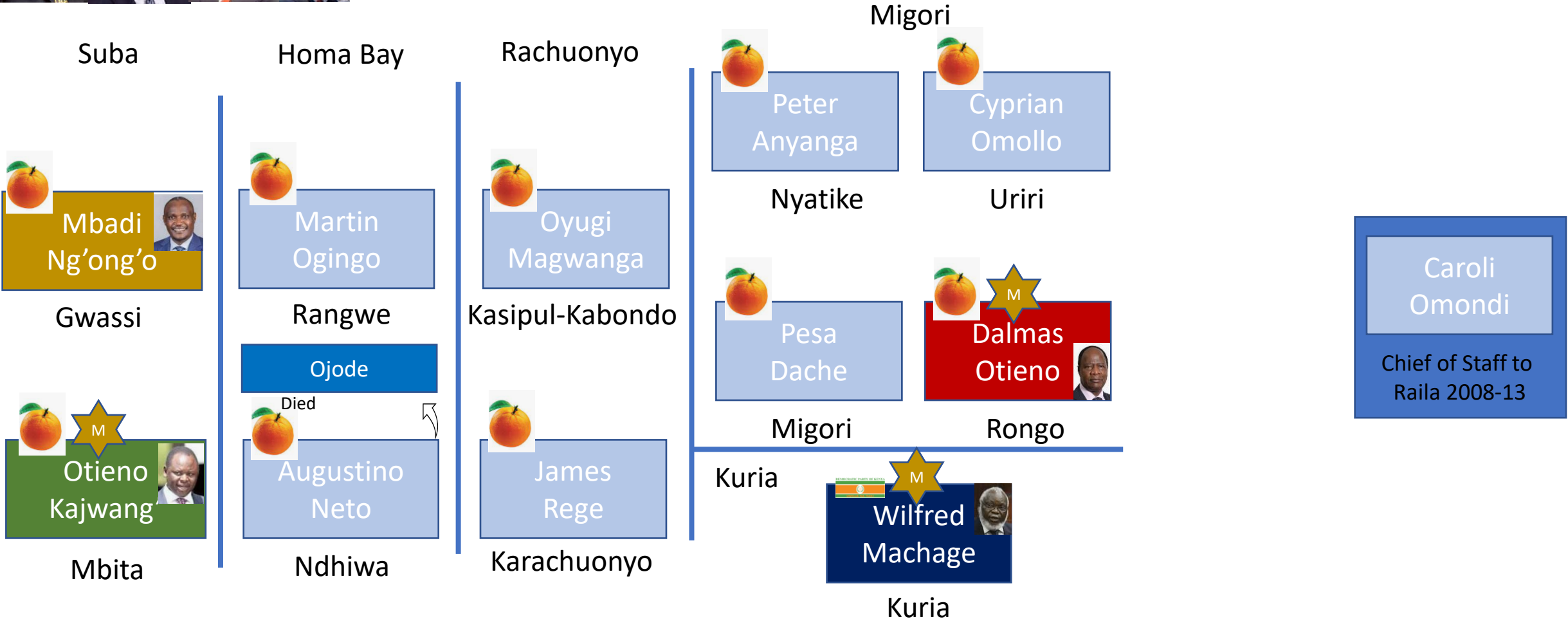
Another decade but no boundary redistribution in 2006. 2007 is an ODM-PNU battle nationwide but in South Nyanza there is only one story and one party: ODM. Raila wins every seat by huge margins and ODM MPs do the same. New MPs include 36-year old accountant Mbadi Ng'ongo, and Dalmas Otieno returns. Awiti and Ayacko are both defeated. In the short-lived Kibaki-Musyoka government of January-April 2008, as Kenya burns, the region's only minister is Machage (elected for the pro-Kibaki DP).






# South Nyanza


## April 2008-12: The Grand Coalition



In the grand coalition (PNU-ODM-ODM-K), the ODM team returns to coalition government, now taking half the enlarged cabinet's posts. Kajwang and Otieno are Odinga's regional nominations, while Machage continues for PNU. Somehow, against all the odds, the coalition crafts and the population votes for a new constitution. All South Nyanza votes yes, except for Kuria, which votes "No" with William Ruto. The new constitution is promulgated in 2010 and comes into effect over the next 2-3 years. In 2012, Ojode dies in the plane crash that kills Saitoti. Caroli Omondi from Gwasssi is Odinga's influential Chief of Staff.



