

A BIOGRAPHY OF SAMWEL ONYANGO AYODO, 1930- 1998

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Requirements of the Award of Master of Arts (History) degree 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 the award of any degree or diploma in this or any other institution.


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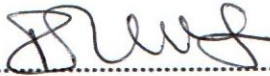
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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all the important people in my life: my late parents, Loice Achola and Joash Orongo, my wife, (Janet Awuor), and my son, (Joash Evan Okoth).

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ABSTRACT

The study examined a political biography of Samwel Onyango Ayodo who was born in 1930 and died in 1998 and became a prominent leader in Kenya. He attended his primary education at Wang'apala Primary, 1938 to 1940, Intermediate at Kamagambo, 1941 to 1945, secondary education at Maseno, 1946 to 1949, Matriculation at Makerere in 1950 and attained his Degree in the United States, 1951 to 1952. As examined in this work, Ayodo's contribution to nation-building in pre and post independent Kenya was immense. He belonged to the political group of the African educated elite in Kenya who contributed to Kenya's development. However, this contribution has not been given the recognition it deserves. The only study on Samwel Ayodo is an unpublished BA dissertation on his 1969 election, which does not examine Ayodo's full political career and his contribution to socio-economic development between 1963 to 1983 under KANU regime was the problematic area. Hence the need for the present study. Although the study primarily examined his contribution to nation building. The objectives were to outline Ayodo's early life, to analyse his political career in Kasipul Kabondo and national leadership and to assess his activities after retiring from active politics and make relevant conclusions and recommendations. Literature review involved the review of various biographies of Kenya, autobiographies, theses and dissertations from Kenya and outside Kenya that related to this study. Using a historical perspective and applying Great Man theory by Thomas Carlyle in studying the power of charisma, intelligence and wisdom as well as the role of great men such as Adolf Hitler during Second World War and the Big Man theory by Marshall Sahlins in many parts Papua Guinea and parts of Melanesia as well as Frank Farrington. These theories were used to examine the early life of Samwel Onyango Ayodo and particularly focused on his political career including his role in development from 1959 to 1983 as a minister and a Member of Parliament. The study also examined why he lost 1969 election, how he returned to Parliament in 1974, 1979 and his exit from Parliament in 1983. The study also examined his role as the chairman of Kisumu Municipality. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Archival and oral sources were important in getting data on Ayodo. Purposive sampling especially snowball technique was used to identify interviewees. Analysis and interpretation of data employed the historical method. On the basis of the full study findings of this thesis, the paper argues and concludes that Ayodo's dominance in politics of Kasipul Kabondo and at national level left a strong and positive legacy and that the many socio-economic and political developments and changes that took place within Kasipul Kabondo constituency and some areas in South Nyanza (Homa Bay and Migori) counties, had direct link with Ayodo's effort.

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ABBREVIATIONS /ACRONYMS

ANC:	Africa National Congress
DEB:	District Education Board
DEO	District Education Officer
FGDs:	Focus Group Discussions
KNA:	Kenya National Archives
NCCK:	National Council of Churches of Kenya
KEDRO:	Kabondo Elders' Development Group
KADU:	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU:	Kenya African National Union
OI:	Oral Informant
LEGCO:	Legislative Council
MP:	Member of Parliament

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The study examined Samwel Onyango Ayodo's life from 1930 to 1998. The study majorly assessed Ayodo's political career and his role in the development of Kenya. Between 1959 to 1983 Samwel Onyango Ayodo dominated politics of Kasipul Kabondo and South Nyanza. This dominance was to the extent that he became a national figure in active part of his life in the leadership of the country. Between 1959 to 1961, Ayodo was the Member of Parliament for South Nyanza in the Legislative Assembly which also comprised of Gusii region as well. Among others who represented other regions in Kenya included Masinde Muliro who represented Nyanza North, Ronald Ngala who represented Coast. When Kasipul-Kabondo constituency was created in 1962, Ayodo was elected its first Member of Parliament and consequently appointed the first minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs in 1963¹ by President Jomo Kenyatta. Ayodo's earlier association with Jomo Kenyatta may explain why he was appointed to this important position, a responsibility he discharged with distinction. This became one of his sterling political career. Among others appointed as ministers included Jackson Angaine the minister for Lands and Settlement. Ayodo also represented the constituency as the Member of Parliament during 1974 and 1979 parliamentary elections. In Kasipul Kabondo constituency and South Nyanza, he dominated the political landscape as the Member of Parliament and a minister. Unfortunately, in 1983 he lost his parliamentary seat to James Mbori. This marked his retirement from active politics. Ayodo's study is paramount since the study is as important as those of Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya who served as one the greatest leaders in Kenya and Nelson Mandela of South Africa who fought for the liberation of South Africa.

Ayodo popularly known as '*Liech*', which was his election symbol in 1974, which means doing great things was born in Kothuro village in the present Homa-Bay County in 1930. He was the son to William Ayodo and Dusila Sawala. He attended his primary school at Wang'apala for classes A, B and C between 1938 and 1940. After passing the examination for this level, he joined Kamagambo Intermediate School between 1941 and

¹O. Leo, '*15 Aspirants Troop Up for the Kasipul-Kabondo Parliamentary Seat*': Kisumu LUOCOME, 2007, p.1.

1945 where he attended class one up to class eight as affirmed by Okoth.² From Kamagambo, Ayodo joined Maseno School for his Secondary Education between 1946 and 1949. From Maseno he joined Makerere in Uganda in 1948 before a scholarship landed him at Union College, Nebraska in the United States of America for a three years' course between 1950 and 1952 where he graduated with a bachelor's degree in education, specializing in history and religious studies. Kenya as a young country was significantly changed by the 'American Airlift' of students who were taken there for higher education via scholarships. The John F Kennedy foundation, William X Scheinman, a young American businessman and jazzaficianado, sports star Jackie Robinson, musician Harry Belafonte, actor Sidney Poitier and civil rights crusader Martin Luther King Junior were also instrumental in charting the path of Kenyan luminaries, including others such as Maina Wanjigi, Wilson Ndolo Ayah, journalist Philip Ochieng, Arthur Magugu and the late Professor Wangari Maathai. Ayodo was the first Luo to obtain a university degree in education from his area due to the airlift programme.³ Some interviewees viewed Ayodo's high level of education then as the reason for his election as the first Member of Parliament for Kasipul-Kabondo constituency because education shaped his life at an early stage. When he came back from his studies in the United States of America, he taught at Kamagambo Seventh Day Adventist Secondary School in 1953 and later on taught at Agoro Sare Secondary School in the same year. From 1954 to 1957, he taught at Kisii Secondary School which was the only government school in South Nyanza.

In 1957, while still a teacher, Ayodo was elected as the first chairperson of Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT), South Nyanza branch where he participated in teachers' activities with other prominent teachers such as Samwel Ayany in uniting teachers' in the region. In the same year, he founded South Nyanza District Parents' Association and was elected to the African District Council by his home location of Kabondo. He served in the District Education Board (DEB) as one of the Councils' board committee members, where his role together with other council members was to oversee the management of public schools. This was affirmed by Okoth.⁴ He further noted that Ayodo's contribution as a teacher made him to earn respect and be elected to the Legislative Council in 1959.

² Okoth, (OI), 30 December 2014.

³ A. Timothy, "*Ayodo Election 1969*", BA Dissertation University of Nairobi 1991.

⁴ Okoth, (OI), 30 December 2014.

Ayodo's long political career began in 1959 when he was elected to the Legislative Council to represent South Nyanza which also covered Gusii region at the time. In this election called by the British government which provided for the election of Africans to the Legislative Council, in the same year (1959) Kenyatta was released from detention but was still put under house arrest. During this election, Ayodo was plucked out of Kisii Government School where he was teaching by Tom Mboya who was the Member Parliament for Nairobi East to contest for Kasipul Kabondo constituency. Ayodo also got the support of Chief Musa Nyandusi Ayacko who asserted that Ayodo was the most suitable candidate for the post since he had a clean record of accomplishment, good education, and personality⁵ than both Lawrence Sagini and Polycarp Mboya.

In 1961 election, Ayodo defeated Lawrence Oguda who also contested for South Nyanza constituency seat. This was reported in the *Weekly Review* of 26th October 1979.⁶ South Nyanza electoral area covered parts of Kericho, Bomet and Narok districts, as well as the current Nyamira, Homa-Bay and Migori Counties. This election was conducted by the colonial government following split in KANU where the result was the breakaway of the rival party, KADU. During the election, KANU won 19 seats while KADU 11 seats out of the 33 seats.

In 1963 Ayodo was elected to the House of Representative as the first Member of Parliament for Kasipul-Kabondo constituency that was created in 1962 and was also elected as the Vice-Chairman of KANU, South Nyanza branch. From 1963 to 1965, he was appointed to serve as the first minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs. While from 1965 to 1969 he was moved to serve as the minister for Tourism, Wildlife and Natural Resources. Others appointed as ministers in Kenya that time and devoted their time to help build the young nation included Julius Gikonyo Kiano, Joseph Otiende, James Gichuru, Lawrence Sagini, and Jackson Angaine among others. While serving in the two ministries he facilitated land consolidation, promoted agricultural development within his constituency. He also promoted tourism by facilitating the establishment of Lambwe Valley Game Reserve and other developments in the tourism sector. In 1969, he urged the Luo community to ensure peace prevailed following Mboya's assassination. In the same year, Ayodo also appealed to the Luo community which was affected by Mboya's death to

⁵ Ibid 2014.

⁶ 'Oguda. G.L', *Weekly Review*, 26 October 1979, p.77.

remain steadfast behind Kenya Government and not to involve themselves in actions that could be detrimental to peace. He also appealed for calm following the riots that broke out in Kisumu when President Jomo Kenyatta made an official visit to Kisumu. In 1977, Ayodo ensured that Jaramogi Oginga Odinga remained politically relevant in Luo Nyanza and Kenya generally when he convened a meeting, which made *Oyugis Declaration* which endorsed Odinga as the leader of the Luo community. As shown in this work, Ayodo was a central figure in the negotiations that brought many Luo political leaders together.

