

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAIVASHA TOWN, 1895-2013

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Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Master of Arts Degree in
History of Egerton University**

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has not been presented for examination in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God, for making the study possible and to my parents Loise Gathoni and Joseph Chege for supporting my education fully.

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The writing and completion of this thesis would not have been successful if it were not for the grace of God. I would like to thank Egerton University for giving me a chance to undertake the study. There are also those people without whom this thesis would never have been written, or even if it had, would not have appeared in the form it does. To begin with, I would like to thank my supervisors Dr. Isaac Tarus and Dr. Dorothy Nyakwaka for their constant spring of ideas that gave shape to this work. Special appreciation goes to Dr. B. K. Chacha, of Laikipia University, for the encouragement he gave me to undertake the study and for taking his time to read through the work. In the circle of appreciation, I include the staff at the Kenya National Archives at the Nairobi and Nakuru branches, the Kenya National Library Services at Nakuru and Egerton University Library. I am indebted to my parents, Joseph Chege and Loise Gathoni, for their confidence in me which kept me going. With all my heart I thank you. I thank my brothers and sisters for their encouragement as I went about the work. In particular, the assistance I received from my brother Chege Gitau. I thank my classmates Allan Chore and Lilian Anode for their priceless encouragement; they have been friends and confidants for which I have nothing to pay with except to express heartfelt gratitude. Lastly, grateful acknowledgements are to numerous others who are unmentioned, who gave help, suggestions and encouragement.

ABSTRACT

This study is a historical analysis of Naivasha town. The study does so by focusing on three main periods. First, it traces the origin of the town from the pre-colonial period when the Maasai inhabited the Naivasha area. Secondly, it is an analysis of the colonial period, when the foundations were laid for the most prosperous sector of Naivasha economy. Lastly, the study extends to post-colonial period which attempts to answer the socio-economic questions that have had significance on the recent history of the town's development. The main purpose of the study is to fill the exact knowledge gap on the origin and development of Naivasha town. The study is helpful to urban development agencies and policy makers and also contributes to Kenya's urban historiography. The study employs the modernisation and underdevelopment theory. Modernisation approach is a description and explanation of the processes of transformation from traditional or underdeveloped societies to modern societies. Underdevelopment and dependence theory show how the core nations exploit the peripheral ones, through a system of multinationals. The study utilised primary data collected from the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi and its branch in Nakuru. Archival data collected were corroborated with oral data collected through in-depth interviews. Informants included: elderly, present and past administrators, white settlers present, flower farm owners and workers, businessmen/women and other residents. Secondary data was sought from the internet, Egerton University Library, British Institute of Eastern Africa in Nairobi, University of Nairobi Library, Macmillan Library in Nairobi and Kenya National Library Services in Nakuru. Data analysis included theoretical reflections, content analysis and documentary review. Data was categorised into research questions, objectives, sub-themes and chronologically. Findings of the study traced the origin of Naivasha town to when the Maasai occupied the area along Lake Naivasha. The twentieth century saw the colonial government signing an agreement with the Maasai and moving them to the Reserves. Consequently, the construction of the railway led to the introduction of settler agriculture and in turn influx of migrants. This led to the establishment of colonial capitalism and Naivasha became important to the settler economy due to agriculture. In the post-colonial period, the town's development has been enormous through horticulture farms, tourism and increased social amenities. These have led to increase in population and hence increase in demand for service and retail sectors. Further research could be directed on migrant labour and welfare of the workers in the horticultural farms.

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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

BP	Before Present
BEA	British East Africa
CBD	Central Business District
DC	District Commissioner
DDP	District Development Plan
DO	District Officer
EA	East Africa
EAP	East Africa Protectorate
HCDA	Horticultural Crops Development Authority
IBA	Important Bird Area
IBEAC	Imperial British East Africa Company
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KARI	Kenya Agricultural Research Institute
KCC	Kenya Cooperative Creameries
KENGEN	Kenya Generating Power Company
KFC	Kenya Flower Council
KNA	Kenya National Archives
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
NFD	Northern Frontier District
NVA	Naivasha
NYS	National Youth Service
RNLO	Resident Native Labourers Ordinance
UNO	United Nation Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War T

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

<i>Ahoi:</i>	-Kikuyu term for traditional land tenants who were landless
<i>Askari:</i>	-Swahili word for policeman
<i>Bodaboda</i>	-Motorcycle
<i>Boma:</i>	-Colonial area of one's jurisdiction
<i>Dukawalla:</i>	-Asian shopkeeper
<i>Enkutoto:</i>	-Local community in Maasai
<i>Emutai:</i>	-Maasai term for disaster like famine, drought
<i>Eunoto:</i>	-The graduation ceremony from Ilmoran into elderhood
<i>Githaka:</i>	-Kikuyu word for land
<i>Hongo:</i>	-Swahili word for a toll paid by caravans traversing some parts of East Africa in the late 19 th century.
<i>Ipurko:</i>	-A Maasai clan, which practiced farming
<i>Laikipiak:</i>	-Maasai clan (extinct)
<i>Ilmoran:</i>	-Maasai young men
<i>Iloikopwars:</i>	-Maasai civil wars of the 1800s
<i>Iloogola war:</i>	-Maasai civil war of the 1830s
<i>Iloosekelaiwar:</i>	-Maasai civil war of the 1840s
<i>Iloshon:</i>	-Territorial sections
<i>Ilkarsisi:</i>	-Rich person in Maasai
<i>Ilaisinak:</i>	-Poor person in Maasai
<i>Kak-oo-nyukie:</i>	-Maasai clan
<i>King'otore:</i>	-Kikuyu word for ten-cent coin
<i>Kiugo:</i>	-A Kikuyu word for a place where the migrants assembled for white settlers to pick and take them to their farms as workers/ squatters.
<i>Muthuru:</i>	-Kikuyu word meaning a long dress
<i>Ngozi:</i>	-Swahili word for hides
<i>Oloibon:</i>	-A Maasai ritual expert, diviner
<i>Posho:</i>	-Ground maize flour
<i>Shamba:</i>	-Swahili word for farm
<i>Uhuru:</i>	-Swahili word for independence
<i>Wafalme:</i>	-Swahili word for kings

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Urban history in Kenya can be classified into pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period. Pre-colonial urban centres developed on the Kenyan Coast where towns like Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu emerged and grew due to the early trade contacts with the Arabs, Asians and Persians. These cities were Swahili in origin and were governed by *wafalme* (kings). In addition, in the pre-colonial period, town structures may not have existed but spatial organisation certainly did or invisible towns or periodic markets. In the colonial era, the administrative centres and railway stations became major urban towns. For instance, Machakos, Nairobi, Kisumu, Nakuru were former railway stations. Mombasa, Eldama Ravine, Mumias, Naivasha, Kibwezi, and Lamu were former administrative centres.¹ Many contemporary towns and cities were established during the colonial period.² Naivasha being one of them started as an administrative centre.

During the colonial period, the British government decided upon the transfer of Uganda's Eastern Province to the East Africa Protectorate (Kenya). From April 1902, what had been Eastern Province of Uganda was restructured into two Provinces, Kisumu and Naivasha, Naivasha consisting of the four districts of Nakuru, Naivasha, Ravine and Baringo. This was an advantage of having the railway from the coast to Lake Victoria Nyanza under a single administration in order to lower the cost of running it.³ Naivasha therefore, was important to the colonial administration and the study identified the administrative importance of Naivasha to the colonial government.

Eldama Ravine, Nakuru, Naivasha and Laikipia, were the heartland of white settlement in Rift Valley and involved primarily maize and stock production employing

¹ E. M. Aseka, "Urbanisation," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990), p. 54.

² S. Owuor, "*The Impact of Mining on Urbanisation and Poverty in Africa*, A Paper presented at the International Workshop on Bagamoyo, Tanzania, 25-28 February, 2011.

³ R. M. Maxon, "Colonial Conquest and Administration," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 2002), p. 100.

squatters.⁴ Kanogo notes that, Naivasha and Nakuru were where the bulk of the work-force was concentrated.⁵ They were among the Districts least affected by labour shortages in the period before 1918. The first settlers to recruit labour in Kikuyu country promised their prospective squatters large tracts of land for grazing and cultivation. An initial quantity livestock was also promised. This all helped towards the ultimate goal of amassing wealth. In return the squatters were required to herd the settlers' livestock. All these attracted migrant labourers to Naivasha including many different communities such as Luo, Luhya, Abagusii, Akamba, Nandi, Marakwet, Keiyo, Kipsigis and Tugen. A detailed study of migrant labourers therefore, in both colonial and post- colonial period has been examined.

In addition, the first cooperative creameries factory owned by European farmers became operational at Lumbwa (now Kipkelion) in 1911. But it was not until 1926 that a second large Cooperative Creameries factory was constructed at Morendat in Naivasha District.⁶ This was as a result of commercial pastoralism introduced by European settlers. For instance, Lord Delamere controlled large ranches in Naivasha/Gilgil and Elementaita areas.⁷ Up to date Naivasha is home to Lord Delamere's Soysambu ranch being the first white frontiersmen chosen as the white leader. The study analysed contribution of Delamere in the making of Naivasha town.

The name "Naivasha" is a misinterpretation of the Maasai term "*E-na-iposha*," meaning water which is heaving or that which flows to and fro and refers to the waters of Lake Naivasha.⁸ The Lake was also Kenya's first international airport as flying boats from Europe used to land on the water.⁹ This opened up Naivasha to the rest of the world.

⁴ T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the roots of Mau Mau* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1987), p. 14.

⁵ R. M. Maxon, "Colonial Conquest and Administration," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya*, p.14.

⁶ R. T. Ogonda, "Industrialisation," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990), p. 75.

⁷ M. A. Ogutu, "Pastoralism," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990), p. 41.

⁸ E. Huxley and A. Curtis, *Pioneers' Scrapbook* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1980), p. 61.

⁹R. T. Ogonda, "Transport and Communication in the Colonial Economy" in W. R. Ochieng' and R. M. Maxon (eds), *An Economic History of Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1992), p. 129.

addition, it was also around 1930s¹⁰ that Naivasha became famous because of a set of whites that lived in Kenya's Happy Valley at Wanjohi at the foot of Nyandarua Mountains. According to Berman and Lonsdale, the group was an immigrant clan of British aristocrats; who were murderers, adulterous and drunkards. Some of them, visitors escaping from northern winters, their playground had been carved by the colonial state from the dry-seasonal pasturage of the former lords of East Africa (Maasai). Drugs, drink, murders and dalliance was the order of the day. This group preferred Naivasha due to its serene environment and had made the place famous. The study therefore, focused on the role of the Happy Valley case in the making of Naivasha.

According to the Kenya population census, the urban population projections of Naivasha have progressively increased over the years. In 1962 the population stood at 4,690, in 1969 it was 6,920.¹¹ By 2009 it was 169,160.¹² A range of factors that contributed to the increase in population were identified.

Naivasha District Development Plan (DPP) 2008-2012, notes that Naivasha is a tourist hub.¹³ It has several tourist attractions like Lake Naivasha National Park, Mt. Longonot Game Reserve, Hell's Gate National Park, Olkaria Geothermal Station and beautiful scenery consisting of yellow fever acacia trees among other features. All these make tourism a key economic activity in and around Naivasha town. The economy of the town also relies heavily on horticulture. This has led to increased migrants coming to seek wage labour in the flower farms, making Naivasha cosmopolitan. Important public institutions in the town include Naivasha Maximum Prison, National Youth Service (NYS), Kenya Wildlife Training Institute, Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI) and Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC).

¹⁰ B. Berman and J. Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa*, Book one: *State and Class* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), p. 1.

¹¹ R. A. Obudho. "Post-Colonial Urbanisation Process," in W. R. Ochieng' and R. M. Maxon (eds), *An Economic History of Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1992), pp. 1-6.

¹² Republic of Kenya, *Naivasha District Development Plan 2008-2012* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), p. 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

According to Obudho, Kenya has one of the highest rates of urbanisation in East Africa.¹⁴ In addition, Anderson and Rathbone argue that rapid and dramatic urbanisation has been the most significant and pervasive socio-economic trend across the African continent during the present century. By the year 2000, it was estimated that more of Africa's people will live in towns than live in the countryside. If present urban growth rates continue, by 2020 Africa's urbanisation will have the world's largest cities.¹⁵ They further postulate that, Africa's social and economic problems in the present era are increasingly identified as urban and have given greater relevance and immediacy to research into the history of towns. Urban growth on such scale is a profoundly modern phenomenon, but urbanisation has been an important feature of Africa's history for a long time. Towns such as Malindi, Mombasa, Nairobi, Kisumu and Eldoret have been researched on. Naivasha has progressively grown over the years and therefore the study was necessary.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Several historical studies have been done on towns in Kenya. Focus however, has been on major towns such as Mombasa, Malindi, Eldoret, Nairobi and Kisumu. Though smaller and growing towns have received attention from scholars, Naivasha town is still understudied. Much of the existing scholarly materials on Naivasha are premised on the Lake Naivasha. Today, Naivasha town has become a Kenyan boom town for the economy, attracting thousands of migrants to the horticultural farms. It also attracts tourists due to major tourist attraction sites such as Hell's Gate National Park, Longonot Game Reserve, Olkaria Geothermal station and Lake Naivasha. Studies on the origin of the town, its colonial and post-colonial history have not been comprehensively documented. Hence, the proposed study of the origin and development of Naivasha town.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to examine the historical background and development of Naivasha town.

¹⁴ R. A. Obudho, "Spatial Dimension and Demographic Dynamics of Kenya's Subsystems," *Pan African Journal* 9 (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau), pp. 103-124.

¹⁵ D. Anderson and R. Rathbone, *Africa's Urban Past* (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 2000), p. 1.

The study is guided by the following specific objectives:-

- i. To trace the origin of Naivasha town.
- ii. To examine the factors that contributed to the development of Naivasha town in the colonial period.
- iii. To analyse the post-colonial factors which have influenced the development of Naivasha town since independence.
- iv. To assess the impact of these developments on Naivasha community.

1.4 Research Questions

The study is guided by the following research questions:-

- i. What factors were responsible for the origin of Naivasha town?
- ii. How did colonialism influence the development of Naivasha town?
- iii. Which post-colonial factors have influenced the development of Naivasha town since independence?
- iv. How has the development of the town impacted on the Naivasha community?

1.5 Justification of the Study

This study is significant since it documents and provides a historical analysis of Naivasha town. It explores a range of factors that have contributed to the development of the town from the pre-colonial period up to 2013. The purpose of the study is to provide information to development related agents and policy makers of factors influencing the development of the town. Consequently, the findings of the study act as a guide for further studies on the discipline of urban history in other parts of the country. It also provides information on important aspects of growth and development of the town for comparison with data on larger urban centres. In giving a historical account of Naivasha town, this study fills a knowledge gap in the body of knowledge in Kenya's urban historiography. Finally, with the devolved government, the town and its resources play a key role as a sub county of Nakuru County.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study covers the period 1895 to 2013. It is a historical inquiry into the urban history of Naivasha town. The year 1895 is the point of departure for the study, since it marks when the town was established as an administrative station by the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) for efficient administration of British East Africa.¹⁶ The year 2013 closed the scope of this research work in order to give the extent of the town's development as a sub-county of Nakuru County and the impact of these developments. The study was limited to the socio-economic and political factors affecting development of Naivasha town.

¹⁶ E. M. Aseka, "Urbanisation," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990), p. 54.

1.7 Definition of Terms

The following is a list of concepts and how they have been applied in this research:

Asians: -Used interchangeably with Indians, migrants from South East Asia resident in East Africa especially in towns.

Development: -Means the gradual growth of something so that it becomes more advanced.

Economic: -Concerned with the trade, industry and development of wealth of an area or a society.

Modernisation: -A paradigm that contains theories that explain how a society can be transformed from a traditional mode of existence into a modern one.

Migrant: -Refers to a person who moves from one place to another, especially in order to find work. People migrate to Naivasha in search of work in the horticulture farms.

Settler: -Denotes a person who goes to live in a new country. Europeans settled in Naivasha by acquiring large tracts of land.

Settlement: -The act of populating a place with permanent residents.

Urbanisation: -Refers to the growth process of a town or city.

1.8 Literature Review

Urban history is a wide subject and various scholars have written on it. A useful work on urban history is that of Glaab. He discusses Portland and Oregon as among the major cities of the North West Pacific to emerge with the completion of the urban network.¹⁷ This was tied to the building of a national system of transportation. He further notes that the rise of Kansas City and Missouri was as a result of western railroad centre and regional metropolis supplies. The two are the best examples of the relationship of real estate, local promotion, and rail road planning to the growth of individual cities in this era of becoming development of new regions. Kansas town, founded in 1838, was little more than a collection of warehouses and general stores near the juncture of Kansas and Missouri Rivers. With the expansion of Santa Fe trade in the 1850s and particularly with the migration of settlers into Kansas after the opening of the territory in 1854, the town began to grow and a group of local property holders, who were joined by investors from the East with an interest in promising western town sites, set out to build a regional city through obtaining railroads. The growth of Kansas City owed much to the location of a federally supported transcontinental branch in Kansas. It was through the Kansas Pacific Railroad that Kansas City became established as a cattle market and meat packing centres. The study analysed the role of railway and road networks in the development of Naivasha town.

In addition, Glaab has analysed the emergence of a number of American cities.¹⁸ He points out that although most American cities before 1850 escaped the congestion of growing slums of New York and Boston, all of them shared a number of unpleasant features such as mud was always present in rainy weather, since streets were paved in a few sections. There was refuse and garbage clogging on the streets, absence of adequate sewage facilities and inadequate sanitation. Glaab further notes that as early as the 1830s New York had also acquired its reputation as the city of frenetic hustle and bustle. The study highlighted the urban challenge in Naivasha town.

¹⁷ C. N. Glaab, *A History of Urban America* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 115-116.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-89.

Schlesinger also contends that the Atlantic shore constituted the original frontier and in time the Coastline became beaded with towns.¹⁹ Many of them so well situated with respect to geographical trading advantages so as to grow into the great cities of today. Scores of cities sprang into being, generally at the fall line of the rivers, where water power was available for manufacturing. There is a high probability therefore, for emergence of towns along the water bodies, and hence establishment of settlements like, Albany, New York and Lancaster. The study therefore, examined the role Lake Naivasha in the contribution of the growth of Naivasha town being a lake town. Thus the lake has a major determining factor for the location of the town.

According to Clark, urban growth in most of the countries of Western Europe was largely due to industrialisation.²⁰ The expansion and evolving character of towns and cities was primarily a response to changes in the scale and nature of industry. Clark further notes that in the United States of America, the pace of urban growth and change was determined as much, by the opening up of lands in the West for settlement as by industrial changes in the east. This clearly shows how industrialisation influenced the growth and development of towns in Western Europe and USA.²¹

On the other hand, although the origins of the medieval town in the British Isles clearly pre-date the Norman invasion of England in 1066, that event initiated a series of colonisations which had significant implications for urban development throughout the Islands.²² This indicates the role of colonialism in urban development. Therefore, the role of colonialism in the development of Naivasha town was highlighted.

There are number of urban studies on the African continent. To begin with, is Kampala the capital city of Uganda. The city can be understood in terms of its particular topographical characteristic: it is constituted by numerous hills. These hills have become the

¹⁹ A. M. Schlesinger, "The City in American Civilisation," in A. B. Callow (ed), *American Urban History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 25-30.

²⁰ D. Clark, *Urban Geography* (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), pp. 57-58.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

²² B. Graham, "The Town in The Norman Colonisations of the British Isles," in D. Denecke and G. Shaw (eds), *Urban Historical Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 37.

nuclei for particular activities.²³ The Makerere Hill was given over to the University that bears its name. Mulago Hill was given over to the teaching hospital. A number of other hills are primarily residential. The railway industrial area is developed parallel to Kampala. The Central Business District (CBD) including most government and city administration, wind between hills within the old boundaries of Kampala City.²⁴ Topography influences the growth and development of towns. As such the topographical characteristic of Kampala greatly influenced its growth and its development. The role of Lake Naivasha to the growth of Naivasha town was investigated.

On the other hand, Prochaska asserts that Bone a town in Algeria, clearly demonstrates how settler colonialism influenced its urban growth.²⁵ The Europeans outnumbered Algerians and formed a majority of the population. The French took all the land, mines, developed the infrastructure, and the economy was absolutely a European one with 71 percent Europeans and 16 percent Algerians. The official bureaucracy was controlled by metropolitan French representatives whereas the unofficial patronage network was dominated by the European settlers. Creation of a colonial culture, meaning a new people, race superior by intelligence and energy that is, to a French race, the street names and picture post cards took after French, the language and literature, the dialect of French spoken. This summed up into making Bone a colonial city, transformed by colonialism. The study therefore, analysed the role of settler colonialism to the growth of Naivasha town.

In analysing the secondary cities in the eastern part of Nigeria, Okafor notes that they are mostly a post-colonial creation.²⁶ Consequently, these cities are in the process of articulating their role as centres for stimulating development. Okafor notes that there is currently a strong mix of modern institutions and traditional institutions in city management. Those secondary cities are characterised by well-defined compounds surrounded by fences and interspaced with some open compounds. Other features include the dominance of commercial activities. In the Western part of the country the cluster of urban population is a

²³ J. Hutton, "Urban Challenge in East Africa," in J. Gugler (ed), *Urbanisation in East Africa* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1970), pp. 18-20.

²⁴ J. Hutton, "Urban Challenge in East Africa," in J. Gugler (ed), *Urbanisation in East Africa* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1970), pp. 18-20.

²⁵ D. Prochaska, *Making Algeria French* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 132-145.

²⁶ E. Okafor, *The Management of Secondary Cities in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Nairobi: UN-HABITAT, 1991), p. 29.

remarkable feature. For instance, in Nnewi town the rate of urban growth is phenomenal mainly because of the specialized trade in automobile spare parts in which the town is dominating. The indigenes of Nnewi feel uncomfortable with the consequences of the fast-urbanising town. The suffocating large population of the town is causing an acute shortage of farmland thereby exposing the citizens to food importation at a very early stage of the town's urban process. As such, Africans have highly influenced the growth and development of towns especially in the post-colonial period.²⁷

Mabogunje's work is a detailed examination of Islamisation in Sahel networking of Lake Areas in West Africa and coastal centres.²⁸ He notes that these activities led to urbanisation of these areas. Similarly, in analysing the history of Bamako, the capital city of Mali, Seabrook argues that Bamako was on the banks of the Niger River and a centre of Islamic learning in the Mali Empire between eleventh and fifteenth centuries. It fell into decline and by the time the French occupied it in 1880, it was little more than a collection of village covered with the dust of the searing Harmattan wind. This suggests that Mali has always been a country of migrants, in response to cyclical droughts and poverty. After independence, a series of droughts sent waves of migrants to the city in the 1960s and 1970s. As such in one decade, the population tripled. In 1992-3 it was estimated that 47 percent of rural families in Mali had at least one migrant member.²⁹

The earliest towns to be developed in East Africa were confined to the coastal area of Swahili-Arab culture. Some of the largest towns along the Swahili coast included Somali's capital Mogadishu, Mombasa, Malindi in Kenya and Zanzibar in Tanzania.³⁰ Malindi's history shows that by 1500, the town was already wealthy with her economy based on large plantations and extensive trading connections in the Indian Ocean. As such, Malindi is noted as one of the oldest town, the second largest as well as the second most prosperous town on the Kenyan Coast. Its prosperity is attributed to agriculture that is historically the basis of

²⁷ E. Okafor, *The Management of Secondary Cities in Sub-Saharan Africa*, p.29.

²⁸ A. L. Mabogunje, *Yoruba Towns* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1962), p. 4.

²⁹ J. Seabrook, *Cities* (London: Pluto Press, 2007), p. 27.

³⁰ F. J. Berg, "The Coast from the Portuguese Invasion to the Rise of the Zanzibar Sultanate," in Zamani: *A Survey of East African History* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1973), p. 120.

wealth of Malindi.³¹ The aspect of agriculture was examined in contributing to the development of Naivasha town.

In a separate study Obudho's work is a detailed examination of urban centres that formed towards the end of the eighteenth century. A new form of urban settlement appeared in many parts of Kenya.³² These urban centres were established by early caravan traders as points where they could get fresh supplies of water and food. Mumias for instance one of the oldest urban centres, was an important caravan centre and a place for stocking up supplies for the journey from or to the coast. The caravan urban centres were the trading frontiers within which they had their food markets and beyond which they hunted and raided. Dutto importantly notes that caravans of porters transported goods from Nyeri along footpaths leading to Nairobi or crossing the Aberdares to Naivasha.³³ However, he sheds little light on the role of Naivasha on caravan trade.

In the analysis of the growth of Eldoret town, Ndege argues that the town emerged as a colonial administrative center in Kenya's Uasin Gishu District that was part of what used to be called the White Highlands.³⁴ Involved in the town's growth were, first, the white communities who included the English from Britain, British South Africans and Afrikaners. Afrikaners were descendants of the Dutch, French and Germans who settled in South Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were, further, the Indian and other Asian communities who initially came into the town as shop owners or *dukawallas*. Finally, there were diverse African communities who initially came into the town as labourers in the colonial public works department. They also came as the immigrant communities' domestic servants and were later engaged in various commercial activities. The growth of the town was an outcome of struggles among the different racial communities to further their interests that were mainly defined by their respective economic roles within the wider agrarian environment. The case of Eldoret illustrates the multiplex nature of the process of urbanisation in colonial Kenya: it was and continues to be an outcome of the interplay of a

³¹ E. B. Martin, *The History of Malindi, A Geographical Analysis of an East African Coastal Town from The Portuguese Period to Present* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1973), pp. 1-2.

³² R. Obudho, "Urbanisation and Industrialisation," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya* (Dares-Salaam: Ujuzi Educational Publishers, 2002), p. 194.

³³ C. A. Dutto, *Nyeri Townsmen Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), p. 10.

³⁴ P. O. Ndege, "Afrikaner Identity Politics and the Growth of Eldoret Town, 1903-1939," in J. Akong'a (ed), *Maarifa*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2005, pp. 26-34.

variety of economic and socio-political forces.³⁵ The role of migrants in the development of Naivasha was investigated.

In an equally related study, Janmohamed argues that during the first decades of the twentieth Century, Mombasa emerged as the chief commercial centre of Kenya and the premier port on the East African littoral.³⁶ He significantly notes that its urban growth was largely a function of two vital processes. First, the expansion of the commercial sector in which European and Asian business firms played a key role. Secondly, the influx of migrant African labourers from various parts of the Eastern African interior who contributed their services to the expanding commercial sector in different capacities- as porters, fitters, turners, clerks, interpreters, taxi-drivers, domestic servants, shop assistants overseers and most important of all as dockworkers. This African labour force was composed of people of diverse ethnic and geographical origins who were attracted to Mombasa by reports of lucrative wages obtainable there.³⁷ The study therefore, analysed the role of migrant labourers in the development of Naivasha town.

In another study, Ndege contends that from the beginning and particularly after the completion of Mombasa- Kisumu railway in 1901, the colonial states encouraged Indians.³⁸ Many of whom had been construction workers (“coolies”) of the railway to undertake trade in the newly established administrative posts and urban centres along the railway and in African reserves. Often, Indian traders accompanied European administrative officials on their journey into the interior. Indian penetration of Kenyan countryside was given official encouragement by the colonial administration. A number of European settlers and traders were also encouraged to establish commercial activities in Kenya.³⁹ This assertion however, does not account for the role of Indians in the development of Naivasha town.

³⁵ P. O. Ndege, “Afrikaner Identity Politics and the Growth of Eldoret Town, 1903-1939,” pp. 26-34.

³⁶ K. Janmohamed, “Ethnicity in an Urban Setting: A Case Study of Mombasa,” in B. A. Ogot (ed), Hadith 6, *History and Social Change in East Africa* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1976), pp. 186-206.

³⁷ K. Janmohamed, “Ethnicity in an Urban Setting: A Case Study of Mombasa,” in B. A. Ogot (ed), Hadith 6, *History and Social Change in East Africa*, pp. 186-206.

³⁸ P. O. Ndege, “Trade since the Early Times,” in W. R. Ochieng’ (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990), p. 128.

³⁹ P. O. Ndege, “Trade since the Early Times,” in W. R. Ochieng’ (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History*, p.128.

Equally relevant is Okumu's discussion of the urban history of Kisumu. He investigated and explained the rural urban interactions which contributed to social and economic changes in Kisumu town. He further analysed how the presence of the town stimulated the need for labour and made workers to live near the town forming the residential areas collectively referred to as slum and squatter settlements. The greatest blow to the development of this town was the collapse of the East African Community and the decentralization of the Marine works from Kisumu to Mwanza and sharing out of the spoils of the former East African Railways and Harbours.⁴⁰

Similarly, Anyumba gives an account of urban development for Kisumu from the colonial days and says that on 7th September 1903, Kisumu was gazetted as Kisumu Township. By 1907/08 there was evidence of industrial development involving piecing together steam boats from parts sent out from England for the Uganda railways. In terms of transport development, the first railway lake steamer was launched in February 1903, fifteen months after the railway line reached Kisumu. In 1910/11, manufacturing technology was introduced through cotton ginnery. With the introduction of bicycles, motorcycles, cars and Lorries in subsequent years more development was witnessed in Kisumu. Anyumba further narrates that by 1972, industrial developments such as fishnet factory, Nyanza Containers Limited that manufactured tins were established and an Industrial Vocational Training Centre was under construction. He notes that Kisumu town has developed from the western side on the Kisumu-Busia road to the southern side where the town is now and is still expanding eastwards towards Kibos and Mamboleo.⁴¹ Kisumu however, is not the only town that developed during the colonial period as a result of the railway and as an administrative centre; other towns such as Naivasha were a colonial creation.

Dutto's book for instance, is an overview of Nyeri town.⁴² He notes that like all the other towns of Kenya, with the exception of a few centres and flourishing towns along the Coast, Nyeri is a colonial creation. It stands within a formerly uninhabited forested area, uncultivated place, where there were no living people, no houses, but only trees and animals,

⁴⁰ A. A. Okumu, *The Urban History of Kisumu, Kenya: aspects of social and economic changes from 1900 to 1980*, (M. A Moi University, 1996), pp. 40-150.

⁴¹ G. Anyumba, *Kisumu Town: History of the built form, Planning and Environment 1890-1990*, (M.A Moi University 1995), pp. 50-120.

⁴² C. A. Dutto, *Nyeri Townsmen Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), p. 8.

especially rhinos, elephants and buffaloes. It was founded as a result of a punitive expedition sent from Fort Hall to subjugate the people of Tetu. They camped at the present town site and built a fort. This place was a better place for defense and provisions. Later the Nyeri fort gradually grew into an administrative, commercial and residential centre. In 1912, Nyeri became the headquarters for the Central Province of Kenya and for Nyeri District. As a provincial capital, Nyeri grew considerably.⁴³ Due to Nyeri's town strategic position within the Kikuyu settled areas and White Highlands, the town became a very important centre for massive military and administrative functions against the Kikuyu resistance in the forest. From this argument, colonialism greatly contributed to the growth of Nyeri town. However, Dutto's analysis is inclined to Nyeri town alone, whereas there are other towns that developed because of colonialism, Naivasha town being one of them.

On the other hand, Ikua effectively shows the role of religion in the development of Nyeri town alongside trade which is a major feature of urban history in Kenya.⁴⁴ He asserts that pre-colonial Nyeri had sporadic markets. This suggests that markets occurred in the sense of institutionalised activities at definite places. The last half of the nineteenth century was characterised by intermittent relations between Kikuyu and Muslim traders, leading to the conversion of large numbers of the Kikuyu to Islam. However, he observes that today Muslims form only a minority of the Kikuyu population.⁴⁵ Religion therefore, plays a key role in the development of a town.

Ogonda's work takes up the issue of industrialisation.⁴⁶ He argues that a primary commodity which developed as a basis for industrial processing was wattle. Kenya was already exporting high quality wattle bark by 1912 and the need for a local wattle extract factory was already being felt. In 1920, a leather tanning factory was established at Tsavo with a plan to build another wattle extract factory at Limuru, which became operational in 1922. By 1929, a third wattle factory was under construction at Kikuyu and a fourth factory, established by Kenya Tanning Extract Company at Thika began working in 1934. A new Nakuru tannery factory was established in 1936. This assertion however, does not account for

⁴³ Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁴ S. Ikua, *A History of Islam in Nyeri, 1902-1980* (University of Nairobi, August 1992), pp. 5-9.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 5-9.

⁴⁶ R. Z. Ogonda, "Industrialization," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990), p. 75.

the role of industrialisation in Naivasha. Yet Obudho notes that in the 1970s Naivasha was among the thirteen leading industrial towns in Kenya.⁴⁷ None of these industries were mentioned and identified.

Equally relevant is Anderson's discussion of Nairobi which began as a railway town and the first African housing was constructed by the East African Railways as Harbours.⁴⁸ By 1921 more than 12,000 Africans occupied the eight largest villages in the vicinity of Nairobi Township. These included Kangemi, Kawangware, Kibera, Kileleshwa and Pumwani. Towns such as Naivasha, Nakuru, Njoro, Kericho and Kisumu developed not only as a result of the railway but also as a secluded white settlement area. The earliest occupants from Europe included Lord Delamere in Naivasha and Lord Egerton in Njoro among others.⁴⁹ It can be deduced from this argument that the railway affected growth and development of towns, but little is told on how the railway influenced the development of Naivasha town.

Another useful work on urban history is that of Obudho. He notes that the last major event that shaped the industrial development and urbanisation process in Western Kenya was the expansion of agriculture.⁵⁰ He contends that the development of urban centres depended on a particular cash crop for example the importance of Kericho and Sotik and their associated trading centres were based solely on the tea industry. The coffee industry helped in the urbanisation of Kisii and Kericho districts.

Another assessment of urban history in Kenya is that of Waweru. He contends that the framework of analysis of colonial patterns and conditions of urbanisation in Kenya has been restricted to major towns.⁵¹ In redressing this neglect of smaller urban centres his study on the historical development of urban centers in Samburu District. Waweru examines the roles of

⁴⁷ R. Obudho, *Urbanisation and Development Planning in Kenya*, p. 45.

⁴⁸ D. M. Anderson, "Corruption at City Hall Housing and Urban Development in Colonial Nairobi," in A. Burton (ed), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa C. 1750-2000* (Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2002), pp. 138-154.

⁴⁹ D. M. Anderson, "Corruption at City Hall Housing and Urban Development in Colonial Nairobi," in A. Burton (ed), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa C. 1750-2000*, pp. 138-154.

⁵⁰ R. Obudho, "Urbanisation and Industrialisation," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya* (Dares-Salaam: Ujuzi Educational Publishers, 2002), p. 208.

⁵¹ P. Waweru, "Frontier Urbanisation; The Rise and Development of Towns in Samburu District, Kenya, 1909-1940," in A. Burton (ed), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa C. 1750-2000* (Nairobi: British Institute of Eastern Africa, 2002), pp. 85-97.

these towns from 1909 when Northern Kenya was designated the Northern Frontier District (NFD) up to 1940. This has given urbanisation a different approach of frontier urbanisation. The comparatively small size of Naivasha on one hand tends to inhibit its urban studies and hence tends to mask its importance as an urban area.⁵² The need therefore, to study Naivasha town.

Equally relevant is Van Zwanenberg's discussion of the urban problem in Kenya and Uganda.⁵³ He observes that problems of urban poverty and unemployment, of inadequacy of housing and urban infrastructure have been recorded throughout history. He further notes that what most distinguishes the current urban problems is their scale and intensity. The severity of the problems reflects primarily the rapidity of overall population growth and the acute shortage of resources. The proliferation of squatter settlements and slums and the rising backlog in urban services, have been accompanied by growing recognition that 'developments' implies much more than just expansion of output. East Africa's urban problem has altered remarkably little since the turn of the century. Poverty, housing shortages, high rents, low wages and slum life has consistently been part of the experience of the rural migrant who has ventured into the towns and cities. What has altered over the years is the extent of the urban problems; as the population in the territories as a whole has grown, the population in the towns has grown faster. The most striking fact has been the unevenness in this growth. This study identified the urban problems in Naivasha town.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

In the analysis of Third World development, most studies have been premised on three main theoretical frameworks. These have been the theories of modernisation, underdevelopment and articulation modes of production theory. In this particular study, modernisation theory will be employed in order to analyse the historical development of Naivasha town. Modernisation theory fall under the Orthodox School of development thought, which became prominent in the 1970s. The Orthodox school postulated that for a society to advance from traditional to a modern stage of development, certain traditional

⁵² P. Waweru, "Frontier Urbanisation; The Rise and Development of Towns in Samburu District, Kenya, 1909-1940," in A. Burton (ed), *The Urban Experience in Eastern Africa C. 1750-2000*, pp. 85-97.