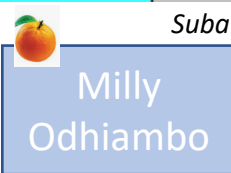
Homa Bay



Suba

Mbadi Ng'ongo


Suba South



Suba

Milly Odhiambo

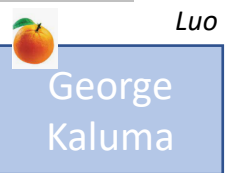
Suba North



Luo

Augustino Neto


Ndhiwa



Luo

George Kaluma


Homa Bay Tn



Luo

George Ogalo


Rangwe



Luo

James Rege


Karachuonyo



Suba

Oyugi Magwanga


Kasipul



Luo

Sylvance Onyango


Kab-Kasipul



Luo

Cyprian Awiti


Governor



Suba

Otieno Kajwang


Senator



Luo

Gladys Wanga

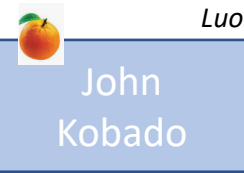
Women Rep



Luo

Peter Anyanga

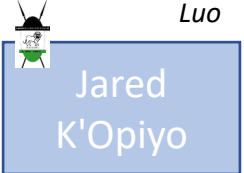
Nyatike



Luo

John Kobado


Uriri



Luo

Jared K'Opiyo


Awendo



Luo

Dalmas Otieno


Rongo



Suba

Joseph Ndiege


Suna West



Somali

Junet Nuh


Suna East



Kuria

Mathias Robi


Kuria West



Kuria

Shadrack Manga

Kuria East




PDP

Luo

Okoth Obado


Governor



Kuria

Wilfred Machage

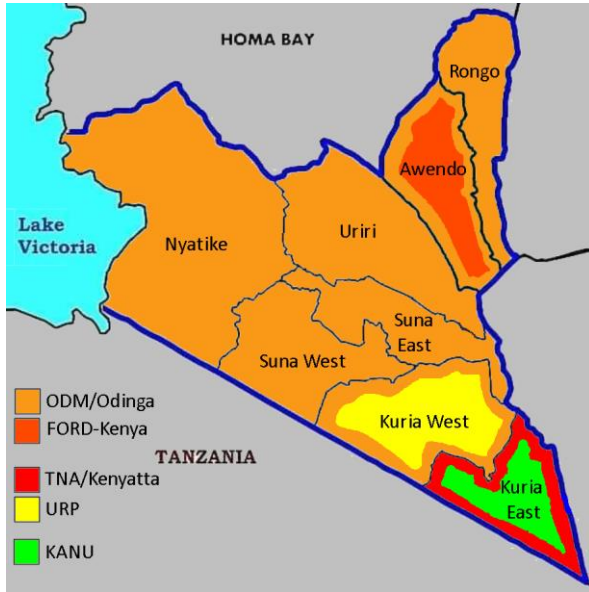
Senator



Kuria

Deninah Ghati

Women Rep



ODM/Odinga

FORD-Kenya

TNA/Kenyatta

URP

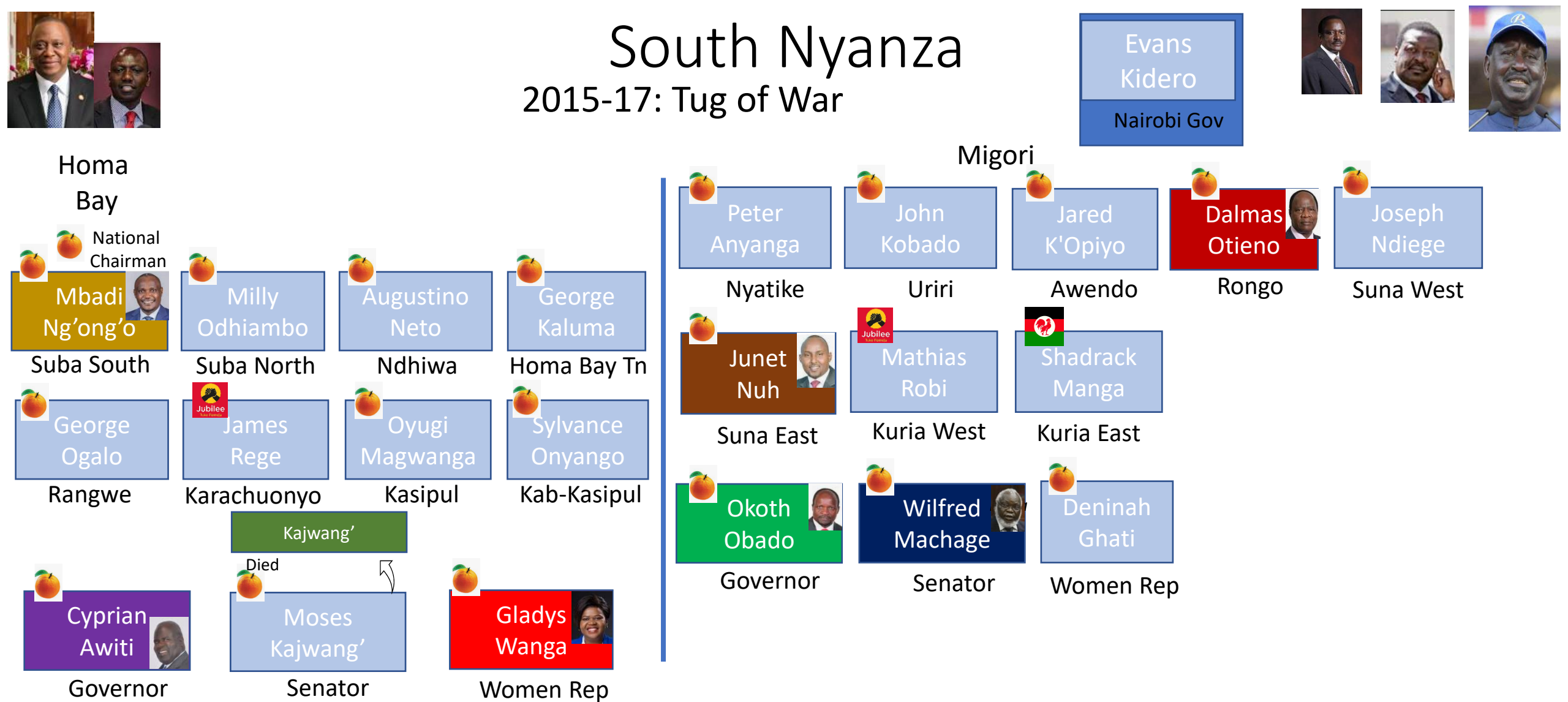
KANU

TANZANIA