Social sciences theories, just like other sciences, the theoretical framework applied to explain Ayodo's political career and development included the great man theory and the big man theory. Applying the Big Man theory, Ayodo proved to be a highly influential individual because he was able to maintain recognition through skilled persuasion and wisdom to ensure that the Luo community supported Jaramogi Oginga Odinga during *Oyugis Declaration*. This theory argues that the Big Man theory as applied in Melanesia and Polynesia has a large follower both from his clan and other clans which he uses to increase his status, as was the case with Ayodo during the time he organised for *Oyugis Declaration* and other political functions.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Between 1957 and 1983, Samwel Onyango Ayodo was an influential person. Among other positions he held was a member of the Legislative Council from 1959 to 1963 when he became the first Member of Parliament for Kasipul-Kabondo as well as a Cabinet Minister. The unexamined life and contribution of Ayodo which has not been documented for posterity is the problematic area, hence the current study.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study broadly examined Ayodo's role in nation building in Kenya focusing on his political career. The study specifically sought to;

- i) To outline Ayodo's early life.
- ii) To analyse Ayodo's political career in Kenya up to 1983.
- iii) To assess Ayodo's life after retiring from politics in 1983.

1.4 Research Questions

- i) What was Ayodo's early life like?

ii) What are the highlights of Ayodo's political career up to 1983?

iii) In what ways did Ayodo continue to influence society after retiring from politics

1.5 Significance and Justification of the Study

Despite many studies done on biographies of great individuals in Kenya such as Wangari Mute Maathai and Mekatilili Wa Menza to show their contribution, the study on Ayodo has not been fully done yet the contribution made by him in the making of Kenya's history as one of the greatest political leaders is significant. Many biographical works have been written about great individuals in their struggle for the attainment of the independence of Kenya such as Jomo Kenyatta, Achieng Oneko, Bildad Kaggia, Paul Ngei, and Kungu Karumba. Their contribution present historians with the need to write biographies of other great leaders such as Ayodo because despite being one of the greatest leaders in Kenya, his early life, political career, his contribution in development and his life after retiring from politics has not been done to show his role.

As one of the elected members to the Legislative Council and the first member of parliament for Kasipul Kabondo constituency in 1963, Ayodo was one of the longest serving leaders in KANU. As such, he became very influential and dominated politics in Kasipul Kabondo earning himself the title '*Liech*'. Scrutiny of the literature available only identifies Ayodo as a powerful and a minister for Local Government and as well as minister for Tourism Wildlife and Natural Resources, without detailing his background that might have moulded him for future leadership.

Ayodo's success during his political career and development projects, his role in facilitating land consolidation within his constituency, Africanization within Nairobi City Council and the establishment of Lambwe Valley Game Reserve are some of the findings from the research which are subject worth a systematic study in order to fill a knowledge gap about his early life, his role in socio-economic and political developments. This omission need to be examined by an in-depth study of Ayodo. This work will examine not only his early life and education but also his political career in Kasipul Kabondo and national politics. This study is meant to document and unearth why Ayodo rose to prominence beyond his home constituency to national limelight. The study would stimulate similar researches on the lives of people who have contributed significantly in the making of Kenya nation. The study would also be useful to policy makers on the role of politicians and how the citizens may elect potential leaders. It would also be useful to policy makers

in education sector dealing with curriculum development on the study of biographies and its significance.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study covered Ayodo's life from his birth in 1930 to his death in 1998. His early childhood is significant in that it examines whether his upbringing influenced or shaped his future career. The study specifically examined his political career between 1959-1983 as a Member of Parliament. The study also covered his career as a Minister from 1964 to 1969 as well as his life after retiring from active politics. As regards geographical coverage or area of study, it was conducted in Kasipul-Kabondo constituency. Since Ayodo's activities and influence were national, the study therefore took a national perspective to assess Ayodo's role in Kenya as well and not only his constituency. As concerns the limitation or constraints given that many of Ayodo's contemporaries are dead and so first-hand information about him was limited, some family members were biased in favour of Ayodo while others were not willing to give information. Some interviewees were also uncooperative due to suspicion on what the study intended to do with the data collected from them. The researcher overcame the challenges by assuring the informants of utmost confidentiality and informing them of the purpose of the study; that it would only be applicable to the study of Ayodo on his role. In addition, the researcher created rapport as a way of building confidence among the interviewees.

1.7 Literature Review

In this section, the study has presented a review of studies related to the study about Ayodo. This section examined general and specific literature about biographies and how they relate to Ayodo's study. Through literature review, the research has identified the knowledge gap.

The studies of biographies are important because they are considered as sources of history. Studies on the biographies of great individuals have provided very popular and revealing readings. The writing of biographies can be traced back to the inscriptions which celebrated the lives of great individuals and accounted for the exploits of dead and great warriors. Rowse stresses the point that a great deal of history maybe learnt in the most congenial way simply by reading biographies.⁷ Rowse's study is relevant to this study

⁷A. L. Rowse, *The Use of History* cited in Ochieng W.R, *Place of Biography in Kenyan History: 1904-2005*(Kisumu: Anyange Press Ltd 1991.), P.1.

because it stresses the importance of studying biographies which begun long time ago. It therefore forms a solid background on the study of the biography of Ayodo because the current study examined the role Ayodo played as a great political leader in Kenya.

Lee argues that biographies are generally about real people and therefore they have responsibility to the truth. A biography should cover the life of the individual studied from cradle to grave or can be organised by theme.⁸ The writing of biographies of important people begun in classical and medieval periods as a way of recording the achievements and views revered on important people such as political, religious and military leaders. Some of the writings of biographies of most great Kenyan leaders were written after the struggle for the independence of Kenya as a way of demonstrating their important contribution towards the attainment of the independence of Kenya. Majority of them were arrested and detained for this course.

Lee's statement is important because it reveals that the study of an individual should begin from birth to death or can be organised by theme. It also reveals that the study of biographies is done as a way of recording their achievements, it was therefore relevant to the current study because it was used to examine Ayodo's life from birth to death. It was also used to asses Ayodo's achievements in comparison to other Kenyan leaders who contributed to the attainment of the independent of Kenya.

Despite the fact that substantial literature has been written about Kenyan leaders both in colonial and postcolonial period, in these writings, the personal contributions of many Kenyan leaders have been documented in detail. In contrast, little has been documented about Ayodo. Timothy's work, "*Ayodo Election 1969*",⁹ which is an unpublished dissertation about Ayodo's election has only given a scanty life history such as schooling and 1969 election without giving a critical study on his birth, his life before going to school, his schooling, his teaching profession, his marital life, his entry into the church, his political career between 1959 and 1983, his retirement from active politics as well as his death are not covered in depth. The study examined Ayodo's early social life such as how his life before going to school was, his schooling and teaching profession, it also looked at schools he taught at and how his teaching career prepared for his political career, how he entered politics and his political roles in the formative years in 1960s. More significantly,

⁸H. Lee, *Biography, Avery Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.), p.8.

⁹ A. Timothy, "*Ayodo Election 1969*," *BA Dissertation*, University of Nairobi 1991.

Ayodo's political career between 1959 and 1983 as well as his life after retiring from active politics, which is the objective of the current study, has not been explored and leaves knowledge gap worth filling.

Timothy's work on Ayodo proved relevant to the current study because it gives a hint on the significance on the study of Ayodo having examined Ayodo's election of 1969. But since the study does not give a detailed study on Ayodo's full life, his role in development and his life after retiring from politics, the current study therefore seeks to fill the gap by giving a detailed account on Ayodo's early life, his role in development and life after retiring from politics which are the objectives of the study.

Ochieng argues that there has been a great interest in the writing of biographies of outstanding individuals such as military generals, statesmen, social thinkers, or people who fought to release their followers from domination or dictatorship. Ochieng further asserts that for a long time, history comprised mostly the deeds and ideas of great men such as the reign of kings.¹⁰ Ellis on the other hand argues that such great men included Napoleon who introduced a code of laws, which brought order in France after destructive reign of King Louis XIV who was regarded as a tyrant.¹¹ The current study endeavoured to interrogate the relationship between Ayodo's political role in Kenya and those of great leaders both in Kenya and outside.

G. G Kariuki is regarded as a great leader because he helped the women in Laikipia West to form self-help groups and to form land buying company in 1970s to buy land to help improve on agricultural activities and to eradicate poverty. Ayodo on the other hand helped to facilitate land consolidation in South Nyanza to help improve agricultural activities and eradicate poverty. Just like Napoleon introduced a code of law in France after destructive King Louis XIV was the same way Ayodo facilitated the introduction of laws within Nairobi City council to help traders trade using valid licences. This is why Ochieng's study is relevant to this study because it helped to investigate Ayodo's role in his area.

Goldsworthy analyses the life history of Tom Mboya. He particularly outlines Mboya's political life, which dates back to the 1950s. Starting from the first employment as a sanitary inspector in the Nairobi City Council, shortly after joining African Staff Union, he

¹⁰ W.R. Ochieng, *Place of Biography in Kenyan History: 1904-2005*(Kisumu; Anyange Press Ltd 1991.)

¹¹ G. E. Ellis, *World History Connections Today*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Co P. 486.)

was elected the President. Goldsworthy observes that due to Mboya's devotion and dedication, he changed the African Staff Union into a trade union and renamed it Kenya Labour Workers Union. Mboya did not stop at that but was poised for greater services for humanity. In 1955, Mboya was instrumental in arbitrating the Mombasa dockworkers' strike thereby enabling workers secure better working conditions. At the same time while representing workers in the British Colonial Advisory Board, Mboya remained focused in pushing for equality in all matters of industrial relations. He maintained the same later after independence when he became the minister for labour.¹²

Other achievement associated with Mboya's sterling performance in the service was his election as the secretary general of KANU when it was formed, his appointment as the minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs and later minister for Economic Planning and Development. Among his outstanding achievements as a minister is the policy paper he developed titled "*Sessional Paper No 10*" on the spirit of *harambee* and the principles of African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya. The paper visualised Kenya as a nation with a growing economy where citizens enjoy higher and growing per capita equitably distributed. It was the vision of a nation of healthy and educated individuals productively employed to better their life and those of their families and the nation as a whole. One of the attributes of Mboya was selfless service and independent mind at work. During the Accra Conference in 1958, Mboya was recognised as a Pan-Africanist and an international icon. The author shows that Mboya was a great hero who dedicated his life to fight for the good of common men and the poor. Ayodo's quest for the Africanization within Nairobi City Council and land consolidation when he was the minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs reflected a lot in the contribution of Mboya in advocating for the plight of the common men. Ayodo realised that it was important for the common people like the peasant farmers to get title deeds through land consolidation which was Ayodo's main achievement towards the development within his constituency. There are also many other leaders such as Masinde Muliro who through his influence helped to form self-help groups like Ayodo. Tom Mboya on the other hand drafted the sessional paper No 10 which was to spearhead development in Kenya.