⁵³ R. M. A. Van Zwanenberg, *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970* (London: Macmillan Press, 1975), pp. 253-256.

values have to be discarded.⁵⁴ It therefore, views ‘Third World backwardness’ as a result of persistent traditional values that still exist there. The modernisation perspective one of the theoretical frameworks derived from this school, was developed in the 1950s and 1960s. It comprises of stages of growth, dual economy, modernity, institutional reform and liberalisation.⁵⁵

In particular, it was Talcott Parsons, W.A. Lewis and W.W. Rostow⁵⁶ along with other American academicians who expounded on the perspective. It is a description and explanation of the processes of transformation from traditional or underdeveloped societies to modern societies. The perspective gives priority to the role that the values, norms and beliefs of a given society play in determining the level of development in that society. It holds that development occurs when traditional behaviour patterns alter under pressures of modernity.⁵⁷ Thus the transfer of Western technology, culture and capital into the Third World would develop the latter. The traditional society in this case was during the pre-colonial Naivasha. Transfer of western technology, culture and capital was experienced during the colonial Naivasha. It is possible to identify all societies in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of the five categories. The basic theme of these models of development was how national economies shifted from a rural, agricultural base to an urban, manufacturing one.⁵⁸

Rostow has identified evolutionary stages that Western societies had gone through before they became modern.⁵⁹ In his series of lectures at Cambridge University, Rostow outlined what he termed as stages of economic growth. He argues that it is possible to identify all societies in their economic dimensions, as lying within five categories: The traditional society, pre-condition for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity and the age of high consumption. First, the traditional society is one whose structure developed within limited production functions, based on Pre-Newtonian science and technology. The traditional

⁵⁴ R. Ayres, “Schools of Development Thought,” in R. Ayres (ed), *Development Studies: An Introduction through Selected Readings* (Kent, Greenwich University Press 1995), p. 97.

⁵⁵ E. Moudoud, *Modernisation, the State and Regional Disparity in Developing Countries* (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 24.

⁵⁶ W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth; A Non-Communist Manifesto* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 4-16.

⁵⁷ E. Moudoud, *Modernisation, the State and Regional Disparity in Developing Countries*, p. 24.

⁵⁸ W. Katie, *Theories and Practices of Development* (London & New York: Routledge, 2011), p.36.

⁵⁹ W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth; A Non-Communist Manifesto*, pp. 5-16.

society structures allow little social mobility, family and clan connection play a central role which is organised. The traditional society in Naivasha is during the pre-colonial period occupied by the Maasai community.

Rostow also contends that, the pre-condition for take-off entails application for modern sciences to both agriculture and industrial production. In Europe this pre-condition were characterised by agricultural and industrial revolution. Outside Europe pre-condition arise as a result of intrusion by more advanced societies. With such intrusion the ideas spread the economic progress and this leads to emergence of enterprising men who invest in various sectors of the economy. At this stage Naivasha was occupied by more advanced societies that is, white settlers who developed roads, railway and settler agriculture.

Increased investments eventually lead to the take-off stage. This is whereby rapid industrialisation, as an investment takes creates employment which in turn creates demand for goods and services and therefore further industrialisation. At this stage there is development of horticulture industry which has created employment for the majority number of people. Due to the increased population there is increase in demand for goods and services. Naivasha is at this stage.

After take-off, there follows a long interval of sustained growth as the expansion of economy extends throughout a range of activities between 10 percent to 20 percent of national income is steadily re-invested so that output continues to out strip increase in population, and the drive to maturity is completed. The mature economy broadens its base to include technologically more refined and complex processes, thereby moving beyond the industries which fuelled the take-off. With arrival of age of mass consumption the leading sectors of the economy shift into manufacture of consumer durable and provision of services. This stage can only be reached when real income per capita, when the consumption needs of majority of people have moved beyond basic food, shelter and clothing. Majority of people in Naivasha are employed in the flower farms and their pay is low. Therefore, they have not moved beyond, shelter and clothing needs. Naivasha has not reached this stage. As majority of people struggle to get the basic needs.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth; A Non-Communist Manifesto*, pp. 5-16.

The theory explains how the town has grown from a traditional society to a modern one. Modernisation theory incorporates the full spectrum of the transition and drastic transformation that a traditional society has to undergo in order to become modern. It assumes a total change of policies intended to raise the standard of living. Often it consists of disseminating knowledge and information about more efficient techniques of production. For instance, the agriculture modernisation process involves encouraging farmers to try new crops, new production methods and new marketing skills.⁶¹ The perspective gives priority to the role the values, norms and beliefs of a given society play in determining the level of development in that society. It holds that development occurs when traditional patterns alter under pressures of modernity.⁶² Thus the transfer of Western technology, culture and capital into the Third World would develop the latter. The society in the Third World therefore, has to allow for this transfer of Western technology, capital and culture into the Third World.

Although modernisation theory is employed in this study, it is limiting. Gunder Frank criticised the theory on the grounds that it is [a] historical because it assumes that underdevelopment is an original state.⁶³ The perspective has further been faulted as it assumes development to be a linear progression.⁶⁴ Yet there are periods of decline during development. In Naivasha, the First and Second World War slowed development. However limiting the theory may be, it suits the study on historical inquiry of the origin and development of Naivasha town.

Modernisation theory is complimented by dependence and underdevelopment. Gunder Frank argued that a world system of dependency exists and underdevelopment by which the core nations exploit the peripheral ones in the peripheral ones in a chain like system of expropriation by which the satellite countries become totally dependent on the metropolis. With this example he showed that there developed a chain of dependency that

⁶¹ A. Webster, "Modernisation Theory," in R. Ayres (ed), *Development Studies: An Introduction through Selected Readings*, p. 4.

⁶² C. M. Shollah, *Strengths and Weaknesses of Modernisation Theory*, Paper presented in London on 12th September, 2012, p. 3.

⁶³ F. A. Gunder, "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review*, Vol. 18, No.14, 1966, pp. 17-31.

⁶⁴ A. Webster, "Modernisation Theory," in R. Ayres (ed), *Development Studies: An Introduction through Selected Readings* (Kent, Greenwich University Press, 1995), p. 110.

through the world capital cities stretches across the globe and deep down in the villages of third world. With the decline of colonialism he observed that this system is controlled by multinationals. This is true of Naivasha town as all the flower farms are controlled by multinationals.

1.10 Methodology of Study

Methodology of the study describes the research design, area of study, target population, sample and sampling procedures, data collection procedures and data analysis and interpretation employed in the study. To begin with, the study adopted a descriptive research design employing qualitative data. Kothari argues that descriptive research design is concerned with studies which are concerned with describing the characteristics of a particular individual or group.⁶⁵ Therefore, in collecting data on the origin and development of Naivasha town, the informants, archival and secondary sources described particular characteristic of the town as required. In addition, with descriptive research design enough provision for protection against bias and must maximize reliability.

Target population for the study constituted the residents of Naivasha District. The unit of investigation was individuals knowledgeable with the history of Naivasha town. According to the District Development Plan of Naivasha (2008-2012) the total population of Naivasha town in 2009 was 169,160.⁶⁶ This was used as the sampling frame from which a sample composed of the residents of Naivasha was helpful.

50 informants knowledgeable about the history of Naivasha town were interviewed. A sample is a smaller group obtained from accessible population and each member has equal chance of being selected to be a sample. They included 20 elderly members selected from different communities, 5 present and past government administrators, 5 white settlers present, 5 business men/women, and 5 workers from horticulture, tourism and KenGen industries. The informants were identified through purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive is the type of sampling in which the researcher selects subjects based on experience and knowledge.

⁶⁵ C. R. Kothari, *Research Methodology Methods and Techniques* (New Delhi: New Age International Publishers Ltd, 1985), p. 37.

⁶⁶ Republic of Kenya, *Naivasha District Development Plan 2008-2012* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), p. 9

Informants were chosen, based on age and experience in various sectors. Snowball technique was also applied, whereby one individual was identified and in turn identified other potential informants. All the names appearing in the text were done with permission and consent of the respondents.

Naivasha town is located about ninety kilometres from Nairobi. It is transversed by approximately latitude $0^{\circ}43'00''$ South and longitude $36^{\circ}26'09''$ East. Data was collected from CBD, Karagita, Kihoto, Kabati, Kayole, Viwandani and Lake View. These are the township sub-locations. Data was also sought in other parts of the district such as Mai Mahiu, Longonot and Maiella. These are the major divisions in Naivasha District. The area of study is indicated in the figure 1.1 below.

For validity and reliability of data, different research data collection methods were used. The study utilised both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from archival records at from the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi and Nakuru. Archival records were the core source of data, which included annual reports of the town, official letters and government policy documents on the town. In addition, data from the archives was corroborated with data from in-depth interviews oral interviews. An interview schedule was used to collect data from informants. Individual interviews were conducted in English, Kiswahili and vernacular language were used as would be appropriate to each informant. A translator assisted where necessary. All interviews were tape recorded with the consent of the informants for easier retrieval of data.

Secondary data was sought from both published and unpublished works. These consisted of books, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, theses/dissertations, District Annual Reports, District Development Reports and seminar papers. These documents were obtained from Egerton University Library, University of Nairobi Library, British Institute of Eastern Africa Library, Macmillan Library of City Council of Nairobi, internet sources and the Nakuru branch of the Kenya National Library Services. These were useful in providing additional information as well as collaborating and corroborating data from archival and oral sources.

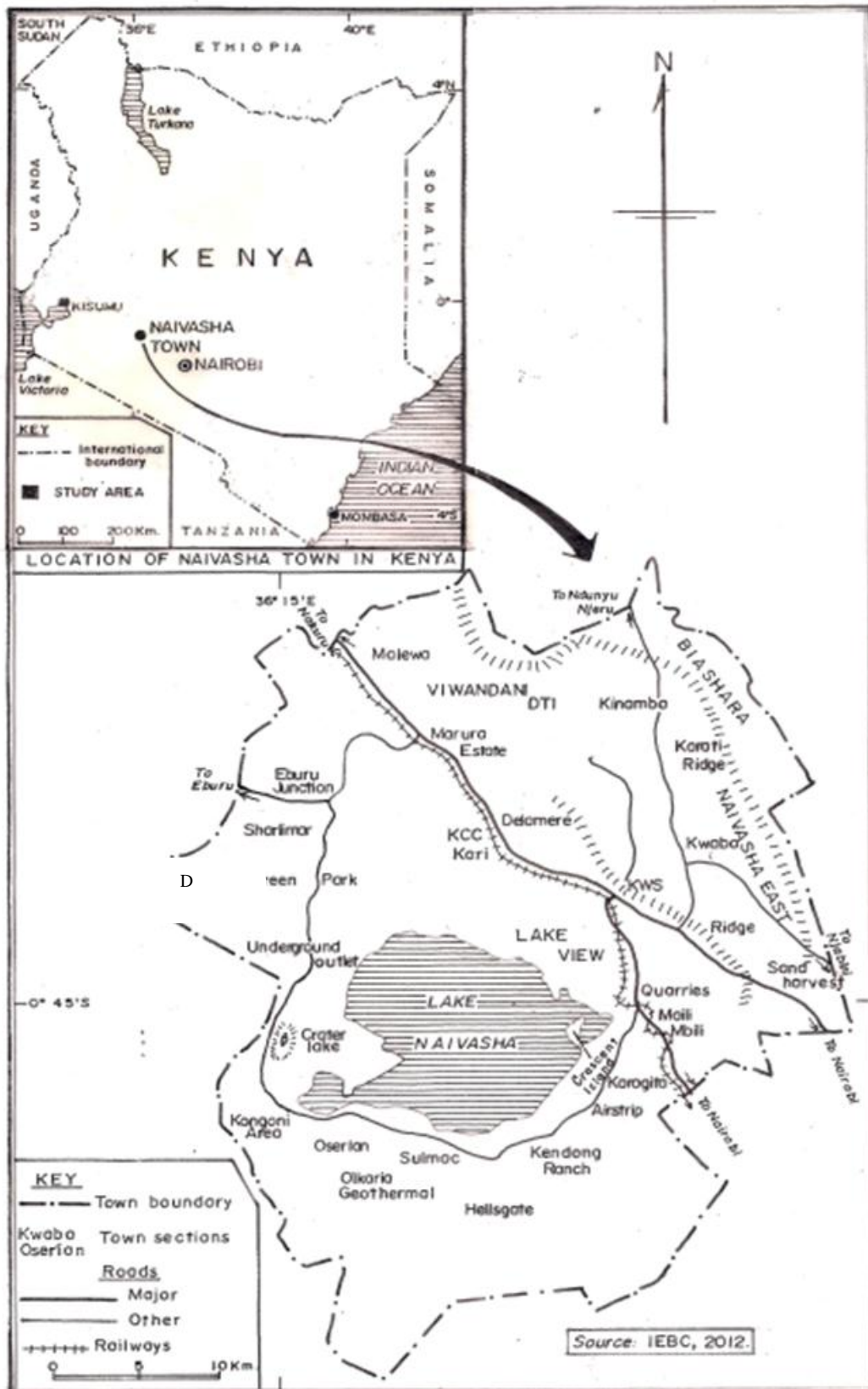


Figure 1.1: Map of Naivasha District showing Naivasha Town

Source: Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), 2012

Data entry was carried out simultaneously with field study. Three analytical frames were used to analyse data. These included theoretical reflections, content analysis and documentary review. Theoretical analysis involved using the selected theoretical framework to analyse the data collected. Content analysis is a technique for gathering and analysing the content of text. The content can be words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, pictures, symbols or ideas. The initial step involved sorting the content into themes, which depended on the content. Documentary review involved corroborating documentary data with oral data as a way of internal criticism. Tape recorded data was transcribed then analysed. Data Analysis was based on questions and objective of the study. The data was categorised into sub-themes and chronologically for analysis.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter has been an analysis of the background to the study, statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, research questions, justification of study, scope and limitation of the study, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology of study. The chapter has presented historical studies on the growth and development of various towns and cities. The review also identified knowledge gap, whereby the major limitation of the works reviewed was their weakness in addressing smaller and growing towns which are important to the Kenyan economy. Hence, in redressing this neglect it has led to the study on historical development of Naivasha town. It is in analysing these historical aspects of Naivasha town that the next tentative chapters are concerned. The next chapter therefore, will trace the origin of Naivasha town.

CHAPTER TWO

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAIVASHA TOWN, UPTO 1910

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the historical background of Naivasha town. It examines the indigenous inhabitants' way of life and generally the pre-colonial spatial organisation of Naivasha. The first part of this chapter shows that prior to colonialism Naivasha area was inhabited by a pastoral community known as the Maasai. Naivasha was traditionally Maasai land and the community resided around Lake Naivasha as it provided permanent supply of water for their livestock. This means there existed in the early days a traditional society whose structures were developed within limited production functions. Naivasha has a history dating from the early days when the first explorers were followed by numerous caravans and expeditions. Many of them concerned with the survey for the Uganda Railway. The early explorers had a hard time penetrating through Maasai land in Naivasha, as Maasai warriors were fierce.

The later part of this chapter examines the formative years in Naivasha. At the onset of colonial era in 1895, there were no hospitals, tarmacked roads, or schools and this precipitated the need for such developments. The Development of the Uganda Railway reached Naivasha in 1899, it led to the establishment of the Naivasha town as a tiny railway station. This chapter essentially deals with the formative years and traces the origin of Naivasha town. It shows that until 1904, European settlement was vetoed in the Naivasha as the Maasai still grazed their cattle there. Then a treaty was signed between the Maasai and the government. The Maasai agreed to move to the Laikipia Plateau, north of the Aberdares Mountain, making way for European Settlement. The building of Naivasha Fort transformed Naivasha into a central place for service delivery that led to its growth as an urban centre.

2.2 The Maasai in Naivasha Area

Based on evidence from archaeological findings, an early pastoralist group lived near the lake.¹ It shows that people have inhabited the shores of Lake Naivasha for the last 10,000 years.² They used stone bowls and herded cattle. There was an extensive Neolithic settlement 6000-10,000 years Before the Present (BP) on the Crescent Island. They also buried their dead under stone cairns, the remains of which have been found on the Island. More evidence was found in the caves at Ndabibi and the rock shelter was exposed during the construction of the railway along the cliffs just outside Naivasha.

From 12,000 to 9,200 years ago, Lake Naivasha was much larger than today and lakes Nakuru, Elmenteita and Naivasha were one big lake. In addition, the Njorowa Gorge, more widely known as Hell's Gate, a remarkable chasm cut through the rock which confines Lake Naivasha on the south and provided an outlet for the surplus waters of the lakes. According to Thamphy, evidence suggests that from 8,000-10,000 BP two large fresh water lakes formed in the Naivasha- Nakuru area. The Northern one ("Great Nakuru") had a surface area of 700 sq Km² and a depth of 180m.³ The Southern lake ("Great Naivasha") in the present Lake Naivasha area had an area of 612 km². The level of the lake at that time was estimated to be 1930m above sea level; 130m above its present level. Tectonic activities and climatic changes in the region contributed to the recession of these water bodies and the formation of three separate lakes (Nakuru, Elmentaita and Naivasha) of present dimensions. Lake Naivasha remained large, with an approximate area of 400km² up until 5,700 BP. At 3,000 BP the lake dried out, and remained so for one hundred years. Since that date the lake has become progressively smaller.

The town takes its name from the lake. The word 'Naivasha' is a corruption by the British of the Maasai word "E-Nai'posha." Other scholars such as Hewett have described Naivasha as being a Maasai word meaning "rippling waters, rough waters or living waters"

¹ S. M. Cole, *An Outline of the Geology of Kenya* (Nairobi: Pitman Publishers, 1954), p. 47-54.

² R. J. Thamphy, "An Overview of Human Occupation, Changing Land Use and Environmental Impacts in the Lake Nakuru Catchment Basin" in *Use of Research Findings*, p. 121.

³ S. M. Cole, *An Outline of the Geology of Kenya*, p. 48.

referring to the lake.⁴ One respondent described Naivasha with regard to the changing size of the lake which varies greatly according to rainfall and explains the differing information on its entire span.⁵ Most Oral informants suggested that Naivasha is a misinterpretation of a Maasai word “E-Nai’posha” meaning water that moves to and fro, to mean it does not rest.⁶ Naivasha therefore, means a lake, and the use of the words Lake Naivasha is really a misnomer.

Oral information suggests that the area around Lake Naivasha was inhabited by the Maasai. They lived along the shores of Lake Naivasha since it provided a permanent supply of water for their livestock. One respondent explained:

Our grandparents had their permanent residence along the lake she recalled. They had built *manyattas* along the lake and the *manyattas* extended up to the Crater Lake, until the coming of the Europeans when they were displaced.⁷

According to Sutton, Maasai expansion may have occurred in two stages. The first would have been at least three hundred years ago, when early Maa-speakers in Northern Kenya, having separated from other plains Nilotes, moved southwards into lush high equatorial grasslands as far as the elevated Nakuru stretch of the Rift Valley. Thereby displacing or assimilating earlier populations. In the second stage, in the eighteenth century at the latest, Maa-speaking groups may have radiated outwards from the Nakuru- Naivasha area, south-westwards across Loita, Mara and Serengeti and south-eastwards to Ngong and across the Athi and Kaputiei plains as far as the foothills of Kilimanjaro.⁸

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Maasai migrated from the northern part of Kenya, and from then on they had an increasing connection with Lake Naivasha and its surroundings.⁹ For instance, the Sonachi water body on the south lake (full of blue green algae) derives its name from Maasai, and describes an unfruitful or unproductive bull. The

⁴ Y. Hewett, “Naivasha, Gilgil and the Kinangop,” in E. Huxley and A. Curtis (eds), *Pioneers Scrapbook* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1990), pp. 60-67.

⁵ Tumanka Joseph, Oral Interview (Henceforth O.I), 4/5/2014.

⁶ Nonguta Karepa, Tumanka Joseph O.I, 5/5/ 2014.

⁷ Nonguta Karepa, O.I, 5/5/ 2014.

⁸ J. E. G. Sutton, “Becoming Maasailand,” in T. Spear and R. Waller (eds), *Being Maasai* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1993), pp. 38-60.

⁹ J. E. G. Sutton, “Becoming Maasailand,” in T. Spear and R. Waller (eds), *Being Maasai*, pp. 38-60.

waters of this lake seemed to have some therapeutic value with livestock. The Maasai are known to collect samples of the water to treat the sick animals.¹⁰ Oral evidence suggests names for various places around the lake which are still being used up to date. For instance, *E-Nai'posha* for Naivasha meaning water that is heaving or that which flows to and fro. Another Maasai word is *Oserian* meaning to be well, to be at peace, or to be safe. Yet another word is *en-dapipi* meaning, where the clover grows.¹¹

Pastoralism had existed in East Africa for many years. The Maasai had been associated with it since their arrival from Southern Sudan and settlement in much of the Rift Valley between 1200 and 1500 A.D. Maasai land stretched from northern Kenya, to the central lakes (Baringo, Naivasha, Nakuru and Natron) and to the rich savanna grasslands of the Serengeti plains in northern Tanzania. The pastoral Maasai in particular have always grazed their cattle on the drier, short grass savanna of the Rift Valley during the rainy seasons. Sutton further notes that during the long droughts they migrated to richer pastures of the tall grass and the perennial meadows of the higher plateaus.¹²

On the other hand, Ndege notes that, their commitment to pastoralism by the middle of seventeenth Century was an outcome of the cumulative development of pastoral labour in which ecology only played an indirect ecology primary role in the development of pastoralism among the Maasai.¹³ But once they adopted livestock keeping as an activity, they were simultaneously able to develop and organise their labour, social institutions and beliefs around cattle. In the course of time, Maasai practices such as keeping of large herds of livestock and the burning of pasture produced the pastoral ecology characterised by the steppe grassland and abundant animal life. They also created specific pastoral relations of production which operated at the level of the domestic group, the local community (*enikutoto*) and the territorial sections (*Iloshon*).¹⁴

The domestic group was the primary unit of production and reproduction of both livestock and people. Oral informants further noted that, it consisted of the male owner of the

¹⁰ Nonguta Karepa, O.I, 5/5/2014.

¹¹ Sopia Rotiken, O.I, 5/5/2014.

¹² J. E. G. Sutton, "Becoming Maasailand," in T. Spear and R. Waller (eds), *Being Maasai*, pp. 38-60.

¹³ P. Ndege, *Olonana Ole Mbatian* (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 2003), pp. 14-30.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.14-30.

homestead and his wives, children and other dependants.¹⁵ It controlled and appropriated to itself the major means of production, namely the herd and the labour of its members, particularly that of the youth and women. In the established division of labour, young boys and diet herdsman tended livestock. Young men (*Ilmoran*) assisted in herd movement to pastures away from the homestead while women were primarily in charge of the production and distribution of food mainly milk. The male head of the homestead controlled all the livestock which he distributed to his wives to hold in trust for their sons. Each domestic group could not survive on its own and was therefore linked to others through kinship and age-set ties. It was the necessity of this linkage that brought about the territorial level of pastoral production.¹⁶

Territorial sections formed the communal production and political units that cut across both descent and age-set ties.¹⁷ Domestic groups within these sections possessed collective rights of pasture, water and saltlicks. They also appropriated the collective labour of the junior warriors who provided defence to resources of each section. It was at the territorial level that socio-economic differentiation took place. It was at this level that elders appropriated the labour of the junior warriors whose main functions included standing guard over livestock and providing defense. As a result of their differential access to pastoral resources, there emerged the rich (*Ilkarsisi*) and the poor (*Ilaisinak*). The rich elders became the political and ritual leaders in the sections that emerged.¹⁸

In addition, the most intensive interaction occurred between the Maasai and the Agikuyu.¹⁹ Naivasha was a central point where this interaction took place. One informant described that:

¹⁵ Tumanka Joseph, O.I, 4/5/ 2014.

¹⁶ Sitat Lucy, O.I, 4/5/2014.

¹⁷ P. Ndege, *Olonana Ole Mbatian* (Nairobi: East African Publishers, 2003), pp. 14-30.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.14-30.

¹⁹ T. Zeleza, *The Heritage Library of African;Maasai* (PhD New York: Rosen Publishing Group, INC, 1994), p. 32.

Naivasha was the point at which we (Maasai) traded with the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu came with goods from Kikuyu land and the exchange took place. The trade was so important that even in time of war women traders moved freely between Maasailand and Kikuyu land.²⁰

The Kikuyu and Maasai communities intermarried, exchanged cultural practices, traded goods and welcomed migrants. Economic activity of the Maasai revolved around livestock which was exchanged for items such as spears, arrows, ornaments and agricultural commodities. Oral evidence suggests their interactions with their neighbours:

Our parents grazed cows, goats and sheep. There was no farming. We traded with Kikuyu as they were our brothers. The Kikuyu planted potatoes, tobacco and we gave them livestock and *ngozi* (hides) and they made *muthuru* (long dress). When colonialists came we traded with *king'otore* (cents) with the Kikuyu.²¹

In general, the Maasai saw little reason to raid agricultural people like their neighbours. They used to say that one cannot herd a *shamba* (farm). As a result the only people they considered “enemies” and worth fighting were other livestock-keeping Maa-speakers.²² The Maasai became involved for the first time in their recollection of history in a number of large-scale wars.²³ They fought against the semi-pastoral or mixed farming communities of the Maasai-speaking peoples. They were referred to as the *Wakwavi* or the agriculturalists or even “vegetarian” Maasai but whom the pastoral Maasai refer to collectively as *Iloikop*. The Maasai therefore, gained control over the Rift Valley and the adjacent plains through a series of struggles with the other Maa-speakers, in the so called *Iloikop* Wars. The Maasai civil wars started in 1815 and continued well into the 1880s. They were fought in three stages: the *Iloogola* war 1815-1830; the *Iloosekelai* war of 1840s; and *Laikipiak* war in 1880s.

These wars began on the Uasin Gishu Plateau about 1815. From the pastoral Maasai point of view they appear to have been fighting for their very existence.²⁴ Jacobs further notes that the wars are said to have begun as a result of aggressive actions initiated by the *Wakwavi*

²⁰ Nonguta Karepa, O.I, 5/5/2014.

²¹ Nonguta Karepa, O.I, 5/5/2014.

²² Siara Esther, O.I, 4/5/2014.

²³ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

²⁴ A. H. Jacobs, “A Chronology of the Pastoral Maasai,” in B. A. Ogot (ed), *Hadith 1* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), p. 10-31.

or *Iloikop* and the need for the pastoral Maasai to defend their herds and pasture from theft and encroachment as well as their lives. In this war the *Ilmaasai* were victorious. By 1840s the *Iloikop* sections of Laikipia and the Uasin Gishu Maasai were involved in yet more serious fighting. In this war, the Kwavi (*Iloikop* of Laikipia) were supported by the *Purko*, the pastoral Maasai who lived in the district to the south of Lake Naivasha. Though the *Iloikop* of Laikipia finally defeated the Uasin Gishu Kwavi, this victory proved to be indecisive.²⁵

More serious fighting took place during the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁶ The *Laikipiak* war of 1860-1880s was fought most bitterly between 1874 and 1875. The war was initially sparked off by *Laikipiak* expansionist activities against the *Ipurko* in the area around Nakuru and Naivasha.²⁷ According to Maasai tradition, as recorded by Bernsten, the incident that precipitated the conflict was disagreement between the *Ipurko* and *Laikipiak* over spoils of a raid they had jointly undertaken against Iwuas Nkishu.²⁸ The *Ipurko* are said to have taken more than their share of the raided cattle, an act that prompted the *Laikipiak* under the leadership of their Laibon, Koikoti ole Tundi, to retaliate. According to oral evidence the real cause of this war was the *Ipurko*'s need to control both the Naivasha and Nakuru corridors.²⁹ As such, the area around Lake Naivasha was Maasai's favourite grazing grounds. Pastoral Maasai in particular, have always grazed the drier, short grass savanna of the Rift Valley during the rainy seasons and migrated during the long drought to richer pastures of the tall grass and then to the perennial meadows of the higher plateaus. Oral information suggests, this area commanded abundant pastures and a number of lakes for watering their livestock was also demanded by *Laikipiak* who proceeded to attack the *Purko*.³⁰

The Naivasha area had always been densely populated with Maasai who were very fond of the area lying round the lake. The clans living here were *Purko* and *Kak-oo-nyukie*.³¹ Sometime between the visit of Joseph Thomson and the establishment of Government

²⁵ Sitat Lucy, O.I, 4/5/2014.

²⁶ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

²⁷ W. R. Ochieng, *An Outline History of the Rift Valley of Kenya Up to A.D. 1900* (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), pp. 84-113.

²⁸ J. Bernsten, *Maasai Age-Sets and Prophetic Leadership, 1850-1910* (Nairobi: East African Publishers Limited, 1974), p. 142.

²⁹ Rotiken Sopia, O.I, 5/5/2014.

³⁰ Tumanka Joseph, O.I, 4/5/2014

³¹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

Headquarters at Naivasha, the *Laikipiak* Maasai drove back the *Purko* and *Kak-oo-nyukie* and occupied the area themselves. These two latter clans however, which were both very strong on the advice of their Laibon came back and completely wiped out the *Laikipiak* Maasai who ceased to exist from that time. A few individuals who were left were absorbed among the surviving clans, a few more took refuge with the Kikuyu and with the Njamusi. The chief Legolishu the most influential Maasai after chief Laibon was himself a survivor of the *Laikipiak* Maasai.

Zezeza states that the civil conflicts were abetted by internal and external factors.³² He adds that the Maasai civil wars were caused by the contradictions inherent within pastoral accumulation and reproduction at the level of the territorial relations of production. This was done at the expense of other sections which were bound to fight in defence of their territorial drought sparked off the initial conflict of 1815, thus starting the chain of events that were to continue almost throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Similarly, Sutton noted that the wars were for the protection of the strategic resources of water and pasturage. The losers were either absorbed or forced onto the margins where they had to abandon or modify their pastoral economy.³³ According to oral evidence, the most famous of the *Iloikop* wars was the *Laikipiak* war. The defeated *Laikipiak* left the Rift Valley, which proved to be a mixed blessing for the Maasai. They had triumphed but they had also become more exposed because the Maasai did not have the resources or the manpower to defend their land. Other groups therefore, expanded into the Rift Valley and challenged Maasai control.³⁴

Naivasha lies on the old caravan route to Kavirondo and Turkana country. The Maasai prevented this route from being opened up until long after traders had been accustomed. It is not known at what date the first Swahili and Arab caravans began to pass Naivasha, but the first white man was Dr. Gustav Fischer. He was a German naturalist commissioned by the Hamburg Geographical Society to find a new route from the East African Coast to Lake

³² T. Zezeza, *The Heritage Library of African; Maasai* (PhD New York: Rosen Publishing Group, INC, 1994), p. 32.

³³ J. E. G. Sutton, "Becoming Maasailand," in T. Spear & R. Waller (eds), *Being Maasai*, pp. 38-60.

³⁴ Rotiken Sopia, O.I, 5/5/2014.

Victoria. He set out from Pangani with a caravan of three hundred men and travelling through Arusha and Kilimanjaro, reached Naivasha on 11 May 1883.³⁵

At Naivasha the caravan met a party of Maasai warriors, panic and confusion followed.³⁶ The reputation of the Maasai as the conquerors of the interior, and the fear which his name inspired, can hardly be appreciated today. This fear survived until the beginning of this century, when the first pioneer settlers started to arrive and many parts of Kenya which were previously inaccessible and uninhabited were opened up. Dr. Fischer was confronted by a group of Maasai warriors in full battle regalia, ready to repel Fischer and his party. He promptly turned and fled, but not before christening the Njorowa gorge later Hell's Gate tower in his honour. The earliest description of steam jets in the Naivasha area was recorded by Fischer in 1885. Traversing the Njorowa Gorge, he came across a large steam jet and collected a sample of condensed steam for analysis. A turbulent gathering halted his progress at Naivasha and terminated his journey and went back to Coast.

Another explorer was Joseph Thomson, who was sent out by the British Royal Geographical Society to explore a direct route to Lake Victoria. Thomson arrived at Lake Naivasha in September 1883.³⁷ The caravans of Jumba Kimemeta and Thomson, passed round the north east corner of Lake Naivasha to reach "a groove of thorny acacia" (still growing beside the main road in Naivasha today). Recognizing that they had arrived at one of the most precarious moments of the whole journey, the caravan men quickly built an impenetrable thorn *zeriba*, working with a nervous energy which left nothing to be desired. Soon on arrival of large numbers of Maasai, was followed by Joseph Thomson's own words;

This unpleasant news awoke in my men the utmost consternation. The look-out was gloomy in all conscience. The problem presented to us was one of remorseless hardness. How should we be able to get into the country with only 150 men, when Fisher, with some 300 in company with a second caravan of 200, had had to fight? I could give no satisfactory answer. Only one thing I was clear about. Though determined on no account to enter upon a policy of adventure, I yet

³⁵KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

³⁶ R. Aspinall, "Naivasha" in E.J. Anderson (ed) *They Made it Their Home*, pp. 62-63.

³⁷KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report, 1904-1912, p. 1.

must make the attempt to pass the threshold before am turned back and confessed myself beaten.³⁸

Thomson picked up news of his German rival Dr. Fischer and learned that he had been turned back by Maasai warriors in what is today known as “Hell’s Gate National Park.” Thomson and his party were now kept in expectation of hearing from the Maasai as to what reception they proposed would be given. It was not however, till the evening of the third day that any reliable news was received. Several Maasai women came into the camp with a mincing, half-dancing step and peculiar motion. One woman carried a branch of grass in the hand, a token of peace and goodwill. On being informed that Thomson was the “big man” of the caravan, they seized his hand, still chanting with curious undulating movement of the body. The chant finished, and they were told that the Maasai had been holding much consultation about the caravan and that after much discussion, they had concluded to send a deputation to interview Thomson the following day.

On the following day, after a most ceremonious greeting was performed with much gravity and dignity, their great shovel-headed spears were stuck in the ground, their bullock-hide shields rested against them on their sides and then the oil and clay bedaubed warriors assumed a sitting posture with their knees drawn up to their chins and their small neat kid-skin mantles enveloping them. The caravan took position opposite them holding their guns on the hands. After a few words among themselves in a low tone, a spokesman arose and then, with much circumlocution he sketched the story of Fischer’s arrival,³⁹ of the fight, its causes and the results, more especially laying stress on the fact that a woman had been killed, an unheard of event in the annals of their quarrels with the *Wa-Swahili*. He then went on to tell how the news of their caravan’s arrival reached them and to describe the excitement produced. Thereby, how a meeting of the married men and the *Ilmoran*, or warriors, was called to discuss the way in which the caravan was to be received. In addition, how finally they came to the conclusion, not without blows among themselves, to allow them to pass peaceably. In consequence of this decision, he with his companions were sent to bid the caravan welcome and conduct them to their kraals. After consultation with the Maasai warriors, he was allowed to go through Naivasha. Sometime afterwards Naivasha began to be used as a convenient resting place for traders ‘en route’ from the Coast to Uganda. Due to its

³⁸ E. A. Loftus, *Through Maasai Land* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1983), p. 22.

³⁹ E. A. Loftus, *Through Maasai Land*, p. 23.

proximity to the Kikuyu Country it proved a convenient place for obtaining food supplies from Africans.⁴⁰

A change in Maasai fortunes occurred from 1890, which threatened the community with extinction.⁴¹ In the late nineteenth century the Maasai experienced a series of devastating blights- rinderpest, bovine pleuro-pneumonia, smallpox and sand fleas. According to oral information, these disasters were known collectively as *emutai* (meaning devastation). The great rinderpest epidemic of 1890 swept through Maasai land decimating up to 70 percent of the Maasai herds.⁴² It is believed to have been introduced by the British forces.⁴³ This affected their economic activities, wealth and well-being. The devastation weakened the Maasai system as they were recovering from civil war between the sub-tribes which almost half the population was lost. The Maasai tell of cattle, sheep and goat skeletons strewn in great quantities throughout the area in oral traditions.⁴⁴

Rinderpest marked the beginning of a series of natural and man- made calamities. The outbreak killed most of the Maasai cattle and this was followed by a severe drought in 1891.⁴⁵ Most of the remaining cattle succumbed. Faced with drought and the resulting famine, the weakened Maasai then endured a small pox epidemic which wiped out 50 percent of the population. The *Kak-oo-nyukie* clan suffered most and was reduced from a powerful and large clan to a comparatively small and poor one. As a result of these conditions, a great number of the Maasai were forced to seek refuge among neighbouring communities. Many of the children were sent into Kikuyu country and brought up there though they always kept up their customs and racial distinctions. They came together again as soon as they were old enough.⁴⁶

⁴⁰KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report, 1904-1912, p. 1.

⁴¹ Sitat Lucy, O.I, 4/5/2014.

⁴² Tumanka Joseph, O.I, 4/5/2014.