2013 brings a new constitution, new bicameral parliament, Governors. Ministers (Cabinet Secretaries) no longer MPs. Homa Bay and Migori are restored, now as Counties. 80 more seats nationwide means four more here, two in each county. TNA and URP in alliance defeat Odinga's ODM (part of CORD) and Mudavadi's UDF, but here ODM dominates. Newcomers Awiti and Obado are the new governors. Raila wins every Luo and Suba seat by huge margins (20-1 in most) and ODM most other seats (allies FORD-Kenya and PDP win one each). The Kuria split their vote. In Kenyatta and Ruto's government, there are no Cabinet Secretaries from the area. Evans Kidero (whose family come from Homa Bay) is Nairobi's first Governor.

# South Nyanza

## 2015-17: Tug of War




In 2014, Kajwang dies and is replaced as Homa Bay senator by his brother Moses. In Migori, Obado and K'Opiyo both join ODM ready for 2017. In 2016-17, TNA and URP merge to form the Jubilee party and politicians nationwide defect to join them, including several ODM leaders from elsewhere. James Rege defects in Homa Bay, but South Nyanza, now Odinga's bedrock, otherwise holds firm. In 2014, Mbadi becomes ODM National Chairman.



Homa Bay


National Chairman



Suba


Mbadi Ng'ong'o

Suba South




Lilian Gogo

Rangwe



Cyprian Awiti


Governor



Suba


Milly Odhiambo

Suba North




Andrew Okuome

Karachuonyo



Moses Kajwang'