The early life of Muliro and his role in other capacities portrays him as a devoted great leader. Simiyu traces Muliro's early life and his struggle for independence of Kenya, in

¹² M. D. Goldsworthy, *Tom Mboya: The Man Kenya Wanted to Forget* (New York: Africana Publishing Co. 1982.)

which he played a key role together with other nationalists in securing Kenya's independence. At independence, Muliro joined KADU and was the representative of the western province (*Jimbo*). As a member of parliament for the cosmopolitan, he advocated for peaceful co-existence of different communities. Muliro greatly influenced and organised the people of western province of Kenya to form self-help groups and shift to modern methods of farming. Through this endeavour, Muliro empowered his constituents economically. Due to his boldness, Muliro condemned assassinations such as that of Tom Mboya in 1969 arguing that physical elimination of politicians with a dissenting voice could not solve political problems in a society the same way he condemned those who killed Josiah Mwangi Kariuki. Muliro's political career matches Ayodo's political career in many ways because the two personalities represented their constituencies as early as 1957. The most important aspect in the two studies is that Muliro's stand on political evils relates well with Ayodo's stand on political evils because in 1969 Ayodo came out and condemned those who assassinated Mboya. He even addressed a press conference to that effect. Muliro's biography provided a good approach in studying Ayodo's political role especially his political role in 1969 when there were political challenges such as Mboya's assassination, riots in Kisumu when President Kenyatta visited Kisumu where they differed with Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. The biography of Muliro shows how he believed in democracy the same way Ayodo believed in justice and democracy.

Simiyu traces the life of Josiah Mwangi Kariuki. He reveals that Kariuki, later known as J. M Kariuki hailed from a humble background without a sponsor to pay for his fees. Kariuki went out of his way to solicit money for himself to pay his school fees. While in KAU, during the struggle for independence, Kariuki contributed considerably in setting Kenya free from colonial domination. At independence, he became a fearless, frank and an outspoken defender of the poor and the less privileged. Simiyu observed that Kariuki was opposed to government policies that did not favour the common man. He was in particular opposed to the retention of white settlers after independence and the related one million acres' scheme through which the government was to buy farms from the settlers to be allocated to the landless people. To many people, Kariuki's stand in defence of the common man and the poor as well as his spirited opposition to undesirable policies made him a hero. It is widely believed that his death was linked to his quest for justice for the

poor.¹³ The way Kariuki struggled for the common man in Kenya is similar to the way Ayodo struggled for the common man in getting title deeds.

Kariuki was articulate in and out of parliament; he attacked Kenyatta's government policy of encouraging whites to stay in Kenya after independence. As far as Kariuki was concerned, Kenyans had fought for independence so that they could get back lands which were rightly theirs. He advocated free allocation of land in the White Highland's to landless Kenyans. Kariuki was against the Ol Kalou settlement scheme in Nyandarua District, the five-acre plots were meant for clerical officers in the ministry of Lands and Settlement. To him this was sheer greed as such people had lands elsewhere. The current study was reflective of Ayodo's contribution in his constituency towards the acquisition of title deeds as well as Ayodo's effort in the Africanization within the Nairobi City Council in the same way Kariuki was opposed to retaining settlers on their lands after independence while some Africans remained landless.

The autobiography of Koigi Wamwere, demonstrates how he stood as a strong advocator and defender of the poor and landless in the society. He spent a good part of his life during both the Kenyatta and Moi regimes in the struggle for political reforms, democracy, multi-partysm and social justice. A determined Wamwere was never deterred by detentions by the regimes of Mzee Kenyatta and Moi since he was defiant. Wamwere devoted his life to the struggle for political reforms which included multi-partysm in 1990s and free and just election for Kenyans. The themes in Koigi's book, *I Refuse to Die*¹⁴ provided useful comparative works to the study of Ayodo especially in his courage, frankness and fearless spirit. Wamwere's stand on political reforms in Kenya can be compared to Ayodo's virtues when he warned KANU of murder plot rumours on the *East African Standard* of 28 December 1961. Ayodo revealed in this newspaper that some KANU members were plotting to kill KADU officials, this was one of the social injustices Ayodo and Wamwere were against and came out to condemn.

Wandibba, Wanjohi in Odinga's autobiography *Not Yet Uhuru: An Autobiography* explored the role played by late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga in various capacities. The authors outlined the rise of one of Kenya's nationalists and freedom fighters. Odinga played a key role in securing Kenya's independence. Born in 1912 at Bondo in Nyanza province,

¹³W.G. Simiyu, *J.M. Kariuki* (Nairobi: East Africa Education Publishers Ltd, 2004.)

¹⁴K. Wamwere, *I Refuse to Die: My Journey to Freedom* (Nairobi: Seven Stories Press, 2004.); The Standard 'J.M. Kariuki Dissenting Voice Silenced by Assassins Bullet', *The Standard*, 2 October 2013. p.17.

Odinga attended Maseno School and Alliance High School and thereafter enrolled for a diploma in education at Makerere College in 1939. Between 1942 and 1946, he taught in secondary schools rising to the post of headmaster. Odinga exited teaching, briefly joined business, founded the Luo Thrift and Trading Cooperation, and became its Managing Director until 1962. By forming the cooperation, Odinga aimed at improving the lives of the people he represented. In the autobiography, Odinga elaborated on how he rose from a local teacher to prominence in the politics of Kenya with the climax being his appointment as the vice president of Kenya in 1964.

Odinga's liberal mind on what he perceived as not good for the country made him unpopular with President Kenyatta. He increasingly opposed Kenyatta and KANU's policies and openly challenged the government's use of private and foreign investment capital. Unlike the government's inclination to the West, he pursued a socialist perspective of politics. He finally resigned as a vice president and formed an opposition party named Kenya Peoples Union (KPU). Odinga is recognised as the father of opposition and multi-partyism in Kenya. Odinga's determination, resilience and openness on issues of good governance and social fairness in his entire life in the opposition contributed a lot to the struggle for justice and for that reason, Odinga's autobiography and the writings of Wanjohi and Ochieng constituted a background for the current study.¹⁵

Wangari Maathai is recognised as a great scholar, an environmentalist and human rights crusader. Rising from a humble background, Maathai secured herself a place in history for promoting environmental conservation in Kenya by planting trees. During the struggle for multiparty democracy, she was in the forefront and stood firm against corruption and ethnic politics. In 1980s, Maathai served as the chairperson of the National Council of Women of Kenya. As concerns environment, Maathai founded the Green Belt Movement, a non-governmental organization whose aim was to promote environmental conservation. In the same spirit of environmental conservation, Maathai was in the lead in planting as many trees as possible across the country.

In 2006, Maathai supported the international year for the eradication of desertification programme. She also spearheaded the United Nation's billion-tree campaign in Kenya. Other achievements of Maathai included her election as the Member of Parliament for Tetu

¹⁵O. Odinga, *Not Yet Uhuru: An Autobiography* (Nairobi: East Africa Education Publishers Ltd, 1967.)

Constituency and her appointment as an assistant minister for Environment and Natural Resources, which was in line with her activism. In 2004, she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize winner to recognise her peculiar commitment in environmental conservation, hence many consider Maathai a heroine.

The other important contribution of Maathai in Kenya towards the conservation of the environment was when she came out strongly to stop the government's attempt to build a sky-crappier on Nairobi's Uhuru Park, where trees would be cut down to allow the project to start. In 2004 Maathai was elected as the first president of the African Unions' Economic, Social and Cultural Council.¹⁶ The nature of Maathai's focus, devotion and resilience to serve humanity was important in the study of Ayodo's active participation and involvement in the establishment of Wire forest and other projects.

Brown, Mazrui explore the life of Jomo Kenyatta from his childhood to his time as the first president of Kenya. The authors agree that Kenyatta was an important leader of Kenya. Kenyatta attended several meetings to push for the attainment of the independence of Kenya together with other African nationalists such as Kwame Nkrumah, becoming one of the greatest Pan-Africanists. As a Pan-Africanist, Kenyatta acted as rallying point of Kenyan nationalism both at home and abroad. He also acted as the leader of the Kikuyu community. With Kenyatta's effort, the independence of Kenya was attained in 1963 and he was elected the first president of Republic of Kenya until his death in 1978. As the first president of Kenya, Kenyatta became the founder of the Kenyan nation. These works are important because they provide a comparative study on Ayodo's political career from 1959 to 1983. It gives a comparative analysis of how Ayodo was elected as the first Member of Parliament for Kabondo-Kasipul constituency in 1963, how he rose to senior positions when he was appointed as a minister between 1963 to 1969 and his role within ministry of Local Government and Regional Affairs where he facilitated land consolidation and the ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Natural Resources where he facilitated the establishment of Lambwe Valley Game Reserve when he worked under Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.¹⁷

The study further provided a comparative study of Ayodo as an important Luo leader as well as his role in other political roles and economic developments. Using a historical perspective and applying the Big Man theory as understood and used by Frank Farrington,

¹⁶ W. Maathai, *Unbowed: A memoir* (Nairobi: Kenswey Publishers, 2006.)

¹⁷J. M. Brown, *Jomo Kenyatta* (Nairobi: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1972). A. Mazrui *On Heroes and Uhuru-Worship Essays on Independent Africa* (New York: Longman and Co. Ltd, 1967.)

A big man has a considerable experience with guiding communities in establishing community development. He further asserts that one strong man can make a community a great success. This role was done by Ayodo when he facilitated land consolidation and establishment of Lambwe Valley Game Reserve to bring development to the people. The book is full of ideas for organizing people around projects that when linked together, offer program for community and economic development.

Roelker employs a biographical approach in describing the origin and development of Mathu's character. He reveals Mathu's political career especially his role in the Legislative Council of 1944. Mathu was outstanding in airing African grievances such as colonial oppression. Roelker posits that Africans honoured those who were ready to die for the right course.¹⁸ J.W Arthur also played an important role in fighting for the African interests. He was appointed as the first "Un-Official" representative of African interest in the Legislative Council. He had information on the living conditions of Africans. From 1928-1929, he played a role in Legislative Council as he recognized and accepted the colonial situation. Dr. Arthur developed a consensus between missions, government and settlers and he was advisor to the Kikuyu Association. In addition, he was instrumental in calling a meeting of the Agikuyu, the missionaries and administrative officers to try thrush out the misunderstanding which had risen over the nature of land holding in Kiambu.¹⁹ The lives of Mathu and Arthur were important in the study of Ayodo because they were instrumental in exploring Ayodo's political career especially his election in 1963 and his appointment as the first minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs. It was also used to provide a comparative study on Ayodo's role with regards to land consolidation which made him to be honoured as a leader who was ready to help the needy just like Mathu and Dr. Arthur. On the other hand, the life of Arthur was important because the way he organised meetings between the Agikuyu, the missions, the government and the settlers, this was similar to the way Ayodo organised a delegation to go and meet President Kenyatta to reconcile the Luo community and the government so as to ensure that the relationship between the two communities remained cordial. Ayodo also played a role in reconciling Luo leaders from Siaya and Kisumu by organising meetings even though he was not coming from either of the two regions.