⁴³ R. Waller, *The Lords of East Africa: The Maasai in the mid Nineteenth Century, c 1840- c 1885* (PhD Cambridge, 1979), pp. 350-367.

⁴⁴ T. Zeleza, *The Heritage Library of African; Maasai*, p. 38.

⁴⁵ Sitat Lucy, O.I, 4/5/2014.

⁴⁶ KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report, 1904-1912, p. 3

After these successions of disasters, the Maasai population was estimated, in 1895 at no more than 40,000 and their cattle-wealth had shrunk.⁴⁷ To recoup, raids were occasionally made against less warlike tribes; but stiffened opposition was coming from Agikuyu and other farming people. The situation was further complicated by the arrival of large numbers of European to the edge of Maasai land. Some colonial administration have theorised that had the 'Europeans not intervened', Maasai fortunes were so weakened that they would have been overwhelmed by rival communities and would have disappeared as a cultural entity. Indeed the historical accident of European arrival during the time of intertribal warfare served to confirm the pastoral Maasai reputation for ferocity and a predatory nature. Following the devastation of famine, illness and death, the British were ready to begin colonisation of the weakened Maasai people. The coming of the Europeans opened a new era in Maasai history in Naivasha.⁴⁸

2.3 Formative Years

On 26 November 1895, there occurred in Kedong Valley a tragedy that led to the building of Naivasha Fort.⁴⁹ A large caravan, consisting of 150 Swahili, 1,200 Kikuyu, and an additional 50 armed men camped near Kabete. They were on their way from Eldama Ravine to Kikuyu. The Swahili Chief headman of the caravan ordered some of his armed men to raid a nearby Maasai kraal and seize two young girls whom the headman had found particularly attractive. The girls were seized and brought to the Swahili camp. They were quickly followed by a party of *Ilmoran*, who demanded and secured their release. The caravan struck their tent at 4 am the next morning. While passing the kraal, the Swahili headman again ordered the seizure of the two girls. In the resulting struggle a gun went off. To the *Ilmoran*, already gravely provoked, that meant war and the war- cry rang out from the kraal and echoed from other kraals nearby. In the dark the *Ilmoran* had the caravan at their mercy. Two swahili headmen including the guilty chief headman, 13 armed and 85 unarmed Swahili porters and 546 Kikuyu were killed. The Maasai losses were less than 40 killed.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁸KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report, 1904-1912, p. 12.

⁴⁹ M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way: the story of the Kenya & Uganda Railway* Vol 1 (Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1949), p. 143.

⁵⁰Ibid, p. 143.

Shortly after the massacre Andrew Dick, an English trader on his way to Uganda had heard reports of the incident. Without finding out the cause of the massacre, Dick decided to attack the Maasai. He killed over 100 *Ilmoran*, captured 200 head of cattle and many donkeys and sheep, but lost his own life through reckless folly due to the jamming of his rifle at a critical moment. Dick is buried near where he fell and the place is marked by a memorial stone sent out by the League of Keracy a few years ago. The survivors of the caravan fled to Fort Smith (near Kabete) and reported what had occurred.⁵¹

At the time of Dick's death, Lenana and other Maasai elders were on a visit to Fort Smith. They had been detained pending the instructions of John Ainsworth, the Sub-Commissioner of the Ukamba Province. In an official Report J. Ainsworth wrote that at the time of the attack he was at Machakos. On receiving the news, he hurried at once to Kikuyu and on arrival there commenced an enquiry into the whole affair. This eventually resulted to a friendly agreement, under which Lenana and his people departed for their kraals. A few days afterwards, all arms and other missing property of the ill-fated caravans were restored to the Government. This incident was practically the beginning of Lenana's friendship and loyalty to the government. From that day onwards all roads in Maasailand, which had been impassable before, were safe for small parties to traverse.⁵²

As a result of the massacre it was decided by the colonial government to build a Fort at Naivasha. Captain Colonel Sir Eric Smith, who had previously built Fort Smith, started to build a station at Naivasha in the same year (1895).⁵³ At that time there was a chain of forts extending from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, the other forts being Kibwezi, Machakos, Dagoretti, Eldama Ravine and Fort Ternan. Fredrick Jackson arrived to take charge of Naivasha Province administered by Government of the Uganda Protectorate. Prior to 1902 Naivasha was part of the Uganda Protectorate, but on 5th March of that year, it was transferred from what was known as the Eastern Province of Uganda into East African Protectorate.⁵⁴ Naivasha was the headquarters of the Deputy Commissioner for Uganda, F. J. Jackson, who had himself chosen the site in 1896 and established a *boma*. He noted that,

⁵¹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

⁵² M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way: the story of the Kenya & Uganda Railway* Vol 1, p. 144.

⁵³ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

⁵⁴ A. Ondeg, *Administrative History of Kenya Part I* (Nairobi; Government Printer), p. 67.

Naivasha was a good place to spend Christmas. There were wild duck on the lake to shoot and there were canoes in which to paddle across the Crescent shaped Islands and the hunt of waterbuck, standing sharply out of the blue waters.⁵⁵

The original station of Naivasha consisted of a block house and a store surrounded by stone pallicades and a ditch. The pallicades (which are still standing) are built of loose uncut stones, strengthened at interval by sharp pointed stakes which protrude 2 or 3 feet above the wall.⁵⁶ There are redoubts at the corners which were presumably used as Maxim gun emplacement. The only other existing original government *boma* is at Eldama Ravine. They are interesting relics of the old pioneer days of Government. A modern war time generation are led to speculate as to why the site of Naivasha Fort is placed in such a very unstrategical position, as an attacking party could easily climb unobserved from the existing main road level to within 100 yards of the pallicade, and this be it remembered, was in the days before Magazine Rifles. In 1897-98 Captain Gorges was in command of a company Uganda Rifles at Naivasha and was also the Acting Sub-Commissioner.⁵⁷

Another pivotal event was the building of the Uganda Railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria. The preliminary survey was first undertaken and one division of an expedition was charged with the survey. The caravan of 519 men left Mombasa on 18 December 1891.⁵⁸ On 27 March the same year, they arrived at Kedong River and it was not without its challenges. The Maasai kraals were scattered around. Soon after the caravan had arrived, a number of Maasai warriors came to demand bribe or tribute for permission to pass safely through their country. After chanting a *hongo* song spears were stuck into the ground. Their demands were met and progress of the survey was encountered. On 1 April 1891 the caravan arrived at Lake Naivasha and pitched a camp on the water's edge. Only a few Maasai were encountered. They were mostly old men, women and children in shockingly emaciated state. The young warriors were all away on a raid. The expedition reported to have found the lake full of hippo and there were ducks and geese. The southern shore was a grazing ground for

⁵⁵ M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way: the story of the Kenya & Uganda Railway* Vol 1, p. 144.

⁵⁶ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

⁵⁷ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

⁵⁸ M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way: the story of the Kenya & Uganda Railway* Vol 1, p. 75.

enormous troops of zebra and herds of antelope and the thorn thickets were the home of innumerable guinea fowl.⁵⁹

The railway, begun in 1896 at Mombasa, reached the place on the Athi Plains which is now Nairobi in 1899. Nairobi was founded as a railway construction depot.⁶⁰ It was to become the jumping off place for the settlers who would arrive by rail from Mombasa, receive their land location from the government land agent in Nairobi, and proceed up country by rail or by bullock wagon or by walking to their land in the foothills of the Aberdares, in the Rift Valley or the Highland country on the west of Mau escarpment. In March 1898 the preliminary survey of the Uganda Railway beyond Kikuyu into the Rift Valley was undertaken and rail head reached Kikuyu Escarpment in 1899. As the work for descending into the Rift Valley was a large undertaking a temporary inclined lift on a very steep slope was made from the top of the Escarpment into the Kedong Valley.⁶¹

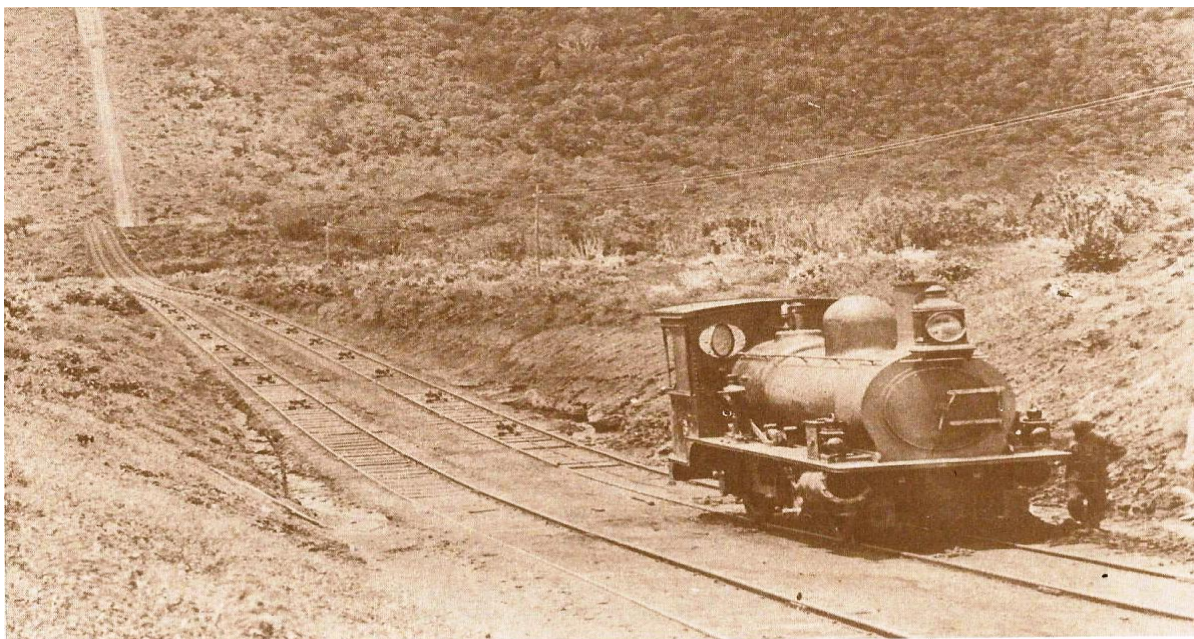


Figure 2.1: Railway Incline Down the Kedong Valley into Naivasha

Source: R.O. Preston, Memories of Kenya: Stories From the Pioneers (Nairobi: Evans Brothers Ltd, 1986), p. 80.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 76.

⁶⁰M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way: the story of the Kenya & Uganda Railway* Vol 1, p. 76.

⁶¹KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

Ronald Preston was in charge of the plate-laying gangs.⁶² A masterly feat of engineering took the track down the steep escarpment into the valley below. Preston led a small party ahead to pick out a suitable site for the next camp. Preston distinctly followed the course of the Kedong River and the caravan road coming from Lake Naivasha. Just beyond the point where the caravan road crossed the river, he noticed an open space that would have made an ideal camping ground. He noticed a number of white objects, of what he took to be ostrich eggs. Having got down to the valley and settled on a site for the camp, he persuaded his followers to take the caravan road as far as the river, so that they could secure a few ostrich eggs from the plain beyond. After a brisk walk for about a mile through the volcanic dust they arrived at the river. After refresher they found no difficulty in getting the party to go a bit further to secure the coveted ostrich eggs. As they got out of the bush into the plain they were horror-struck to find that the white shining objects they had mistaken for ostrich eggs were actually bleaching human skulls. Not just a few, but lying about by the dozen. Little was said, but although their outing up to that plain had been an easy downhill going all the time, their return to the camp was done in a much shorter time.⁶³

The party changed their minds about moving down to the valley. On their return to the camp, the story of the 'Plain of Skulls' soon spread, and it was not long before the cause was explained by one of the early caravan men in the party (This was Dick's incidence). The Plain of Skulls had a rather demoralizing effect on the workmen. As such they preferred the climb backwards and forwards rather than split up their number for a shift. To ease the journey back to the camp after the day's work, a zigzag path was cut up the side of the escarpment. The grinning skulls seemed to haunt them day and night. This complaint was soon sent to headquarters in Nairobi and a good supply of corrugated iron sheets and wood scantlings was sent by the next train. Instead of building a number of small huts, two large hollow squares were built, with only one entrance to each, on which armed guards were placed. This became a city of refuge.⁶⁴

⁶² R. O. Preston, "From Descending the Great Rift Valley" in A. Curtis (ed), *Memories of Kenya: Stories From The Pioneers* (Nairobi: Evans Brothers Limited, 1986), pp. 80-82.

⁶³ R. O. Preston, "From Descending the Great Rift Valley" in A. Curtis (ed), *Memories of Kenya: Stories From The Pioneers*, pp. 80-82.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

The lift was constructed into four portions with drums at the top of each, round which a steel cable was passed and the railway wagons were run up and down the inclines, full wagons going down and hauling empty ones up, as indigenous arrangement of brakes on the drums regulated the speed. This temporary arrangement was completed in May 1900 and continued in use until November, 1901 when the permanent line was opened and rail head reached Naivasha. The site of the drums at the top of the inclines can still be seen near Escarpment railway Station.⁶⁵

Immediately after the completion of the rail line from Mombasa to Kisumu, a number of railway stations were founded not only along the major line but also along the branch line.⁶⁶ In order to bring the entire administration of the colony within one administration, the Eastern Province of Uganda was transferred to British East Africa (BEA) and divided into Kisumu Province and Naivasha Province. The railway established the general urban pattern of Kenya, fostering the growth of important centres at key points along their route such as Voi, Kibwezi, Nairobi, Naivasha, Nakuru, Eldoret and Kisumu. Therefore, when the Uganda Railway reached Naivasha in 1900, the town began as a tiny railway station. The colonial government set up a permanent depot at the railway station which has grown into the present flourishing township.⁶⁷

In addition, a trading settlement was initiated by enterprising Alidina Visram, opening up branches of his firm wherever trade was to be done. He was followed by former railway official Herbert Storey who while shooting an antelope for the construction teams' food damaged his right arm when his rifle misfired. In a railway carriage standing at the Longonot siding the arm was amputated, without anaesthetics, by Dr. Boedeker. In compensation for the accident, the railway authority issued to Storey land within its township zone and along the road to the administration *boma*, he constructed the first of a series of shop premises which he leased to Indian retailers. In January 1902, Storey paid a licence fee to the Uganda government, permitting him to sell liquor in his store. In 1904, he built the Rift Valley hotel with accommodation for fourteen people. Storey spent much of the rest of his life as part of

⁶⁵ KNA, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

⁶⁶ E. Soja, *The Geography of Modernisation in Kenya* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p. 28.

⁶⁷ KNA, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1931, (Special Report).

the Naivasha community, also taking up land which became Cedar Mount Dairy Farm. In 1950s, he sold his shop properties to a Naivasha Asian, who had paid him rent for nearly half a century.⁶⁸

The construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway between 1895-1902 more than anything that preceded it signaled the start of the second growth stage.⁶⁹ A stage in which the development of a penetration line set in motion a series of spatial processes and re-adjustments as the comparative locational advantages of all centres shift. Although it nearly paralleled the caravan route for most of its course, the railway produced its own nodes which superseded the old ones in importance. Upcountry administration shifted from Machakos to Nairobi, which was established because of its location on the last stretch of level ground before the Highlands. Nakuru, similarly located with respect to the western Rift escarpment, and Naivasha replaced Eldama Ravine and the Lake Baringo area the main terminus of the railway, soon eclipsed Mumias in Importance.

Upon completion of the railway to Lake Victoria, it became apparent to the colonial government that the enterprise could only be maintained and supported by bringing European settlers into Kenya. The basic reason for this decision was the need to offset the costs of building the railway as well as of the annual maintenance of the railway between Mombasa and Kisumu.⁷⁰ By 1902, Britain was therefore, finding the Uganda Railway an expensive luxury. The government decided to invite white settlers to take up land in areas that were unpopulated, except by occasional bands of wandering Maasai, in order to establish an economy.⁷¹ Charles Eliot, Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate realised that the African population alone, could not within measurable distance of time, produce enough surplus goods to feed the railway. The

⁶⁸ Bacchubhai Patel, O.I, 20/11/2014.

⁶⁹ KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report 1904-1912, p. 2.

⁷⁰ KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report 1904-1912, p. 4.

⁷¹ L. W. Cone and J. F. Lipscomb, *History of Kenya Agriculture* (Britain: University Press of Africa, 1976), p. 32.

Africans produced no goods for sale to the outside world and wanted the little that the railway could bring them. In fact no one bought anything at that time except by barter; money was a novelty.⁷²

Famine came at frequent intervals and even when the season was good there was great difficulty in obtaining enough grain for provision for the caravans passing through. All the food for the railway construction staff had to be imported. The only hope the Commissioner concluded, was to fill these empty, vacant spaces along the line with settlers who would turn the fertile but now wasted soil to useful account, who would grow crops for the railway to carry out and buy machinery and other goods for it to carry in.

The first step was to produce an Ordinance to control the allocation of land. This was done in 1902. All land was assumed to belong to the Crown-in other words it was nationalised from the start. The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902 contained a stipulation that “The Commissioner shall not sell or lease any land in the actual occupation of the locals.” Meaning all Africans who had to be disturbed were to be compensated, and land indisputably in African possession was to be left alone.⁷³

The White Highlands were cleared for European occupation by the removal of indigenous communities. Those most directly affected by it were those Kikuyu whose farms had been expropriated by Europeans between 1903 and 1907. But the restriction of land available to the Kikuyu people also created pressures on the *ahoi*, the traditional tenants, by the *githaka* holders, their landlords. Many *ahoi* were forced off their land and had no choice but to migrate to the White Highlands. They were joined by others who still had land in the Kikuyu Reserves. Many Kikuyu therefore, became squatters to escape the growing encroachment on their rights by *githaka* holders and the newly appointed chiefs and headmen.⁷⁴ The only way to escape from this heavy-handed rule was to move out of the jurisdiction of the African authorities.

⁷² E. Huxley, *Settlers of Kenya*, (London: Longman Green and Company Limited, 1948), p. 7.

⁷³ E. Huxley, *Settlers of Kenya*, p. 11.

⁷⁴ F. Furedi, *Mau Mau War in Perspective* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1989), p. 42.

Among the early settlers in Naivasha was Hopcraft.⁷⁵ He applied for land on the west side of the lake: it had to be surveyed and much delay was caused by the loss of the surveyor: he was taken by a python when swimming the Malewa River and his papers went with him. Hopcraft started Loldia farm on the shore of the lake. One of the lake farms was sold to an American millionaire, Paul Rainey, who imported coon dogs to hunt lions. Captain and Mrs. Fey took up land on the South Kinangop plateau in 1906, and were the first to settle there. They called their farm Njibini now spelt Njabini on maps. Knight and Clements who started Munyu farm, twelve miles from Naivasha on the eastern wall of the Rift Valley, overlooking Lake Naivasha. They were joined by others, Tom Chillingworth, Harvey and Barry and the Attenborough Brothers. By 1910 many more settlers were arriving in the district and the colonial government was prompted to give land to the settlers.⁷⁶

The first step the Government took to accommodate the white settlers was to move the Maasai inhabiting the Rift Valley. The shift also included the Maasai on the plain of Angatabus South of Olbollosot to the empty territory of the extinct *Laikipiak* Maasai.⁷⁷ On 9 August 1911 a treaty was made between Sir Donald Stewart, and chief Lenana of the Maasai. Donald Stewart was recommended on behalf of the Government by the colonial office on the ground of his successful experience of the white settlers of Gold Coast. The treaty was ratified by several high Officials of the protectorate and by representatives of all existing Maasai clans. Under the leadership of the all-powerful laibon including several of the *Purko* and *Kak-oo-nyukie* clans who were among those who had to move.⁷⁸ It had the effects of cutting the Maasai into halves divided by the railway and a belt of white settlement. The clans in the Northern Reserve were to a considerable extent out off from immediate contact with Lenana though they always continued to look up to him. A special area of about 6,000 acres on the Kinangop plateau was however, reserved by the treaty for carrying out certain ceremonies which must precede circumcision throughout Maasai land. A few *Kak-oo-nyukie* Maasai were allowed to remain there.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Jill Retif, O.I, 12/11/2014.

⁷⁶ Y. Hewett, "A Naivasha Notebook" in E. Huxley and A. Curtis (eds), *Pioneers' Scrap Book* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1980), pp. 61-67.

⁷⁷ Tumanka Joseph, O.I, 4/5/ 2014.

⁷⁸ KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report 1904-1912, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Tumanka Joseph, O.I, 4/5/2014.

In January 1909, a large number of warriors of which Laikotikosh was chief came down with their cattle from the Northern Maasai Reserve under the charge of Mr. Collyer, and settled temporarily on Kinangop for the purpose of carrying out the *E-unoto* ceremonies.⁸⁰ Just as every preparation was completed they were suddenly called down to the Southern Reserve by the chief Laibon Lenana, as part of his scheme for replacing the whole of his tribe. Since the great migration of the Maasai to the Northern Reserve, the few *Kak-oo-nyukie* who had been allowed to remain on Kinangop had greatly increased in numbers by others joining them and their stock practically overran the whole of the plateau. From their apparent inability to understand boundaries where no fences or other obvious marks were put up they were more and more becoming a trouble to the settlers on the plateau. According to oral information, several times arrangements for them to go were made but the presence of cattle disease made the move impossible.⁸¹

At the end of 1910 most of the remaining blocks of land on Kinangop were given out and it was seen that it was no longer possible for Maasai to remain side by side with the European accordingly.⁸² In January 1911 with about 8,000 cattle and innumerable sheep they went to the Southern Maasai Reserve under the charge of Crewe Read Assistant Commissioner at Ngong, assisted by Popplewell an Assistant DC at Naivasha. Four kraals including two which had come from Rumuruti in December 1910 were allowed to remain in the fenced area of Kinangop for another month. With about one thousand cattle and many sheep the Maasai followed the others to the Southern Reserve at the end of February.⁸³

The DC Naivasha Sub-District reported that in 1911, the Maasai move was the outstanding feature of that year. Two routes were used Elementaita and Lake Nakuru, the former being in Nakuru District. As far as the Lake route was concerned no difficulties were experienced and there was no friction between settlers whose farms the Maasai passed through⁸⁴ Many of the Europeans who had visited the Kenya area of East Africa, including travelers, missionaries and others, had all been impressed by the appearance of good soil,

⁸⁰ KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report 1904-1912, p. 7.

⁸¹ Nonguta Karepa, O.I, 5/5/ 2014.

⁸² KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report 1904-1912, p. 8.

⁸³ Sopia Rotiken, O.I, 5/5/2014.

⁸⁴ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1911, p. 1.

adequate rainfall and healthy climate in certain areas and, most important for settlement, the apparent amount of unoccupied land.

According to Rostow's evolutionary stages of economic growth, the modernisation perspective gives priority to the role the values, norms and beliefs of a given society play in determining the level of development in that society. It holds that development occurs when traditional patterns alter under pressures of modernity. Thus the transfer of Western technology, culture and capital into the Third World would develop the latter. The society in the Third World therefore, has to allow for this transfer of Western technology, capital and culture into the Third World.⁸⁵ At this point the traditional society which is the Maasai had to allow White Settlement to transfer their Western technology, capital in agriculture and culture of capitalism.

As soon as the Maasai moved from Naivasha District, the land within the District was gradually surveyed, cut into farms averaging about 5,000 acres. The principal grants of land were 300,000 acres to the East Africa Syndicate. In addition, large areas were granted to Lord Delamere, Flemmer and Robert Chamberlain. All the land between Naivasha and Gilgil was taken up by the pioneer settlers who worked on it. What a paradise it was for them in those years.⁸⁶ There is now no Maasai population permanently residing in the District by 2013 as suggested by oral information. One respondent stated that:

There are no Maasai living in Naivasha area permanently. They are only found temporary while grazing. Grazing takes place at Naivasha but we instead rent the grazing land.⁸⁷

The Maasai land was therefore, taken by the white settlers and colonialism was starting to take roots. This marked the end of Maasai in Naivasha. The Maasai played a major role in the origin and development of Naivasha town during this early period. This is because there existed sporadic markets and settlements along Lake Naivasha.

⁸⁵ W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth; A Non-Communist Manifesto* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 5-16.

⁸⁶ KNA, DC/NVA/2/1, Handing Over Report 1904-1912, p. 6.

⁸⁷ Sitat Lucy, O.I, 4/5/2014.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed background to the establishment of Naivasha town. It has shown that the earliest inhabitants of Naivasha were the Maasai. The Maasai led a pastoral way of life and the area around Naivasha was their favourite grazing land, since the grass was drier and short. The civil wars that were fought around Naivasha among Maasai clans precipitated the extinction of some clans or their assimilation by the neighbouring Kikuyu community. The pre-colonial history of Naivasha is characterised with traditional modes of production. The manyatta villages formed the centres of common occupancy. The second part of this chapter has been about Naivasha in the formative colonial years. It starts with the coming of the explorers followed by large caravans and their confrontation with Maasai warriors upon reaching Naivasha. The interior was impenetrable due to the Maasai war like nature that hindered any person from going through their land. After attempts by other explorers the Maasai accepted to open up the area.

The coming of settlers led to displacement of the Maasai through the signing of a treaty with the colonial government. The early settlers narrate of finding a country with no roads, no hospitals, an enchanting expanse of Lake Naivasha and no schools. The nearest village was where Naivasha town stands today. Early developments such as the construction of the Uganda railway led to the emergence of Naivasha town as a railway station and administrative centre. This led to the establishment of the colonial Naivasha. The next chapter will therefore, focus on the factors that contributed to the development of Naivasha town from the period before and after the First World War.

CHAPTER THREE

NAIVASHA TOWN BEFORE AND AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1911-1938

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyse key developments that took place in Naivasha from 1911, through the First World War, up to the year 1938. Before the war there had been steady flow of settlers into Naivasha town. According to Rostow's evolutionary stages of economic growth, the pre-condition for take-off is characterised by agricultural and industrial revolution. Outside Europe, pre-condition for take-off entail intrusion by more advanced societies. With such intrusion the ideas spread the economic progress and this leads to emergence of enterprising men who invest in various sectors of the economy.¹ During this period, Naivasha is occupied by a more advanced society. In this case the advanced society is the Europeans and particularly the white settlers. They developed settler agriculture in Naivasha and this period also saw the growing of several crops. This entailed application of modern sciences to both agriculture and industrial production.

Then came the WWI, which led to an abrupt end to expansion and prosperity. Prices fell for agricultural commodities. Settlers enlisted in the East African Mounted Rifles. After the war the settlers returned to their farms and they had to start all over again. Other developments introduced by the Europeans during this period in Naivasha were, schools spread over the reserves, hospitals were built and diseases were put under control, gradual increase of Africans, marketing of African produce and production of African crops increased, building of Kenya Co-operative Creameries at Naivasha. It was during this period that the foundations for colonial economy were laid: forests cleared and settler farms established, roads had to be built and schools constructed.

The early colonial agriculture however, was not without its drawbacks. The early experiences of Lord Delamere indicate the problems of early settlers in Kenya. Their efforts to establish the foundations of modern agriculture with exotic crops and livestock were problematic. Only men of tough fibre would have survived the disappointments, the failures

¹ W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth; A Non-Communist Manifesto* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 5-16.

and the financial drain that in these early years beset Lord Delamere and other early settlers who were carrying out similar experiments with more limited means. On the other hand, Delamere contributed to the development of agriculture in Naivasha and in turn contributed to the development of Naivasha town.

During this period in 1921, Naivasha was made an Extra Provincial District which it remained until 1929, when it was amalgamated with Laikipia to form a new Naivasha Province. In 1933, Naivasha Province was finally absorbed into Rift Valley. In 1934 Naivasha was absorbed into Nakuru-Ravine District.

3.2 Early Phase of Settler Agriculture in Naivasha

Many of the Europeans who had visited Kenya in East Africa, including travellers, missionaries and others had all been impressed by the appearance of good soil, adequate rainfall and healthy climate in certain areas and, most important for settlement, and the apparent amount of unoccupied land. To those who merely saw in distant lands new challenges, here was a land that could suit European peoples and where opportunity and development awaited the daring and ambitious. Kenya was one of the new areas for raw materials and markets for British industries that were established.

Agriculture in Naivasha played a vital role to the colonial economy. European colonisation in Kenya altered agricultural and pastoral production in many aspects, but without altering the fact that agriculture was the sole basis of wealth. When White settlement started there was still a world-wide need for raw materials, a need to which no limit could be seen. So long as industrialised countries demanded products of the soil it was inevitable that that demand should be met.² During the colonial period the area of the Naivasha District was 1784 sq miles, of which 1693 sq miles was land and 91 sq miles water i.e. Lakes Naivasha and the Crater Lake to the west of Lake Naivasha. The whole District was pre-dominantly a stock- farming one, but a good deal of cultivation was also carried out. According to the District Annual Report of 1911, Naivasha was almost entirely pastoral keeping and the

²L. W. Cone and J. F. Lipscomb, *History of Kenya Agriculture* (Britain: University Press of Africa, 1976), p.32.

industry mainly sheep breeding.³ The livestock industry was increasing and many farmers were now finding that mixed farming with the emphasis on stock as the best policy.

Department of Agriculture set up an experimental farm called Government farm at Naivasha.⁴ John Kenyon Hill was installed as the first manager and at the same time becoming Assistant Director of Agriculture. The idea of the Government farm was to be a purely stock farm. Mainly to import pedigree sires to use on the African indigenous animals in order to get better size for beef and greater milk yield. Among the first lot of stock imported were Hereford and Shorthorn bulls. In addition, a Clydesdale stallion and an Arab stallion were imported, with an intention of running them with the captured wild Zebra, as it was hoped the progeny would be immune to Horse Sickness. According to oral evidence, this was not a success and the experiment was given up.⁵

In addition, hay-making was started for the first time in British East Africa at Government Farm.⁶ There was only one small grass cutter, which was modified by the Assistant manager and drawn by four local bullocks. The imported bulls were crossed with the local humped cows, which lost the hump almost completely in the first cross. After the 2nd and 3rd crosses they looked like pure-bred cattle. The Merino rams were used on local hairy sheep and this was a great success. The first crop of lambs from this cross had a small amount of wool in their hairy coats, and after the third cross it was difficult to tell which ones were the pure-bred flocks were and which ones were not. It was also interesting to notice how the lambs inherited the characteristics of their sires that frolicked and frisked about, which the local lambs never did. The fleeces from these three-quarter bred sheep were of good quality.⁷

Potatoes were one of the earliest crops, but proved failure. At the same time ostrich farming was introduced.⁸ Nat Barry imported stud ostrich cocks from South Africa, and other white settlers got huge incubators from America. The eggs, milk and butter which was

³ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1911, p. 9

⁴ R. Hill, "The Government Experiment Farm Naivasha" in A. Curtis (ed), *Memories of Kenya: Stories From The Pioneers* (Nairobi: Evans Brothers Limited, 1986), pp. 82-86.

⁵ Jill Retief, O.I, 12/11/2014.

⁶ R. Hill, "The Government Experiment Farm Naivasha" in A. Curtis (ed), *Memories of Kenya: Stories From The Pioneers* pp. 82-86.

⁷ Higgins Sarah, O.I, 7/5/2014.

⁸ Y. Hewett, "A Naivasha Notebook" in E. Huxley and A. Curtis (eds), *Pioneers' Scrap Book* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1980), pp. 61-67.

produced was carried by Africans on foot to Naivasha and sold to government officials in the *boma*. Prices of ostrich feathers fell and the ostriches were let loose to go wild again.⁹

In 1911 the three Mc Crae brothers came to Naivasha and planted sisal on large scale, south of the lake. At their peak they had 11,000 acres of it. The district proved unsuitable for the best quality sisal and, after years of struggle, the Mc Crae finally left. This was as a result of the First World War that led to the collapse of the world markets. Eventually Block Estates bought the land and used it keep poultry, thereby supplying hotels with eggs and poultry.¹⁰ By 1912, the white population in Naivasha was 235, and all with the exception of Mr. Cotter all were engaged in agricultural and pastoral labour. M. Cotter was the lessee of the Rift Valley hotel. Others such as J.W.T. McClellan, W.T.G. Campbell and A.E. Hudson were civil servants.¹¹ In 1914, the only event was the outbreak of war with German East Africa. On a call for volunteers, a large proportion of the settlers' community joined the East African Mounted Rifles. Naivasha District had been less affected by the war than most other Districts. The settlers assisted willingly and gave their ponies, mules and wagon, realizing that whatever was asked of them was for the safeguarding of the Country.¹² Naivasha being a stock keeping one, during the First World War, roughly 12,000 to 14,000 sheep were dispatched to the various military camps monthly. Beef oxen were also bought from settlers and supplied to the troops.¹³

During this period of the war there was not much farming in the District as there were only about 710 acres under plough. The major crops grown are highlighted in table 3.1.

⁹ Y. Hewett, "A Naivasha Notebook" in E. Huxley and A. Curtis (eds), *Pioneers' Scrap Book*, pp. 61-67.

¹⁰ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1915.

¹¹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1912, p. 3

¹² KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1914, p. 1.

¹³ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1915.

Table 3.1: Total Area under Cultivation, 1915

YEAR- 1915	CROP	AREA
	Lucern	110
	Flax	100
	Oats	100
	Wheat	100
	Fodder	100
	Sisal	100
	Others	100
	Total	710

Source: KNA, Naivasha Sub-District Annual Report 1915

Table 3.1 indicates that by 1915 about 710 acres were under cultivation. This is a small acreage mainly because earlier in 1912 wheat, rye and barley were being grown on a comparatively large scale, but owing chiefly to rust and locusts, crops were abandoned and the land was allowed to grow grass. By 1915 Naivasha was almost entirely pasture land and essentially a stock raising one most herds being cattle, sheep and pigs.¹⁴

Table 3.2: Number of Stock in Naivasha District, 1915 and 1920

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Horse	Donkeys	Mules
1915	9,600	54,650	700	-	-	-
1920	18,835	30,972	543	121	135	46

Source: KNA, Naivasha Sub-District Annual Reports 1915 & 1920

From table 3.2, Naivasha District was almost entirely pastoral and the industry mainly sheep breeding. The number of livestock however, decreased between 1915 and 1920. This is because livestock were continually dying from deadly tick-borne diseases such as East Coast Fever, heart - water, red-water and anaplasmosis and virus complaints such as rinder pest, anthrax, quarter-evil and foot-and-mouth. Loses were heavy and it was years before reliable vaccines and serums were found to control these diseases. The animals were placed in quarantine, then the stocks were inoculated with serum and the disease died out.¹⁵

¹⁴KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1915.

¹⁵ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1916, p. 9.

In 1924, there was a major rinderpest infestation and most of the livestock died.¹⁶ In the year 1932 sisal was being exported on a large scale and by 1933 the total area under cultivation was 15,329. Sisal was grown on 3,242 acres on sisal estates of Longonot Limited and on south lake on large scale.¹⁷ According to the District Annual Report 1938, the DC stated that Naivasha township was entirely pasture land and mixed farming. He noted that sheep and pigs were the main livestock kept. Sisal was also being grown on large scale. Wheat, flax and fodder were also grown on relatively large areas.

The main industries were a flour mill owned by Saigo Soi and flax industries owned by East Africa Lands Company. Other industries included cheese making and bacon curing.¹⁸ In addition, there were two Creameries in the District. The Kenya Co-operative Creamery Ltd, situated 4 miles from Naivasha. Then there was the South Kinangop Dairy which was privately owned.¹⁹ Settler agriculture contributed to the development of Naivasha town. However, during this period agriculture was on trial basis. The successful farming in Naivasha area led to growth of many trading centres because it created an economy in Naivasha. Many people came to live in Naivasha due to the agriculture and this drew merchants into the area to sell and trade their goods. Thus there was development of trading centres, due to the increased number of farmers and other settlers who traded their agricultural produce. Settler farms attracted many people; the settlers, Africans and Indians. Trade in agricultural produce started to thrive in Naivasha township. In addition, for settler agriculture to be successful, labour was important. The settlers devised ways to attract Africans to work in their farms.

3.3 Delamere's Contribution to Agriculture in Naivasha

Lord Delamere was a pioneer settler in Kenya. He first set foot in the highlands in Kenya in 1897 when the Uganda Railway was just starting to be laid down.²⁰ When he was 27 years of age, Delamere had been on four shooting expeditions in Somaliland. Delamere's fifth and last expedition to Somaliland, planned in 1895 was more ambitious for its objective

¹⁶KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1924.

¹⁷KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1933.

¹⁸KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1936.

¹⁹ Jill Retief, O.I, 12/11/2014.