Senator



Suba


Martin Owino

Ndhiwa




Charles Were

Kasipul



Gladys Wanga


Women Rep



Suba


George Kaluma

Homa Bay Tn




Eve Obara

Kab-Kasipul




Migori




Tom Odege

Nyatike




Junet Nuh

Suna East




Okoth Obado

Governor




Mark Nyamita

Uriri



Mathias Robi

Kuria West




Ben Okello

Senator


Lost as MP

Machage




John Owino

Awendo




Marwa Kitayama

Kuria East



Pamela Ochieng


Women Rep




Defeated

Paul Abuor

Rongo

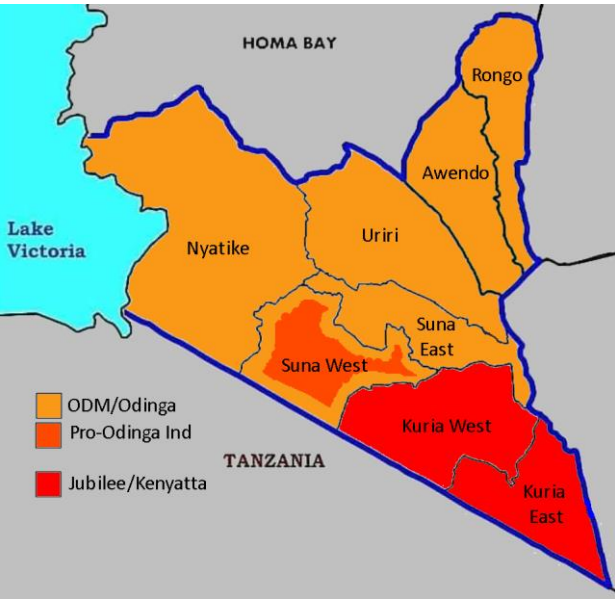




Suba

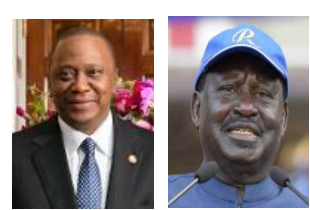
Peter Masara

Suna West



Wiper rejoins ODM, Mudavadi's ANC and FORD-Kenya in NASA, but NASA loses to Jubilee nationwide. In South Nyanza, Odinga again easily wins every Luo and Suba seat for the presidency by 100-1 margins (600,000 votes to 6,000 for Kenyatta). Kuria alone votes Jubilee. Awiti, Obado, Wanga, Mbadi and Nuh return while Otieno and Machage depart. ODM sweeps every parliamentary seat, except in Suna West, where a pro-Raila independent wins, and the Kuria, where the Ruto wing of Jubilee dominates. Home Bay has an unusually strong female representation, with three female MPs. There are no Cabinet Secretaries from the region appointed (appointments only takes place in 2018 after the first presidential poll is nullified and the repeat poll held, which Odinga boycotts), though Central Nyanza is well represented. Kidero loses in Nairobi to Mike Sonko. Mbadi becomes Minority leader of government Business in the Assembly.