¹⁸J.R, Roelker, *Mathu of Kenya: A political Study* (California: Hoover Institute Press, 1976.)

¹⁹A. King, J. W. Arthur and African Interests' In B.E Kipkorir, *Biographical Essays on Imperialism and Collaboration in Colonial Kenya* (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980.)

Ochieng explores the role of Daniel Arap Moi as a president. Moi who was once a teacher and rose to the position of vice president and later on president of Kenya for 24 years. He is one of the longest serving presidents in Africa and the world at large. Ochieng reveals that Moi was a crusader of peace, love and unity which became his slogan.²⁰ Moi's effort at resolving conflicts made him to emerge as the grand patriarch of Pan-Africanism. He forged unity in East Africa through African summitry system, which was an instrument of conflict resolution in Eastern Africa region. Ochieng asserts that Moi was a man of wisdom, vision and therefore, a great son of Africa. Moi had three prominent characteristics; his sophisticated simplicity, his survival capacity and his unquestionable commitment to and love for Kenya and Africa. All the time during his rule, Moi persistently insisted on primary peace, love and unity. Moi outlasted most of his colourful African contemporaries and was elected as the chairman of OAU. From 1986 onwards, he was more involved in forging East African summit system as an instrument of conflict resolution in the Eastern African region. He reconciled warring factions in Uganda, Congo and Somalia. Many a times Moi was dedicated to his duty and was seen as a force in the establishment of an independent and stable nation.

Nevertheless, looking back at Moi's regime, it can be argued that he did not create an enabling environment for proper economic management of national resources and that too much time was spent on ethnic politics. At the end of his term, Moi was accused of allowing corruption, deepening poverty and negligence to bring the country down. This literature was important to the current study in exploring Ayodo's role in bringing peace in Luo land and also in examining Ayodo's strengths and weaknesses as a leader.

Nyambura's work, *G. G. Kariuki in Development and Politics of Laikipia County in Kenya*, underscores the important role played by G. G. Kariuki in the development and politics of Laikipia County. Nyambura explores the early life and political career of Kariuki from the time of his birth in 1937 to when he exited politics. The work reveals that Kariuki went through catechism classes in an independent church in a Laikipia estate. In 1959, Kariuki entered politics when he joined the central rift valley labour party. In 1963, G. G. Kariuki was the first Member of Parliament for Laikipia Constituency.²¹ G. G. Kariuki was instrumental in facilitating the establishment of several primary and secondary

²⁰ W.R. Ochieng, *Place of Biography in Kenyan History: 1904-2005*(Kisumu; Anyange Press Ltd 1991.)

²¹ R. Nyambura *et al* G.G. Kariuki in *The Development and Politics of Laikipia County in Kenya*, in *Journal of International Academic Research for Multidisciplinary* Vol.1. August 2013, pp.457-462.

schools and promoting the education of bright students using scholarships. He also established craft training centres as well as health centres. In the 1970s, Kariuki assisted his constituents to buy land and settled the landless. Kariuki collaborated with the local leaders in starting a land buying company, which purchased 16,000 acres of land to settle 3000 families.²²

G. G. Kariuki was vocal in parliament during parliamentary debates. He was also an important KANU power broker, and party defender. He felt that a new committee would bring new changes in the party. This work formed a strong background to this study especially in exploring Ayodo's early life, his entry into politics and political career which also included Ayodo's role in development of South Nyanza district (Homa Bay and Migori) counties with regards to land consolidation programme.

Keller describes the early life of Nelson Mandela, a son of a Thembu Chief. His father stubbornly defied the white authorities and refused an order to appear before the colonial magistrate and this led to the loss of his job land and cattle and sent young Mandela to Qunu where relatives could help support him. Keller traced some aspect of his character back to his royal upbringing, his respect for tradition, his judicial temperament and his regal self-confidence.²³ The Xhosa rite of passage that Mandela underwent when he was 16 years old might have prepared him for the tough political times ahead. Later, Mandela found employment in the gold mines. He describes his law studies and later how he partnered with Oliver Tambo in the practice of law. The year 1943 marked his entry in politics. Mandela abhorred apartheid and put all his energies to dismantle it. As the government cracked down on opponents of apartheid, Mandela and ANC urged change of tactics from peaceful disobedience to armed insurrection. This led to his arrest and subsequently charged with treason in December 1953. While describing the atrocities of apartheid the book takes a look at the gallant efforts of Mandela as a lawyer, freedom fighter and a nationalist.

The book also details Mandela's walk to freedom in 1990, the subsequent victory and democratic election and his election as the first black African president. He stunned the world for openly accommodating the whites, the formation of the rainbow nation. The book also narrates his unprecedented handing of power, after serving for only one term in office to Thabo Mbeki. Mandela's personal traits were instrumental to his un-chequered

²² Ibid p.4

²³ B. Keller, *Treeshaker, The Story of Nelson Mandela* (London: Kingfisher Publications 2008.) p.44

career. His personal traits which include determination, charisma and self-confidence made him to make in-roads in the belligerent apartheid system. This information is important because it brings out powerful traits of successful leaders hence was used to examine Ayodo's biography.

Biographies of major political, religious and military leaders continue to attract immense interest probably because of the power and achievement of leaders such as Augustine, Charlemagne and Hitler. In Britain for instance, the writing of biographies expanded in the aftermath of the 1667 civil war and the restoration especially among those individuals who were directly engaged in battles or those imprisoned or exiled due to their religious and political loyalties such as Prince William Cavendish, a military commander during the civil war.²⁴ The belief that biography was more lively and appealing than other forms of history was held strongly by many writers in the 18th century such as Hugh Blair. Carlyle on the other hand insisted that history is the essence of innumerable biographies; Carlyle's belief in the importance of individuals' lives is evident throughout the history of the French Revolution (1789) which continually refers to particular individuals in illustrating political developments and indeed the state of France itself and the pattern and process of the revolution. Carlyle wrote, "The history of what a man has accomplished in this world is at the bottom of the history of great men who worked here..."²⁵ Carlyle further emphasised how he saw history as having turned on the decision of heroes such as Mohammed and Shakespeare. Mohamed introduced Islamic religion and has remained an important religion of the world, while Shakespeare wrote many poems and plays and that no other writer has his or her poems and plays performed than Shakespeare's poems and plays today. This work shows how various individuals influenced history in different ways hence great individuals. This work was important in exploring Ayodo's role during his time as a member of parliament and minister but more specifically his political career and development projects.

Cannon *J.et al* examines the life and contribution of George Gutman a graduate of Queen's College, Columbia University and later University of Wisconsin, who started his career as a teacher and later committed himself to advocating for the liberation of the ordinary working people. Being a historian Gutman wrote and advocated about the liberation of the ordinary people, whether wage earners or slaves most of whom were

²⁴ B. Cain, *Biography and History* (Hound mills: Palgrave Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2010.) p.30

²⁵ T. Carlyle in A. L. Rowse, *The Use of History* (London: English University Press, 1963.) p.176.

blacks. In 1976, Gutman shifted the focus of labour history from institutional history of unions to the problems, attitudes and life style of the working men and women themselves. Gutman's famous book, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*, emphasizes on the central importance of the family in slave society and culture.²⁶ Gutman, determined to counter the Moynihan Report which ascribed to slavery, maintained the importance of the social life of the black family. In the same manner as Gutman committed himself to the struggle for liberation of the oppressed members of society, Ayodo's effort reflected the same view about life. Therefore, Gutman's work and commitment to defend the black and the poor families in America was instructive in examining Ayodo's struggle for his people towards improved living conditions.

Generally, American biography followed the English model, while incorporating Thomas Carlyle's view that biography was part of history. Carlyle asserted that the lives of great human beings were essential to understanding society and its institutions. While the historical impulse would remain a strong element in early American biography. American writers carved out their own distinct approach. What emerged was a rather didactic form of biography which sought to shape individual character of the reader in the process of defining national character.²⁷

Heilbrum, the late feminist scholar observed that women's biographies and autobiographies began to change characters during the second wave of feminist activism and termed this period as "The beginning of new period of women's biographies." In 1973 according to the author was the turning point in women's autobiographies. It was a period when women narrated their history. This work explores hidden roles on the biographies of women, the women's biographies expanded in 1973. This work was useful in assessing how Ayodo's personal characters influenced the politics of his time.²⁸ Heilbrum's work proved relevant to the current study because it helped to examine how the study of some biographies and autobiographies are applicable in studying the biography of Ayodo.

Generally speaking, none of the literature reviewed mention Ayodo's background, early life, education, political career after school and his life after retiring from politics. This

²⁶ J. Canon et al (Eds) *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians* (New York: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1988.); M. Bratton and N. Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p.194.)

²⁷S.E. Casper, *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.)

²⁸C.G. Heilbrum, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988.)

forms an important stage of Ayodo's life and possibly influenced his later political career. Ayodo's activities in the post-colonial period have not drawn much attention in the literature reviewed. For example, his role in land consolidation within his region and thereafter not given due attention. On the whole, there has not been a serious and comprehensive study of Samwel Onyango Ayodo.

It is towards this end that this study is written. It will serve a triple purpose: to fill in knowledge gaps about Ayodo's life, add to the knowledge gaps about his role in development of Kenya which includes his political career and also to assess his life after retiring from politics. This I hope will be a contribution to the national history of Kenya.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study has applied a multi-dimensional theoretical approach. Two theories are employed depending on what was researched. These are Great Man and Big Man theories.

1.8.1 Great Man Theory

In this section, the Great Man theory upon which the study was based is discussed first followed by the Big Man theory. The Great Man theory of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) seeks to understand how great individuals or heroes are able to use their personal charisma, intelligence and wisdom or power in a way that has a decisive historical impact. Carlyle's theory is relevant to my research particularly on the theme of charisma, intelligence and wisdom or power and their influence.

The writing of Thomas Carlyle was useful in my research in that I used it to interrogate the influence of charisma, intelligence and wisdom on great individuals and their effects on history. The theory provides principles that explain the role of heroes or great individuals in history making. It provides a link between the actions of great individuals and history making, some of Carlyle's concepts of the theory is explained and how they provide links.