²⁰ E. Huxley, Vol 1, *White Man's Country; Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya* (London: Chatto & Windus Ltd, 1935), p. 23.

was to explore towards the south rather than to shoot big game. He moved to Kenya and acquired vast land holdings from the British Crown. He acquired a large farm extending from Naivasha to Gilgil to Elmenteita extending to Mbaruk Railway station. He was as famous for his tireless labours to establish a working agricultural economy in East Africa. He pioneered the dairy industry in 1905. He was also credited with experimenting with cross breeding after importing a herd of exotic breeds for mating with local Boran cattle.²¹

Lord Delamere was famous for his utter devotion to developing Kenyan agriculture. He was determined that the land should produce profitably, and was willing to use all his resources to attain that objective. Delamere reached his new estate Equator farm in Rift Valley in January 1904. As soon as he had settled into the Njoro huts he started to translate his dream of a sheep ranch into practice. Before the First World War, Delamere had shown that the country could grow wheat. Then he had also demonstrated that sheep could be kept. He resolved to prove that Kenya could be made into a first-class dairying country. He had no doubt that this was so. Kenya had many of the advantages: a mild climate with no severe winters, an evenly distributed rainfall, grazing all year round and no winter feeding. Cattle diseases and high freights were to Kenya's disadvantage; cheaper land and labour was in his favour.²²

According to oral information, Delamere was committed to that great adventure of agriculture.²³ To which he devoted all the money which he transferred from his English estate. Delamere realised that if suitable settlers in any number were to be attracted to East Africa it was essential for someone to prove that it was a good farming country. The fair prospect of the plains and highlands must be enhanced by the practical development and by the economic output of animal and vegetable products acceptable to the worlds market someone must be prepared to undertake a great experiment to risk all to prove a new land. Delamere shouldered the burden of that task which demanded courage, faith and zeal.

Delamere purchased Ryeland rams from England to mate with 11,000 Maasai ewes, and in 1904, imported 500 pure-bred merino ewes from New Zealand. Four-fifths of the

²¹ E. Huxley, Vol 1, *White Man's Country; Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya*, p. 23.

²² E. Huxley, *Settlers of Kenya*, p. 25.

²³ Kamau Abraham, O.I, 16/11/2014.

merino ewes died.²⁴ Delamere's sheep were the first to suffer. After the rains the grass was up to a man's waist, and merinos demand it sparse and close-cropped. They succumbed rapidly to foot-rot and other complaints. All breeds of sheep suffered from running nose. Several died and on investigation, a fly had laid eggs which hatched into the grub in the sheep's nostrils. Stock diseases, always the farmers' worst enemy in Africa, seized the opportunity afforded them by the disorganisation brought about by war. The veterinary staff, fighting hopeless battle to keep army transport animals alive, had little time to spare for production.

It was not until many years later that it was discovered that much of the land that Delamere had selected was deficient in minerals, notably iron. Cattle grazing over that part of his farm used to waste away mysteriously, although there was plenty of grass. This disease became known as *Nakurutis* and its cause being deficiency in iron was discovered by research workers from the Rowett Institute of Aberdeen. With the feeding of mineral supplements to cattle it was entirely overcome. The Maasai had known of its existence. They had avoided these Nakuru-Njoro pastures on account of it. Delamere had stayed on this land for some time before he discovered that part of his farm was called in Maasai *angata natai emmin*, meaning "the plain of the female rhinoceros without any milk", the deficiency was such that even rhinos feeding on the grass could not suckle their young ones.²⁵

When cattle, like sheep had proved a failure at Njoro, Delamere decided to experiment in farming.²⁶ He selected wheat and maize for his crops. A start was made with 300 acres at the far end of the farm in Rongai Valley. This was the origin of Florida farm, subsequently developed into the biggest maize preposition in Kenya. A production of 70,000 bags a single season, averaging production of 30 bags per acre. Wheat was planted in Njoro but this too, was plagued by disease, specifically rust (fungus). Delamere eventually created a 'wheat laboratory' on his farm, employing scientists to manufacture hardy wheat varieties for Kenyan highlands.

In addition, Delamere decided to bank heavily on wheat in 1908 large numbers of bullocks were bought and broken. Elspeth narrates that throughout March and April a dozen

²⁴ E. Huxley, *White Man's Country; Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya*, pp. 163-164

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁶ Njoroge Joyce, O.I, 16/11/2014.

or more puffs of dust could be seen curling up from the plains below Delamere's homestead, where ox- teams dragged heavy ploughs through the grass- encrusted loam.²⁷ Never before, through the immeasurable ages of geology or the shorter centuries of man, had this particular piece of soil been carved into by discs. Over 1,200 acres of wheat were sown in a single field. Delamere pinned all his hopes to this crop. It was to wipe off his bank overdraft, pay for the thresher which he had bought on credit and prove wheat to be a sound foundation for farming in East Africa. He was counting on well over 2,000 bushels.²⁸

New disaster, perhaps the most disheartening of all descended upon Equator ranch. Rust fungus-yellow rust, destroyed the wheat. It swept through the 1,200 acres like a flame and left it withered, not worth the harvesting. This was a bitter blow both to Delamere's finances and to his hopes. Many men would have abandoned wheat after such a debacle. But the resilient optimism of the pioneer and the determination not to be defeated forced him to try again using disease resistant wheat varieties. Within three years of the yellow rust calamity, Delamere had a larger acreage of wheat than ever before ripening at Equator ranch. Some of the new hybrids included, Rietti and Gluyas.

In 1908 Delamere formed a small company called Unga Limited, to erect a flour mill. He himself provided half the capital of 5,000 pounds and became the managing director. The remainder was found by a few other settlers. A plot was secured in Nairobi, machinery and an expert miller imported, and grinding begun the following year. This provided the necessary impetus and settlers started to take-up wheat growing seriously. By 1912 the company began to think about export and a plot on Kilindini wharf was taken up. Delamere was the biggest shareholder of the business. Without the foundation of Unga Limited, it is doubtful whether the wheat industry could have survived its infancy.²⁹ In 1912, the peak year, 1,750 acres of wheat were grown and there were only slight attacks of rust.

To supplement his income, he even tried to raise ostriches for their feathers, importing incubators from Europe. Feathers were fetching high prices at that time and South African experts had pronounced that the wild birds would provide an excellent foundation for the

²⁷ E. Huxley, Vol 1, *White Man's Country; Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya*, p. 167.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 167.

²⁹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2 Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1912.

flock. This venture failed with the advent of the motor car and the decline in fashion of feathered hats. Before the birds had grown to maturity however, the price of feathers collapsed and ostrich farming ceased to pay. Another industry started by Delamere at Njoro was the cultivation of wattle. Seedlings were imported from Natal and a plantation added every year until by 1911, 2,000 acres were under wattle on Delamere's own land, and another 3,000 acres on part of it that he had let off to a small company of which he was the principal shareholder.³⁰

Delamere also planted forty acres of oranges. He also began to grow tobacco.³¹ He imported both Virginian and Turkish seed and at one time had about 100 acres under the crop. He took samples of Virginian leaf to England with him and had them analysed at the Imperial Institute and examined by experts in the trade. The reports were favourable, although the leaf was badly prepared. He came back with plans for a flu-curing barn and an expensive shed was built, but before the heating apparatus could be installed the First World War broke out and further experiments were abandoned. There was a good crop harvest that year. Delamere made a presentation of it to the East African Forces. The leaf got damp and mouldy, and the troops used it up as snuff. Oral evidence suggests that Delamere also brought a plant commonly known as (*Jerusalem*) cactus from Israel for fencing his farm to keep away wild animals and Africans.³² This plant can evidently be seen in almost all the areas in Naivasha town and especially along the railway line.

According to oral information, Delamere was a pioneer of East African dairy industry.³³ He was also a pioneer at crossbreeding animals, beginning with sheep and chicken, then moving to cattle; most of his imported animals, however, succumbed to diseases such as foot and mouth and red water disease. The remaining were moved to Delamere's Soysambu Ranch, as well as the remaining stock of 1,500 imported cattle that suffered from pleuro-pneumonia. Delamere started buying up land round Lake Elmenteita, where the pasture were short and dry, as a refuge for his dying sheep. As soon as he had accumulated enough grazing field, the sheep were moved to the new location. This was the

³⁰ E. Huxley, *White Man's Country; Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya*, pp. 163-164.

³¹ *Ibid.*, P. 167.

³² Gichuhi Geoffrey, O.I, 26/4/2014.

³³ Njoroge Joyce, O.I, 16/11/2014.

start of Soysambu. At Njoro he decided to concentrate on cattle. He bought up all the half-bred heifer progeny of the Shorthorn bull, as a foundation. He used them on Hereford bulls and imported four pedigree Shorthorn bulls and four cows. He also sent some of his Somali workers up to the Borana land to buy the best local beasts. By the end of 1904 he had 1,500 cattle at Njoro. These oxen brought with them pleuro-pneumonia. All his imported Herefords died. More disasters followed such as the red water which was endemic and killed the imported short-horns.³⁴

For many years Delamere farmed his colossal land by trial, error and dogged effort, experimenting endlessly with crops and livestock and accruing an invaluable stockpile of knowledge that would later serve as the foundation for the agricultural economy of the colony. Delamere decided to devote himself to two things, sheep and dairy farming. He believed that the time had come to concentrate on the dairy industry along New Zealand lines, with co-operative creameries and an export trade in butter. He therefore, backed his opinion by buying a first-class dairy-farm of 1,600 acres at Naivasha. Oral Information suggests, he divided his farm into two; from town to Lake Naivasha and from Government farm to Marula. He began to stock it with pedigree Fresians and the best of his high-grade heifers from Soysambu.³⁵

A consignment of expensive pedigree Fresian and Shorthorn bulls was shipped out from England in 1920 under the charge of an experienced cattle man. In addition, everything on the dairy-farm was to follow the most up-to-date and thorough lines. Milk records were to be kept, feeding was to be scientifically regulated according to yield, Lucerne to be grown under irrigation, breeding for butterfat to be practiced, the land to be paddocked and rotational grazing adopted. It was to be a model dairy-farm. A fully equipped dairy was built and in a short time he secured a good contract for sale of milk in Nairobi. Delamere started laying plans for a co-operative creamery to follow.³⁶

Satisfied with this experiment, he turned his attention to encouraging dairy farming in the country at large. He was anxious to do so for several reasons. One was idealistic:

³⁴ E. Huxley, Vol 1, *White Man's Country; Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya*, p. 170.

³⁵ Nzioki Angeline, O.I, 16/11/2014.

³⁶ E. Huxley, *White Man's Country; Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya*, Vol 2, pp.91-2, 238-240, 267, 274.

intensive dairying called for comparatively small farms and so encouraged closer settlement. Another was economic: dairying needed only a small labour force and Delamere believed it to be essential that settlers should become less reliant on large supplies of African labour. Besides there was a good export market for butter and Kenya must above all things, increase her exports. A third was scientific: the continuous production of a single crop such as maize exhausted the land. It would eventually become necessary to replace the nutriment extracted every year from the soil and the soundest way of effecting this was to shift on to a basis of mixed farming.

Two things were needed before the industry could become a success. One, was the establishment of more creameries; there was only one in Kenya at that time. The other was a widespread and vigorous campaign against the greatest cattle scourge in the country, East Coast Fever. He was determined to tackle both. His first step was to start a new co-operative creamery at Naivasha. He called for a meeting of the surrounding farmers in 1925 and secured their support. As his contribution, he gave a slice of his farm for the site of the factory and started the subscription list for the capital required with a sum of 2,500 pounds. In order to ensure that the creamery should be started off on the most efficient and up to date lines set to Australia for an expert to plan and launch the new organisation.

Delamere recognised that the co-operation often involved sacrifices in the early stages and he was quite prepared to make them. Under his contract for the sale of milk in Nairobi he received US\$2 a gallon. As soon as the Naivasha co-operative creamery opened he cancelled this contract and sold all his butter-fat to the creamery at a rate which worked out slightly under US\$6 a gallon for milk. For the first six months of the creamery's life he waived payment for his cream altogether in order to give the factory a start. Besides Lord Delamere and T. Chillingworth put up much of the money. Of the large scale farmers Lord Delamere at Manera, Sir John Ramsden at Marula and Gilbert Colville at Ndabibi were the most productive.³⁷

After the Naivasha creamery proved itself a success a third was started at Kinangop. Then competition between the three began. It was clear to Delamere that if this was allowed

³⁷ Y. Hewett, "A Naivasha Notebook", in E. Huxley (ed), *Pioneers Scrapbook* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1980), pp. 61-66.

to continue the creameries would eventually collapse. He secured agreement among small bands of farmers to avoid internecine wars. Oral informants noted that he worked incessantly at the task and eventually succeeded. In 1930 Kenya Co-operative Creameries Ltd was formed.³⁸

Hence, the creameries pooled their finances and competition ceased. The dairying industry expanded and in a few years two-thirds of the colony's output of butter was exported. Later, the creameries agreed to buy African products as well as European-produced cream, provided it came up to the proper standards, and an example of black and white economic co-operation was set.

One way for settlers to maximize profits was the use of local labour, as it was readily available. The most effective method that employers used to obtain cheap labour was to have Africans living on the estates. A bargain would be arranged that the African would bring an agreed number of cattle and be able to cultivate a patch of land in return, he and his family would tend the estate of the European for a small wage.³⁹ This worked for the settlers and the Africans since there was shortage of land for them to occupy. For instance, squatters began coming to the Rift Valley in 1909, most of them were brought by Delamere. Squatters would be put in a 'beggie' with their beehives, livestock and skins for sleeping on. All alighted at Njoro where they would be taken to places where they could graze and cultivate freely without restriction.⁴⁰ They were shown large fields which belonged to Delamere who wanted them to look after his stock. This gave new impetus to migrants who ended up being squatters.

3.4 Early Migrants and Squatters

Establishing colonial rule in Kenya and attempting to turn the country into a white settlement area had profound effect on the local African population. Subsequent development of settler plantations and mixed farms created a demand for a large number of wage

³⁸ Kamau Abraham, O.I, 16/11/2014.

³⁹ R. M. A, Zwanenberg, *The Agricultural History of Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972), p. 41.

⁴⁰ T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1987), P.14.

labourers.⁴¹ Since no African labour force was readily forthcoming, the colonial government used five main policies to secure and control African labour.⁴² First, it established African reserves as discussed earlier the case of Maasai reserves. As Africans lacked sufficient land in their reserves, they had no choice but to migrate to the European farms in search of work.

Secondly, they introduced wage labour. This acted as a stimulus for migratory labour. Wages varied throughout the period, in different districts. Another method was the introduction of forced labour.⁴³ There was persistent labour shortage on the estates and therefore, some means had to be found to bring out labour from the reserves. Forced labour was a method of obtaining inefficient labourers, as it naturally produced unwilling workers. Tax was another mode of solving labour shortage. According to oral information, the theory behind the heavy direct taxes was that a man had to obtain cash in order to pay tax. They would be forced to work as wage labourers to raise the necessary money.⁴⁴

Another policy was the introduction of the *Kipande*. The demand for wagemen increased and while the supply also increased it did not keep pace with the requirements of the plantation. Estate farming required a practice of regular work of so many hours a day. Most men were used to working according to the season of the year or the immediate needs of their *shamba* and would not happily undertake a regular ten hour day. The other problem for the employer was that his men did not want to stay for long periods working for an alien employer under poor conditions. The *Kipande* was therefore, introduced by the African Registration Ordinance. With thousands of Kikuyu migrating to look for work, the colonial government introduced the pass to control movement of African workers and to keep track of their employment histories. Finally, the most effective method that employers used to obtain cheap labour was squatting.⁴⁵

⁴¹ M. R. Dille, *British Policy in Kenya Colony* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1937), pp. 213-223.

⁴² R. V. Zwanenberg, *The Agricultural History of Kenya* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972), p. 32.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 40.

⁴⁴ Ekitela Paul, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁴⁵ T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1987), p. 14.

Squatting can be defined as a form of modified neo-feudalism whereby a European farmer would permit several Africans to farm on small strips or plots of land. Squatting or labour tenancy was a creation of white settler colonialism in Africa. Squatter system was introduced into Kenya as a result of European settlement in the highlands. The most important factor influencing squatter migration was the shortage of land in their indigene home areas. White settlement was synonymous with the appropriation of the land of the local people. One reason for increase of squatters was that the squatters were escaping from the despotic rule of the newly appointed colonial chiefs and their agents. Taxation was another reason for mass migration. If the possibility of evading taxes provided an incentive for some Kikuyu to move to the Settled Areas, they would have gained only temporary relief. This was because, apart from being employers, the settlers also acted as tax-collectors. Indeed some squatters hoped to evade their tax money by moving to the Settled Areas. On the other hand, some people had no money for the head-tax so they came where the European would pay the tax for them. Another reason why the number of squatters continued to increase considerably during the First World War was the desire of the Africans to escape enlistment in the Carrier Corps.⁴⁶

The Africans were allowed to grow only enough food to live on and in return offer labour on the European farms. In addition, to these small strips of land some European farmers used to pay their squatters some 6-8 Shs a month with an addition of *posho* (maize flour).⁴⁷ Some too, offered their squatters large plots or smaller, depending on the discretion of European farmer. One informant narrated:

I was born in Limuru, my parents lacked land and therefore, we were brought by settlers to Kiugo (boma) at Kihoto in Naivasha. We worked in the settlers' farm which he grew lucerne for his many cows. We grew our crops on his farm on a small portion we had been given by the *Mzungu*. We grew potatoes, maize and beans. The goods were traded on Saturday and Sunday the market days.⁴⁸

The early settlers capitalised on the depleted state of Kikuyu lands by offering prospective immigrants larger and more productive plots in the Rift Valley than were available in certain parts of Central Province. Kanogo further notes that, the first settlers to

⁴⁶KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1911, 1914, 1915.

⁴⁷ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1916, p. 2.

⁴⁸ Wanja Maria, O.I, 29/4/2014.

recruit labour in Kikuyu country promised their prospective squatters large tracts of land for grazing and cultivation.⁴⁹ An initial quantity of livestock, including cows and goats, was also promised and actually given to some of the pioneer Kikuyu labourers. All these helped toward starting them off on a sound footing towards their ultimate goal of amassing wealth. In return the Kikuyu were required to herd the settlers' livestock. One informant stated:

I was born in Kikuyu land, in Kiambu and my parents came with the railway up to Naivasha at Kihoto which was a *Kiugo*. The parents grew crops and also kept livestock on the settlers' farm. As a small boy i grazed the settlers' livestock in return.⁵⁰

Kanogo narrates that, unlike the Luo, Luyia and Abagusii who were temporary workers, the Kikuyu labour force brought their women and children to the settlers' farms, as well as certain items such as livestock and beehive which could be regarded as indications of the permanent nature of their migration.⁵¹ Squatters had to work for long hours, from seven in the morning to five in the evening. One respondent described:

A squatters' life was very frustrating, uncertain and miserable. For instance, there were no medical facilities available for squatters, no recreation of any kind and no schools were encouraged for the children of the squatters, though certain isolated European farmers did permit some Christian squatters to build churches near their villages on the farm.⁵²

The number of migrants and squatters however, continued to increase. The population is indicated in table 3.3.

⁴⁹ T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Muya Joseph, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁵¹ T. Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1987), p. 15.

⁵² Ngige wa Gichuhi, O.I, 2/5/2014.

Table 3.3: Naivasha Township Population, 1911

1911	Names	Number
Europeans	Mr.& Mrs. Lane and child	3
	Mr.& Mrs. Richardson	2
	Mr.& Mrs. Goby and child	3
	Mr. Story, Mr. Glass, Mr. Bungey, Mr. Aaurup and Mr. Pike	5
	Mr. Adams and Mr. Popplewell	2
	Mr. Creswell	1
Goans		16
Indians		62
Africans including prisoners		525

Source: KNA, Naivasha Sub-District Annual Reports 1911

Table 3.3 indicates that by 1911 the population of Naivasha township was low. The white population was 16 persons, the Asians were 78 and Africans 525 including the prisoners.⁵³ By 1911, the DC Naivasha reported that the labour employed in the district was roughly 80 percent Kikuyu, the rest consisting of Maasai, Lumbwa, Kavirondo and Baganda

Table 3.4: Population of Naivasha Township. 1914-1922

Year	Europeans	Asiatic	Africans
1914	26	80	220
1915	17	61	300
1917	24	75	350
1918	25	83	555
1919	22	92	285
1922	24	103	540

Source: KNA, Naivasha Sub-District Annual Reports 1914, 1915, 1917, 1918, 1919 and 1922

⁵³KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1911.

Table 3.4 summarises the composition of Naivasha township population in the period 1914-1922. It shows that the Africans seem to be the majority in the township. This is because of the high number of Somali residing in the township. The Asians, who included the Goans and Indians, were the second largest number. This is because they were engaged in the trading activities within the township. Finally Europeans were the least number. This is because they resided in the farms outside the town as they engaged more in agriculture than business activities.⁵⁴

Squatters contributed to agriculture in Naivasha District. As noted in the Annual District Report of 1915. That there was progress as the area under cultivation in the District was being extended chiefly by squatters who entered the District in large numbers during the year 1915. Annual Report Naivasha District 1917 noted that, squatters on European farms had apparently been contented during the year and had considerably increased the area under cultivation. There was progress as the area under cultivation in the District was being extended chiefly by squatters who had entered the District in large numbers during the year.⁵⁵

To create a stable and constant supply of labour, it was thought necessary to introduce a publicly supervised contract of agricultural labour. This was embodied in the Resident Native Labourers Ordinance (RNLO) of 1918. It declared that: 'It is desirable to encourage resident African labour on farms and to take measures for the regulation of squatting or living of Africans in places other than those appointed for them by the government of the protectorate'.⁵⁶ The Ordinance did not create the institution of squatterdom, but rather sought to legitimize it and to provide a legal framework for its social control.

The fundamental provision of the Ordinance was the squatter's obligation to provide not less than 180 working days per year on a farm. In return for this, the worker and his family were allowed to live on the farm and cultivate a part for the work done. The Ordinance did not specify the acreage or number of stock allowed per squatter. Despite the Ordinance the number of squatters continued to increase in number as summarised in table 3.5.

⁵⁴ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1915

⁵⁵ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1916, 1917.

⁵⁶ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1918.

Table 3.5: Population of Naivasha Sub-District, 1914-1932

Year	European	African	Asian	Others	Total
1914	167	2,650	133	-	2,950
1915	147	2,689	133	-	2,969
1917	193	3,584	-	-	3,777
1918	194	7,061	147	-	7,402
1926	380	15,500	176	25	16,081
1930	560	22,174	492		23,226
1932	677	19,669	500	16	20,783

Source: KNA, Naivasha Sub-District Annual Reports 1914-1932

As indicated in table 3.5, the migrants included; Europeans, Africans and Asians. The biggest numbers of migrants were the Africans. A detailed African population is highlighted in table 3.6. The population of Naivasha Sub-District increased from about 3,000 in 1914 to 21,000 in 1932. This was caused mainly by the influx of migrants into the District.

Table 3.6: Population Distribution of Africans in Naivasha District, 1914-1932

YR	KIK	SW A	SOM	KAV	AK A	BA G	OT H	MA A	NA N	TOTAL
1914	-		-	-	-	-		-	-	2,650
1915										2,689
1917	3,300	11	20	35	10	23		80	105	3,584
1918										7,061
1919	7,630		50	756	-	-	180	-	-	9,116
1920	9,000	-	200	900	-	-	300	-	-	10,300
1922	10,500	-	50	700	-	-	300	-	-	11,550
1923	16,045	-	50	650	-	-	300	-	-	17,055
1930	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22,174
1932	16,485	56	157	2,000	38	48	586	299	-	19,669

Source: KNA, Naivasha Sub-District Annual Reports 1914-1932

KIK-Kikuyu

AKA-Akamba

OTH-Others

SWA-Swahili

BAG-Baganda

KAV-Kavirondo

SOM-Somali

MAA-Maasai

NAN-Nandi

Table 3.6 shows the African population distribution of Naivasha District. Squatters were composed of many different ethnic groups, but the most numerous were Kikuyu. The greater

portion of the Africans working in the District was the Kikuyu, then a fair number of Kavirondo, Baganda, Somali and other tribes. The large increase of Africans in the District was due to the massive migration from their local homes. On the other hand, the squatters contributed greatly to the colonial economy. This is indicated by the amount of taxes collected in table 3.7.

Table 3.7: Hut Tax Collected from Squatters, 1911-1919

Year	Rupees
1911-1912	48
1912-1913	76
1913-1914	246
1914-1915	534
1915-1916	2,388
1916-1917	6,183
1917-1918	6,770
1918-1919	11,420
1919-1920	16,985

Source: Naivasha District Annual Report, 1911-1919

The table 3.7 indicates the hut tax collected from the squatters. It shows an increase in the tax collected from squatters from the year 1911 to 1920. The increase in tax collected was due to the increase in the number of squatters coming into the District.⁵⁷ The DC Naivasha reported in 1922 that the squatters refused to go back to the reserves. He described:

They (squatters) generally beg not to be returned to their reserve, offering to remain under any condition of pay or labour which may be asked of them.⁵⁸

Illicit squatting did occur in the early part of the year 1932, causing considerable trouble. Squatter families were largely evacuated. Large reductions were made in the forest reserve and the general tendency to reduce numbers on many estates. There could be no doubt that the number resident was largely in excess of any reasonable labourer requirement.⁵⁹ The DC Naivasha in his Annual report of 1932 highlighted that this flow of labour was great asset but needed control. He stated that there was one circumstance which

⁵⁷KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1920.

⁵⁸KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1922.

⁵⁹KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1932.

he thought of with such importance that deserved a special report, and that is the conditions under which squatters were immigrating into and residing in this District.⁶⁰

The provisions and implications 1937 RNLO formed the legal basis for a much more rigorous and vicious form of squatter control by the settlers. With the administration of matters relating to the squatter community being passed from the central government to settler- controlled District Councils, the Ordinance gave Europeans settlers powers to limit the number of acres under squatter cultivation, to eliminate squatter stock and to increase the number of working days from 180 to 240 and then to 270 days per year.⁶¹ It also emphasised that squatters were not tenants and that their right to remain in the White Highlands lasted only so long as they worked for a settler. In Naivasha area, which was predominantly a stock industry region, the settlers did not hesitate to implement immediate and exceedingly harsh regulations to the reduction of squatter livestock.⁶²

The squatters contributed to the growth of Naivasha town. As the number of migrants and squatters continued to increase, the amount of tax collected also increased which was used in development of the town. In addition, as the population increased, demand for service and goods increased. This led to emergence of trade and establishment of amenities such as schools, roads and trade to cater for the growing population.

A special emphasis will be placed on Somali migrants because after their migration they settled within the township, with an aim of stock trading. Unlike other migrants such as Kikuyu whose intention of migration was acquisition of land and provision of labour in the European farms. The Somali contributed to socio-economic and political dynamics of Naivasha town.

3.5 Emergence of Somali Settlements in Naivasha

The history of Somali settlements at Naivasha is the history of non-Kenyan Somali in Kenya.⁶³ The term Alien Somali is to be understood as describing those Somali who were

⁶⁰KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1932 (Special Report).

⁶¹ KNA, PC/RVP/ LAB 27/5, Native Affairs Department, 1937, p. 87.

⁶²KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1938.

⁶³KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Reports of Somali Settlements at Gilgil and Naivasha, 1953.

living in the colony but who belonged to communities not normally resident in Kenya. These are immigrants and descendants of immigrants from British Somaliland, Somalia and Aden. Towards the end of eighteenth century, Alien Somali made their way into the colony as *askaris* attached to the expeditions of the early explorers, as personal servants, gun-bearers and later as enlisted men in the King's African Rifles. In the early days of E.A. they proved to be of great value on account of their bravery, hardihood and superior intelligence.⁶⁴

When their original employment ceased these early Somali immigrants settled in various townships, to which were attached extensive commonages and devoted themselves to stock trading and the raising of cattle. Wherever they settled they took stock with them and rapidly acquired more. They ranched on Crown land or on such land in the nearby African reserve, as they could utilise without difficulty. Their presence in the townships resulted in so great an accumulation of stock, and in such damage to the local grazing, that by 1923 it became necessary to consider a scheme for removing them to some central settlement. Between 1924 and 1931, certain Somali were moved to what is now termed the Isiolo Leasehold Area, but it became apparent that this would be hopelessly inadequate for the large herds of stock which it would be required to carry and the further moves which were projected had to be cancelled.⁶⁵

The Somali population of the Colony steadily increased, but at the same time the opportunities open to the young men became progressively fewer. The Somali were superseded in the posts occupied by their fathers as *askaris*, servants and stock traders, by the Africans of the colony and the ever increasing pressure on land has caused Municipal and township authorities to make strong efforts first to control and then practically to eradicate the grazing of Somali stock on the commonages.⁶⁶ Similarly, the increase of the population in African lands resulted in all available pastureland being required by the respective tribes and the Somali habit of ranching on other peoples land was no longer tolerated.

The Somali population had considerably increased since the establishment of a Livestock Depot under the control of Farrier Sergeant Draper. The supply of sheep for this

⁶⁴ Zaina Hadija, O.I, 14/11/2014.

⁶⁵ KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Reports of Somali Settlements at Gilgil and Naivasha, 1953.

⁶⁶ Hadija Hassan, O.I, 14/11/2014..

Depot was maintained by Somali who were given permits to take heifers into the Maasai Reserve which were exchanged for sheep. Besides the grade sheep were bought from settlers and supplied to the troops. Most of the African Hut and Poll tax in the District was collected from Somali and a few African squatters on farms. Roughly 12,000 to 14,000 were dispatched to the various military camps monthly. Beef oxen were also bought from settlers and supplied to the troops.⁶⁷ One respondent asserted that the Somali were the best businessmen. They traded in cows, goats, oil, *halua* and *samri*. The trade was mostly among the Maasai and Kikuyu.⁶⁸

A committee was set up to investigate the grievances of the Naivasha Somali settlements.⁶⁹ The committee met for the first time in Nairobi on 24 April, 1953 and held subsequent meetings one of which was held at Naivasha where a deputation of Somali leaders gave evidence in support of their claims. Eight witnesses were heard and written memoranda were received from six persons, three of whom also gave oral evidence. The leaders of Naivasha Somali communities represented their grievances as follows: The enforcement of regulations drastically limiting the numbers of cattle that might be kept within the township. The Somali in the settlements had been deprived of all their cattle other than slaughter stock kept by butchers. They claimed that they could be allowed to keep a limited number of cattle to provide them with milk, and also to keep some sheep which they needed for certain Muslim ceremonies. They also claimed they were prevented from following their traditional means of livelihood, stock-trading and in consequence had been impoverished. They could be permitted to buy stock in the Africans areas and particularly in the Northern Province for resale to the Kenya Meat Commission.

The inadequate representation of Somali on local bodies and on the Legislative Council was another problem Somali faced. They would welcome the nomination of an Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council who could promote their interests. General observations and conclusion of the committee regarding the question of grazing rights in the township, the committee held firmly to the view that there would be no relaxation of the existing restrictions and could not recommend any preferential treatment for Somali in the

⁶⁷KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Publication and Records on Somali Settlements at Naivasha, 1954.

⁶⁸ Mariam Mohammed, O.I, 14/11/2014.

⁶⁹KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Reports of Somali Settlements at Gilgil and Naivasha, 1953.

matter.⁷⁰ The committee was satisfied that no real hardship was suffered because of the lack of an independent milk supply. Second observation, although there may be a few of the older Somali whose life had been in the stock industry, who would be willing and able to take part in a settlement scheme provided suitable land were available, the committee felt that for the younger generation the only real prospect of a better future lied in the improvement of their educational standards and their entry into occupations other than stock trading, for example, Stock supervision and management, mechanical or other branches of engineering, general trading, domestic and hotel service. The plans of Educational Department to provide better facilities at Naivasha for primary education could go far toward meeting the need on the lower level, whereas for secondary stage provision, already existed for all who would take advantage of it.

It was considered that until such time as these Somali communities could adapt themselves to changed circumstances they would be unable to play their full part in the life of the colony. While most of the Asians who were by then residents in Kenya, and also many Africans, were by then literate or skilled as artisans, few Somali indeed, failed to make the most of those educational facilities that were available.⁷¹ The proposal that a Land Settlement Scheme for the Somali be established in some suitable area, as it was felt that the government could entirely relieve itself of responsibility for the welfare of those loyal and law abiding Somali who have by pressure of circumstances been deprived of their means of livelihood in the stock industry.

Difficulty arose however, in finding a suitable area for such a scheme. The attention was first turned to the Isiolo Leasehold Area. The evidence submitted by the ex-Provincial Commissioner Northern Province, J. Turnbull and his successor was emphatically to the effect that this land was already heavily overstocked. In reply to the suggestion that by the sinking of boreholes on the western side it might have been possible to increase the carrying capacity of the land and so as to make room for a few additional settlers with their stock. J. Turnbull informed the committee that detailed surveys had already been carried out and such steps as could be taken had already been taken and still the area was overstocked and over-populated.

⁷⁰ Hassan Ibrahim, O.I, 14/11/2014.

⁷¹ KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Reports of Somali Settlements at Gilgil and Naivasha, 1953.

His reply to the suggestion that Samburu and Mukogodo trespassers were in occupation of much of the Western portion was a categorical denial.⁷²

The chairman of the committee having no personal knowledge of the area in question, felt that they must accept evidence of the officers who had been intimately concerned with the administration of the Northern Province and that any further investigation was unlikely to reveal any new facts which would make even a small settlement of Rift Valley Somali in the Isiolo African Leasehold Area practicable negligible. They strongly recommended that further investigation of the stock- carrying capacity of that land and the extent to which unauthorised occupation be carried out.⁷³

It was suggested that all Somali traders who were left stranded in townships, with cattle when trading should be transferred to Mackinnon Road (present Kabati) any successful settlement on that land was impracticable because of the lack of a water supply.⁷⁴ When Mzima Spring project was completed adequate water would be available and settlement schemes would be possible. When water would be available the scheme would be restricted to the elderly Somali from the Rift Valley who had lost their living in the stock industry and who would be willing to conform to regulations controlling the number of stock to be kept in relation to the carrying capacity of the land. It was probable that the number of Somali able and willing to avail themselves on such a scheme would be small, but the committee felt that some effort could be made to offer even the few an opportunity of re-establishing themselves. For the remainder of the community the committee pointed that any individual Somali who could not fulfill the conditions was at liberty to apply on equal terms with other races for land in any area for settlement where no special privileged race existed.

It was unfortunately true that some of the older people in the townships who were beyond the age at which they could be expected to start a new life in new surroundings may suffer financial distress which could not be relieved by the community. Applications for assistance from government funds for the relief to hardship in such cases would be made through the DO. The committee noted there was competition in the African land units and the

⁷² Hassan Ibrahim, O.I, 14/11/2014.

⁷³ KNA, AG/19/128 Somali in Naivasha 1958-1963.

⁷⁴ Mariam Mohammed, O.I, 14/11/2014.

Northern Province for stock trading licenses. This enabled the holders to buy stock in the African areas. Re-sale at auctions was attended by Meat Commission buyers. As such, there was little, if any chance of Gilgil and Naivasha Somali obtaining licenses. There would be no question of their obtaining preferential treatment at the expense of the local inhabitants, when these licenses were allocated.⁷⁵ The committee was, however, informed that there had been no restriction on the Somali who were in possession of stock-trading licenses, purchasing stock at the auction sales which had been organised in the Western part of the Rift Valley Province and that they had been exporting considerable number of cattle to Uganda in recent months. It was the intention to increase the number of stock traders of any race who would be at the disposal of slaughter stock, subject to veterinary control, in such markets as they might be able to secure provided such stock was first offered to the Kenya Meat Commission, the competition to be expected from traders of other races would be such that it too believed that his future lay solely or mainly in livestock marketing.⁷⁶

On the question of representation in Legislative Council, the committee considered that as an immigrant community of very small numbers separated representation was unwarranted. There would be no objection however, to the community looking to an unofficial member of the council (most appropriately an Arab member) for any matters which they desired to raise in the legislature. Their representation on local bodies would depend on their number and standing in the communities concerned and the availability of persons suitable for sitting on these boards. In the opinion of the committee no special privileges would be granted to the Somali community in this matter. The committee after investigation established the fact that there was no discrimination against those Somali wishing to obtain residential or trading plots on long lease.⁷⁷ Plots in Naivasha and Gilgil had been surveyed and Somali could be given permission provided they satisfied the relevant authorities that they were in a position to erect suitable buildings. Almost without exception however, they alleged the Housing Ordinance for money to be loaned to deserving applicants so as to enable them to build their own houses, provided funds were available. The local authority would be the agency for dealing with loans for this purpose.

⁷⁵ KNA, AG/19/128 Somali in Naivasha 1958-1963.

⁷⁶ Hadija Hassan, O.I, 14/11/2014.

⁷⁷ KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Publication and Records on Somali Settlements at Naivasha, 1954.