# South Nyanza

2018-22: The Handshake and the Divorce  
Migori




Homa  
Bay

 National  
Chairman

  
**Mbadi  
Ng'ong'o**

Suba South

  
**Milly  
Odhiambo**

Suba North

  
**Martin  
Owino**

Ndhiwa

  
**George  
Kaluma**


Homa Bay Tn

  
**Lilian  
Gogo**

Rangwe

  
**Andrew  
Okuome**

Karachuonyo

  
**Charles  
Were**


Kasipul

  
**Eve  
Obara**

Kab-Kasipul

  
**Cyprian  
Awiti**

Governor

  
**Moses  
Kajwang'**

Senator

  
**Gladys  
Wanga**

Women Rep

  
**Tom  
Odege**

Nyatike

  
**Mark  
Nyamita**

Uriri

  
**John  
Owino**

Awendo

  
**Paul  
Abuor**

Rongo

  
**Peter  
Masara**

Suna West

  
**Junet  
Nuh**

Suna East

  
**Mathias  
Robi**


Kuria West

  
**Marwa  
Kitayama**


Kuria East

**Okello**


Died

  
**Okoth  
Obado**

Governor

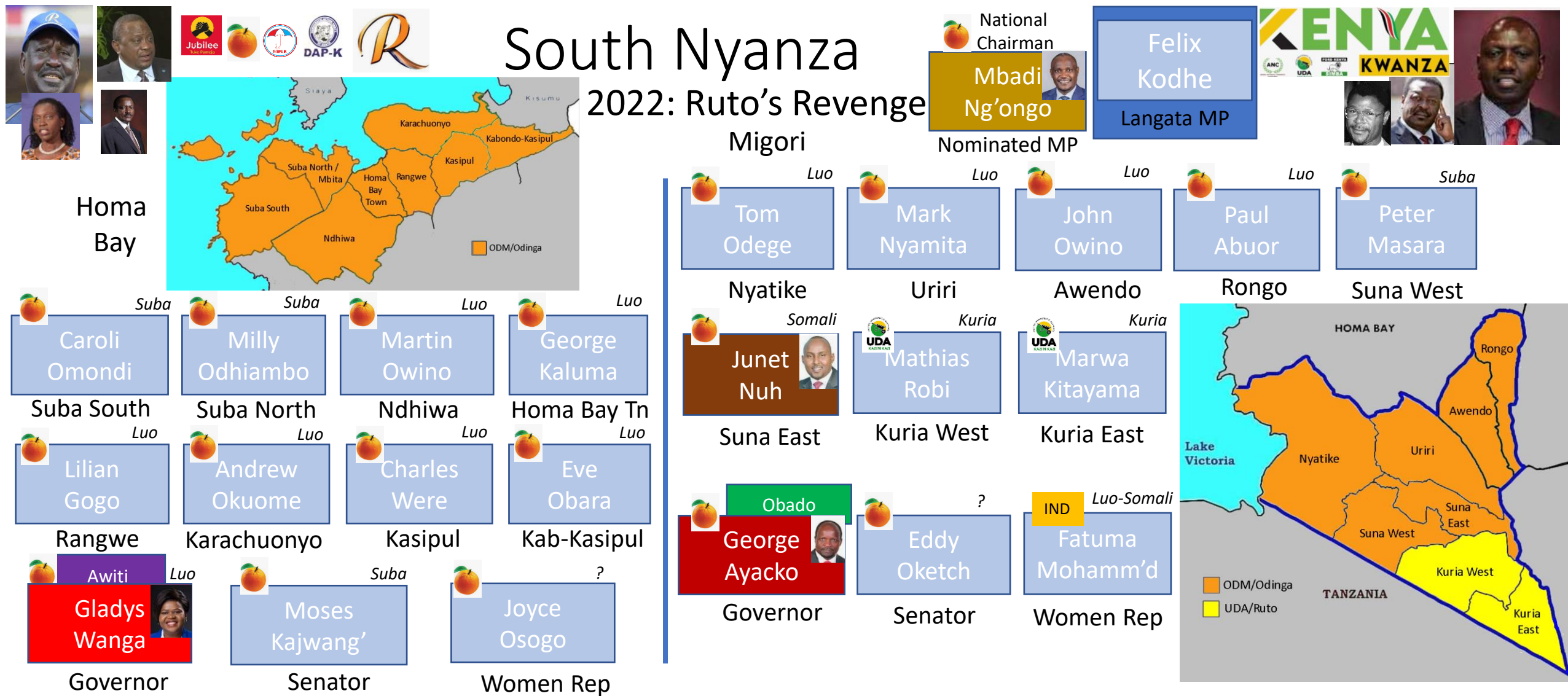
  
**George  
Ayacko**

Senator

  
**Pamela  
Ochieng**

Women Rep

After the repeat presidential election, growing tensions and the unexpected 2018 handshake between Odinga and Kenyatta , Kenya takes a different course. With Ruto out of favour and the handshake the main driver of political events during 2019-21, the situation becomes tougher for the Ruto team, who have little representation in the region. Nonetheless, when in 2020-21 Ruto sets up the UDA for his presidential bid, a few local outsiders back him. Obado (now a lame duck, and on trial for aiding and abetting a murder) returns to the tiny PDP and backs Ruto. In 2018, Okello dies and George Ayacko returns. Masara returns to ODM. Jubilee and ODM cooperate to form a new supra-alliance Azimio, with Odinga their candidate.



Azimio dominates the polls again. Odinga beats Ruto massively as expected: 60-1 in the Luo and Suba seats. Gladys Wanga makes the tough step up to Governor (with strong Odinga support) and Ayacko becomes Migori Governor as the incumbents are both ineligible for a third term. In Parliament, almost all incumbent ODM MPs get automatically renominated without primaries, causing some discontent, but most win nonetheless. Kuria votes Ruto and UDA. Nationwide, however, Ruto wins a narrow presidential victory. Again, there is no Cabinet Secretary from the region. Mbadi (Still Chairman) becomes an ODM nominated MP as consolation for standing down for Wanga.