Charisma is defined as the powerful personal quality that some people have and which enables them to attract and impress other people. This concept is used to explain how some great individuals influenced history using this principle. Carlyle argues that history has turned on the decision of heroes and gives a detailed analysis of the influence of Shakespeare, a great poet, whose poems are read widely. Martin Luther, a great Monk, who was against the ills and deeds of Napoleon who believed in Nepotism and built family of Kings. I used it to interrogate the power Ayodo used in attracting and impressing others

during various elections, which made him to win many elections and did great things during his time.

Intelligence is the ability to learn, understand and think in a logical way about things while wisdom is the ability to make sensible decisions and give good advice because of experience and knowledge. I used the two to interrogate Ayodo's personality and ability of making wise decisions during trying moments following Mboya's assassination and riots that took place in Kisumu in 1969.

Carlyle argues that a scholarly follower of the theory would likely study Second World War (1939-1945) by focusing on the roles played by various personalities which made them great individuals such as Adolf Hitler, the German, who was propelled by the desire to dominate the whole world; this fuelled the spirit of nationalism causing the war. On the other hand, Benito Mussolini was aggressive and invaded Ethiopia in 1945 to regain the lost glory of the Italians following their defeat by Menelik II in 1886 While Charles de Gaulle the French commander fought alongside Britain to defeat the Germans. These arguments were applied in my research to analyse Ayodo's role in politics of Luo Nyanza, it was also important in that it provided ways of looking at the data on Ayodo especially his role in entire politics of Luo Nyanza including Kisumu, Siaya and South Nyanza where it was discovered that Ayodo was able to bring almost all the Luo members of parliament to support *Oyugis Declaration of 1977*; Ayodo acted as a commander during this period.

Carlyle's theory is based on two assumptions; leaders are born and not made, great leaders arise in times of need. The theory was used in classical historiography in histories of Herodotus and Thucydides. In 12th and 13th Centuries, the reigns of new energetic kings who transformed the royal court into true centre of power stimulated the writing of biographies. The theory received further boost after the American revolution of 1776 and following the revolution, biographies preferred the founding fathers as teachers of the new nation, that role was better fitted by George Washington.

Katz when talking of Great Man theory stated that great leaders are born not made. This approach emphasized that a person is born with or without the necessary traits of leadership. Early "Great man" explanations of leadership studied the "traits" of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Abraham Lincoln and Napoleon Bonaparte among other leaders were born with these traits.

According to Katz, Great Man approach actually emphasizes “charismatic” leadership.²⁹ Charisma being the Greek word for gift. No matter what group such a natural leader finds himself or herself will always be recognised for what he or she is. According to Great man theory of leadership, leaders calls for qualities like commanding personality, charm, courage, intelligence persuasiveness and aggressiveness. Great Man theory adds that individuals are born either with or without the necessary traits for leadership and have some personalities; social physical or intellectual traits that differentiate leaders from non-leaders. The leaders have ambition and energy as well as the desire to lead. In addition, they possess characteristics of honesty and integrity, self-confidence, intelligence and job-relevant knowledge.

Ochieng reveal how histories of great individuals such as the late Kungu Karumba, Jomo Kenyatta, Achieng Oneko and other nationalists struggled for Kenya’s independence,³⁰ the two assumptions were relevant in my research because I used them to interrogate Ayodo’s consistency in politics and development during the period of the study and that between 1957-1979 Ayodo proved he was a born politician. This is because, despite the challenges he faced, especially in 1969, he even proved stronger and did not quit politics and continued to contest the elections of 1974, 1979 and 1983.

One significant contribution of the theory to the study was the argument that human beings influence the course of history and that instead of viewing history as a wholly determined process. The theory takes into account accidents and other unpredictable circumstances. The perspective emphasizes the action of individuals as a driving force in human development. Kenyanchui argues that the hero and heroine should be seen influencing or determining the course of history,³¹ Ayodo was a hero because he influenced land consolidation process in South Nyanza.

However, the theory has some weaknesses according to scholar Hebert Spencer on grounds that men Carlyle call Great Men were merely products of social environment and so should not be used to explain the historical events associated with Great Men, but still the theory has what it takes to explain the effects of great individuals in influencing history by not looking at the influence of social environment. Barbarcain posit that history was essentially composed of the lives of significant individuals who deserved particular

²⁹ Katz Skills of an Effective Administration in the book cases of Leadership (California: Sage Publications 1974.)

³⁰ W.R. Ochieng, *Place of Biography in Kenyan History: 1904-2005*(Kisumu; Anyange Press Ltd 1991.)

³¹ S.S. Kenyanchui, *Nabongo Mumia* (Herne Mann Kenya Publishers Ltd. 1992.) P.1.

veneration and attention such as Napoleon Bonaparte.³² Mathew on the other hand argue that Joan of Arc (1412-1431) was a great individual because he rallied the French to victory during the 100 years' war forcing England to cede its overseas lands to French crown,³³ while French revolution (1789) is studied by focusing on the role of influential individuals such as Rousseau, Montesquieu and Voltaire whose contributions influenced the pattern and process of the revolution.

The view of Spencer is different from Carlyle's view, but Great Man theory is important because it was useful in my research in analysing Ayodo's role in various ministries such as Local Government and Regional Affairs as well as Tourism, Wild Life and Natural Resources. While serving in the ministry of Local Government and Regional Affairs, Ayodo was important in his role in the Africanization process, he also initiated by-laws to be used by hawkers in Nairobi City Council among other contributions. It is important to note that a great man can see further than others and desire things more strongly. A Carlylean hero is not a hero because he can stop or change the natural course of things but in the sense that his activities are conscious and free expression of this inevitable or unconscious course. Great Man theory is relevant in explaining Ayodo's role in nation building by focusing on his role in politics and development.

1.8.2 The Big Man theory.

Favoured for the delivery of Ayodo's biography is also the Big Man theory. This is mainly because the study focuses on Ayodo's development in nation building including, his political career from 1959 to 1983. According to this theory, A big man is a highly influential individual in a tribe, especially in Melanesia and Polynesia. Such a person may not have formal tribal or other authority (material possession, or inheritance of rights), but can maintain recognition through skilled persuasion and wisdom. The argument is that the big man has a large group of followers, both from his clan and from other clans. He provides his followers with protection and economic assistance, in return receiving support, which he uses to increase his status.

The American anthropologist, Marshall Sahlins in his much-quoted article "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief" uses analytically constructed ideal-types of hierarchy and equality to compare a large-scale Polynesian-type hierarchical society of Chiefs and Sub-

³² B. Cain, *Biography and History* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2010.) P.30.

³³ R.T. Mathew, *The Western Humanities*, (New York: Mc Grew-Hill Co. 1992.) P.257.

Chiefs with Melanesian-type big-man system. The latter consists of segmented lineage groups, locally held together by fiction leaders who compete for power in the social structure of horizontally arranged and principally equal groupings (factions), and that leadership is not ascribed, but gained through action and competition “with other ambitious men”, A big Man’s position is never secured in any inherited position at the top of hierarchy, but is always challenged by the different big men who compete with one another in an ongoing process of reciprocity.

Even though the Big Man system is dying away due to the influence of westernization on the people in Solomon Islands’ the system can still be seen at the political level whereby every four years in the Islands’ national elections, the system is clearly seen among the people. In Papua New Guinea, among the peoples of non- Austronesian speaking communities, authority was obtained, a Big Man, recognised as performing most capably in social, political, economic and ceremonial activities. His function was not to command, but to influence his society through his example, he was expected to act as a negotiator with neighbouring groups. He was seen as ensuring the well-being of his community. Such a system still exists in many parts of Papua New Guinea and other parts of Melanesia.

The Big Man theory is also evident in the work of Frank Farrington entitled *Community Development: Making the Small Town a Better Place to Live in and a Better Place In which to Do Business*, he posits that in the USA, they practiced various forms of community development for instance establishing governments, schools, libraries, churches and roads and attracting businesses. Farrington notes that in establishing community wide based business organisations required widespread participation to leadership builds competitiveness and that one strong man can make a community a great success a community is as strong as its strongest man and that this man will act as a leader. This leader knows how to work with everyone in the community, he also knows how to work with local merchants to attract and keep business, which is the main aim of community development. The book is full of ideas for organising people around projects that when linked together offer programme for community and economic development. The theory is therefore relevant in the study of the biography of Ayodo especially his influential role as a political leader.

1.9 Research Methodology

The study used life history methodology. Schwandt asserts that life history methodology is a generic term for a variety of approaches to qualitative study that focus on generation analysis and presentation of data of a life history. The methodology assumes that social action can best be understood from the account and perspectives of the people involved.³⁴ In this case, narrative as a method focused on experiences as expressed in lived and told stories of individuals.

As regards design, the study used a descriptive research design. This design was chosen since it is a common method of studying individuals under natural conditions at the same time. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, a descriptive research design is a process of collecting data from members of a population in order to answer questions concerning current status of the subjects in the study. It also determines and reports the way things are in attempts to describe such things as possible behaviours, attitudes and characteristics,³⁵ while according to Borg and Gall, all studies concerned with specific predictions, with narration of facts and characteristics concerning individuals or situations are all examples of descriptive research studies.³⁶

Oso and Onen, looks at this design as one that examines what is happening as it is lived by the people and helps in arriving in the conclusion about the cases, trends and effects of past phenomenon in order to explain the present.³⁷ The design was used to describe data collected on Ayodo regarding his early life, political career, his role as a minister and his life in retirement from active politics.

As regards study area, the study took a national perspective in assessing political career and Ayodo's role. In terms of Ayodo's political career, the study largely focused in Homa Bay County, then South Nyanza District. Concerning other roles, the study focused on Kasipul-Kabondo Constituency. Figure 1 on page 26 shows the area where Ayodo's Constituency is located and where he represented for several terms.

³⁴ T. A. Schwandt, *The Sage Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publication Ltd, 2007.), p.204.

³⁵ M. Mugenda, A. G. Mugenda *Research Methods, Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches* (Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies, 2003), p.48.

³⁶ W. R. Borg, M. D. Gall *Educational Research* (London: Longman Ltd, 1976.) p.198.

³⁷ W. Y. Oso, D. Onen *A General Guide to Writing Research Proposal and Report* (Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2009.), p.37.