The Somali contributed to the growth of Naivasha town, by influencing trading activities in the town. They introduced stock trading in Naivasha town and through this trade the highest number of taxes was collected from the Somali. They also settled within the township and their numbers increased over time. Hence, the economic impulse brought by the Somali populace can be directly linked to the development of Naivasha in the nascent years.

3.6 Trade in Naivasha Town

In 1911, Naivasha township was gazetted as being available for occupation. There were nineteen business and six residential sites at the time. It was noted that it would therefore be necessary to light the township.⁷⁸ In the same year 1911, the DC Naivasha reported that there were no manufacturers and there were only 4 Indian shops in Naivasha town. By 1913, the DC Naivasha further highlighted that the only township in the District was Naivasha. He noted that Naivasha had gone ahead to be more than a business centre. Attempts had been made to improve the township by planting of trees, but with little success owing to the scanty rainfall.⁷⁹ In 1920, the area of the township was increased by the addition of that part of the government farm lying to the south of the Karati River.⁸⁰

A peculiar aspect of the squatter system was that whatever important product was grown by the squatters on their small plots of land was to be sold to the European farmer who owned the land at a price fixed by him. Other small products were allowed to be sold on the local markets or to the Indian merchants directly. Maize was one of the major products which the squatters had to sell to their European farmers some bags of squatter maize was bought by maize control in the District. Squatters obtained most of their income from the sale of their produce mainly maize and potatoes. From early on, trade in squatters produce was evident in the White highlands. Unregulated markets sprang up in such centres as Elburgon, Naivasha and Gilgil. Squatters also traded with various pastoral people. One of DC's annual reports of

⁷⁸ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1911-12, p. 3

⁷⁹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1913.

⁸⁰ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1920.

1914 noted the exchange of produce for livestock between squatters and Maasai taking place nearly every day in Naivasha.⁸¹

Africans produced Maize, beans and potatoes. Maize was entirely sold to European land holders, while beans and potatoes were sold to Indian traders. In return spices and goods such as blankets and foodstuff were sold to Africans by Indian shopkeeper. Also a good trade in groceries and liquors was carried on with local farmers and Indian traders.⁸² One informant described that:

Women came with *mbugi* (luggage) of potatoes as far as Kinangop. They sold the potatoes to the Indians and in return bought some goods from the Indians shop.⁸³

Another affirmed:

We commonly grew maize, beans and potatoes. We then exchanged at the market day on Saturday and Wednesday in Naivasha township with Indians and Maasai.⁸⁴

The greatest market for the European goods produced in Naivasha was Britain and by 1912, wool was the only export from Naivasha.⁸⁵ By 1916 exports had increased and included, potatoes, hides, livestock, dairy products and flax.⁸⁶

Indians had been established along the coastline for many generations before the British arrived. Until the railway had penetrated into the interior, Indian coolies were imported by the Government to lay rails and it was their first time to travel inland.⁸⁷ Indians were restricted to acquire land in the highlands and therefore, they resided in the urban areas and especially along the railway line. When the building of the railway was finished, some of the Indian coolies who remained in East Africa became market gardeners in and around town. Some of the Indians earned a living as artisans, carpenters and stone-masons, but the great majority became traders, opening small stores wherever there was an opportunity to trade. The Indian traders played an important part in the protectorates' economy. Content with a

⁸¹KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1914.

⁸²KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1916.

⁸³ Gichuhi Geoffrey, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁸⁴ Wanja Maria, O.I, 29/4/2014.

⁸⁵ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District,1912.

⁸⁶KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1916.

⁸⁷ M. F. Hill, *Permanent Way: the story of the Kenya & Uganda Railway* Vol 1, p. 143.

low standard of living they blazed a trail of trade where prospects of profit were poor and precarious. Their presence in trading centres and embryo townships created many problems and difficulties, mainly arising from their disregard of elementary standards of sanitation and generally low standard of living.⁸⁸ Their interests lay in trade not agriculture. In addition, they were more inclined to export their profits to India than to provide the capital to tame Africa and provide exports of primary products for the railway carry to sea.

There were general complaints of Europeans who owned residential plots. In their view, all Indians would be settled near the railway station and beyond. The Europeans further noted that, if Indians were allowed to follow the present planning of the entire town would be spoilt. Since there was no law to prevent Indians owning plots along the main road to the station and putting up any sort of tin building.⁸⁹ The Asian traders became rich as a result of war time prosperity when prices shot up due to shortages and the post war period so that between 1920- 38 they invested in urban real estate since they were prevented by the White Highland policy in the white highlands. Oral information suggests a trading settlement in Naivasha township was initiated by enterprising Aldina Visram, opening up branches of his firm wherever trade was to be done and that the common shop in Naivasha town was one Indian shop called Bawani stores, which dealt with all kinds of goods.⁹⁰

The Somali engaged mainly in stock trading within the township. The Somali increased considerably since the establishment of a livestock depot. The supply of sheep for this depot was maintained by Somali who were given permits to take heifers into Maasai Reserve, which are exchanged for sheep. In addition, most of the hut and poll tax in the District was collected from Somali.⁹¹ Somali traders also carried out some trade whereby seven plots at Naivasha town were rented on a temporary basis. There were about thirty-four Somali traders on temporary licenses.⁹² Njoro market was on every Sunday, Ol Kalou market on every Wednesday and Naivasha on every 3rd day sprang up and ended up becoming major towns in the post-colonial period.

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 143.

⁸⁹ KNA, BY/21/84, Naivasha Township 1915-1968 'Indian Shops 1915'.

⁹⁰ Higgins Sarah, O.I, 7/5/2014.

⁹¹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1914.

⁹² KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1916.

3.7 Early Colonial Education

Education of most African children was carried out by parents and elders in the course of daily routines. To this was added a varying period of more formal instruction given by elders or special groups at initiation into adulthood. The intent of all such education was to fit the growing child properly into his traditional society. Some children also received specialized instruction as apprentices in local crafts. The basis for modern education were laid by missionaries who introduced reading as a tool for the spreading of Christianity and taught such practical subjects as carpentry and gardening, although initially these were intended mainly to serve mission purposes. One informant commented:

There were also very few individual settlers who had allowed their squatters to operate small elementary schools at which some squatter children could learn to read and write in their vernacular languages, and very elementary arithmetic. The idea was not to encourage too much education for the squatter children as they were meant to replace their fathers on the farms when their fathers were too old to work on them.⁹³

A British government-sponsored study of education in East Africa, known as the Frazer Report of 1909, proposed separate educational systems for Europeans, Asians and Africans.⁹⁴ The Report also recommended that education for Africans be chiefly of an industrial (vocational) nature. A proposal with which the settlers wholeheartedly agreed since it would provide them with usefully trained labour. Influenced strongly, however, by settler beliefs that academic studies would discourage African children from becoming laborers, the view was expressed that only selected individuals would receive such training and then only to eleven years of age, after which any further education would be vocational.

In addition, education in the colonial Naivasha was segregated into Indian, European and African. 1921 saw an Indian School established in Naivasha township. It consisted of some 15 to 20 pupils and was run by private enterprise. In 1921 an African school was started by Captain Gibson, but was soon abandoned. The Missions took the key responsibility of establishing African Schools. Salvation Army for instance had classes whereby they were

⁹³ Wambui Hannah, O.I, 2/5/2014.

⁹⁴ I. Kaplan, *Area Handbook for Kenya* (Washington DC: Foreign Area Studies, The American University, 1975), pp. 147-150.

conducted at night in the African location. Salvation Army had outposts at Naivasha, Gilgil, Nakuru and Njoro, all controlled from Eldoret. Attendances averaged forty throughout the year, sub-standards 1, 2, and 3 were taught the 3Rs; Geography, hygiene and games. One informant highlighted that Salvation Army was the first African school constructed in Naivasha.⁹⁵The provision of suitable staff presented difficulties despite strenuous efforts to secure the right teachers. There were fourteen registered farm schools in the District. Many had to close down owing to lack of teachers and until government and mission schools could turn out more and better teachers, to take charge on farm schools, the position could not be expected to improve.

In addition, the African Inland mission provided excellent intermediate and primary school facilities at Kijabe townships these were adequate facilities in the Government Schools at Naivasha and Gilgil. The Africans were not allowed to further their studies beyond primary school and therefore, the problem of further education for those who failed to qualify for Intermediate Schools was partly solved by the Inland Mission, Kijabe opening an industrial section at the Mission, which in addition offered practical training in trades such as carpentry, mechanics and masonry.

In June 1923 the Indian School was closed down owing to the departure of the Indian teacher. In January 1924, Kenton College, a private school for boys was opened. This was a European school. By 1936 majority of farms had an African school on the farm.⁹⁶By 1938 there were two European Preparatory schools, one Somali school, an Indian school in Naivasha township. Naivasha was an educational centre.

3.8 Transport and Communication

Farmers whose land fringed the lake travelled to the township by boat and foot track in 1911. Since the lake was close to the town.⁹⁷Movement outside town was on rail. John Kenyon Hill the first manager of the government farm described his arrival at Naivasha;

⁹⁵ Muya Joseph, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁹⁶KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1936.

⁹⁷KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1911.

There being only two trains a week between Nairobi and Nakuru. The PC. S.S. Bagge met us at the station with *askari*, and a wagonette drawn by four mules. We drove off along a winding track through trees and eventually reached a corrugated iron bungalow on piles with a barbed wire fence round it to keep out wild animals.⁹⁸

The DC Naivasha in 1911 highlighted that the one or two roads in Naivasha township were constructed during the year, which is one step towards development.⁹⁹ In 1919, the DC Naivasha noted that the township roads and trains had been very considerably improved. Half a mile of hard surfacing had been completed. The drains have been increased where necessary and culverts have been renewed or restored. By 1920 many more settlers were arriving in the District. With luck and fine weather it was now possible to complete the journey to Nairobi in one day through the hot, dusty Kedong Valley and over the rugged escarpment road, through Ngenia.¹⁰⁰ In addition, in December 1929, a government aerodrome was constructed at Naivasha township. It was maintained by the public works department. There were also two private aerodromes owned by East Africa Lands and Development companies.¹⁰¹

Lake Naivasha became Kenya's first international airport when it was used as a landing place for the flying boats of Imperial Airways that connected England with South Africa. When the first route via Naivasha was inaugurated in January 1932 it was supposed to be a mail-only route to Cape Town. Three months later, the lake was opened to passengers. The Imperial aircrafts were known for their comfort and speed cutting down the travel time from Cape Town to Naivasha to merely ten days.¹⁰² According to oral information, it took a week for a flying boat from Britain to reach Naivasha.¹⁰³

Naivasha was a good choice as it had one of the best railway stations located close to the lake. In addition, the lake was of no interest to the fishermen after a series of ecological

⁹⁸ Y. Hewett "Naivasha, Gilgil and the Kinangop," in E. Huxley and A. Curtis (eds), *Pioneers Scrapbook* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1990), p. 61.

⁹⁹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1911, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ R. Aspinal "Naivasha," in J. Anderson, F. Inglis, et al. (eds), *They Made it Their Home* (Nairobi: Printing and Packaging Corporation Limited, 1962), p. 62.

¹⁰¹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1929.

¹⁰² Calvin James, "Naivasha" <http://www.africatravelresource.com> Accessed on May 28th, 2013.

¹⁰³ Higgins Sarah, O.I, 7/5/2014.

blunders in 1926 which saw the introduction of a voracious predator, *Micropterus salmoides* (large-mouthed bass) that diminished the indigenous fish species. Upon landing the hotel, originally called Sparks Hotel became a staging post for the Imperial Airways flying boats service. It had boarding facilities for arriving passengers and became one of the best known in the region.¹⁰⁴

Mail came by train once a week and was collected from the railway station. DC Naivasha reported that the post office still consisted of one room of a line of buildings near the DC's office.¹⁰⁵ In 1932, it was hoped that the new post office for which a site was reserved at one corner of the public square, would be erected. The post office near the DC's office was very small and was not in the business quarter of the township.

3.9 Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated that the period 1911 to 1938 constituted the founding years of Naivasha town. There are many natural forces of economic development that make towns more attractive over time. The colonial government made Naivasha township attractive due to first, development of settler agriculture which led to the coming of squatters into Naivasha. Other developments included construction of roads and a post office within the township. European, Indian and African schools were also constructed during this time. Trade also thrived during this time in Naivasha town. The next chapter will focus on the key developments that took place in Naivasha town from the Second World War up to the independence period.

¹⁰⁴ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Environmental Impact Study of Recent Developments around Lake Naivasha December, 1993*, pp. 37- 44.

¹⁰⁵KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District, 1919.

CHAPTER FOUR

NAIVASHA TOWN FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR UP TO KENYAN POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, 1939-1963

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the development of Naivasha town from the Second World War, up to independence. The year 1939 opened up to the Second World War, a global event with wide ramifications on the global economy. The Second World War at first hit the Kenya with an impact similar to that of the First World War. Development came to a standstill and production was threatened. Settlers left their land and joined the Kenya Regiment. Major developments in the post-war period were schools, agriculture, trade, increased number of squatters and hospitals. The later part of this chapter will focus on political advances within Naivasha such as the Mau Mau movement and its effects on the development of Naivasha town.

In 1953, Naivasha was revived as a separate District. Again on 4 May 1953, Naivasha was elevated to the status of County Council. In 1963 during 'Majimbo' boundary set up, the town lost its status when Naivasha District ceased to exist and was reduced to a mere trading centre.

4.2 Changes in Settler Agriculture

According to the 1940 Annual Report, for Naivasha District, common with most other Districts, Naivasha had been suffering from the upsets and disturbances brought about by the war and by the presence in the large numbers of King's African Rifles.¹ Various sub-committees were formed to investigate in detail the question of increasing productivity and the availability of farm machinery to settler farmers.²

On the other hand, the East Coast Fever had not shown any signs of abating meaning that the diseases were still prevalent. Captain Wheeler acted as District Veterinary Officer

¹ Ngige wa Gichuhi, O.I, 2/5/2014.

²KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report for Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District 1940.

throughout the year (1940). Stock inspectors were stationed at Ravine and Naivasha. The District Veterinary Officer noted that livestock diseases had reduced compared to 1939. Additional military forces in Kenya resulted in considerably increased local consumption. There was an artillery Depot at “Lark Hill” Kedong, a prisoners of war camp at Naivasha and another at Gilgil.³

1941 will go down in history as one of the momentous periods of the war. It saw the entry into the world wide conflict of both Japan and the United States of America.⁴ The year was not an easy one for settlers or officials. For farmers, too, the year was one of worry, uncertainty and aggravation. What to plant, what prices to expect for the crops grown, whence the necessary finance and lastly where to get the labour- these are the questions which puzzled the agriculturalist.⁵ Stock suffered severely due to the prolonged dry conditions and the output of dairy produce fell considerably during the first few months of 1943. Stock feeds, in common with other foodstuffs, had been in short supply and rationing on a butter-fat basis had to be instituted. The extreme shortage of pig-foods forced a drastic reduction in the pig population. A further decrease was to be expected in 1944 since it did not pay farmers to keep pigs when food had to be bought at, for example, sh. 16/50 per bag.⁶

³KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1940, p. 23.

⁴ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1941, p. 1.

⁵ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1941, p. 1.

⁶KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1943.

Table 4.1: Produce of the Nakuru-Naivasha- Ravine District, 1943

Produce	Quantity	Cost (Pounds)
Wheat	314,524 bags	432,470
Maize	150,961 bags	90,576
Rye	35,110 bags	39,500
Barley	26,661 bags	25,770
Oats	28,055 bags	28,050
Potatoes	114,360 bags	85,770
Pyrethrum	10,432,400 lb	652,025
Fodder crops	(estimated)	1,250
Flax	Fibre 60.4 tons Tow 42.4 tons	17,248
Fruit	-	4,074
Vegetables	6,334,500 I b	25,338
Essential oils	10 tons	14,163
Coffee	400 tons	38,400
Wool	360,000 lb	13,350
Pigs	(estimated)	2,500
Slaughter stock	“	506
Breeding stock	“	4,000
Dairy produce	“	126,750
Poultry	“	1,120
Eggs	57,187 dozen	5,457
Sisal	2,083 tons	47,900
Timber	23,740 tons	230,278
Fuel	(estimated)	15,000
Charcoal	(estimated)	200
African produce	(estimated)	10,000
Total		1,911,700

Source: Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1943

Drawbacks in the agriculture sector also included the infestation of grass-hopper in the 1940s that ate all the crops. An anti- hopper campaign therefore, had to be carried out in the area around Lake Naivasha between March and July 1944. M.Lloyd, assistant agricultural

Officer Ol Kalou was placed in charge of the operations which were carried out with a large measure of success. Despite the challenges, the District was well represented at the Royal Agricultural Show and the District was awarded the best in the country for the cattle and sheep rearing.⁷

Other challenges in agriculture and particularly in crop farming, was that Naivasha received unusually heavy rain in the first three months of 1956. This was responsible for the severe destruction of wheat harvest in the higher areas. Much riparian land around the lake was lost because of a rise in the level caused by heavy rain in the Ol Kalou and Kipipiri areas. Most of the maize around the lake shore was lost due to the sudden flooding of riparian land. On Marula Estate only 2,500 of an estimated 5,000 bags were harvested from an area of 1,000 acres reclaimed from the swamp.⁸

The most notable feature of 1958 was the financial recession. Farmers were hard hit by the credit-squeeze, by the fall in prices of their products- particularly pigs, butter-fat, wool and Lucerne- and by a reduction in development-loan fund.⁹ This recession was colony-wide but was given added force in Naivasha by the difficulties of the County Council which, owing to mismanagement by some of its farmers' officers, found itself obliged to cut out virtually all new capital expenditure and to make severe economies in staff. A further factor was the continued post-emergency cut-down of staff and reduction of expenditure by the Central Government. All that inevitably had an adverse effect on local traders.

In conclusion, agriculture influenced the growth of Naivasha town. As the area within which the town is located is a rich agricultural area which needs to dispose off its agricultural products for processing and purchasing farm requirements, capital and consumers good. The place shows bright economic prospects necessitating an exchange of goods and services with other areas. This is true of Naivasha as it was as an agricultural area with white settlers and Africans who were practicing agriculture. Due to the sale of their agricultural products, Naivasha emerged as a prospective trading centre. The next topic will focus on the trading activities during this period.

⁷KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1944.

⁸KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Annual Report Naivasha Sub-District, 1956.

⁹KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Annual Report Naivasha Sub-District, 1958.

4.3 Trade Trends in the colonial Naivasha

In 1940, one DC Hamilton Boss asserted that there was little that could be said about Naivasha town. He noted that there were no extensions of the Bazaar or developments which had been effected. He further observed that he could not see any good reason on why the small, but rather dry and dusty, township could expand.¹⁰ However, there was considerable trade which was carried out by the Africans, Indians and Europeans.

1941 went down in history as one of the most significant years of the Second World War. This in turn influenced the European trade. The banks reported a good year which might have been better had stocks been available in larger quantities. They viewed the prospects for the trading community in 1942 with a certain degree of misgiving, though the farming community, on the other hand, would enjoy a prosperous year. The garages reported a general decline in business owing to the control over the sale of new cars and of tyres. As petrol and tyres became scarcer, so the garage repair business would also tend to fall off. The firms dealing in hardware and tools stated that their business had fallen off and continued to do so as supplies became shorter. The retailers of farm implements, tractors and such reported that 1941 was an excellent year and 1942 would be as good if only supplies could be assured.

In 1942, grocers experienced a good year and reported that business rose in that year. Much of the increase was ascribed to the presence of large numbers of military forces.¹¹ On the other hand, it was noted that business would decline as supplies became scantier. Certain items could no longer be imported and locally produced substitutes were being tried. The falling off in sales of cosmetics and luxury goods were noted. Similarly, many residents opted to purchasing locally instead of going to the trouble of obtaining permits to import their requirements from overseas. Trade was booming owing to firms buying locally instead of importing their own requirements. Most firms had too anticipated difficulties in securing their

¹⁰KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1940.

¹¹ KNA,DC/NKU/1/1/4, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1942.

needs in the future and had laid in large stocks in advance. African markets were established for their produce in various parts of Naivasha District.¹² In addition, these markets continued to be popular institutions, as shown in the table 4.2.

Table 4.2: African Markets, 1940

Market	Description	Attendance	Principle Products Sold
Kulungu	Every Sunday	500	Potatoes, maize, tobacco, vibuyu
R.A.F Aerodrome	Daily	100 (daily) 300 (Sundays)	Potatoes, green maize
Naivasha	Sunday and Every 3 rd day	300	Potatoes, maize, vegetables
Kijabe	Mondays and Thursdays	300	Potatoes, maize, vegetables
Njabini	Every Sunday	400	Potatoes, maize, vegetables
Gilgil	Every Sunday	300	Tobacco, potatoes, green maize
Ol Kalou	Every Wednesday	200	Potatoes, maize, vegetables
Gilgil West	Every Sunday	200	Potatoes, maize, vegetables

Source: Annual Reports Nakuru- Naivasha-Ravine Districts, 1940

Table 4.2 summarised various African markets in Naivasha District. These places continued to be popular as attendance increased day by day.¹³ The main commodities of trade included maize, tobacco and potatoes. In Naivasha town the market was on every third day with an attendance of about 300 people and the principle products sold were potatoes, maize and vegetables.¹⁴ Large numbers of Kikuyu came in from Nyeri to buy sheep which were brought up by Somali from the Maasai Reserve. The price varied from Rupees 5-10 per

¹² Muya Joseph, O.I, 26/4/2014.

¹³ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1940.

¹⁴ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4, Annual Report for Naivasha Sub-District 1940, p. 9.

sheep. Kikuyu traders visited Naivasha frequently for the purpose of buying stock for trading in the Kikuyu Country.¹⁵

According to archival sources, 1944 was a good year as far as trade and business were concerned. The increased local production of cereals and pyrethrum and the satisfactory prices was realised by these crops. Bazaar trade also improved, though there was still a serious shortage of these articles. The general manager of the Kenya Farmers' Association Limited reported that the year 1944 had an improvement in the shipping position and a number of articles were out of stock for a considerable time, became available again. Consequently, there was a marked increase in the turn over as compared with that of 1943.¹⁶ The imports controller had granted licenses for essential articles to cover requirements for 1945 and if the improvement in the shipping position was maintained and goods arrived when they were required, it was hoped that sales would be maintained. Naivasha township became popular with vendors and purchasers of: snuff, gourds, fruit, new and second hand clothing, sugarcane, poultry, vegetables, rope and baskets.¹⁷



Figure 4.1: Old Naivasha Town

Source: Compiled by author from Mayor's office in Naivasha on, 29 April, 2014

¹⁵ Wanja Maria, O.I, 29/4/2014.

¹⁶KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1944.

¹⁷KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1945.

Figure 4.1 indicates old Naivasha town, it shows the concentration of businesses in Naivasha town in 1945. In addition, other form of business which thrived in 1940s was banking. Savings Bank business thrived as reflected in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Naivasha Savings Bank Business, 1938-1944

Year	Deposits Sh.	Withdrawals Sh.
1938	301,925	189,583
1939	386,894	325,413
1940	246,628	251,442
1941	385,854	151,754
1942	649,770	221,514
1943	952,772	285,556
1944	1,599,593	410,694

Source: Annual Reports Nakuru- Naivasha-Ravine Districts, 1938-1944

Table 4.3 summarises the Savings Bank business in Naivasha. The deposits tended to increase over the years, this is because there was lack of trade goods and the people opted to put the money in their savings. Other developments in Naivasha in 1954, were branches of Barclays Bank and the National Bank of India which were opened in Naivasha town.¹⁸

4.4 Education in Naivasha

In June 1940, owing to the war there was need to evacuate schools from Nairobi and Nanyuki areas. St. Christopher's School from Nanyuki was moved to Naivasha.¹⁹ There were 31 borders and one day scholar, under a staff of seven. The children's ages varied from four to twelve. Special attention was paid to character training with a view to turning out useful and constructive citizens. In addition, upon the entry of Italy into the war, the Prince of Wales School was closed and its premises at Kabete were taken over by medical corps of the Kenya African Rifles for medical purposes. Sparks Hotel Naivasha was thereupon requisitioned by Government and extra accommodation improvised in order to accommodate

¹⁸KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1954.

¹⁹KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1940.

the boys and staff. Nairobi Primary School was also moved to Naivasha where it was accommodated in Mrs. Preston house, at the south lake. Thirty- eight boys, between the ages of 11 and 15 were accommodated, with a staff of five. Naivasha therefore, became an important centre for educational development due to the shift of these schools to Naivasha town.

By 1940, there was a large African Inland Mission station, with a hospital, at Kijabe, but this was just outside the boundary of the District. In the same year (1940) the Indian School in Naivasha had an attendance of sixteen boys and twelve girls. The school was run by a local committee under the chairmanship of the DC. Boys paid Shs. 4/- per monsem whilst girls attended free. Government allowed Grant-in-aid, the balance of the funds being collected from the local community. The teacher was somewhat hampered by having to instruct several classes in English and vernacular, but he seemed to manage with some success, he also did what he could to teach the children the rudiments of scouting, guiding and physical drill. In 1943, the Indian School at Naivasha was run by a committee of local Indians, it made commendable progress. The buildings which formerly housed “The Lake Hotel”, standing between the railway line and the lake, were acquired and converted into a boarding school. 76 boys and 17 girls attended the school. The Indian Government School consisted of the Principal, G. Kapur. The school was expanding and by the end of 1944, 260 pupils were in attendance.²⁰

The Salvation Army had an outpost in Naivasha to cater for the African education, this was a mission. At the height of the state of emergency, there was mass closure of schools. Due to the Declaration of the State of Emergency, all Independent Schools in the District had been closed.²¹ Later new African schools were approved in strict conformity with the Approved Development Programme. District Education Board insisted that the availability of a trained teacher must have been the first essential when considering application for new schools. A comparative statistics of the number of schools were in 1954-

²⁰KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1944.

²¹ Wambui Hannah, O.I, 2/5/2014.

20 primary schools, 1955-28 primary schools and 1956-30 primary schools. Requests from farmers for additional schools continued to grow in volume.²²

The government provided no school for Somali and the settlement had neither sufficient funds to build their own school, nor qualified teachers to staff such a school as they were not able to build one.²³ Though a few boys had, with the permission of Indians or Arabs; been allowed to attend Muslim schools in certain places. The majority had to attend Mission schools catering for Africans or else obtain what education they could from the Koran School at Naivasha. If the government would help them they would willingly subscribe towards the cost of building a Muslim school.

On the subject of Somali education a committee which had been formed in 1953 held that the interests of the Somali community would best be served by sending their children to secular schools. This was where facilities were provided for Muslim religious institutions. While sympathizing with Somali request for own Muslim Schools and noting their objection to sending their children to schools supervised by Christian missionaries, the committee was of the opinion that capital grant and recurrent grant-in-aid, on a pound for pound basis, for a special Muslim school at Naivasha, could not be recommended for the following reasons: that Muslim opinion was not agreeable to join classes of boys and girls over ten years of age although this was the usual practice in normal schools. It was unlikely that the Muslim African Welfare Society would be able to guarantee half the annual recurrent expenditure. As is the whole of the Rift Valley Province only 36 Somali boys were at present (1953) attending school, the number of boys likely to attend a Muslim School at Naivasha would not be sufficient to justify the high cost.²⁴

The committee was advised that it was the intention of the government eventually to place all township schools under secular management by school committees on which the local Muslim community would be represented provided they were large enough to warrant such representation and that school programmes in standards 1 and 2 would be modified so as to enable Muslim pupils to complete their religious education at Koranic schools; it was

²²KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1954.

²³KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Reports of Somali Settlements at Gilgil and Naivasha, 1953.

²⁴ KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Reports of Somali Settlements at Gilgil and Naivasha, 1953

understood that Muslim pupils, by the usual age of admission to primary schools. The committee also heard with satisfaction that it was the intention to improve the government African School at Naivasha in 1954 and agreed that once that was done there would be adequate facilities for the primary education of Somali children in the Naivasha schools. It was recommended that the project would be given a high priority.²⁵

There was ample provision for intermediate education at Nakuru and although there was more boarding accommodation and that the majority of parents would be able to arrange for their children attending the school to be carted for by clansmen residing in Nakuru. For secondary education children of the necessary academic standard could attend any African secondary school in the Colony, but no doubt most parents would prefer to send their boys to Shimo-la Tewa where there would always be vacancies. Technical training could be Sigalagala or at the Mombasa Institute of Muslim education. The committee noted that the progress reports on the 3 boys admitted to the later establishment in 1952 showed that two of them had good records and were promising pupils. Provided Somali made full use of the adequate educational facilities available for their children there seemed to be no reason whatsoever why the number of pupils admitted to the institute could not be greatly increased.²⁶

It was noted that properly trained, young Somali would have difficulty in obtaining good positions as stock-managers or herdsmen on European farms. The committee was pleased to learn of the excellent facilities for instruction available at existing African Veterinary Training Schools and to have the assurance of the Director of veterinary services that he was prepared to arrange special advanced courses in this subject for Somali boys of a reasonable educational standards if there was sufficient demand for such instruction. The committee recommended that all possible encouragement be given to this proposal.²⁷

In 1956, the most important development was the establishment of a new Intermediate School for Africans in Naivasha township.²⁸ Money for the buildings was collected by the Africans themselves who were genuinely ready to pay for their own educational

²⁵ Hassan Ibrahim, O.I, 14/11/2014.

²⁶ KNA, PC/NKU/2/27/22, Publication and Records on Somali Settlements at Naivasha, 1954.

²⁷ KNA, AG/19/128 Somali in Naivasha 1958-1963..

²⁸ Muya Joseph, O.I, 26/4/2014.

advancement.²⁹ In 1962, there was an overall increase of 1,032 children attending schools in the District. There was however, a drop in Standard 1 enrollments. In 1962 1,545 children enrolled compared with 1,893 in 1961 and 1,990 in 1960.³⁰ This drop in enrollments was caused by introduction of a Seven Year Plan which resulted in an increase in school fees. The drop was also attributed to the general economic situation. The number of trained teachers in grant aided schools increased to 142. The first Secondary School, Kijabe Secondary in the District was established under the management of African Inland Mission. Naivasha District therefore, became an educational centre in the colonial period.

4.5 Growth of Transport and Communication

Transport and communication are important components in the development process of any area be it rural or urban. The colonial government paid great attention to the construction of roads and bridges in Naivasha. Initially there were no roads as the early settlers asserted that except for the wagon road which followed the old caravan route from Nairobi through Naivasha, there were no roads, only undeveloped tracks.³¹

The flying boats service operated until May 1949. The Sparks Hotel lost its place on the international map. It became simply Lake Hotel before becoming the Lake Naivasha Country Club. With an average estimated depth of 6 metres in the 1930s the runway was easy to mark. By 2013, some of the runway wooden posts may still be visible when lake levels are low. The airport closed down when the advances in aviation technology allowed large planes to land on land.³²

The Naivasha airfield was situated at Karagita, serving Naivasha town and surrounding communities. The airstrip had been under poor state over a period of time despite the fact that it was used by the Air Force during the war. A letter by owners of Bell Inn, to Director of Civil Aviation:

²⁹KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1956.

³⁰KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1956.

³¹ Y. Hewett, "A Naivasha Notebook" in E. Huxley and A. Curtis (eds), *Pioneers' Scrap Book* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1980), pp. 61-67.

³² Higgins Sarah, O.I, 7/5/2014.

I should welcome the re-opening of this airstrip which might provide a useful facility in connection with the Naivasha township.³³

The reopening of the airstrip was necessary since several air charter firms in Nairobi would have a ground to land, at Naivasha. In view of the fact that many passengers arriving by flying boat were desirous of getting a quick connection from Naivasha by air but they were denied permission. The owners of Bell Inn had offered to restore the old landing ground at their own expense. As the landing ground was in a poor state. A letter by H.C.D Hayter to the DC Nakuru states that

At Naivasha landing ground, I narrowly missed a very large “pig hole” with my left wheel. During the rest of my landing run, I threatened my way between about four more holes. These were not readily visible from air. Neither the airstrip was marked as unserviceable nor the remains of a wind sock was flying. I consider that airfields throughout the colony should either be closed or kept in serviceable condition, preferably the later.³⁴

In 1944, the tarmac stretch of the main road between Naivasha-Gilgil-Nakuru was opened to the public throughout its length and has proved an immense boon to the travelling public.³⁵ During the Second World War, camps for Italian prisoners-of-war were established at an artillery depot at “Lark Hill”, Kedong in Naivasha, about 10,000 prisoners were present in Naivasha camp. They were made to construct the Mai–Mahiu–Naivasha road between 1942 and 1944. This road was useful in connecting Naivasha and Nairobi and it eased transportation.³⁶ It is referred as the old Nairobi-Naivasha route.

Naivasha township was the collecting and distributing centre for all mail to and from outside the District.³⁷ The services of the post office were vital for the growth and development of Naivasha township. The colonial government ensured they were improved upon. Establishment of a post office on the DC’s office was one major improvement. Naivasha therefore, served as a communication centre as indicated in the table 4.4.

³³ KNA, AE/5/37 Naivasha Airfield, 1949-1960.

³⁴ KNA, AE/5/37, Naivasha Airfield, 1949-1960.

³⁵ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1944, p. 18.

³⁶ Gitau John, O.I, 26/4/2014.

³⁷ Gichuhi Geoffrey, O.I, 26/4/2014.

Table 4.4: Total Number of Postal and Telegraphs Items Handled at Naivasha, 1939-1944

Year	Total Number of Postal Items Handled	Total Number of Telegrams Handled
1939	286,200	122,862
1940	1,134,500	161,469
1941	1,734,941	191,071
1942	1,801,941	192,000
1943	1,867,749	192,659
1944	1,728,532	194,891

Source: Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944.

Table 4.4 summarises the number of postal items and telegrams handled during the year 1939-1944 in Naivasha. It is evident that the number of postal and telegraphs handled increased over time.

4.6 Development of Public Hospitals in Naivasha

In the health sector, a number of developments took place during this period. Public hospitals, dispensaries and clinics were created as a response to epidemics in Naivasha. In 1940 progress was recorded in the health sector. In that two new wards, for Africans and Asians, were erected, thereby providing additional accommodation for 38 and 6 beds respectively. Four additional units were added to the African staff quarters and a small kitchen was added to the Asiatic block.³⁸

Over 1,200 surgical procedures were carried out at the African Civil Hospital; of these 6 were European, 69 Asian and 1154 Africans. There were 407 general anesthetic administered. During the year the total number of patients treated in Hospital was 6,193 Africans and 37 Asians allowing an increase of over 1,000 over the figure in 1939. The daily average of African in-patients increased from 164 in 1939 to 197 in 1940. 30,000 out-patients

³⁸ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1940, p. 16.

cases were attended to during 1940 as compared with 24,000 in 1939. In 1943, the new maternity Block, erected out of funds provided by the African Trust Fund, was officially opened. It provided accommodation for 15 patients, with Labour ward and separate accommodation for infectious cases.³⁹

The African Dispensary was established in what was formerly the Government Asian quarters at Naivasha. It was opened as an out-patient concern in July 1943 under the superintendence of Dr. Southcomb Bunny, District Surgeon.⁴⁰ The Nursing staff proved to be trustworthy, soundly trained and capable of undertaking further responsibility. The foregoing details demonstrated how great were the need for both the District surgeon and a local Dispensary. Despite the erection of additional Hospital accommodation and the provision of more quarters for the Hospital staff, both had proved woefully inadequate. The number of in-patients continued to increase so that overcrowding was still the same major problem that was before. Government had been asked to approve the construction of 24 additional rooms for the staff early 1945.⁴¹

A new maternity block, erected out of funds provided by the African Trust Fund, was officially opened by Hon. F. J. Couldrey Chairman of the Municipal Board on 18 May 1943. It provided accommodation for any infectious cases. During the years, 3 large wards of 36 beds each and one infectious Diseases Block were erected, in addition to 22 additional staff quarters. The number of in-patients treated rose to the record figure of 9,715 so that despite the increased accommodation provided, the hospital resources that were still being fully taxed. Out-patients numbered 19,548, with 24,828 re-attendances. 125 Asian cases were admitted to the Asiatic ward and there were 10 deaths. 412 Africans died in hospital, respiratory diseases as usual reaping the heaviest toll. The institution continued to be more and more popular. 110 women presented themselves for ante-natal examination and advice, while there were “child welfare” cases to a total of 9,168. The Malaria return showed a total of 957 cases, of which 20 were fatal. There were also recognised dispensaries on certain

³⁹ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District 1943, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Boru Anake, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁴¹ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District 1945.

farms and at missions. Doctor H. N. Turner acted as medical officer in charge of the health office throughout the year of 1953.⁴²

1956 saw the move into the new hospital from dispensary.⁴³ The County Council of Naivasha employed both full time medical officer and a health inspector both of whom did much to improve public health affairs in the District. A small mortuary had been built at the Naivasha District hospital and by 1962 Improvements had been made in the public sector, although infections of the respiratory tract still provided the largest number of cases.⁴⁴

4.7 The Happy Valley and the Making of Naivasha

The history of Naivasha would not be complete without mentioning the Happy Valley. According to James Fox, Naivasha became famous with a set of whites that lived in Kenya's Happy Valley at Wanjohi at the foot of Nyandarua Mountains. They lived in 1930s a period epitomized by the 3 A's- Alcohol, Altitude and Adultery in a world of love triangles, suicide, debauchery and crimes of passion.⁴⁵ Naivasha was a central piece to this historical occurrence due to the fact that many of the main characters lived around Lake Naivasha or at least nearby. However one informant asserted that the Happy Valley, the lifestyle was exaggerated.⁴⁶

Some members were, Lord Erroll and Lord Delamere. Lord Delamere was active in recruiting settlers in East Africa.⁴⁷ He persuaded some of his friends, among the British who landed gently to buy large estates like his own and take up life in Kenya. He is credited with helping to found the so-called Happy Valley set, a clique of well-off British colonialists whose pleasure-seeking habits eventually degenerated into drug-taking and wife-swapping. As for Lord Erroll, the circumstances of whose murder, defined the set, their lives and their deaths. After all of Lord Erroll's philandering, it is hard to ascertain who didn't have a motive to kill him, and so it remains one of history's most shocking mysteries.

⁴² KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/10 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1953

⁴³ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Annual Report Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1956.

⁴⁴ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/21 Naivasha District Annual Report, 1962.

⁴⁵ J. Fox, *White Mischief* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 1982), pp. 24-56.

⁴⁶ Peter Nicklin, O.I, 17/11/2014.

⁴⁷ J. Kamau, *Who was Lord Delamere?* The East African Standard, May 22, 2005, pp. 17-18.

Lady Idina and Lord Erroll spent some time Paris. They met Count Frederic de Janze and his wife Alice. In no time they were all lion shooting and partner swapping in the white highlands. Alice was a particularly loose cannon having shot Raymond de Trafford, her lover, in a train station after discovering he could not marry her. Funnily enough, he did acquiesce after this little event but they divorced soon after. Alice is one of many suspected of shooting Lord Erroll as she did have an affair with him, was said to be passionately in love with him, so much that she shot herself in 1941, the same year Erroll was murdered.⁴⁸

The main suspect in Erroll's death was Henry John Delves Broughton commonly known as 'Jock' who came to Kenya in 1940 with his much younger wife Diana. Diana almost immediately started an affair with Erroll and she planned to leave Delves for Erroll. Jock grudgingly gave his blessing, but when Erroll was found shot in his car in 1941, most fingers pointed to him. He went to trial but was acquitted, then soon after he committed suicide. Diana went on to marry the elusive Gilbert Colville and then Lord Delamere. This love triangle was very amicable. They were all the best of friends and there seemed to be little hard feelings about the arrangement. They were referred to as 'the three bears' and they were buried next to one another in Naivasha near Crater Lake.

The Djin Palace was nicknamed the 'Pink Gin Palace' and its decadent, theatrical appearance made it a perfect platform for the Happy Valley saga to unfold. It was built by Cyril Ramsay Hill based on a family house in Seville. Ramsay Hill was not in fact as enamored with the Happy Valley lifestyle as his young wife Mary, also known as Molly who epitomized it in that she had an affair with Lord Erroll, married him and then later died from excess alcohol and drug abuse. Lord Erroll had previously been married to Lady Idina Sackville, and she had been married before in England. Lord Erroll was number three out of five. They had a public and scandalous affair, which led them to Kenya in the 1920s. Lady Idina was just as bad as her husband Lord Erroll and reveled in outrageous behaviour. She often invited people to join her in her sunken bath tub and threw wild parties full of wife-swapping and hedonism. She often summoned a plane full of substances and her depression led to throwing herself out of a window in 1946.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ J. Fox, *White Mischief* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 1982), pp. 24-56.

⁴⁹ J. Fox, *White Mischief* (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 1982), pp. 24-56.

Times were changing even if world events were a mere backdrop for the scandalous lives of the Happy Valley players. With the death of Lord Erroll, Lady Idina and all other main characters, the group died or dispersed and was moved off centre stage.⁵⁰ The 1950s was a time of turmoil in Naivasha. Happy Valley was over, and the Mau Mau was in full force. White settlers were murdered, and loyalist Kikuyu villages burned.

4.8 Mau Mau Activities in Naivasha

Mau Mau was a movement started in Central Province in 1950s. The uprising against the colonial administration was a natural and logical outcome. People in Central Province were getting impatient with the constitutionalist and gradualist steps taken to redress African grievances against colonialism, and therefore resorted to oath-taking in preparation for a violent onslaught. Only people of proven sincerity, honesty and courage were admitted into the movement.⁵¹ The movement later spread to other parts of the country. As the movement intensified, measures were put into action to curb it. On 20 October, 1952, Sir Evelyn Baring signed the Emergency Proclamation.

During the 1950s, Naivasha district was the most critical and important in the Colony as the state of emergency was concerned. By reason of Naivasha's geographical position and the presence of large European farms Naivasha provided a sanctuary for Mau Mau fighters fleeing from Central Province.⁵² Furthermore, the Mau Mau movement policy assumed the role of fugitive as opposed to aggressive and violent gangsters had been able to thrive on the efficient passive wing organisation established in the Naivasha township and amongst the labour on certain selected farms.⁵³

Mau Mau subversive propaganda and activities effected a complete change in the administrative situation, causing many problems such as insecurity and mass closure of school, businesses and repatriation of Kikuyu back to their homelands. The Mau Mau group had undoubtedly many more roots in the District. The DC Naivasha noted that in 1952 the

⁵⁰Ibid, pp. 56.

⁵¹ D.N. Sifuna, "Nationalism and Decolonisation" in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990), pp. 186-199.

⁵² Ngugi Gichure, O.I, 11/5/2014.

⁵³ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Naivasha District Annual Report 1952.

state of emergency was also affecting the situation adversely and that further deterioration was to be expected. Evacuation of Kikuyu labour on the farms led to many difficulties and problems. Even before the government took action, the Mau Mau fighters had commenced to bring pressure on squatters to abandon the farms. It was likely that in one way or another labour would cost settlers considerably more in the future and some would find it difficult to carry on. The Emergency overshadowed most matters during the year 1953 and had occupied the government and settlers in the development. The year 1953 opened with the murder of Messrs, Fergusson and Bingley, which was followed by the murder of the Ruck family in Kinangop. These murders led to the eviction of all Kikuyu from the Wanjohi and Kipipiri areas and further repatriation of Kikuyu both compulsory and voluntary took place throughout the District.⁵⁴

On 27 March 1952, a large and well-armed gang overran Naivasha police station and divisional headquarter, killing two constables and getting away with a quantity of arms and ammunition.⁵⁵ Onwards there was general and sporadic Mau Mau movement activity throughout the District which had been operating mostly from the Aberdare Mountains. Their targets had been mainly the intimidation of labour, stock thefts, the murder of loyalists and the capture of arms and ammunition. Sixteen Africans were murdered by these gangs and a total of 330 head of cattle and 222 sheep stolen. In addition, there were six incidents of gang attacks on houses and farmsteads. One informant recalled:

During the Mau Mau period everything came to a standstill in Naivasha. The schools were closed, shops were closed and everything else was closed down.⁵⁶

Security forces which in addition, to the police had included units of the Inniskillings and Kenya Regiment had achieved success in their contacts with these gangs. Over 100 Mau Mau fighters had been killed and some 200 wounded or captured, 56 hideouts had been destroyed and 55 firearms, together with over 250 rounds of ammunition, recovered. Furthermore, 73 Mau Mau fighters surrendered to the security forces under the voluntary surrender policy.⁵⁷ Screening teams were introduced into the District. Made up of headmen

⁵⁴ Ngige wa Gichuhi, O.I, 2/5/2014.

⁵⁵ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Naivasha District Annual Report 1952, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Muya Joseph, O.I, 29/4/2014.

⁵⁷ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Naivasha District Annual Report 1952.

and loyalists under European supervision and their main task was to apprehend and remove leaders and officials in the Mau Mau movement. Considerable success was achieved in the first months of screening and many convictions obtained against the organisers of the society. About 75 of the labour screened made full confessions of their membership to the society and seemed genuinely relieved to get it off their chests.⁵⁸ As a result of the screening, much valuable information was obtained on the Mau Mau movement and organisation, and it became apparent that it was much more widespread than had hitherto been realised. One informant asserted that:

It is estimated that over 90 percent of the Kikuyu population in the District had taken the Mau Mau oath at some time or other and that members of the Meru and Embu were also involved.⁵⁹

The state of emergency brought with it many problems affecting labour. Apart from mass expulsion of Kikuyu from certain areas as a result of murders and subversive activities, further repatriation took place as a result of refusal of photography under the Kikuyu (History of Employment) Regulations. This refusal was due to Mau Mau propaganda who threatened death to anyone who had their photographs taken, and informed labour that photography would result in binding the taker to work in the settled areas for life and forfeiture of their lands in the Reserve. Counter propaganda and *barazas* had little effect and photography under the regulations was temporarily abandoned it was resumed again in conjunction with screening teams and was met with little opposition.⁶⁰

During the years 1952-1954, the Emergency had a great impact on the trade. Due to the conviction or removal of a number of Kikuyu traders, and the closing of their shops, together with restriction on movement, African trade suffered a setback, but Asian traders reaped the benefit.⁶¹ After the state of emergency, there were quite a number of newly opened African shops which were doing well. Virtually all the trade in the District had been in the hands of the Asians as in the absence of the Kikuyu very few Africans had been in a position to enter into competition.

⁵⁸Ibid. p. 1.

⁵⁹ Wambui Hannah, O.I, 2/5/2014.

⁶⁰ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Naivasha District Annual Report 1952.

⁶¹ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Naivasha District Annual Report 1952, p. 1

Concentration of squatters into villages also met with opposition from the squatters but was carried out to a greater extent. The system of concentration had to be subsequently changed when it became obvious that gangs were being supplied or were intimidating isolated villages, and further moved these villages in the vicinity of their house or farmstead and in some cases to enclose them by wire and provided farm guards. Squatter *shambas* and sheep also presented a problem in denying food to the fighters and cultivation of that had to be curtailed and, in more dangerous areas, sheep had to be sold.

Kikuyu labourers who were removed or repatriated were replaced partly by labour from other tribes, mainly Kipsigis, Maragoli and Akamba who were found not to be as satisfactorily or hardworking as the Kikuyu.⁶² Farmers themselves took a much more active part in ploughing and harvesting, instead of employing African drivers to do the work.

On 29 December 1955, two police agents stated that 10 men were hiding up North of Lake Naivasha. Prompt and effective action that was taken by police resulted in contact being made with approximately 80 Mau Mau fighters.⁶³ On New Year's Day 1956, Naivasha was the scene of perhaps the most intense operation against Mau Mau that the Emergency had known.⁶⁴ A large operation was mounted immediately by all available forces:- Administration, police and army and by nightfall, a cordon had been placed around an area of approximately 40 square miles of swamp land. The operation continued under appalling climatic conditions until the 23rd January by which 27 Mau Mau fighters including 2 major leaders had been accounted for. Many had escaped, it is true, but operation Bulrush sounded the death knell of organised terrorism in the Rift Valley and the information obtained from "prisoners" led to the speedy elimination of many of those who had escaped. By June, 1956 Mau Mau as an effective and organised body that had ceased to exist and that thereafter the colonial government were employing in "mopping up" operations only. The number of farm guards therefore, reduced during the year. For instance, From 1,400 in 1952 to 200 on 31 December 1956.⁶⁵

⁶² Ngige wa Gichuhi, O.I, 2/5/2014.

⁶³ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Naivasha District Annual Report 1955.

⁶⁴ Muya Joseph, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁶⁵ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/13 Naivasha District Annual Report 1956.

Agricultural production was maintained in spite of Emergency difficulties, the call-up of a number of farmers for whole time duty with the security forces, and the unsettled labour position. The gradual lessening of tension due to the Emergency was responsible for many improvements in the livestock industry. Farmers were able to give more time to supervision of stock management in general and stock thefts decreased a little. The state of emergency was over and the independence was inevitable.

4.9 Naivasha at the Eve of Independence

There were many drastic changes in Naivasha towards independence. Uncertainty, anxiety and a large degree of despondency characterised the European farming community since the fateful Lancaster House Conference. In general the older farmers without children, or with grown-up children, are anxious to stay.⁶⁶ Among the younger farmers with young families the outlook was influenced by the feeling that it was not too late to start elsewhere and clouded by the fear that there was no future for their children in this country. Among the Africans, the position was reverse. The older ones expressed anxiety and fears regarding intimidation and likely reprisals on Government servants, ex-police and Kikuyu loyalists if the Europeans departed in large numbers. Among the younger element, however, the future was rosy, albeit hazy.

The year 1961 undoubtedly went down in Kenya's history as one of the most disastrous years of the century.⁶⁷ Economic decline and political confusion were a bad start. The ranching areas were hit by prolonged drought followed by an invasion of army worm. Many farms were nearly denuded, stock died and heavy losses were incurred. In October the rains broke and were at first welcomed but November must go down as the month of unprecedented rainfall. Bridges were destroyed, roads out up and even the Morendat Main Road bridge, the life-line of Kenya east to west was temporarily closed. All this was to some extent welcomed badly and there were hundreds of acres of Lucerne and potatoes under water and barley and wheat crops flattened and destroyed. Losses also occurred due to lack of grazing. Economically the year was one of the recessions due to lack of confidence and uncertainty amongst most farmers, which in turn recoiled on the African and Asian traders.

⁶⁶ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/21 Naivasha District Annual Report, 1960, p. 2.

⁶⁷ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/21 Naivasha District Annual Report, 1961.

Economic decline in Naivasha District was accompanied by increasing unemployment, since development decreased so unemployment increased, since farmers were unwilling to embark on development.⁶⁸

The most notable of these changes was the implementation by Settlement Board of the million acre re-settlement scheme in 1962.⁶⁹ The Settlement Board started buying land owned by European farmers on the Kinangop and Kipipiri in June and then started demarcating these farms into smallholdings for Kikuyu landless and unemployed. White farmers had been leaving the District as their farms had been bought by the Settlement Board. Some left the country altogether but many had purchased farms elsewhere in Kenya. There had been few instances of farmers abandoning their farms altogether and absconding from the country without paying their debts. The majority of the farmers were prepared to stay on their farms until the Settlement Board bought them out. Most farmers refused to carry on unless conditions were made possible for them politically and economically.

The Settlement Board rule was that only Kikuyu employees with more than four years' service on the farms purchased by the Board would qualify for re-settlement.⁷⁰ There was considerable number of labourers with less than four years of service who would have been evicted. The problem of illegal cultivation in townships and on road reserves became an important local issue. In order to combat the desperate unemployment problem amongst landless Kikuyu, it was decided in November 1962 to start a scheme to accommodate them. One informant asserted that:

In 1960s we formed a co-operative of thirty people and a white settler sold us the land. We bought the land by contributing Shs 1000/- each. The settler then left for Europe.⁷¹

⁶⁸KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/21 Naivasha District Annual Report, 1962.

⁶⁹ Muya Joseph, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁷⁰KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/21 Naivasha District Annual Report, 1962.

⁷¹ Wanja Maria, O.I, 29/4/2014.

4.10 Conclusion

The chapter has summarised the developments that took place from the period 1939 up to 1963. These developments included the settler agriculture, trade, development of transport and communication and public health. On the eve of independence, the Mau Mau movement had a great impact on the developments. Schools were closed down, trade was altered and squatters were repatriated back to their home lands. Settlers were moving out of Naivasha and Africans started taking up their lands through the settlement board. By 1963 it was evident Naivasha was experiencing transformations both economic and political. Africans started occupying township areas. The next chapter analyses the factors that have influenced development of Naivasha town in the post-colonial period.

CHAPTER FIVE

NAIVASHA IN THE POST-COLONIAL PERIOD, 1963-2013

5.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the socio- economic changes that took place from independence. This chapter also attempts to answer the socio-economic questions that have had significance on the recent history of the town's economy. Naivasha town has undergone rapid economic development since 1963 and this has led to rapid population growth, increased industrialisation, new modes of agriculture, changes in trade and tourism. Majority of these changes were caused by the lifting of government policies that had existed during the colonial period. This chapter shows that Naivasha town has seen significant growth and development in the post- colonial period.

The later part of this chapter shows that one of the major changes that have taken place in the post-colonial era are economic activities around Lake Naivasha. Flower farming along Lake Naivasha has defined economic activity in the town. The flower farms are responsible for the great increase in population around Naivasha. The flower farms are the biggest employer in the town. Migrants flock the town in search of work in the flower farms. Other developments brought by the flower farms are; roads, schools and hospitals. Tourism is the second biggest foreign exchange earner with all kinds of hotels, 3 star and 5 star hotels, having sprang up around the lake. Finally, Naivasha is a highly cosmopolitan town with all the major amenities found in big cities. These include banks, general stores, hospitals, schools, supermarkets, health clinics, boutiques, insurance agencies, salons and barber shops.

In 1979, Naivasha was designated as an Urban Council with 30 Km². In 1980, the town became Town Council and in 1993 it was elevated to to a municipality with an area of 941 Km². Worth noting is that Lake Naivasha, a fresh water lake is 240 Km², is within the town boundaries. Naivasha being a municipality serves as a divisional headquarters, market and service centre. In 1997, Naivasha Constituency was established as an electoral constituency in Kenya. It became one of the eleven constituencies in Nakuru District. Naivasha was made a District in 2002. For administrative purposes Naivasha is divided into 3 locations, 16 sub-locations and 12 wards within the District.

5.2 Changing Population Dynamics in Naivasha

After independence the most notable feature was the rapid population increase in the townships. In 1969 the population stood at 5.3 million¹, in 1979 it increased to 21.4 million and in 1989, registered a growth rate trend of 3.8 percent annually.² Whereas in 1969 the urban population was 1.8 million constituting only 10% of the total population, by 1979 it had reached an estimated 2.3 million and by 1990 4.1 million. Thus between 1979 and 1990 the population living in urban areas in Kenya increased from 15.1 to 18.9 percent of the total and this ratio is expected to rise over 20 percent in the next years.³ One of the best ways of understanding the urban dynamics of the region is by looking at the demographic characteristics Naivasha town.

Table 5.1: Population of Naivasha District and Township, 1962-2009

Year	Male	Female	Total no. in Township	Male	Female	Total no. in District
1962	-	-	4,260	-	-	-
1969	-	-	6,920	-	-	-
1979	6,750	4,741	11,491	26,600	23,749	50,349
1989	17,900	16,619	34,519	-	-	105,458
1999	18,963	18,301	37,264	80,322	78,356	158,678
2009			169,160	190,092	186,161	376,243

Source: KNA, *Population Census of 1962, 1969, 1979, 1989, 1999 and 2009.*

Table 5.1 shows that since 1962, the overall rate of population growth in Naivasha has been increasing. This has been marked by an even faster acceleration of urban growth especially during the post- independence decade. This accelerated post-independence growth took place mainly as a result of the rush to urban areas which followed immediately after independence. The rural-urban migration during this period (1962-1969) was motivated by the lessening of colonial restrictions on the movement of Africans to land resident in, urban

¹KNA, Republic of Kenya, Population Census of 1969.

²KNA, Republic of Kenya, *Population Census of 1989.*

³KNA, Republic of Kenya, Population Census of 1979.

areas and the resultant rush for wage employment in urban areas.⁴ Therefore, this increased number of Africans in Naivasha town. For instance, the population of Africans in 1948 in Naivasha stood at 13, 299. The Kenya urban centres in 1948 had a small population. This was because of the restriction of the rural to urban migration on the part of the Africans.⁵

Migration of the urban population also tended to distort the age and sex structure of the urban population.⁶ An increasing number of women have begun to migrate to towns from 1963-2013. As a result, the male- female proportions have become more balanced. Some wives in the post-colonial era accompany their husbands in towns.⁷ This can be attributed to the influx of workers both skilled and unskilled in the flower farms along Lake Naivasha. The flower farms employ more women in the farms. Majority of employees at cut flower farms of these are single- mother employees who account for over 55 percent of the staff.⁸ At Oserian for instance, of the 6,000 workers employed, one third is women. This means the flower farms have employed more women than men. 65 percent of workers in the flower farms are women. One informant noted is because women are able to handle delicate things, and since flowers are delicate it suits them.⁹

Other factors that have led to rapid increase in population are expansion of boundaries to include rural population and availability of land for settlement. Naivasha is considered to have a low population density potential as it has a large catchment area and is expected to have a larger population growth. Other factors such as favourable weather and well-connected transport lead to increase in population.¹⁰

Naivasha still maintains cosmopolitan. Migration of people from all parts of the country is still evident with majority migrants being from former Central, Western, Nyanza and Eastern Provinces. They include Abagusii, Abaluhya, Luo, Akamba, Turkana and Somali among others.¹¹ The dominant life style is a sub-urban one with people mixing and

⁴KNA, Republic of Kenya, Population Census of 1969.

⁵KNA, Republic of Kenya, Population Census of 1948.

⁶ Gichuhi Geoffrey, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁷ Gitau John, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁸ Aidi Beryl, "Wilting in Bloom" <http://www.khrc.or.ke>, accessed on 3/4/ 2014.

⁹ Kariuki Joseph, O.I, 2014.

¹⁰ Mayaka Nyawo, O.I, 27/4/2014.

¹¹ Chege John, O.I, 9/5/2014.

mingling. However, there remains Distinct ethnic identities and cultures markedly. The Maasai pastoralists live largely on the outskirts of the urban settlement. On the other hand, Agikuyu due to their large population and proximity to Kiambu and Nyandarua Counties who also maintain a visible ethnic identity dominating both urban and peri-urban environment including large, medium and small scale farming and other economic activities.¹²

5.3 Changes in Roads and Transport in Naivasha Town

Modes of transport have progressively changed over the years and especially in the post-colonial period. Today the main mode of public transport is the public vehicles (*matatu*) operating within and outside town. Within the township the major mode of transport is the *maruti* plying routes such as Karagita, Karati and Kayole areas. Another major form of transport is the buses. People working in the flower farms are ferried to and fro via buses. The operation of the buses and hooting starts as early as 3 a. m in the morning, operating up to midnight. The researcher observed a large number of people queuing to board the buses. The scenario is similar in the evening as people alight from the buses in big numbers. Motorbikes commonly referred to as *bodaboda* are also used as a mode of transport. One respondent noted their efficiency in time consumption, and they can move anywhere.¹³

Another mode of transport would be air transport but the airstrip is not in use and has been neglected. In 2013, an aircraft leasing company pledged to finance the rehabilitation of the airstrip in Naivasha to boost flower exports and tourist arrivals. The company presented a proposal to Nakuru Governor Kinuthia Mbugua seeking approval to develop Karagita Airstrip and open a new market for high end tourists visiting Lake Naivasha's premier holiday resorts.¹⁴ Mbugua welcomed the proposal, hotel owners also welcomed the idea saying some tourists opted to travel to the Coast due to the availability of air transport there.¹⁵

The opening up and prosperity of Naivasha township in particular heavily depended on the transport system. In the post-colonial period, Naivasha was connected to the

¹² Mayaka Nyawo, O.I, 27/4/2014.

¹³ Muya Joseph, O.I, 26/4/2014.

¹⁴ Nation Correspondent, "Aircraft Leasing Firm Pledges to Restore Airstrip", Daily Nation, August 12, 2013, p. 23.

¹⁵ Kariuki Mark, O.I, 17/11/2014.

hinterland, the rest of the country and beyond by road, air and railway. Such transport network is very significant for purposes of development. Today the main rail line passes through the Eastern part of the town parallel to tarmacked Nakuru-Nairobi road.¹⁶The fine tarmac highway has brought Naivasha easy motoring distances of Nairobi and Nakuru and visitors from these large towns come for a day by the lake, returning home the same evening. Classified roads in Naivasha include bitumen 176.6, gravel 111.1 and earth 101.4 Km respectively. Naivasha has the greatest area of bitumen roads due to the opening of the upper route of the great north road corridor and the old Nairobi-Naivasha via Mai Mahiu. Class D roads in Naivasha include Naivasha- Kongoni categorised as D323 and Naivasha-Karati Escarpment as C67/D 393.¹⁷

5.4 Development of the Education Sector

Education is one of the major colonial legacies left behind by the British. The first post- independence education commission was known as Ominde Commission of 1964. It made recommendations for tailoring, planning and relating education to Kenya's needs and aspirations. Especially with regard to high level manpower training, so as to initiate and realise economic development, rational, equal distribution of national income and the integration for fostering national unity. In essence the commission spelt out Kenya's national educational goals or objectives. In order to realise the national educational objectives the government confirmed the move from segregative and multiple educational agencies towards a unified system.¹⁸One of the major changes such as increase in the enrolment to secondary level by Africans and enrolment in post-secondary level by Africans has taken place.

One of the training institutes established in post-colonial Naivasha was the Naivasha Wildlife and Fisheries Training Institute developed in 1976. The ministry of Environment and Natural resources started developing comprehensive programmes of training its staff in the wildlife and fisheries management department.¹⁹ This was in order to equip them with the

¹⁶ Ministry of Environment, *Naivasha Town Environmental Development Plan 1999*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁸ J. E. Otiende, "Education Since Early Times," in W. R. Ochieng' (ed), *Themes in Kenyan History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1990), pp. 145-155.

¹⁹ Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, *Report on Syllabus and Curriculum Development for the Naivasha Wildlife and Fisheries Training Institutes, 1979*.

necessary skills and technique and by so doing to upgrade the standard of service. For these reasons the ministry started building wildlife and fisheries training institute at Naivasha on a plot of about 294 hectares with the support of a loan from World Bank.²⁰ It consisted of seven classrooms, communal facilities, library and students' hostel with 75 double study bedrooms and 25 single bedrooms study for a capacity of 175 trainees. The hostel was 7 single-storey blocks. There were 20 senior staff houses, 15 intermediate staff houses and 42 junior staff houses.²¹ Along the lake frontage there was a station for fisheries field activities. It included eight concrete-lined fish ponds, fish processing building, a boat yard, workshop and laboratory. This set up indicated that it would be a large institute capable of accommodating officers of all levels within the Ministry and private sectors.²²

More schools have been built to accommodate the increasing demand for education in Naivasha. In 2008, there are 117 primary schools and 1,180 teachers, with Teacher/pupil ratio 1:25 and a total enrolment of 14,374. The number of secondary schools is 35 with a total of 342 teachers and teacher/pupil ratio 1:55 and total enrolment stands at 6,569 as in Naivasha District. The population of primary school going age was 70,252 pupils in 2008 and by 2012 the population had increased to 85,116. The increase of primary going age is a result of introduction of free primary education programme in 2003.²³

Other major post-colonial institutions of higher learning include; Laikipia University Naivasha Campus, Kenya Institute of Management Studies (KIMS), Vantage Teachers Training College, Naivasha Computer and Business Studies College, Kenya Institute of Professional Counseling, NYS College, AIC Naivasha Technical Training Institute, Dairy Training Institute and Gansfort Stiftung College.²⁴ The government plans to set up a medical college at Naivasha Sub-county Hospital by the end of year 2014. The rural-urban migration has been attributed to the availability of infrastructure, employment opportunities, and

²⁰KNA, KW/4/16, Wildlife Training Institute Naivasha, 1975.

²¹Ibid., 1975.

²²Nyambura Peninah, O.I, 13/5/2014.

²³ Republic of Kenya, *Naivasha District Development Plan 2008-2012* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), pp. 11-25.

²⁴ Chege John, O.I, 9/5/2014.

services such as education, water and sanitation. Availability of education facilities in Naivasha has therefore, led to increased rural-urban migration.²⁵

5.5 Industrial Growth in Post-colonial Naivasha

Due to a high agricultural potential of Naivasha District, Naivasha township was to develop a strong industrial base. In the post-colonial era, there was a deliberate government drive to attract industries to Naivasha.²⁶ These industries include Panafoods, Olkaria Power Station and Keroche Breweries. They have led to various developments in the town. They have also led to population increase due to the employment opportunities.

5.5.1 Panafoods Industry

The opening of a dried vegetable factory in Naivasha township by Pan African Vegetable Products Limited provided welcome to local employment. It also became an outlet for vegetables grown by farmers round the lake, and settlers on the Kinangop area.²⁷ Panafoods was formed in April 1964 to dehydrate vegetables at a factory in Naivasha. It became operational in October the same year. The sponsors and main shareholders were Biddle, Sawyer & Co Ltd (BSL) a leading London firm of food importers and distributors who had, at one time, been the main distributor for Kenya pyrethrum. It was unfortunate that not one of the directors or managers had any experience in dehydration. Later the Kenya government and the Development Finance Company of Kenya became involved financially and for working capital the Standard Bank advanced 100 percent against the stocks produced. Naivasha vegetable dehydration factory produced beans, Savoy cabbage, capsicum, carrots and leeks.²⁸

There are various reasons why Panafoods was placed under receivership. One, due to lack of experience and technical know-how, vast quantities of stocks were produced that were unacceptable to overseas markets. To forestall a complete collapse, the management was completely overhauled and changed in late 1966 and a factory manager with experience in

²⁵ Republic of Kenya, *Naivasha District Development Plan 2008-2012* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), pp. 11-25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁷ KNA, XZ/3/53, Naivasha Vegetable Ltd, 1967-1972.

²⁸ KNA, XZ/3/53, Naivasha Vegetable Ltd, 1967-1972.

dehydration recruited. Oral evidence suggests that another reason why Panafoods was placed in receivership was that early and heavy rains starting in late February prevented vegetables from being delivered to the factory.²⁹ Approximately 2 months earlier than anticipated, the factory would normally have been out of operation from late April to late May. Consequently, very little production was decided to send the factory labour force on its annual leave starting 4April which was some months earlier than planned. In spite of the change, the past coupled with devaluation caused the factory to be placed in receivership in March, 1968.³⁰

The Kenya Government purchased the factory on the understanding that a subsidy of some 2,000 pounds per month would be required. On government taking over the assets of the original project, formed the new company Pan-African Foods Limited (1968). On 1August, 1968, the prospects for the project began to improve. This was due to the world market for dehydrated root crops such as carrots and leeks. For the first time indications that subject to price the quality of the Naivasha product was becoming acceptable in what might be termed the upper third quality of and pricewise, of the UK/ Canadian market for dehydrates.³¹

In 1968 and 1969 the factory obtained forward contracts for the bulk of its production and in fact everything produced since government took over had been sold. But the subsidy of 2,000 pounds per month was still required as the factory was too small to reach profitability.³² In 1969 plans were made in view of forward orders to improve and increase the capacity of the factory in order to reduce or stop the subsidy. In the same year Kenya experienced a drought and it was thought at best the factory would be shut for 5 months. However due to flexibility shown by the Field section in the use of irrigated and forest areas, the factory was only shut for 2 months. During the close down the new equipment to improve quality and rationalize the processing system was installed and the new drier ordered for local manufacture.³³

²⁹ Wambui Hannah, O.I, 2/5/2014.

³⁰ KNA, XZ/3/54, Report by Managing Agents on the Operations of Naivasha Factory, 1968.

³¹ Ibid., 1968.

³² KNA, XZ/3/53, Naivasha Vegetable Ltd, 1967-1971.

³³ KNA, XZ/3/53, Naivasha Vegetables Ltd, 1967-1972.

5.5.2 Olkaria Power Station

The geothermal complex and power plants lie to the south of Lake Naivasha, within the Hell's Gate National Park. The area is known for hot springs, hot grounds and fum (aseka) aroles. It is 33 Km² from the Naivasha CBD. The first geothermal exploration of Olkaria started in 1955. Two unsuccessful test wells had earlier been drilled by 1959.³⁴ Little was done until 1967, when 27 shallow wells up to 61 metres (200ft) were drilled, some of which emitted steam. Starting in 1970 the Kenya Electricity Generating Company (KenGen) and the United Nations Development Programme began systematic efforts to survey and then exploit the geothermal potential. Production wells were drilled and commercial generation of electricity started in July 1981. A plant built by Mitsubishi Heavy Industries containing a 15MW turbo-generator. A second 15MW turbine came online in December 1982 and a third in March 1985, bringing total output up to 45MW of which 3.3MW is used to power the station itself. Thirty production wells had been sunk by 1999 of which twenty seven were productive, each yielding from 1.5MW to 8MW. Currently, 15 wells are being used to power the Olkaria Station.³⁵

Following the rising power demands, a third station, Olkaria II was built with a production capacity of 105MW with 5.2MW used to power the station itself. It is powered by 3 Mitsubishi turbines each capable of generating 35MW. The steam is obtained in 22 wells each producing an estimate of 35 tonnes of steam per hour. As of 2005 KenGen owned the Olkaria I (45MW) and Olkaria II (70MW) power plants. A third power station with 48MW capacity, Olkaria III, is privately owned by a subsidiary of Ormat Technologies. An environmental and social impact assessment was approved by the National Environmental Management Authority, including resettlement of some Maasai communities.³⁶

In terms of energy there is the ongoing 280megawatts (MW) geothermal project in Olkaria, expected to be complete soon and is worth \$1.3b (Shs113b). Another project estimated to generate 560MW is expected to kick off in 2015 and it will offer job

³⁴ Omondi Soja, O.I, 13/5/2014.

³⁵ B. Eliasson, P. Riemer, and A. Wokaun, *Greenhouse Gas Control Technologies* (London: Elsevier Publishers, 1999), p. 1007.

³⁶ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Environmental Impact Study of Recent Developments around Lake Naivasha* December, 1993, p. 52.

opportunities. Already KenGen has set aside over 1,000 acres in Olkaria for construction of an industrial park where power will be supplied at a cheaper rate.³⁷ The industrial park will target major factories that use a lot of power as it is cheaper to offer power from the nearby geothermal wells than supplying it all the way.

According to oral evidence, geothermal power has improved security and ample land is some of the reasons why many are heading to Naivasha. The roads leading to Olkaria power plant have also been improved. Olkaria has also provided employment opportunities. This has led to increase in population in the Naivasha township. Unplanned settlements surrounding the plant have emerged such as Kamere.³⁸

Other Industries in Naivasha include, Keroche Industry which was established in 1996. The industry has progressively grown over the years since its inception. It forms one of the major employers to the people. At inception it was employing 5 people, but today it employs about 500 people both casual and permanent.

5.6 Development of Horticulture Farming

Major irrigation development and pumping from the lake has developed over the years. Lucerne and potatoes, were the two main crops of the area, grown on ground water and residual moisture on the riparian land. Main economic activities surrounding the lake are livestock rearing, sorghum, sisal, millet and horticulture. Naivasha has both small and large scale farms. According to the 1995 Agriculture reports, Naivasha had 31 large scale farms covering an area of 365.6 Km², while small holdings totaled to 21,924 covering 970 sq. Km²³⁹ By 2013, horticulture therefore, was the main economic activity in Naivasha.⁴⁰ The lake was initially used for domestic purposes as Sarah asserts:

It had not occurred to anybody that the lake would be used for large scale flower irrigation farming. No one had thought or conceived of

³⁷ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Environmental Impact Study of Recent Developments around Lake Naivasha*, December, 1993, p. 22.

³⁸ Mbatia Joseph, O.I, 14/5/2014.

³⁹ Ministry of Agriculture, *Annual Reports of Agriculture in Naivasha, 1995*.

⁴⁰ Ministry of Environment and Mineral Resources, *Imarisha Naivasha, Sustainable Development Action Plan, 2012*.

such an idea. Today, the flower farms are stretched along the lake, employing a great deal of people.⁴¹

Oral information suggests that if the Horticulture industry collapsed, Naivasha would be a ghost town.⁴²

Table 5.2: Irrigated Crops around Lake Naivasha, 2006

Crop	Irrigated area (ha)
Total flowers	1911
Roses	1028
Roses & carnations	730
Roses, hypercium	21
Other flowers	132
Baby corn	205
Baby corn & beans	143
Baby corn, beans & cabbage	169
Baby corn, beans & onions	906
Beans /tomatoes	21
Cabbage	374
Cabbage & beans	6
Total fodder	665
Grass	286
Grass & lucern	40
Total vegetables	1824
Lucern	163
Lucern, baby corn & beans	176
Macadamia	50
Eucalyptus	17
Total	4,467

Source: Naivasha Lake Naivasha Growers Group Database, 2008

⁴¹ Higgins Sarah, O.I, 7/5/2014.

⁴² Kariuki Joseph, O.I, 17/11/2014.

Table 5.2 is an analysis of the irrigated crops around Lake Naivasha. Flowers form the largest crop irrigated. This is the most vibrant and fastest growing commercial activity carried out by the large multinationals who own flower and horticulture farms nestled along the shores of Lake Naivasha. Flower farms have been increasing in numbers over the years and accounts for over 10 percent of the land around Lake Naivasha.⁴³ Farming around the lake through irrigation has made the town a major producer of horticultural produce, which is very competitive in the world market. Farms round the lake range from big companies with hundreds of hectares under intensive flower production, to small farmers growing vegetables for exporters. The area boasts the biggest production of roses in the world in terms of stem production.