The study used purposive sampling. Using snowballing, the study identified informants with adequate information on Ayodo. Interview schedules were used to elicit data from an informed representative sample of fifty-one informants from Homa Bay County who were interviewed using this technique; informants were obtained from the locations within the constituency while some few were obtained outside the constituency. The researcher identified some few elderly people aged 60 years old and above who helped in identifying others who qualified for inclusion in the study. Snowballing proved useful as it helped to locate people with rich information about Ayodo from different clans where Ayodo had point men during his time in politics.

The informants from both genders were selected based on their knowledge, experience, relation and interaction with Ayodo in his socio-political activities in Kasipul-Kabondo constituency and beyond. The informants comprised of the following categories; the politicians, Ayodo's friends, the clergy, local residents and family members.

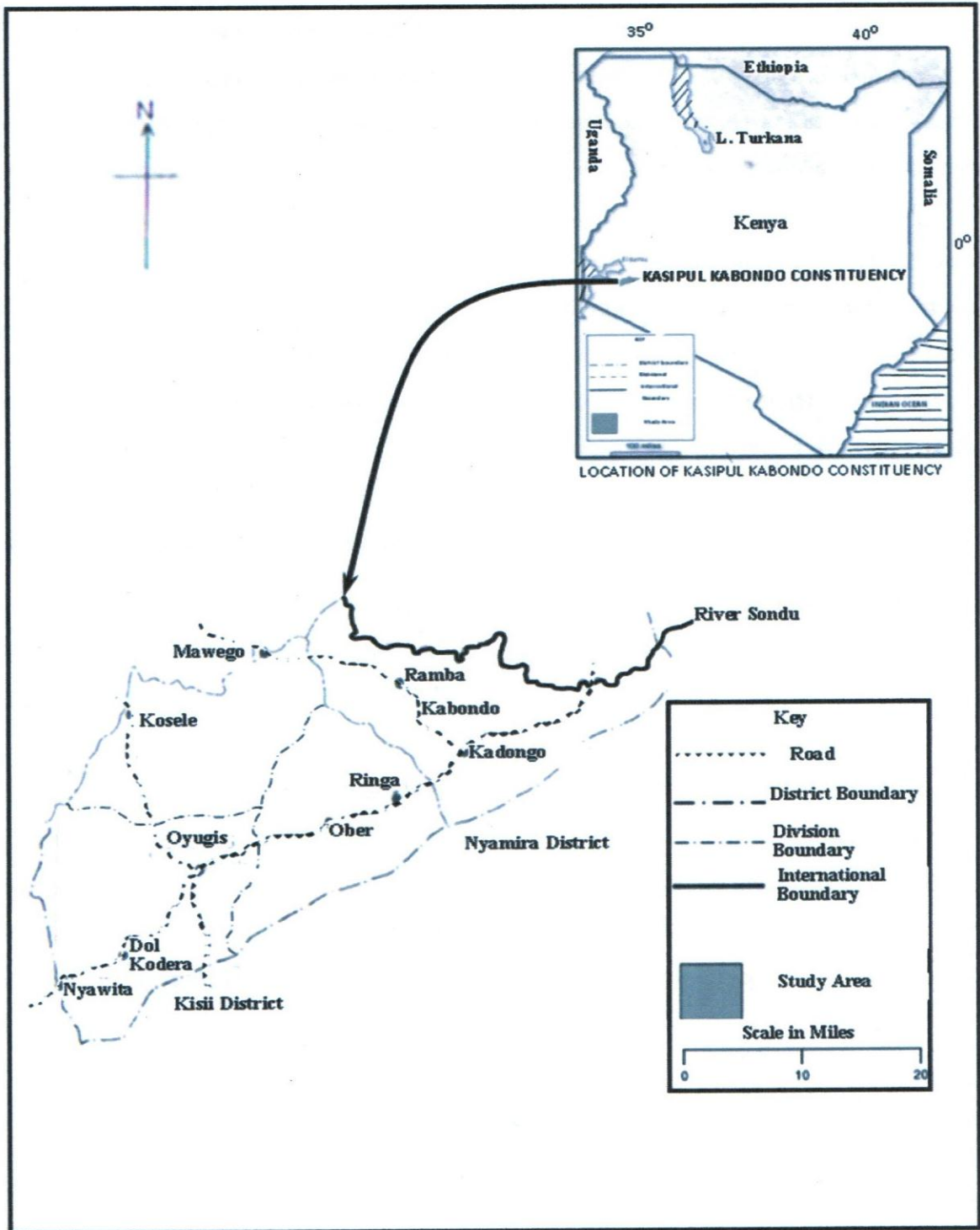
1.9.1 Sampling Procedure

The study used purposive sampling method. Purposive sampling method was applied to identify an informed representative sample of fifty-one informants. Using snowballing, the researcher interviewed fifty-one respondents that comprised about ten members drawn from five categories of respondents namely; politicians, friends of Ayodo, the clergymen, the local residents and the family members. Snowballing was equally used to arrive at most ten informants from each of the five categories of the respondents. In identifying Ayodo's close friends, the widow of the late Ayodo was consulted first and she identified friends who named the next. Finally, the identified respondents were rated only leaving at least ten most informed and reliable in each category. The same approach was used to identify locals knowledgeable about Ayodo's life history.

Regarding politicians, snowball was applied in a manner that gave five politicians who competed with Ayodo and Ayodo's five-point men who were grouped under the category of politicians. These were realised during Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). The purpose was to reduce biases and get the right information of the reality at that particular time. The same procedure was applied to identify the clergymen who were knowledgeable about Ayodo. The ten categories covered the content area of the study. On the issue of analysis, the study employed the narrative analysis. The researcher examined the spoken and written texts about Ayodo's political career and his role in the development of South Nyanza. Out

of the collected data, texts were selected, organized, connected and evaluated to realise meaningful solution to the problem of the study.

Figure 1: Map of Study Area



Source: E.M Namai Cartographer Nairobi University, 2014

Data collection was from both primary and secondary sources through interviews. The interviews were conducted with the consent from participants to be part of the study. Examination of archival data, manuscripts, newspaper clippings and photographs were done from Kenya National Archives in Nairobi (KNA) and from the field, some of which included, annual reports from South Nyanza District, land records from the Ministry of Lands and Settlements and parliamentary Hansard from 1963 to 1965. Secondary data comprised published works including biographies such as “*The Makers of Kenya*” series written by various Kenya’s scholars, books, magazines and newspapers. Unpublished works such as dissertations were also examined. Such works were obtained from Egerton University library while some were got from public library in Kisumu. Interview schedules were used to elicit data from the categories. Peil advocates that the method works effectively even among the illiterate groups and that it produces satisfactory results due to personal contact.³⁸ The interviewer had the opportunity to ensure questions are understood, interview approach also provided room for the researcher for further probing of the interviewees. Additional questions were asked when the interviewees deliberately or unconsciously avoided some questions and notes taken.

During data collection process, the researcher heavily relied on interview technique because of its richness of communication that is possible in the interaction, therefore interview formed an integral source of data. Gillham looks at interview as indispensable in a study since during face-to-face interviews through questions and answers, it minimises the likelihood of dishonesty on the part of the informant as the researcher endeavoured to create good rapport with them.³⁹ The researcher through the interview method was able to consider the motivation and attitude of the respondents about the study. In addition, through interview frank and open answers especially on sensitive and personal issues were obtained. The researcher used the responses from interviews to categorise and summarize responses.

Lastly, because interview method sometimes has a danger of being exaggerated due to the respondents’ attitude towards the studied individual, the responses received through this method were assessed and summarized. The irrelevant responses were discarded and relevant ones were retained.

³⁸ M. Peil, *Social Science Research Methods: A Handbook of Africa* (Nairobi: East African Publishing, 1982.), p.71.

³⁹ B. Gilham, *Case Study Research Methods* (London: Continuum, 2000.), p.64.

Due to time consuming nature of the interviews, the researcher ensured that the informants were selected purposively, the researcher carefully planned the schedules to get the best and relevant responses. The researcher used careful and systematic ordering of questions, use of clear and straightforward questions and short sentences. The information obtained through interview schedules gave first-hand information on Ayodo's political career and his development roles.

The researcher further used Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) technique to get more information on Ayodo's political role. It is a qualitative method aimed at getting data through group discussions. During Focus Group Discussions, the researcher tape-recorded three Focus Group Discussions between 45 minutes and 60 minutes from different locations that mainly focused on political career of Ayodo. Focus Group Discussions comprised of interviewees between 5 and 8. Tape recording during the sessions was done after getting permission to tape interview from the interviewees. They were conducted in areas which were pro-Ayodo and anti-Ayodo to provide reality of what happened during the time. Group focus was very important during the research because it allowed informants to interact freely with one another and gave out important information about Ayodo's political career, it also helped in uncovering the daily experiences of men during Ayodo's time, it also allowed participants to interact as peers and share forum for expressing their views, the researcher considered the types of experiences expressed during the discussions which were important for the study, these included Ayodo's tactics in defeating his opponents as well as his political role in general. The strength of focus group is that it involved guided group discussions to generate richer understanding of participants' experiences and beliefs drawn from the strength of qualitative research in the following ways; it helped in the interpretation to understand why things are the way they were and how they got to be that way. In this case, this technique was used to examine Ayodo's political career from 1959-1983.

The researcher also relied on observation as a technique of collecting data from the field. This technique proved important to the researcher because it reinforced face to face interaction since the interviewee and the interviewer have one-on-one interaction, but more importantly it was used to observe past photographs on various scenes and activities Ayodo was involved in as a minister and a member of parliament and various existing projects Ayodo initiated such as a dormitory at Wang'apala High School and Wire Forest. These photographs are scanned and used in the thesis while some were taken by the author and

used in various chapters of the thesis as applicable. On the other hand, observation method was employed to gather information regarding the reaction of people towards questions about Ayodo, such as dissatisfaction or when they were in agreement with questions and issues discussed about Ayodo. The researcher also investigated the forms of reactions to Ayodo's leadership by the people. Based on this technique clear record of observations were kept in field notebook in order to provide incontestable descriptions of situations and scenes for interpretation and analysis of data. The interviews covered key areas on which the respondents were knowledgeable using English, Kiswahili and Dholuo as was appropriate to each informant; this data was used to reinforce oral interviews based on eyewitness accounts.

The study employed the narrative analysis. Narrative analysis refers to a family of approaches to diverse kinds of texts, which have in common a stored form. This is because in the interviews the participants narrated their experiences and views in the form of a story. The researcher examined the spoken and written texts about Ayodo. In the study Ayodo's early life, political career and life in retirement from politics were examined. Out of the collected data, texts were selected from the first form to the new set of data, after which data was organised, connected and evaluated in order to realise meaningful solution to the problem of study.