Oserian Flower Farm was founded in 1969, which began as a family owned vegetable growing farm in 1969, with a 5 ha production area and 6 employees. Oserian gradually evolved into the first cut flower production farm in 1982. From the first small dispatch of six boxes, Oserian's output of flowers has been augmented enormously, to a million stems packed in 2,500 cartons daily. Oserian Estate has become an enormous social complex, housing 6,000 employees and their families.⁴⁴ According to oral evidence, Oserian Development Company has the highest number of employees, about 6,000.⁴⁵

By 1991 it was estimated that 7,500 ha of irrigated land was in production round the lake. In 1992 it was estimated that the area of irrigated land was 10,500ha.⁴⁶ The growing of cut flowers and vegetables for export is now big business around the lake, and of national importance from the point of view of the foreign exchange that the industry generates and the employment that it offers to an estimated 30,000 work force. Depending on the season, the number goes up beyond 30,000.⁴⁷

It is estimated that over 2,000 hectares of Kenya's agricultural land is under cut flowers with the major growing regions concentrated around Lake Naivasha, Thika, Limuru,

⁴³ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Environmental Impact Study of Recent Developments around Lake Naivasha*, December, 1993, p. 22.

⁴⁴ C. Hayes, *Oserian Place of Peace* (Nairobi: Rima Publication Ltd, 1997), p. 360.

⁴⁵ Kariuki Joseph, O.I, 17/11/2014.

⁴⁶ I.V. Gruhn, *Say it with Flowers. Kenya's Blooms and Fumes*. Paper Presented at Int Soc for Ecol Econ. Stock-Holm, Sweden. Aug 1992.

⁴⁷ Kariuki Joseph, O.I, 17/11/2014.

Nairobi and Athi River. The Lake Naivasha cluster accounts for about 44 percent of total hectares under cut flowers as indicated in table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Regional Distribution of flower farms in Kenya, 2005

Region	Land size (ha)
Naivasha	872.5
Thika	251.7
Kiambu/Limuru	187.6
Nairobi	221.6
Nanyuki/Nyahururu	173.6
Mt. Kenya	45.5
Eldoret	118.5

Source: Floriculture Magazine, 2005

The table 5.3 summarises the distribution of flower farms in Kenya. The Lake Naivasha region is the epicenter of cut flowers. The emergence and growth of Lake Naivasha as the hub of cut flowers has been attributed to a number of factors. Key amongst them include: Availability of fresh water resources for irrigation. Lake Naivasha is the only fresh water lake in the whole of the Rift Valley region. Flower growing requires a lot of water for irrigation and the presence of Lake Naivasha attracted many farmers to this region. Besides the lake, there are lots of underground water resources (aquifers) which the farmers drill to use for irrigation.⁴⁸

Another reason for the emergence of flowers farms around Naivasha is the availability of large, inhabited tracts of land. The tracts of land have suitable soils for flower production. Historically these large tracts of land were owned through leasehold by white settlers. The settlers and the government leased out the land to the large scale commercial flower growers. Proximity to Jomo Kenyatta Airport (JKIA) is another reason. By Naivasha's location along the Nairobi-Nakuru highway, approximately one hour drive from the city centre. Naivasha has easy access to the airport making transportation easier. According to oral evidence,

⁴⁸ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Naivasha Environmental Impact Study of Recent Developments around Lake*, December, 1993, p. 50.

another reason for the large concentration of flower farms in Naivasha has been attributed largely to the location of Naivasha at the equator therefore, stable temperature both at day time and at night.⁴⁹ Therefore, the climate is dry enough to prevent plant diseases, intense radiation and optimal temperatures.⁵⁰ All these factors have led to the increasing number of flower farms in Naivasha.

The national horticultural industry began the exports in 1968 when 1,476 tonnes were air freighted overseas. By 1989 exports had risen to 50,000 tonnes, worth 2.2 billion.⁵¹ In 1995 cut flowers were 23 percent of Kenya's horticultural export volume and 39 percent of its value. By 1990, 269 million stem or 14,422 tonnes were exported worth \$38 million, an increase of 22 percent over the previous year.⁵² The industry is one of the fastest growing in Kenya, and of vital importance to the economy. Horticulture now ranks third behind tea and coffee in agricultural exports and the industry now employs 1.8 million people in Kenya and accounts for 21 percent of exports. Between 1968 and 1990 the fresh horticultural export industry increased by 19.4 per annum.⁵³ Table 5.4 gives a summary.

⁴⁹ Peter van der Meer, O.I, 15/11/2014.

⁵⁰ KNA, GU15/1, An Environmental Assessment of the Proposed Land by Nini Ltd, 1998.

⁵¹ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Naivasha Environmental Impact Study of Recent Developments around Lake*, December, 1993, p. 50.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵³ The Horticultural Crops Development Authority, *Floriculture in Kenya*, 2013, <http://www.hcda.org>, accessed on 6/6/2014.

Table 5.4: Growth in Value of Floricultural Exports, 1995-2004

Year	Tonnes	Value Kshs. Billion
1995	29,373	3.643
1996	35,212	4.366
1997	35,856	4.9
1998	30,220	5.913
1999	36,992	7.234
2000	38,756	7.27
2001	41,396	10.624
2002	52,106	14.792
2003	60,982	16.495
2004	-	18.719

Source: Horticultural Crops Development Authority (HCDA), 1995-2004

Table 5.4 summarises the growth of Kenya’s cut flower industry. It has witnessed a steady upward growth in terms of volume and value over the years. By 2013, it was reported by Kenya Flower Council (KFC) that, Kenya is the leading exporter to the European Union, contributing 31 percent of all flower sales, followed by Columbia with 17 percent and Israel 16 percent.⁵⁴ The main European Union markets are Holland, Germany, Switzerland, France and the United Kingdom. The flower farms around Lake Naivasha earn Kenya a total of Ksh 28 billion per year about 10.7 percent of the country’s total foreign earnings. In general, according to oral information 95 percent of the market for the roses is Europe.⁵⁵

In addition, these horticulture farms have created agglomeration economies. Agglomeration economies cost advantages that accrue to firms that locate in close geographic proximity to one another. This involve such factors as better developed insurance and banking services, high quality public infrastructure (roads, communication links) and well developed public services (sewerage, electric service). In addition, within individual firms average costs of production may fall over considerable range of output and employment.

⁵⁴Kenya Flower Council, 2013, “Kenya Cut Flowers Industry” <http://www.kenyaflowercouncil.org>, accessed on 12/5/2014.

⁵⁵ Peter van der Meer, O.I, 15/11/2014.

As discussed earlier, the farms are also responsible for the giant increase in population around the lake. In 1969 there were only 7,000 people living in Naivasha. Today, there are over 300,000 people competing for the jobs, the lake and its diminishing resources.⁵⁶ There are fifty five horticulture farms (See Appendix III) that employs about 30,000 people directly and over 100,000 indirectly.⁵⁷ Due to the increased number of people it has consequently led to increase in demand for services such as houses, shops, and hence growth of service sector and also increase in retail businesses. One informant asserted:

Most of the businesses in Naivasha are sustained by the flower farms. For instance, flower farms have accounts in these banks and the workers are paid through these banks. The supermarkets are established to cater for the needs of the people working in the flower farms.⁵⁸

Infrastructure has improved such as roads leading to these flower farms have been tarmacked.⁵⁹ The road leading to the south lake is well tarmacked as most of the flower farms are located on that end. Schools have been built to cater for the needs of the new community working in the flower farms. For instance, at Oserian, the intermediate and nursery schools which teach the states standard education curricula and look after the needs of over 2,000 children is a multi-racial school called Acacia Academy. There is also a secondary school. They have also built a maternity section and a birth control clinic has been established, with qualified doctors in attendance. There is a hospital free for all families who work at the farm.⁶⁰ At Karuturi farm employing 3,000 people, has constructed a school catering for families working in the flower farm.⁶¹ Hence improved infrastructure around the flower farms due to construction of roads, schools and medical facilities. According to oral informants they noted that without the flower farms there would be no town.⁶² Another reaffirmed that the flower industry collapses it will be a disaster.⁶³ This is in line with the underdevelopment and dependence theory, whereby the peripheral countries become totally

⁵⁶ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Environmental Impact Study of Recent Developments around Lake Naivasha*, December, 1993, p. 50.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵⁸ Kariuki Joseph, O.I, 17/11/2014.

⁵⁹ Nyongesa Kelvin, O.I, 10/5/2014.

⁶⁰ C. Hayes, *Oserian Place of Peace* (Nairobi: Rima Publication Ltd, 1997), p. 361.

⁶¹ Katana Suleiman, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁶² Peter van der Meer, O.I, 15/11/2014.

⁶³ Peter Nicklin, O.I, 17/11/2014.

dependent on the metropolis through a system of multinationals, in this case the flower farms owned by multinationals.

In conclusion, the flower industry in Naivasha is the major contributor to the development of Naivasha town. As most informants noted, that if it were not for the industry the town would not be as developed as it is. Besides flower farming, tourism is also a key economic activity in Naivasha. The next topic will look into it.

5.7 Development of Tourism in Naivasha

Since independence tourism has been the fastest growing sector by activity, expanding at a compound rate of 20 percent a year, and one of the most remunerative bringing in more foreign exchange than any single export commodity.⁶⁴ Tourism is the second largest source of foreign exchange revenue following horticulture.⁶⁵ Tourism is an important sector in Naivasha, as it provides easy access to Lake Naivasha, Hell's Gate, Longonot National Parks and the Aberdares National Park. Hotels in Naivasha have also attracted both local and international tourists. Naivasha may be better known for its horticulture farms, but Naivasha is now on the brink of adding another feather to its tourism cap. Tourism is the fastest growing and most valuable industry; this is evident due to the kind of hotels being put up especially along the lake. Naivasha is the 40th destination for tourists in Africa.⁶⁶

To begin with, Lake Naivasha is the main attraction in Naivasha. In 1917 the lake extended to the cliffs and railway line on the other side of the present main road.⁶⁷ Naivasha township used to be quite closer to the lake, it is now some distance away from it. The lake has the Crescent Island and the Goat Island which are privately owned. The Crater Lake and Oloiden Lake to the South are alkaline. Lake Naivasha ecosystem is a renowned tourism destination with many visitors coming to the ecosystem. The lake provides an important ecosystem for both flora and fauna species diversity. Some of the larger animals associated with acacia woodland (Naivasha thorn or yellow Fever Tree (*Acacia xanthophoea*)) and the

⁶⁴ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Lake Naivasha: State of Environment Report*, 2009, p. 52.

⁶⁵ Kariuki Mark, O.I, 12/5/2014.

⁶⁶ I. Wairimu, *Naivasha all set for Golf Tourism*, Daily Nation, July 4, 2013, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Y. Hewett, "A Naivasha Notebook" in E. Huxley and A. Curtis (eds), *Pioneers' Scrap Book* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1980), pp. 61-67.

neighbouring national parks and sanctuaries, include hippopotamus, waterbuck, buffalo, giraffe, eland, zebra, Thomson's and Grants gazelles, various snakes and rodents as well as the occasional leopard.⁶⁸

Lake Naivasha is an Important Bird Area (IBA) according to Birdlife International. It regularly supports more than 20,000 water bird congregation, with a mean of 22,000 (1991-1997). The lake has a wide variety of water bird species, both resident and migratory and currently holds over 350 species.⁶⁹ Key conservatist suggests, the key indicator species include the African Fish eagle and the Red-knobbed coot. Other threatened birds found in the site are the Basra Reed Warbler, the Great Crested Grebe, Maccoa Duck (endangered), African Darter, the Great Egret, Saddle-billed Stork, White backed duck, Baillons Crake and African Skimmer all which are vulnerable.⁷⁰ The riparian, papyrus and littoral macrophytes zone provide safe haven, foraging and breeding ground for many resident and migrant bird species.

Another feature is that Lake Naivasha is a fresh water lake lying in the Rift Valley. Fishing is a major economic activity that supports livelihoods around Lake Naivasha. Trade in fish has been continuing over the years in the ecosystem.⁷¹ All fish species in the lake were introduced, except the common carp which is invasive and they now form an important fishery. Prior to 1925, there was only one species of fish in the lake, *Aplocheilichitys antinorii* (Vinc), the small toothed carp, which was unsuitable for commercial exploitation.⁷² The mouth brooding Cichlid *Tilapia nigra* was introduced in 1925 from Athi River by Captain Dent of the Kenya Game and Fisheries Department. There was further introduction from dams in Ol Donyo Sabuk were made in August 1926 to provide food for the Black Bass which was due to be introduced two years later. The wide mouth Black Bass was introduced in 1927, reportedly on the advice of President Roosevelt who suggested a sport fishing industry on the lake. Further introductions were made in 1951 and 1956. *Tilapia zillii* was

⁶⁸ Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Lake Naivasha: State of Environment Report 2009*, p. 19.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.18.

⁷⁰ Higgins Sarah, O.I, 7/5/2014.

⁷¹ Abdi Rahim, O.I, 12/6/2014.

⁷² Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Environmental Impact Study of Recent Developments around Lake Naivasha December, 1993*, pp. 37- 44.

brought in from Kisumu in 1956 the introduction was thought to be a hybrid Tilapia and it now outnumbers the Black Bass.⁷³

Table 5.5: Records of Fish Catches and Value from Lake Naivasha, 1976

Month	Tilapia	Value	Black Bass	Value	Total
Jan	12800	19200.00	968	2904.00	22104.00
Feb	14349	21523.50	1340	4020.00	25543.50
Mar	21833	32749.50	1783	5349.00	38098.50
Apr	25804	38706.00	1970	5910.00	44616.00
May	26394	39591.00	2633	7899.00	47490.00
June	24188	36282.00	2220	6660.00	42942.00
July	21433	32149.50	1809	5427.00	37576.50
Aug	16119	24178.50	1218	3654.00	27832.00
Sep	18902	28853.00	1442	4326.00	33179.00
Oct	18078	27117.00	1709	5127.00	32244.00
Nov	14083	21124.50	2022	6066.00	27100.00
Dec	17091	25636.00	2164	6492.00	32128.00
		347,110.50			410,944.00

Source: Annual Report Naivasha Division, 1976

Table 5.5 show records of fish landed during the year 1976 which shows that there was still plenty of fish in Lake Naivasha. Due to high demand, the prices have risen significantly. Measures have been taken over the years to protect the fish. A fish protection Ordinance was introduced in 1930, this was to protect the fish and give time for breeding of the Black Bass. Fish was not allowed to be served in the hotels and permission was only given by the governor.⁷⁴ The fishery of Lake Naivasha is unstable and unpredictable due to associations between fish production and water levels.

⁷³ H. Y. Elder, D. T. Garrod and P. J. P. Whitehead, *Natural Hybrids of the African Cichlid Fishes Tilapia spilurus nigrus and Leucosticta, A Case of Hybrid Introgression*. pp. 103-146.

⁷⁴KNA, KP/49/9 Lake Fishing Industry; Lake Naivasha, 1930.

In addition the poaching leads to inadequate knowledge on catches and population dynamics. Oral evidence suggests that y far the biggest problem of the fishery at Naivasha is the activity of the large number of unlicensed fishermen that operate on the lake. 250 illegal nets were found in use in May 1969. There are almost certainly as many if not more now.⁷⁵ The problem started in the mid 1940s and has never been solved. The fisheries officers reported that in 1978 poaching continued to pose a problem with the majority of poachers coming from D.C.K. Estates. Regular patrols were carried around the lake and 56 arrests were made.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Abdi Rahim, O.I, 12/6/2014.

⁷⁶ KNA, DC/NVA/1/1/22 Annual Report Naivasha Division 1978, p. 10.

Table 5.6: Fish Production and Value-Lake Naivasha, 2002

Month	<i>O.leucostictus</i>		<i>T. zillii</i>		<i>M.salmoides</i>		<i>C.carpio</i>		Total Prdn	
	Kg	Ksh	Kg	Ksh	Kg	Ksh	Kg	Ksh	Kg	Ksh.
Jan	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0
Feb	1,825	125,263	88	3,979	2,237	128,829	-	0	4,150	258,071
Mar	2,832	227,615	705	36,070	2,837	188,452	48	740	6,422	452,877
Apr	3,862	254,288	1,705	76,916	1,910	124,469	174	7,564	7,651	463,237
May	5,248	262,560	2,612	68,855	2,226	153,880	107	4,470	10,193	489,765
Jun	5,089	332,582	3,105	154,945	1,870	121,589	54	2,780	10,117	611,896
Jul	8,218	530,114	3,882	197,086	3,310	201,677	97	5,060	15,506	933,937
Aug	5,388	345,788	1,951	101,832	2,477	156,474	100	5,230	9,917	604,094
Sep	4,264	267,309	1,670	78,938	2,406	152,468	169	7,530	8,509	506,245
Oct	3,968	193,620	2,000	129,376	2,016	117,167	69	3,200	8,053	443,363
Nov	1,988	141,846	1,734	101,085	2,167	134,289	64	2,930	5,951	380,150
Dec	1,734	156,371	1,265	74,678	1,682	118,828	29	1,335	4,710	351,212
TT	44,414	2,837,356	20,717	1,023,760	25,138	1,598,122	910	40,839	91,178	5,494,847

Source: Annual Fisheries Report for Nakuru District, 2002

According to table 5.6 fish catches improved over the years. The fishery is dominated by single species, *O.leucostictus*. Available data show that since 2006, the *O.leucostictus* species accounts for over 95% of the total fish catches of Lake Naivasha, while the rest of the

species have disappeared.⁷⁷ Further introductions of fish species into the lake basin have therefore, been recommended and attempts made to re-introduce *Oreochromis niloticus*.

Table 5.7: Naivasha Monitoring Control and Surveillance, 2013

	No. of Patrols	Arrests	Illegal Nets	Boats	Engines	Bicycles	Fish Captured (Kg)
Jan	12	6	57	6	1	1	70
Feb	3	5	6	5			3
Mar	11	6	227	6			118
Apr	11	5	745	5			238
May	9	5	41	5			113.5
Jun	4	6	12	4	1		80
Jul	19	7	201	1			400
Aug	11	6	61				150
Sep	12	5	76				100
Oct	7	11	45	1	1		80
Nov	6		25				100
Dec	8	1	34	1	1		45

Source: Fisheries Department Annual Report, 2013

Table 5.7 summarises the arrests made in Lake Naivasha in 2013. Poaching continued and several arrests made as indicated in table 5.7. According to the fisheries department, these fishermen use nets with small mesh size. Inshore fishing disturbs the breeding grounds of the fish.⁷⁸ The Lake Naivasha fishery has experienced considerable fluctuations over the past two decades due to fishing pressure, lake level fluctuations and loss of macrophytes. The lake's fish production, which performed at over 500 metric tons per year drastically declined in the late 1990s and nearly collapsed by end of 2000 when paltry 66 tons of fish were landed.⁷⁹ A

⁷⁷ Ministry of Environment, Water and Natural Resources, *Lake Naivasha Basin Integrated Management Plan 2012-2022*

⁷⁸ Abdi Rahim, O.I, DC12/6/2014

⁷⁹ Ministry of Environment, Water and Natural Resources, *Lake Naivasha Basin Integrated Management Plan 2012-2022*.

fish ban and reduction in number of fishing boats was instituted in 2001 as control measures aimed at improving the fish stocks in the lake. In 2002, the total fish production was 91.2 metric tons at 5.5 million.⁸⁰

The fishing industry is controlled by the Fisheries Department. The Fisheries Department has now recently been incorporated into the Kenya Wildlife Service. The fisheries office at Naivasha looks after all fresh water fish. The Department controls the number of fishermen through the issue of fishing licenses. Currently there are 120 licensed fishermen and each of these is allowed ten nets of 100 metres length. When the Department thinks that the fish population is over-exploited then nets per fisherman are reduced rather than licenses refused. In extreme cases, fishing is banned completely. For instance, in August 1987 fishing was totally suspended for a period in order to allow for the recovery of fish stocks. All fishermen must be members of the Fishery Cooperative which provides marketing services. All fish should be landed at the Naivasha landing ground. The office is hampered by lack of transport, both road and water and also operational funds.⁸¹

Furthermore, oral evidence suggests the Lake Naivasha basin has high potential for fish farming and aquaculture activities. The economic importance of fishing in Lake Naivasha is that it is a source of income for the fishermen, boat riders and businessmen/women who undertake in fish trade.⁸²

Another important tourist site is Hell's Gate. For many years farmers in the Naivasha area have harnessed the steam to various types of condensers to collect water for domestic supplies and stock watering. The steam jets have been utilised as a source of power by the Olkaria Company. There is a current belief that the Gorge was the original setting for Rider Haggard's well-known novel *Allan Quatermain* and although the famous author never visited Kenya, he may well have had his imagination fixed by the early stories of this eerie place, with its rose-red cliffs and hissing steam jets.⁸³

⁸⁰ James Otieno, O.I, 12/6/2014.

⁸¹ James Otieno, O.I, 12/6/2014.

⁸² Abdi Rahim, O.I, 12/6/2014.

⁸³ Y. Hewett, "A Naivasha Notebook" in E. Huxley and A. Curtis (eds), *Pioneers' Scrap Book* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1980), pp. 61-67.

In February 1971, L.E. Brown and P. Glover at the request of Kenya National Parks, submitted proposals for the establishment of a chain of National Parks or reserves along the length of the Kenya Rift Valley. Included in therein was the Njorowa Gorge. There followed a survey of the area and from this it was suggested that the area delineated on the enclosed map be negotiated with the parties concerned. The area concerned was held by government and privately owned by D.C.K and Kedong Ranchers Ltd. The government transferred its holdings to the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife for use as a Reserve. There are at least six managed boat moorings sites where boats can be hired for fishing, bird watching and general pleasure.⁸⁴ Between June 1992 and June 1993 a total of 38,500 visitors entered the two parks in the Naivasha system.

The hotel industry is another key attraction. The first restaurant in Naivasha was Bell Inn built in 1924, built opposite the Railway Station on Moi Avenue. The first owners were Europeans, then Indians and Africans. In 1984, it was bought by a French lady Janine Singer who renamed it 'La Belle'.⁸⁵ By 2013 the hotel was owned by a Kenyan Mark Kariuki. Another historic hotel is the Lake Naivasha Country Club, located on the opposite shore of Lake Naivasha. According to oral information it was built using the old colonial architecture and opened in 1937 as an intermediate staging post for Imperial Airways' Flying Boat (seaplane) service travelling from Durban to London. It was previously known as the 'Lake Hotel' in 1930s.⁸⁶

Naivasha has become a popular destination for corporate conferencing and team building. This is not only due to its proximity to Nairobi- slightly over an hour away- but also due to the many number of hotels and lodges found in the area.⁸⁷ Naivasha has a wide range of hotels. This ranges from 5 star hotels to budget hotels, self catering cottages, camp sites, guest houses and private ranches (See Appendix IV).⁸⁸ There are over 50 lodges and hotels around the lake, and over 100 guest houses within the CBD. The availability of many hotels and lodges of different classes provides a wide range of choice for clients with different

⁸⁴ Ministry of Environment, *Naivasha Town Environmental Development Plan*, 2nd September 1999, p. 23.

⁸⁵ Kariuki Mark, O.I, 12/5/2014.

⁸⁶ Ngige wa Gichuhi, O.I, 2/5/2014.

⁸⁷ George Alvin, O.I, 17/11/2014.

⁸⁸ KNA, GU14/2 Naivasha Town Council, 2005.

budgets ensuring that everyone is catered for. The town boasts as the second to Coast and true to its billing it is home to some of the best hotels in the country.⁸⁹ Some of the major hotels in the town include, Enashipai Hotel, Salewa Lodge, Lake Naivasha Country Club, Masada, Cray fish, Sopa Lodge and Great Rift Valley Lodge.

Hotels, bars and night clubs are also a common feature within the CBD. This is the most booming business especially at night.⁹⁰ In addition, Naivasha town is the gate way to the western region of the country and is a stopover for long distance truck drivers. This has contributed to the development of trade especially the hotel industry along Moi Avenue.

The Lake Naivasha ecosystem is a renowned tourism destination with many visitors coming to the ecosystem. The area is particularly popular with week-enders from Nairobi being no more than one and a half hour drive from the capital tarmac. Oral interview with one of the managers at Enashipai Resort located on the north shore, asserted that most of their visitors come from Nairobi especially on weekend.⁹¹ The peak months for visitors are, the August holiday, Christmas and New Year. During these vacation periods the hotels in Naivasha are filled to capacity. Tourism numbers exceeds 100,000 every month.⁹² Crayfish hotel CEO Peter Mehta noted the number of tourists visiting the town had tripled in the last two years. He attributes this to improved security, new hotels and tourists destinations in the town and its suburbs. Over Christmas holiday 2012, Naivasha had over 150,000 visitors and the numbers are increasing by the year as Naivasha competes with Mombasa.⁹³

Tourism industry is the second major employer in the town after horticulture. For instance, an interview at Enashipai Resort, noted it had employed 300 people. If employees of the other hotels and smaller hotels are included, about 5,000 people are directly hired by hotels. Tourism is also directly responsible for giving jobs to people in many other businesses as well, such as curio shops.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ George Alvin, O.I, 17/11/2014.

⁹⁰ Muya Joseph, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁹¹ V. Kamau, Karagita, O.I, 10/5/2014.

⁹² Lake Naivasha Riparian Owners Association, *Lake Naivasha State of Environment Report*, 2009, p. 23.

⁹³ Mehta Peter, O.I, 14/5/2014.

⁹⁴ Kariuki Mark, O.I, 12/5/2014.

5.8 Trading Activities in Naivasha Town

The main purpose for examining the retail and service businesses of Naivasha are to study the extent to which outsiders and local people contribute to the development of Naivasha town. The number of retail traders has been increasing due to the growth of satellite towns and new settlements from outside the District. There has been a high rate of land subdivision in marginal lands due to an influx of people from outside the District.

The greatest number of retail establishments in the town sells general merchandise. The shops open early in the morning and remain open until late in the evenings. Most of these shops are along Kariuki Chotara Street and Moi Avenue. There are two major supermarkets, Naivas and Jamaa supermarkets. There are also other mini supermarkets in the town. Wholesale businesses are not as common as retail, but they are present and the most common one is Kanini wholesalers. Mpesa agents are the second most numerous type of businesses and are spread all over the town.

The most significant fact which can be derived from the analysis of businesses in Naivasha town is the tremendous concentration of wealth in the hands of the Kikuyu businessmen/women. They own majority of these businesses. The paramount reason why the Kikuyu control so much of the retail and service enterprises of Naivasha is that they were the first migrants in Naivasha and have amassed much wealth over the years. Secondly, the close proximity of Central Province to Naivasha makes them major inhabitants.⁹⁵ There is only one Indian shop called Bawani Stores which was the only shop available in the colonial and early post-colonial era. Today Bawani is not as popular as it was earlier in the colonial period though it stands within the CBD. The Somali also own some businesses and the most common one being Miraa business.⁹⁶

Naivasha is a highly cosmopolitan town with all major amenities found in big cities. Major Banks have branches along the Moi Avenue in Naivasha: Equity Bank, Kenya Commercial Bank, Barclays Bank, CFC Stanbic and Cooperative Bank of Kenya. Other facilities include; salons and barber shops, supermarkets, health clinics, boutiques, insurance

⁹⁵ Gitau John, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁹⁶ Boru Anake, O.I, 26/4/2014.

agencies and general stores.⁹⁷ In addition, investors are lining up more than Sh100 billion worth of projects.⁹⁸

According to oral information, Naivasha has all the features any investor would be asking for. Barely an hour's drive from Nairobi makes it accessible and ideal spot for those keen on setting up a shop away from the city's hustle and bustle.⁹⁹ Thomas Cholmondley, popularly known as "Kromodori"¹⁰⁰ by local residents is a great grandson of the 3rd Baron Delamere, is building a Shs 2.6 billion called Buffalo mall in Naivasha town as he seeks to cash in on Kenya's growing mall culture. The focus is on secondary and tertiary cities. Naivasha is chosen as a location so as to target shoppers who travel to the town on weekends or those travelling to further towns in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya. The mall is expected to have a gross area of 22,000 square metres.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Mayaka Nyawo, O.I, 27/4/2014.

⁹⁸ J. Gachiri, *Delamere's Group to Build Naivasha's Town Biggest Mall*, Daily Nation, December 9, 2013 p. 14.

⁹⁹ Chege John. O.I, 9/5/2014.

¹⁰⁰ Kamau Abraham, O.I, 16/11/2014.

¹⁰¹ J. Gachiri, *Delamere's Group to Build Naivasha's Town Biggest Mall*, Daily Nation, December 9, 2013 p. 14.



Figure 5.1: Naivasha Buffalo Mall

Source: Daily Nation, 6 December, 2013

Figure 5.1 shows Naivasha Buffalo Mall which is to be constructed on an 18- hectare parcel of land on the North West edge of Naivasha town, adjacent to the Nairobi-Nakuru highway.¹⁰² There are no major shopping malls between Nakuru and Nairobi, a gap that Buffalo Mall plans to exploit. Upon completion, it will be one of the largest malls in Kenya.¹⁰³ This shows that the future of the town in terms of development is bright.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁰³ J. Gachiri, *Delamere's Group to Build Naivasha's Town Biggest Mall*, Daily Nation, December 9, 2013 p. 15.

5.9 Conclusion

Naivasha town has witnessed varied socio-economic changes after independence. The most notable feature has been the rapid population increase in the town. Many people migrated into the town in search of employment. This can be attributed to the influx of workers both skilled and unskilled in the flower farms along Lake Naivasha. There are also other factors that have led to rapid increase in population, such as expansion of boundaries to include rural population and availability of land for settlement. Naivasha is considered to have a low population density potential as it has a large catchment area and is expected to have a larger population growth. In addition, modes of transport have progressively changed over the years and especially in the post-colonial period. By 2013, the main mode of public transport was the *matatu* operating within and outside town. The fine tarmac highway has made Naivasha accessible with easy motoring distances of Nairobi and Nakuru and visitors from these large towns come for a day by the lake, returning home the same evening.

Due to a high agricultural potential of Naivasha District, Naivasha township developed a strong industrial base. These industries include Panafoods, Olkaria Power Station and Keroche Breweries. They have led to various developments in the town such as infrastructure. They have also led to population increase due to the employment opportunities. The most vibrant and fastest growing commercial activity is carried out by the large multinational owned flower and horticulture farms nestled along the shores of Lake Naivasha. Farming around the lake through irrigation has made the town a major producer of horticultural produce, which is very competitive in the world market. The flower farms therefore, in Naivasha are the biggest employer. Tourism is the second largest source of foreign exchange revenue following horticulture. Tourism is an important sector in Naivasha, as it provides easy access to Lake Naivasha, Hell's Gate, Longonot National Park and the Aberdares National Park. Hotels in Naivasha have also attracted both local and international tourists. Finally, Naivasha is a highly cosmopolitan town with all major amenities found in big cities. They include banks, general stores, hospitals, schools, supermarkets, health clinics, boutiques, insurance agencies, salons and barber shops. The next chapter is an analysis of the urban challenge in Naivasha town, since with modernisation comes the problems of modernisation.

CHAPTER SIX

NAIVASHA TOWN AND ITS URBAN CHALLENGE, 1963-2013

6.1 Introduction

Naivasha town situated on the north shore of the lake is a fast growing agricultural and tourist centre. The rapid growth of Naivasha has created a lot of problems in planning, finance and management. Challenges of rapid urbanisation are also due to a serious wave of rural to urban migration. A large part of the increase reflects the continuing migration of people to urban locations. Such rapid urban change has given rise to spontaneous slum developments, rapid increase in the numbers of street children, unemployment and underemployment in virtually all the major urban centres in the country. In terms of urban development, rapid urban growth in Kenya is also causing serious strain on existing urban infrastructure services such as hospitals, schools, road network, housing and other amenities. Such problems are bound to frustrate development efforts in urban environment. In Naivasha, this phenomenon is not new to the residents. One of the critical issues for towns and cities in the developing world is the influx of people from rural areas to towns. Access to employment is the primary reason for many migrant households relocating into towns. Most urban areas have had astronomical growth rates that they lack the capacity to provide adequate water, sewerage, housing and health facilities.

The first problem relates to poor land planning which has resulted in severe impacts on living conditions of the urban poor. The second problem is shelter and the problems associated with the provision of infrastructural facilities and services like water, electricity and solid waste disposal. Finally, there is the serious manifestation in increasing polluted air and urban lake as domestic sewage and industrial effluent are released to these water courses raw. All These pattern of Africa's post-independence urban history is characterised by a population explosion. Several rural areas have been transformed into great urban centres. It is also misleading to suggest that post-colonial urban centres have not offered any positive advances. Urban centres facilitate the entrenchment of new areas of socialisation such as churches, mosques, clubs and sporting centres. All of these places of human interaction help people to build alliances such as business partnerships and networks, inter- and intraethnic

and racial collaborations. Although the post-election violence witnessed in the town after the December, 2007 general election was a major urban challenge of these interaction.

6.2 The Water Problem in Naivasha

Records indicate that the provision of a piped water supply for Naivasha was first considered as early as 1913 and that some financial provision was made in the estimates at that time.¹ Due to the First World War however, the proposal had to be shelved and nothing was done until 1928 when two public wells were sunk. The DC of Naivasha in his Annual Report of 1911, noted that water could be obtained only from the lake, wells and rain water. He further noted that water shortage was the main problem in the District.² Water from these wells which was limited in quantity and very often contaminated was distributed by Ox-wagon. Between 1928 and 1943 the population of Naivasha depended to a very large extent on these wells but gradually became more and more contaminated and in 1942 three people died from Enteric fever.³

Anyumba notes that in Kisumu the urban dwellers do not have access to flush toilets and safe water. He further notes that 63% of the population are slum dwellers and had no access to either private or communal taps so they had to buy water from vendors or rely on less secure water supplies such as wells, boreholes, dams, streams, rivers and the lake.⁴ This is true about Naivasha town. Similarly, by 1943 no water piping was available in Kenya to permit the laying of a distribution system due to the shortage caused by the WWII. A borehole was put down near the main road at the east end of Naivasha township, which yielded a plentiful supply of pure water. This was piped to a storage tank standing high above the township, whence it would be piped to government dwellings and offices and bazaar areas.⁵ It is of interest to note that in 1945 the average consumption of the township was

¹ KNA, RP/21/26 Water Supplies/ Notes on Naivasha Water Supply 1963.

² KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2 Annual Report for the Naivasha Sub-District 1911, p. 8.

³ KNA, RP/21/26 Water Supplies/ Notes on Naivasha Water Supply 1963.

⁴ G. Anyumba, *Kisumu Town: History of the Built Form, Planning and Environment 1890-1990*, (M.A Moi University, 1995).

⁵ KNA DC/NKU/1/4 Annual Report Nakuru District, 1943.

6,700 gallons per day. By 1960 the consumption of Naivasha was approximately 60,000 gallons per day.⁶

It was not known that the borehole water had a very much higher fluoride content than is considerable desirable. This content was approximately 8.0 parts per million as against desirable maximum of 1.5 parts per million. With increased juvenile population in Naivasha considerable concern was felt over the fluorine content and various proposals for an alternative source of supply were examined. Finally, it was decided after considering the economic factor, the quality of the water and the availability of surplus water for future expansion to supply Naivasha by means of a connection from the Kinangop Ring main. The water from which has fluorine content less than 3 parts per million. The project was successful but it did not last for long. Oral information suggests the water pipeline from Aberdares that used to supply the town, no longer works due to lateral off takes on the Kinangop.⁷

Access to clean water has continued to be the major problem. Interview with one respondent noted that:

Our biggest problem is clean water. We are forced to buy water at 5/- per *mtungi*. Yet even the water we buy we are not certain that it is clean. This Naivasha water has also discoloured our teeth.⁸

The Naivasha urban water supply serves Naivasha Municipality. Presently there are three boreholes serving the Municipality. One borehole is high yielding producing about 1,000 m³ per day, operated by the Water Conservation and Pipeline Corporation. The others are low yielding about 200m³ per day, operated by Municipal Council of Naivasha. The biggest problem with the municipal council which is the distributor of water is that it is operating with a debt from its clients of 5.6 million Shillings.⁹

In addition, the Catholic Church Naivasha Parish in liaison with the Chief's Office had been doing a commendable job by drilling water boreholes. Moreover, the Catholic Church has also been greatly involved in the defluoridation of the water as it had a higher

⁶ KNA, RP/21/26 Water Supplies/ Notes on Naivasha Water Supply 1963.

⁷ Wanja Maria, O.I, 29/4/2014.

⁸ Gichuhi Geoffrey, O.I, 26/4/2014.

⁹ KNA, GU15/1 Water Projects: Naivasha 1995-2003.

fluoride content than is considered desirable. In April 2000, the Catholic Diocese of Nakuru installed defluoridation filter unit with financial support from Red Cross Society, to remove high concentration of fluoride from 6mg/f/1 to the recommended level 1.4mg/f/1 by the World Health Organisation.¹⁰

Other stake holders such as Oserian Development Company Ltd, have financed the Catholic Church in provision of clean water evidenced by a letter from Oserian to the Catholic Church:

We are pleased to enclose our cheque No. 002805 for Kshs. 92,000 as Oserian contribution to the water project of St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, 2001.¹¹

Furthermore, oral information suggests that the water shortage in Naivasha may take a longer period before its rectified. One respondent highlighted that;

The water used at Nakuru specifically at Kabarak is tapped from Naivasha, River Malewa. People at Gilgil and Nakuru have been able to divert that water for use. Yet we at Naivasha have not been able to divert the water. The government has promised us for a very long time that they will correct the problem but in no vain, meaning we might never have safe water for drinking.¹²

Water is provided by the local authority, Central government, private companies' institutions, NGO'S and self-help groups.¹³ Most sources of water are underground. Access to clean water is a problem in the residential areas of Naivasha. There are many water kiosks within the Council housing estates, Kabati, Kihoto, Karagita and all other residential zones. Shortage of water has contributed to poor sanitation within Naivasha. Naivasha township therefore, still stands in dire need of a permanent supply of pure water. Local wells have been deepened but remain unsatisfactory sources of supply, as the water derived from them is neither pure nor palatable. Whoever said that 'water is life' was right. One respondent asserted that, the absence of a permanent supply of pure drinking water is the principal drawback to any kind of progress.¹⁴

¹⁰KNA GU3/33 A Letter from the Chief to the D. O. Naivasha1990.

¹¹ KNA,GU15/1 A Letter from the Oserian Development Company to The Catholic Church, 2001.

¹² Gitau John, O.I, 26/4/2014.

¹³ KNA GU/13/1 Brief Chiefs Report on Naivasha Urban Water Supply to DC Nakuru, 2006.

¹⁴ Wairimu Margaret, O.I, 8/5/2014.

6.3 Residential Housing Challenge in Naivasha Town

Before the advent of the colonial administration in Kenya, housing delivery was basically on an individual and family basis. Private participation in housing on a commercial basis was non-existent. But on the onset of colonialism, housing was on commercial basis. Naivasha is a small town on a large area. As more people come to settle in Naivasha township, the demand for residential housing is inevitable. In 1956 Works begun at Naivasha township to build the first 120 houses by the Naivasha County Council. Detainee labour was employed to construct pumice blocks for the houses, but since then the county government has not built more residential houses.¹⁵ The great majority of households in urban areas are renters.

Housing in Naivasha can be divided into two: high income earners and low income earners. High income earners reside in estates like Lake View, Villa Vi, and Landing Beach which one respondent noted that like every rich tycoon in Kenya owns a plot around the lake.¹⁶ The settlers also own land around the lake. Some of the upcoming major housing projects include Aberdare Hills Golf Resort and Longonot Gate Projects both estimated to cost over Shs 40 billion.

Low income earners reside at Kihoto, Karagita, Kabati, Site and Viwandani area. This has led to unplanned settlements with no water, poor sanitation and poorly built houses. An interview with the Municipal physical planner noted that the un-coordinated urban development has been a result of proliferation of unplanned settlements around the lake.¹⁷ Many of these settlements are coming up partly to satisfy the need for housing arising from the employment opportunities in the flower farms. These include Kamere, Kihoto, Kongoni and Karagita. These settlements are without basic amenities like water, sanitation and waste disposal programmes.

¹⁵ KNA DC/NVA/1/1/13 Report of the Labour Office, Naivasha, for the Month ending 31st July, 1956.

¹⁶ Chege John, O.I, 9/5/2014.

¹⁷ Mayaka Nyawo, O.I, 27/4/2014.

A visit to Karagita the biggest slum in Naivasha shows its current estimated total population is 54,000 people.¹⁸ An observation of a number of problems; the major one was inadequate water supply, poor solid waste disposal caused by indiscriminate dumping, irregular solid waste collection and lack of garbage cans. Another problem was the poor drainage caused by soil erosion, deliberate blockage, construction of over drains, dumping, and poor maintenance of drainage systems. This has led to air pollution indicated by foul smell all over the place, indication of poor sanitation. The roads were poorly constructed, no regular grading, poor planning with no drains and dust pollution due to quarrying activities.

A number of informants explained various reasons for their stay at informal settlements and one of them remarked:

I work at Olij flower farm and am paid Shs 4,000/- only per month. Am a single parent with five children, two are in high school, three are in primary school. My children stay with my mother at Bungoma and the money I get is too little to afford a decent housing with all the responsibility I have. Therefore this house costs me 350/- so that the rest of the money can be used to pay for school fees. Am not the only one even my neighbours have bigger problems and they also work in the flower farms too hence, we are forced to stay here.¹⁹

This indicates that majority of people living in this low income residential work in the flower farms and due to the low income they are forced to stay in the informal settlements.²⁰In addition, a visit at Kihoto the scenario was similar with poor solid waste disposal, domestic animals in residential areas this was due to lack of law enforcement by the Council. Poor sanitation, inadequate water supply and carts are all over ferrying water for sale and poor housing with lack of ventilation. The human wildlife conflict is also common challenge at Kihoto. Those with low income prefer living at the unplanned settlements. This has been a result of increased population caused by employment opportunities in Naivasha.

Rapid population growth in the towns and cities requires that adequate amounts of accommodation be available for housing. Various providers of housing- private individuals, private real estate developers and national bodies have been active in acquiring land. But land

¹⁸ Ministry of Environment, *Naivasha Town Environmental Development Plan*, 2nd September, 1999, p. 7.

¹⁹ Nafula Dorothy, O.I, 9/5/2014.

²⁰ Nyongesa Kelvin, O.I, 10/5/2014.

delivery for housing and urban development generally has been problematic in the urban history of Naivasha town. Increasing overcrowding, declining building quality and declining access to services characterised much of the housing stock in Naivasha.

6.4 Evolution of the Security Situation in Naivasha Town

Security is a key concern when it comes to any town in Kenya. Naivasha has had a fair share of insecurity over the years. As reported in 1933, there had been a tendency to an increase of crime especially in the earlier part of the year. It appeared there was a gang of burglars. In the same year 2 Lumbwa were convicted of a serious burglary.²¹ In 1943, cases against property rose from 320 in 1942 to 592 in 1943 and those against the person from 35 to 58. Other cognizable offences under the penal code increased from 19 to 59.²² The number of juveniles convicted rose from 11 to 78 convictions, for stock theft rose from 22 to 45. The amazing and disturbing increase in juvenile delinquency may be attributed to the growing inefficiency of parental control, the food shortage and the all-round rise in the cost living.²³

A disturbing feature showed itself in the number of unprovoked assaults by Africans on Europeans recorded during the year 1951. Stock theft had been prevalent but showed no increase on the previous years. Few burglaries had been on grand scale, and it was striking fact that many, of the offenders brought before the court were not old 'lags' but young men with no previous criminal record. Fewer cases of drunkenness had occurred and the courts had continued to inflict heavy penalties for these kinds of offense.²⁴ According to the Naivasha Sub-District Annual Report of 1960, due to increased unemployment and general uncertainty, the police had a difficult time in controlling crime.²⁵

In 1965, a new borstal institution was opened at Shimo La Tewa to accommodate the increasing number of young offenders who were being sentenced to correction. A new maximum security prison was constructed at Naivasha in 1968. It was opened in 1969 and alleviated many of the overcrowded conditions experienced in the existing maximum security

²¹ KNA, PC/RVP/2/10/2 Annual Report for the Naivasha Sub-District 1933.

²² KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/4 Annual Report for Nakuru-Naivasha-Ravine District, 1943, p. 23.

²³ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁴ KNA, DC/NVA/1/13, Annual Report for the Naivasha Sub-District, 1951.

²⁵ KNA, DC/NKU/1/1/21 Naivasha District Annual Report, 1960, p. 3.

prisons.²⁶ The Naivasha prison functioned jointly as a detention camp and as a remand. Detainees were engaged upon repairs to township roads, clearing out drains and clearing away the undergrowth.

In the post-colonial period, this lake side town has been on the lime light as a “sin city.” One respondent stated that all sins that have happened in the world have happened in Naivasha.²⁷ These crimes include illicit brew, bhang smoking, house breaking, violent robbery, muggings, stock theft, selling of uninspected donkey meat, *bikini* car wash,²⁸ car jerking, kidnappings and rape. In addition, Naivasha is famous for bizarre incidents of serious crimes. It is from here that notorious self-confessed vampire who killed with abandon, drinking human blood and feeding on human flesh was arrested few years ago.²⁹ Sexual and child abuse cases have also defined crime in the town. It is in Naivasha town that donkeys are reported to be slaughtered and sold to unsuspecting consumers. On a positive assessment, a donkey slaughter house is under construction in Naivasha. This is the only donkey slaughter house in the country.

The crime incidents here, just like in any other part of the country, are as a result of unemployment. In addition, Naivasha is a victim of unfulfilled expectations, many young men and women come to Naivasha from other parts of the country to find jobs that are not available. One informant stated:

Young men and women come to Naivasha in search of work. They come with high expectation such that, some think Naivasha is paved with gold. But when they arrive here the reality of unemployment hits them. Whenever they fail to find the expected jobs, they opt to indulge in wayward activities.³⁰

Weekly reports from the chief highlight these crimes such as bhang smoking as being done openly as the peddlers are always stationed at convenient places such that when they

²⁶ P. A. Rosendo, *Historical Review of the Kenya Prisons Service 1911-1970* (Nairobi: Prison Industries, ND), p. 30.

²⁷ Ekitela Paul, O.I, 26/4/2014.

²⁸ V. Okeyo “*Bikini Car wash returns to Naivasha,*” *Standard Newspaper in Pulse Magazine*, 14th October, 2013, p. 4.

²⁹ Wairimu Margaret, O.I, 8/5/2014.

³⁰ Ndung’u Njoroge, O.I, 11/5/2014.

spot the police vehicles they ran and disappear into the slums.³¹In addition, due to high rate of child abuse in Naivasha town, the Catholic Church has put up St. Theresa Development Centre. The centre is on Naivasha-Mai Mahiu road. The main role of the centre is to give psychological help and offer accommodation to children both boys and girls who are sexually abused from within the township. The children who are usually enrolled in the centre are mostly from within the slums in the township. As one informant stated:

The greatest number of children in the centre is from Kihoto and Karagita slums. The children are mostly assaulted when their parents are away for work. The assault is done by people the child knows.³²

However another informant differed with this perspective on the state of security and stated:

Previously up to the year 2008, insecurity was high. But by 2013, security is average and improvement has been witnessed. There are Administration Posts in all locations to curb crime.³³

Another reaffirmed that the presence of the Administration Post here at Kabati has improved the security. Previously, there were high cases of drug abuse and theft. But today security is improved.³⁴On the other hand, the post-election violence witnessed after the December, 2007 general election was a major security challenge. These skirmishes led to mass human and livestock displacements, unwarranted destruction of property and loss of lives. The impact had been devastating both at the family level and at the production unit. Families lost their sources of income while production at the farm unit and horticultural farms declined.³⁵ On the other hand the post-election violence led to establishment of large settlements of people especially on the Kayole area. The Naivasha-Nairobi highway on the Kayole area where locals referred to as a desert, full of stones became a haven for the evicted people from Eldoret, Kisumu and other towns that had experienced violence.³⁶ One informant asserted that the town is growing toward Kayole which is towards Nairobi.³⁷

³¹KNA, GU10/5 Chiefs Monthly Reports and General Reports 1998-2005.

³² Wanjiru Mbugua, O.I, 15/5/2014.

³³ Wanja Maria, O.I, 29/4/2014.

³⁴ Hassan Ibrahim, O.I, 14/11/2014.

³⁵ Republic of Kenya, *Naivasha District Development Plan 2008-2012* (Nairobi: Government Printer, 2009), p. 7.

³⁶ Ngonyi Joshua, O.I, 13/5/2014.

³⁷ Zaina Hadija, O.I, 14/11/2014.

6.5 Environmental Degradation of Naivasha Town

Naivasha is a lake town as such environmental concerns are at the top of its sustainability agenda. This is because there is a need of a systematic analysis on the degradation history since the process has visible impact in the post-colonial era. The concentration of human population around Lake Naivasha invariably impacts the environment either in the form of over exploitation of natural resources or through environmental degradation. The Lake Naivasha ecosystem has supported a livelihood of millions of Kenyans. It is a sanctuary for wildlife, source of water for farming and drinking, a major inland fishing site as well as a recreational site for many visitors. As a result there has been a lot of competition for the lake resources between man and man, man and wildlife, wildlife and wildlife, and wildlife and domestic animals.³⁸

The horticulture farms draw water for irrigation from Lake Naivasha all year round, resulting in receding water levels over the years. Flower farming has been a key socio-economic activity in the Lake Naivasha catchment. Flower farms have been increasing in numbers over the years, and accounts for over 10% usage of the land around Lake Naivasha. Flower farming has however contributed to the low lake levels, and other chemical deposits into the lake. This is an issue of great concern for the residents. As one informant described:

The pesticides used in the horticulture /floriculture farms around the lake have potential to cause toxicity if they found their way into the lake. Potential for contamination of a pesticide depends on the chemical structure of the compound and with that, the pesticide. Many pesticides have the potential to bio-accumulation in animal tissue and therefore, transmitted up the food chain. Accumulation of pesticides in the lake is not yet at a serious level; only traces of a few of the more persistent organochlorines were detected.³⁹

However, another informant had a differing opinion that:

Sometime back, the waters of Lake Nakuru receded. Yet no irrigation took place using the water. Hence, the main cause of the receding

³⁸ Lake Naivasha Riparian Association, *Lake Naivasha State of Environment Report* (Nairobi: Centre for Research in Environment, 2009), p. 21.

³⁹ Higgins Sarah, O.I, 7/5/2014.

waters of Lake Naivasha is evaporation. The people are also destroying the forests. The sewage is also directed to the lake too.⁴⁰

Urban waste management is a growing concern, as the consequences of inadequate collection and disposal impact on the ecosystems of towns and cities, contribute to the degradation of the urban environment and pose a health hazard to urban population at large. Urban households will contribute to generate solid waste, of which if its disposal is not adequately catered for, will pose further environmental risk in the urban centre. This is true of Naivasha as raw sewage is disposed in some of the areas of the lake, and has been a health hazard. Other contaminants include waste oil and batteries, paints and solid waste disposal sites in general.⁴¹ Luckily for Naivasha there are no significant factories (such as chemical processing plants), and therefore the industrial waste/effluent generated in the area is minimal. Organic contaminants from dairies are suspected to be becoming significant i.e. the Aberdare, Delamere and KCC Dairies. At certain places such as Kongoni, vehicles are washed directly in the lake. There is a serious potential of pollution from the new municipal council dumpsite which is unlined thus permitting toxic leachate getting into ground water.

Plastics and aesthetics are widely in intensive agriculture on the lakeshore, for greenhouses and in packaging. Green houses have to be replaced every 3 years or so, and therefore there is a lot of it to be disposed of all the time. This cannot be burnt in open because of the harmful gases omitted. The plastic agro-chemical containers also cannot be burnt in the open because of harmful gases. The plastic litter in the township and residential areas around the lake is severe. These are essentially bread, milk, sugar and other packaging, and their spread is made worse by the strong evening winds in the region.

A number of Maasai herdsman graze their animals in the ecosystem.⁴² During periods of drought Maasai herders bring their livestock nearby the lake where they are seen to graze on grass, including papyrus reeds. One of the major uses of water from the lake is domestic consumption. From time to time, women ferry water from the lake on their back while, donkey drawn cart ferry water to households for domestic use. Some institutions such as

⁴⁰Peter van de Meer, O.I, 15/11/2014.

⁴¹ Ministry of Environment, *Naivasha Town Environmental Development Plan, 1999*, pp. 21-26.

⁴²Ibid., p. 28.

KenGen are also pumping water from the lake for domestic use, as well as for use in their power stations.⁴³

The conflict of use has pitted all groups against each other. The flower and vegetable farmers need water for their plantations and are concerned with the lake's over-exploitation by the community. The Maasai pastoralists need the water for their livestock, while the fisher-folks livelihoods depend on fishing in the lake. In addition to these, conservationists place the sustainability of the lake and its wildlife as a priority, and the state is also responsible for the production of public services, like power generation.⁴⁴

6.6 Conclusion

Naivasha town has witnessed varied development since its formation as an administrative centre in 1895. After independence, the basic economic and infrastructure in terms of trade and commerce, industrialisation, roads and transport attracted population from the rural areas as they come to seek for paid employment. This has consequently led to shortage of housing, insecurity, environmental concerns. Migrants have continued moving to Naivasha town despite increases in open unemployment and underemployment rates. As has been shown in this chapter such behaviour is entirely consistent with rational utility maximizing migrants. If migrants move because expected earnings are higher in urban areas, some will lose this bet and instead suffer unemployment or severe underemployment. On average nonetheless, migrants must be better off in urban areas or rural-urban migration flows would slow.

⁴³ Omondi Soja, O.I, 13/5/2014.

⁴⁴ Naivasha Town Environmental Development Plan, 1999, pp. 21-26.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the key findings, draws conclusion from the findings and makes recommendations based on the conclusion.

7.2 Conclusion

This study has been a historical analysis of Naivasha town. It was premised on a number of set objectives. The study sought to explore the origin of the town. Further, the study wanted to examine the colonial factors that contributed the development of Naivasha town. Consequently, the study analysed post-colonial factors that influenced the development of Naivasha town. Finally, the study assessed the impact of these developments on Naivasha town. The study employed modernisation and dependence and underdevelopment theories. Modernisation is a description and explanation of the processes of transformation from traditional or underdeveloped societies to modern societies. These stages are the traditional society, pre-condition for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity and the age of high consumption. The traditional society in Naivasha town is during the genesis of the town, pre-condition for take-off was during the colonial period and take-off is in post-colonial period. These stages of economic growth are helpful in analysing the extent of development the town has undergone. Dependence and underdevelopment theory helped to analyse the extent of dependence of Naivasha town on the multinationals owning the flower farms.

In chapter two, the study explained the origins of the town. Based on evidence from archaeological findings, an early pastoralist group lived near the lake two thousand years ago. They used stone bowls and herded cattle. There was an extensive Neolithic settlement 6000-10,000 years BP on the Crescent Island. They also buried their dead under stone cairns, the remains of which have been found on the Island. The Maasai were the initial inhabitants around the Naivasha area. The area was their favourite grazing lands, due to the presence of the permanent lakes and the short grass.

The Maasai became involved for the first time in their recollection of history in a number of intercine wars. One of the most famous and bitterly fought of the civil wars was the Laikipiak War of the 1870. The real cause of this war was the *Purko*'s need to control both the Naivasha and Nakuru corridors. This area which commands abundant pastures and a number of lakes for watering livestock was also demanded by the Laikipiak who proceeded to attack the *Purko*. The defeated Laikipiak left the Rift Valley, the remaining Maasai became more exposed and because the Maasai did not have the resources or the manpower to defend the land, other groups such as the Kikuyu and Europeans expanded into the Rift Valley and challenged Maasai control.

Naivasha has a continuous history dating from the early days when the first explorers were followed by numerous caravans and expeditions, many of them concerned with the survey for the Uganda Railway. The early explorers had a hard time penetrating through Maasai land at Naivasha. The early days in pre-colonial Naivasha have been demonstrated as those of confrontation of the caravans and the Maasai warriors around Naivasha. The Kedong Valley acquired its name 'Plain of Skulls', from a confrontation that led to the death of 800 men in a caravan on their way to the coast. This event led to the building of the Naivasha Fort. Other explanations are given of the explorers followed by large caravans and their confrontation with Maasai warriors upon reaching Naivasha. The interior was impenetrable due to the Maasai war like nature that hindered any person from going through their land. After attempts by other explorers the Maasai accepted to open up the area.

The early settlers narrate of finding a country with no roads, no hospitals, an enchanting expanse of Lake Naivasha and no schools. The nearest village was where Naivasha town stands today. Early developments such as the construction of the Uganda railway led to growing of Naivasha town as a railway station. Construction of the railway, the roads and other associated infrastructure in Kenya between 1895 and 1902 signaled a growth stage in which the development of the railway line set in motion a series of spatial process and re-adjustments as the comparative location advantage of all centres.. The government decided to invite white settlers to take up land. This therefore led to the opening of a new chapter of colonial Naivasha as the railway had opened it up to the rest of the country

The third chapter demonstrated how colonialism led to the actual development of Naivasha town. The period before and after the WWI were the founding years of Naivasha.

As settlers set in Naivasha, key developments started taking off. The first development was settler agriculture. European colonisation in Kenya altered agricultural and pastoral production in many aspects, but without altering the fact that agriculture was the sole basis of wealth. Due to demand for labour to work in the settlers' farm, migrants started setting in Naivasha in search of labour. Other developments observed in the colonial period, were public health, colonial education, currency trade roads, transport and communication.

The fourth chapter is a summary of factors that led to development of Naivasha town from the second WWII up to independence. The main developments were education, settler agriculture, transport and communication. At the eve of independence another event observed was the *Mau Mau* group which led to massive destruction, death and displacement of people. This led to the *Uhuru* era which opened a new chapter of post-colonial Kenya and the closing of colonial period.

The fifth chapter is an analysis of post-colonial period, Naivasha town has undergone rapid economic developments and this has led to rapid population growth, increased industrialisation, new modes of agriculture, changes in trade and tourism. Due to a high agricultural potential of Naivasha District, Naivasha township has developed a strong agricultural base. The most vibrant and fastest growing commercial activity is carried out by the large multinational along the shores of Lake Naivasha. Farming around the lake through irrigation has made the town a major producer of flowers, which is very competitive in the world market. The flower farms are the biggest employer. Tourism is the second largest source of foreign exchange revenue following horticulture. Tourist sites are an important sector in Naivasha, as they provide easy access to Lake Naivasha, Hell's Gate, Longonot National Park and the Aberdares National Park. Hotels in Naivasha have also attracted both local and international tourists. Lastly, Naivasha is a highly cosmopolitan town with all major amenities. They include, banks, general stores, hospitals, schools, supermarkets, health clinics, boutiques, insurance agencies, salons and barber shops.

Chapter six has been an analysis of the urban challenge in Naivasha. Over the last few decades there has been an unprecedented mushrooming and expansion of small urban centres in the country. Naivasha being one of those centres has become a concentration point of commerce, industry and services in addition to fulfilling administrative functions. In spite of the above mentioned vital functions, Naivasha town is experiencing various problems. The

most acute is in the provision of services to the recipient population. Naivasha township lacks proper drainage system and a sewerage system is urgently required to avoid nuisance arising from septic tanks and soaking of pits caused by delays in emptying them. Other problems include insecurity, shortage of water, poor housing and environmental degradation being a lake town.

In conclusion, the study has shown how the town has progressively evolved from a manyatta to a municipality with tarmac roads, flagged pavements, modern buildings, services and amenities. The study has also shown how Naivasha town has progressively grown from the pre-colonial traditional society, through colonial to post-colonial period.

7.3 Recommendation

In the course of the study, new insights emerged which could not all be addressed. Hence, further research could be directed on the following areas: To begin with, although the Naivasha area was occupied by the Maasai, little research is available regarding their life after their displacement from Naivasha area. Secondly, the issue of migrant labour and welfare of the workers especially for the flower workers migrating in Naivasha town need to be further studied.

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III. List of Informants

No	Name	Age	Date	Occupation	Residence
1	Abdi Rahim	46	12/6/2014	Fisheries Dep't	Karagita
2	Bacchubhai Patel	80	16/11/2014	Indian trader	CBD
3	Boru Anake Guyo	80	26/4/2014	Chief's Elder	Kihoto
4	Chege John	45	9/5/2014	Clerk DC's	Kayole
5	Ekitela Paul	74	26/4/2014	Casual labourer	Kabati
6	George Alvin	40	17/11/2014	Hotel Owner	South Lake
7	Gitau John	76	26/4/2014	Ex-prison officer	Kihoto
8	Gichuhi Geoffrey	80	26/4/2014	Chief's Elder	Kabati
9	Hadija Hassan	62	14/11/2014	Somali Chief Elder	Kabati
10	Hassan Ibrahim	62	14/11/2014	Somali Trader	Kabati
11	Higgins Sarah	55	7/5/2014	Settler	Karagita
12	Jill Retief	60	12/11/2014	Settler	South Lake
13	Kamau Vincent	33	10/5/2014	Hotel Manager	Karagita
14	Kamau Abraham	40	16/11/2014	Delamere Worker	Delamere Farm
15	Kariuki Mark	60	12/5/2014	Bell inn Owner	CBD
16	Kariuki Joseph	35	17/11/2014	LNGG	CBD
17	Katana Suleiman	30	26/4/2014	Flower Farm	Sokoni
18	Mariam Mohammed	56	14/11/2014	Somali Trader	Kabati
19	Mayaka Nyawo	31	28/4/2014	Municipal Planner	Site
20	Mbatia Joseph	40	14/5/2014	KenGen	Kamere
21	Mehta Peter	50	14/5/2014	Hotel Industry	South Lake
22	Muya Joseph	84	26/4/2014	Chief's Elder	Council
23	Nafula Dorothy	40	9/5/2014	Flower Farm	Karagita
24	Ndung'u Njoroge	55	11/5/2014	Bishop A.I.C	Kabati
25	Ngige wa Gichuhi	93	2/5/2014	Retired Cook	Karagita
26	Ngugi Gichure	80	11/5/2014	Retired Mechanic	Council
27	Ngonyi Joshua	40	13/5/2014	Businessman	Kayole
28	Njeri Rahab	45	13/5/2014	Business woman	Council
29	Njoroge Joyce	42	16/11/2014	Delamere Worker	Delamere Farm
30	Nonguta Karepa	115	5/5/2014	Elderly Maasai	Mai Mahiu
31	Nyakundi Anne	48	20/11/2014	Business woman	Lake View
32	Nyongesa Kelvin	50	10/5/2014	Flower farm worker	Kayole
33	Nyambura Peninah	30	13/5/2014	KWS	Kihoto
34	Nzioki Angeline	50	16/11/2014	Delamere Worker	Delamere Farm
35	Omwega Cyrus	40	7/5/2014	Lake Riparian	Karagita
36	Omondi Soja	45	13/5/2014	KenGen	Karagita
37	Otieno James	39	12/6/2014	Fisheries	Karagita
38	Peter Nicklin	70	17/11/2014	Settler	Railway
39	Peter van der Meer	62	15/11/2014	Flower farm owner	Magereza
40	Siara Esther	72	4/5/2014	Pastoralist	Mai Mahiu
41	Sitat Lucy	70	4/5/2014	Pastoralist	Mai Mahiu
42	Sopia Rotiken	65	5/5/2014	Pastoralist	Mai Mahiu

43	Tumanka Joseph	80	4/5/2014	Pastoralist	Mai Mahiu
44	Wairimu Margaret	50	8/5/2014	Business Woman	Karagita
45	Wambui Hannah	82	2/5/2014	Retired Cook	Karagita
46	Wanja Maria	88	29/4/2014	Elderly	Kihoto
47	Wanjiku Grace	30	13/5/2014	Business Woman	Kihoto
48	Wanjiru Mbugua	40	15/5/2014	St. Theresa	Kayole
49	Waweru Paul	84	26/4/2014	Elderly	Kabati
50	Wambui Anne	63	16/11/2014	Business woman	Council
51	Wesonga Joseph	55	13/5/2014	KenGen	KenGen
52	Zaina Hadija	52	14/11/2014	Somali Trader	Kabati

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: A SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name (Optional).....

Age.....

Sex.....

Occupation.....

Place of residence.....

Date of interview.....

APPENDIX 1 A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR ADMINISTRATORS

1. What is your current position?
2. How long have you served in your position?
3. What is the current status of the town?
4. What are the boundaries of the town?
5. Where was the old town? Any pictures? Function ?
6. Where is the Naivasha fort? Can it be seen?
7. What factors led to the development of the town?
8. What would you attribute the rapid increase in population in Naivasha town to?
9. Who were the original inhabitants of Naivasha?
10. Which part of Naivasha are the majority of initial inhabitants?
11. What have been the functions of Naivasha town since its founding?
12. Which was the first bank? When was it started? On which building?
13. What do you think is the future of the town in terms of development?
14. What challenges do you experience due to the development of the town?
15. Which economic activities bring the highest revenue to the town?
16. What are the residential areas for the rich? Poor?
17. Which community owns the buildings in the town? for example Kikuyu,
18. Which is the major business in the town? Analysis?

19. What is the current state of the water supply?
20. What problems are causing water shortage? Solution?
21. How many public and private schools are in the town?
22. Comment on the post-election violence in Naivasha of 2007/2008?
23. What is the state of security in the town?
24. Comment on the public health in the town?
25. Where are the Somali settlements today?

APPENDIX 1 B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SETTLERS

1. How long have you been an inhabitant of Naivasha?
2. What developments have you observed in the town since your arrival?
3. What are some of the challenges you have encountered as a settler in Naivasha?
4. What factors would you attribute to the growth of Naivasha town?
5. How did you acquire this land? Where did the initial inhabitants relocate to?
6. Comment on the “Happy Valley”?
7. What main contributions have you made to the development of the town?
8. Why do you prefer living in Kenya and Naivasha in particular?
9. How many employees do you have? Permanent and casual?
10. What is the future of the town in terms of development?
11. How many people have you employed?

APPENDIX 1 C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RESIDENTS

1. When did you migrate to Naivasha town? Why?
2. Where is your original homeland?
3. Where do you work?
4. How do majority of the people around here earn a living?
5. What challenges have you faced being an inhabitant of the town?
6. Which community forms the majority of the residents in Naivasha town? Why?
7. Why do you think this town has expanded very fast over the years?
8. What effects are associated with development of the town?

APPENDIX 1 D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FLOWER FARM OWNERS

1. When did you establish the flower farm?
2. Why did you choose Naivasha?
3. Are you a Kenyan?
4. How many employees do you have? Casual/ permanent?
5. How do the flower farms contribute to the National economy/ County economy?
6. Where is the market for the flowers?
7. How does the flower farm contribute to growth of the town?
8. What major challenges have you faced since the establishment of the flower farm?
9. What is the future of the town in terms of development?
10. How many flower farms are in Naivasha?
11. How much do you produce?
12. Why did you choose to Naivasha for flower production? Environment?

APPENDIX 1 E: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR HOTEL OWNERS/MANAGERS

1. How many tourists do you get?
2. Which are the peak years?
3. How many hotels are there in Naivasha?
4. Which are the international or local hotels?
5. Who are the owners of these hotels? Africans, Europeans?
6. Do you offer camp sites?
7. How many employees do you have?
8. What is the economic importance of tourism?
9. What are the attraction sites?
10. How many hotels were there previously?
11. Have they increased and why?
12. Why do tourists choose Naivasha as a destination for holiday?
13. What is the future of tourism?
14. What challenges do you experience?
15. Has tourism influenced the growth of the town?

APPENDIX 1 F: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR BUSINESS MEN/WOMEN

1. When did you start your business?
2. How many similar businesses are there in Naivasha?
3. How has your business influenced the growth of the town?
4. How many people have you employed? Casual/permanent?
5. Where do you sell your products?
6. Why did you prefer starting a business in Naivasha?
7. What is the economic importance of this industry?
8. How has production increased over the years?
9. What is the future of industrialisation/ business?

APPENDIX 1 G: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE ELDERLY

1. Where were you born in Naivasha?
2. How long have you stayed here?
3. What does the name Naivasha mean?
4. How was the lake important?
5. Was there a town before colonialism at Naivasha?
6. How did Naivasha come to be?
7. What was the main economic activity in pre-colonial era?
8. How was life generally in terms of developments?
9. Where did you carry your trade at?
10. Whom did you trade with?
11. What were the goods of trade?
12. How did colonialism affect the way of life? Land, space,?
13. When did colonialists first come to Naivasha?
14. What were the effects of the developments brought by colonialists? E.g. the railway/
15. Comment on the reserves?
16. Where do the majority indigenous people live today?
17. What is the main economic activity today?
18. How has the development of the town been?

APPENDIX II: LIST OF HORTICULTURE FARMS IN NAIVASHA

1. Bilashaka Flowers
2. Blooming Oasis Ltd
3. De Ruiter E A Ltd
4. Kentalya (K) Ltd
5. Florensis Kenya Ltd
6. Finlays Horticulture
7. Riki River Farm
8. Longonot Horticulture Ltd
9. Vegpro Gorge Farm
10. Vegpro Delamere Kantara
11. Lamorna Ltd
12. Longonot Farm Ltd
13. Nini Ltd
14. Noraflora Ltd
15. Ol 'Njorowa Ltd
16. Oserian Development Co. Ltd
17. Plantation Plants (K) Ltd
18. Savannah International Ltd
19. Wildfire Ltd
20. Kenya Nut Co. Ltd
21. Van den Berg (K) Ltd
22. Panda Ltd
23. Biggot Flowers Ltd
24. Star Flowers Ltd
25. Maridadi Flowers Ltd
26. Interplant
27. Scheurs
28. Creative Roses Ltd
29. Olij Ltd
30. Hamwe Ltd
31. Live Wire Ltd

32. Blue Sky Ltd
33. Sunripe Ltd
34. Beautyline Ltd
35. Porcupine Ltd
36. Sunbuds Ltd
37. Groove Ltd
38. Shalimar Ltd
39. Rift Valley Veg
40. Aquila
41. Indu Farm
42. Color Crops Ltd
43. Karuturi Ltd
44. Tulaga Flowers Ltd
45. Raceme Ltd
46. Color Vision
47. Nirp
48. Stockman
49. Subati-Karati
50. Avatar Growers
51. Rift Valley Roses
52. Rimi Flora
53. Kongoni River Farm-Vegpro
54. Manera
55. Twiga Flowers Ltd

Source: Database Lake Naivasha Growers Group, 2013

APPENDIX III: LIST OF MAJOR HOTELS AND CAMP SITES IN NAIVASHA

Lake Naivasha Sopa Resort
Enashipai Resort & Spa
Lake Naivasha Simba Lodge
Camp Camelley's
Chui Lodge
Crater Lake Camp
Crayfish Camp
Fisherman's Camp
Great Rift Valley Lodge
Kiangazi House
Naivasha Kongoni Lodge
Kiboko Luxury Camp
Kigio Wildlife Camp
Lake Naivasha Country Club
Lake Naivasha Crescent Camp
Loldia House
Taphe Guest House
Lake Naivasha Sawela Lodge
Mt. Longonot Lodge
Olerai House
Lahai Cottage
Mimosa Cottage
Kililecha House Naivasha
Guest House Jane
Tripleeden Naivasha Hotel
Masada Hotel
Bilashaka Lodge
Wileli House
Sanctuary Farm
Maasai House
Lakeside Tourist Lodge

Elsa mere Camp
Deas Garden
Dafina Cottage Naivasha
Butterfly Cottage
Peppercorn Holiday Resort
Signature House
Karuru Tuu Ecolodge
Osotua Villas
Hexagon Farm Lodge
Kongoni Lodge
Fish Eagle Inn
Ole Itiko Cottages
Dove Nest Lodge
Ol Larashi House
Lake Naivasha Panaroma Park

Source: KNA, GU14/2 Naivasha Town Council, 2013

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No.

Date:

24th October, 2014

NACOSTI/P/14/3398/3513

Ruth Wanjiku Chege
Egerton University
P.O. Box 536-20115
EGERTON.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Origin, growth and development of Naivasha town,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nakuru County** for a period ending **19th December, 2014.**

You are advised to report to **the Managers of selected Flower Farms, the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nakuru County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.


DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The Manager
Selected Flower Farm.


The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Nakuru County.



APPENDIX V: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. RUTH WANJIKU CHEGE
of EGERTON UNIVERSITY, 0-20100
NAKURU, has been permitted to conduct
research in Nakuru County
on the topic: ORIGIN, GROWTH AND
DEVELOPMENT OF NAIVASHA TOWN
for the period ending:
19th December, 2014

Permit No. : NACOSTI/P/14/3398/3513
Date Of Issue : 24th October, 2014
Fee Received :Ksh 1,000




Applicant's Signature


Secretary
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS

- 1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit**
- 2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.**
- 3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.**
- 4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.**
- 5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one(I) soft copy of your final report.**
- 6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.**



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH CLEARANCE
PERMIT

Serial No. A-2706

CONDITIONS: see back page