Coding of data which started in the field and at the end of data collection, enabled the researcher to arrive at themes and sub-themes. The extensive data was condensed into smaller analysable units by creating categories of concepts derived from the data about Ayodo's political career and life after retiring from active politics. Coding made links between different parts of the data that was regarded as having common links or properties. Coding facilitated the organization, retrieval and interpretation of data and lead to conclusion on the basis of interpretation.

The study employed historical research method. Historical research method is a systematic examination of the past in order to understand the present and look at the future wisely. In this type of investigation, the researcher depended largely on available data about past events and activities on which he or she cannot exercise any control. Consequently, the conclusion was based upon logical analysis and inferences in terms of consistency and usefulness. This was done to compare and contrast historical evidence against theoretical framework used. In the course of analysis, the researcher revised the

entire work to ensure coherence. Conclusion was based on logical analysis and inferences in terms of consistency, frequency and relevance.

Chapter two analyses Ayodo's early life while chapter three and four deals with Ayodo's political career and life after retiring from politics.

1.10 Definition of Key Terms

Africanization: It was a process of making the Africans to replace European or white staffs with black Africans. In the study, it was used to show Ayodo's role in Africanization within Nairobi City Council immediately after independence.

Colonial Legislative Council: Assembly or body or council during colonial period that was connected with the act of making and passing laws in the colonial period. It was established in 1907 in order to serve as the legislature for the East African Protectorate. It was the legislature of Kenya, 1907-1963. It was used in the study to show that Ayodo was a member of the colonial legislative council, 1959-1963.

Intermediate School: Level of education that provided basic knowledge but not yet advanced. In the study it was used to refer to the level of education Ayodo attained before proceeding for secondary education. It also referred to the level Ayodo joined after completing sector schooling.

Land consolidation: It is a planned readjustment and rearrangement of land parcels and their ownership. It is usually applied to form larger and more rational holdings. In the study, it was used to show Ayodo's role in the process.

Life history: It refers to all the events that happened in the life of a person. In the study, it was used to refer to all the major events that happened in the life of Ayodo from 1930-1998.

Point men: People who are trusted and were used by Ayodo to strategize on how to win his elections.

Wang'apala Declaration: It was a meeting organized by Ayodo to support Robert Ouko and Paul Mboya.

Oyugis Declaration: It is an important meeting that passes key resolutions. In the study, it was used to show Ayodo's role during Oyugis Declaration of 1977 where key resolutions were passed in favour of the Luo community and the government.

1.11 Glossary of Dholuo / Kiswahili Terms

Adich: Luo term for a preoccupied or ever busy person. It was used in the work to show how Ayodo was perceived by some people to be ever busy and could not be accessed easily.

Askaris: It refers to the security officers that were in charge of the Nairobi city council.

Harambee: It means pulling resources together in order to realise development.

Jo-Basi: Abagusii sub-tribe living within the constituency as immigrant.

Jo-Muksero: Abagusii sub-tribe living within the constituency as immigrant.

Jo-Oyengwe: Abagusii sub-tribe living within the constituency as immigrant.

Jo-Karateng: Luo immigrants from Kisumu around Nyahera.

Jo-Kanyakwar: Luo immigrants from Kisumu.

Kasipul: The sub-clan making the constituency and are historically cousins of Kabondo. It was used in the study to show areas Ayodo represented to the west and central parts of the constituency.

Kabondo: The sub-clan making the constituency and are historically cousins of Kasipul. It was used in the study to show areas Ayodo represented to the eastern part of the constituency.

Liech: Luo term for the Elephant. In the thesis, it was Ayodo's symbol which means doing great things.

Maendeleo ya Wanawake: Women development group. In the thesis, it refers to one of those women groups which was assisted by Ayodo.

Miruka: Luo term for Sub-Chief. It was used in the study to show that Ayodo's father, William was a Sub-Chief during the colonial period.

Rao Radhianja: Luo term for Hippopotamus. It was Ayodo's first election symbol.

CHAPTER TWO

SAMWEL ONYANGO AYODO'S EARLY LIFE, 1930-1998

2.1 Overview

The chapter deals with the early life of Samwel Onyango Ayodo. He was one of the first Africans from South Nyanza to study at Makerere University in Uganda and one of the first few Africans from Luo land to get scholarship to go for further studies in the United States of America. He was also one of the first few to acquire university degree from his area. He became a teacher and was actively involved in KNUT before joining politics, where he actively served as a political leader from 1959 to 1983. This chapter firstly provides the background of Kasipul-Kabondo constituency, it is also divided into the following sections; childhood, schooling, teaching career and marriage life.

2.2 Background of Kasipil-Kabondo

The residents of Kasipul-Kabondo are descendants of one ancestor, the great Rachuonyo and cousins to their neighbours in Karachuonyo constituency. For many years during the colonial period, Kasipul was governed as one administrative location, but today it has several divisions with 20 locations in total, 13 locations in Kasipul and 7 locations in Kabondo.

During the colonial period, Chief Gideon Magak collaborated well with the early missionaries of the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Roman Catholic Church which contributed greatly towards the establishment of many primary schools in various villages. This witnessed the rise of schools such as Wang'apala Primary School where Ayodo attended his primary education, Oriang primary, Ober primary, Saye primary, Agoro Sare primary, Nyangiela and Karabok. It was noted that the establishment of these schools contributed to education during this time including Ayodo's education.

Kabondo area where Ayodo comes from today consist of many sub locations which includes; East Kakangutu, West Kakangutu, East Kodhoch, West Kodhoch, Kasewe, Kodumo, and Kowidi which is Ayodo's sub location. Kabondo-Kasipul is also housing immigrant sub-clans like Jo-Basi, Jo-Wasweta, Jo-Kanyakwar, Jo-Karateng, Jo-Muksero, and Jo-Oyengwe.

In 1969 election, Kabondo-Kasipul was composed of only three locations namely Kabondo, East Kasipul and West Kasipul, Kabondo had eight sub locations, East Kasipul had ten sub locations while West had nine sub locations. The constituency therefore has a close ancestral tie making the locations regard themselves as belonging to one grandparent, Sipul. It was because of this reason that until 1956, Kabondo and Kasipul were a single administrative location under Chief Gideon Magak, but even when in 1956, Kabondo Kasipul got different chiefs, the customary strings remained as tight as they were before and have continued to date. The entire constituency being Luo community there is a network of family relationships, a typical Luo extended family situation.

The predominant economic activity in the constituency is farming as there is sufficient amount of rainfall. For subsistence farming, maize, millet, sweet potatoes, cassava, groundnuts, bananas, pineapples are grown. Cash crops such as coffee and tea are also grown, and a part from the native cattle reared, some people keep dairy cows. The study established that for many years, the residents of the constituency were peasant farmers but on realising the potential of the area, Ayodo embarked on a serious programme of land consolidation, he also sensitised the people to adopt modern farming techniques once they got title deeds.

Christianity is widespread in the constituency with several denominations having large following, the leading being the Seventh Day Adventist Church with their mission station at Wire. The Roman Catholic Church also has large following and so are the Anglican and Pentecostal Churches. There are also several sects, which had sprung up like Legion Maria and independent churches such as Israel and Christ church in Africa.

2.3 Ayodo's Childhood, Schooling, Teaching Career, Marriage and Family life

2.3.1 Ayodo's Childhood

Samwel Onyango Ayodo who was fondly known within his constituency as "Liech" was born in Kanyangii village of Kothuro clan within Rachuonyo South Sub County in Homa Bay County in 1930, Kenya. Among the Luo community this title is bestowed only on people who do great things. He was the second born child of William Ayodo Olero who was "Miruka" who served under Chief Gideon Magak who served Kasipul-Kabondo between 1927 and 1954 at a time when the whole constituency was one location. Ayodo had three sisters named Ludia Ojwang who was the first-born child, Osuri Ayodo and Atieno Ritege. He had three brothers; Jonathan Onunga Ayodo, Ezra Oliyo Ayodo and Dr.

T.M.O Ayodo. He was thus born from an extended polygamous Luo family with as many as twenty brothers and sisters. He was the eldest grandson of Olero.

As fate would have it, Ayodo lost his mother Dusila Sawala in 1957 when he was only 27 years old, whilst his father died in 1983 when he was 53 years old, this happened when his father had already married the second wife, Karen Asaka in 1960 Like any other local boy growing up in a rural village, Ayodo spent his early years helping his parents with domestic chores ascribed to boys according to the customs of the Luo community which included looking after cattle, farming and others. Ayodo's father William was a respected man in his village helping his fellow men in their day-to-day activities in times of happiness and sorrow. Being a Sub-Chief, Ayodo's father is remembered to have been a good man at heart and at his work too. He extended this courtesy, especially on occasions of death of a villager or those who could not plough their farms as he was among the few with the ox drawn plough then. It is this helpful characteristic that Ayodo's father William inculcated in his son, Ayodo and not to forget his other children. Ayodo's father who was a sub-chief had farms of bananas, coffee and oranges. He also kept large herds of indigenous cattle hence Ayodo would help the parents to look after the cows, milk them, and take coffee berries to the factory at Nyamwaga about 5 kilometres away from his home.

One of his age mates Harrison Omwae Odero recounts how they would go and look after their animals from a neighbouring village known as Kasasia and make them drink water from a stream known as Omuga. In the morning, Ayodo first milked the cows before taking them to the grazing field. According to Omwae, Ayodo grew up as a favourite child of his parents because of his character. All that was good was attributed to him by his parents. Ayodo grew as a quiet boy concentrating on what he was assigned to do. He was a hard-working little boy, always ready to complete his work and help his younger brothers especially on farm. He preferred working on the land with his mother. But in character, Ayodo was like his father. Ayodo did not like idling, he would always find himself something to do. He would spend the whole day working. He would spend long hours working to complete the task he had set to clear. Ayodo is remembered for as having been a very responsible boy for he too had his own farm of oranges; he too assisted his mother who was a business woman to carry some goods such as paraffin and soap to the local markets around as emphasised by Omwae.¹

¹ Omwae, (OI), 12 February 2014.

2.3.2 Ayodo's Schooling, 1938-1952

Before Ayodo started formal schooling, he was baptized at Got-Kojwang by pastor Ezekiel Osewe in around 1938 this was affirmed by Omwae² and given the name Samwel, it was the same time his sister Ludia was also baptized, by this time the current Wang'apala Seventh Day Adventist church had not been built where it is today. The church was later built by Bwana Sort in 1948 from Wire mission which is located about 3 kilometres away from Oyugis town to the east. Ayodo grew up as a strong Christian throughout his lifetime under the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Omwae Harrison recall that Ayodo was a devoted Christian strictly following the doctrines of Seventh Day Adventist Church. In most cases, Ayodo did not fail to go to church even when he was sick and that he would try very much and attend church services, this enlightenment came to Ayodo after baptism as he realised that the success of every human individual, is knowing God first. Ayodo believed that Christianity would produce the most perfect culture, which had eluded human society, Ayodo was made to think over the church's role. The church was supposed to eliminate the concept of ethnic or racial superiority and exploitation of one class by another; Christianity was supposed to bring about a good government and compel Africans to practice the Christian virtues of humility, love and good neighbourliness. In the village and within the church Ayodo was noted as a committed person in most of his endeavours, whenever he was around he would clean the church for the following days' service.³

Ayodo's education effectively began during his early childhood at the classroom of his grandfather, Olero who was a respected community leader of the people of Kabondo when the British arrived and a Luo elder that became a judge in the traditional law courts during the colonial period. Luo cultural practices such as storytelling by the old people besides the fire in the evening gave Ayodo the privilege to sit with his grandfather in his main hut where elders gathered to eat, transact business, discuss matters of family and clan, and tell stories including those of their ancestry and customs. This experience evidently anchored Ayodo solidly in the knowledge, wisdom and values of his people well before he joined the Whiteman's school and politics.

Ayodo's father, William, was a colonial sub-chief and for this reason most people assumed that Ayodo would end up as a sub-chief as well, but since both the parents were strong Christians, they had no difficulty in sending Ayodo to school. Ayodo also had the

² Ibid 2014.

³ Ibid 2014.

added advantage that his father William came to value what was the white man's education and when he attained school age he sent his son to school with the conviction of learning a lot from the white man. Ayodo firstly joined his home School Wang'apala for sector schooling (primary) where he attended classes A, B and C (now classes 1 up to 3) between 1938-1940. Compared to his classmates and schoolmates, he was very small. Many of his colleagues often teased him for his small size. In many physical education classes, he would play small light-weight. Even though the school was just a few metres away from his home, Ayodo would still wake up early just like other pupils that travelled several kilometres to reach school he did not assume he was coming from close to school. He did this because he loved education and always wanted to beat the seven thirty morning bell for general cleaning of the compound at school before classes begun half an hour later. He was a hard-working boy at school. It is this keenness on his school work and obedience that Ayodo would report to school almost every day even during rainy season, Ayodo courageously braved heavy rains whenever he was going to school. Omwae had to say that one day the headteacher Philemon Okoth commented, "this boy will be a great man in future."⁴ Few among his age mates saw this as a prophecy by the headteacher.

According to his classmates, Ayodo was a quiet pupil in class and only chose to answer questions when asked. But when he answered the questions, he was thorough and to the point. He was on the whole an average student, being good at writing excellent descriptive compositions and good at debate as well.⁵ This thorough approach to work prevailed all through his academic and political career.

After passing his examination for this level, he joined Kamagambo intermediate between 1941-1945 where he excelled as a student and earned a reputation as an avid reader. Kamagambo Adventist School was founded in 1928 to provide holistic education to students under the Seventh Adventist sponsorship. Unlike his schoolmates who dropped out of school or repeated classes for lack of school fees or poor academic performance, Ayodo's school days were good. He was a bright student and when he sat the examinations, he passed with flying colours and got admission to the Maseno School for his secondary education between 1946 and 1949. Maseno School was founded in 1906 by the Church Missionary Society to provide education to the children of African chiefs. Ayodo was one of the few Africans from his region to join Maseno. This was an

⁴ Omwae, (OI),12 February 2014

⁵ Ibid 2014

achievement for Ayodo, because this was one of the most prestigious schools of those days. Moreover, there was pride in this because he felt proud to be there. These were very much the pioneering years of secondary education. Okoth argues that, “entrance to secondary for this level of education meant a great deal more to pupils than perhaps to what University means today.⁶The first day he entered Maseno School, his teachers and classmates saw a leader in him because of his oratory skills. His classmates described him as a bright student whose main hobby was planting trees and flowers a hobby he cherished up to his old age period. His teachers also described him “as a man to watch”.⁷ His star continued to rise and he passed the national examinations and joined Makerere College in Uganda in 1948, the only tertiary institution for East Africa’s academic cream for his matriculation education, which was a prestigious grade that saw graduates join University that time. In Makerere among his fellow classmates was Samwel Ayany. After graduating from Makerere, Ayodo got a scholarship to proceed for his further studies in the United States of America at Nebraska College, 1950 to 1952. He was one of the beneficiaries of the Fulbright travel grants awarded to Kenyans to go for further studies abroad. While under taking his studies in the United States of America his determination and brilliance made him to succeed and earned his degree in education specializing in History and Religious studies.

In school or during his entire academic life he was able to interact with majority of students or his classmates and teachers from different ethnic communities from different parts of the country and the world at large. Ayodo interacted with all categories of people. This interaction left a life-long impact on Ayodo’s life; firstly, he came to believe that despite the differences in their ethnicity and origin, people are all good and equal before God. This trust in the people from different corners of the world made him to earn respect from his peers. In the village, Ayodo was viewed with high regard by the villagers and his colleagues. Many people came to him to have him write them letters to their relatives and as well as read and interpret letters. He was very close to his classmates, his friends judged him to be sociable and resourceful. He was always true to his friends and straight-forward in his actions. In school, Ayodo always spared time to explain difficult concepts to his

⁶Ibid 2014

⁷Oluoch, (OI),23 July 2014

classmates. His Christian background equally had something to do with his discipline, he was always at their service.⁸

2.3.3 Ayodo's Teaching Career, 1953-1958

On his return from the United States of America in 1953, he secured teaching job at his old school, Kamagambo where he learnt from, but only taught for a few months due to low pay. He later moved to Agoro-Sare Secondary School and then Kisii Government School, which was the only Government school then. It was while teaching at Kisii that Ayodo built his political foundation and career. His former students and colleagues described him as an "unusually impressive teacher" who had rare qualities, was exceptionally well informed and whose action was carefully thought as affirmed by one of his former students, Olweny.⁹ According to the informants, Ayodo's colleagues indicated that while a teacher, he was one man who was ready to step in to help in any activity in the school in the absence of another member of staff. Discipline on part of pupils was his song of the day as affirmed by Owalla.¹⁰

On the other hand, Ayodo demonstrated early that he was never a single track narrow minded personality in terms of his teaching career. As early as when he was a teacher at Kamagambo his acumen for public service had been recognised. In 1957 while enjoying his colleague's confidence and respect, Ayodo was elected the first chairperson of Kenya National Union of Teachers' (KNUT) South Nyanza branch as well as a member of the District Education Board (DEB) as one of the council's committee members, where he performed his duties without imposing his personal views at the expense of the solidarity of his group. His teaching career exposed him to politics where he was eventually elected to the Legislative Council in 1959 to represent South Nyanza.

2.3.4 Ayodo's Marriage and Family life

Ayodo married his loving wife, Damaris Evangeline Anyango in 1952 who was the daughter of Pastor Timothy Otega. He married according to Luo traditions and customs; this was confirmed to the researcher by Harrison Omwae who took four cows for dowry payment.¹¹ Ayodo was very close to his family and clan; whenever disputes occurred at family and clan levels he was always handy to resolve the conflicts. He would always

⁸Ibid 2014.

⁹ Olweny, (OI), 12 May 2014.

¹⁰ Owalla, (OI), 14 September 2014.

¹¹ Omwae, (OI), 12 February 2014.

pursue matters of concern to their minute's detail. Never did he leave issues pending in discussions. Above all, he had very special place in his heart for his father William. No matter where he went, his point of call whenever he returned home was his father's house. Beyond family and clan levels, those who were privileged to work with Ayodo described him as a warm-hearted individual, a good friend to all and morally upright, this was affirmed by Adie, Ademba and Aoro.¹²

Despite positions he held such as a Member of Parliament and a Minister, nature blessed him with rare modesty to blend well with all and sundry no matter their status in society. His actions were clear testimony to his expressed firm belief that in any competitive situation there shall be losers and winners, and therefore once the best man or woman has won an election life must continue. For instance, despite losing to Mbori in 1969 and 1983 elections, thereafter his relations with Mbori remained cordial.

The study found out that Ayodo was loving, caring and had a lot of respect for those who visited their home. In many occasions, his father being a sub-chief had many friends and frequently hosted important guests and he was able to treat them with a lot of humility, he was generous to those who visited his father's home, a practice he stuck to up to maturity and old age. Omwae described how they spent most of their time with Ayodo, he described Ayodo as a jovial person but very strict and that once an agreement was arrived at in doing something, it had to be done, he recalled how they formed a youth group to help their parents especially during holidays, their meeting time was always 7.00 a.m¹³ and Ayodo was ever punctual despite the fact that he was a son to the Sub-Chief. The researcher also found out that Ayodo's home was a focal point where most people including youths met and in some instances, they spent. Ayodo on his part ensured that his friends were treated well, he even allowed them to use his bed when there was shortage of beddings and what to use to ensure that any guest that visited them did not experience any problem. Figure 2 on page 40 shows Ayodo's photograph together with his family members in 1972. Ayodo was blessed with nine children namely; the late Kenneth Odhiambo, the late Dr. Awuor Shapiro, Hoffman Mogaka, Owino, David Opiyo, the late Donald Odongo, the late Ernest and the late John Paul. Ayodo lived a happy life with family members, friends and relatives.¹⁴

¹² Adie, (OI), 10 October 2014, Ademba, (OI), 10 October 2014, Aoro, (OI) 13 March 2014.

¹³ Omwae, (OI), 12 February 2014.

¹⁴ Odhengo, (OI), 10 October 2014.

Figure 2: Ayodo to the left, back row with family members in 1972



Source: Family Album.

2.4 Summary

The chapter has examined the early life of Ayodo; his birth, childhood, schooling, teaching career and marriage life. The study found out that Ayodo was born and grew up in a rural Village just like any other ordinary boy. He was a responsible boy helping parents perform duties ascribed to boys such as looking after cattle among others. He went to school successfully, climbing education ladder from primary to overseas university. He became an impressive teacher before joining politics. The study also found out that his teaching career prepared him for active politics because while teaching at Kisii Government School he was identified by Tom Mboya to join politics. His interaction with the old people and his peers was cordial. He was also strict when handling real issues. He married and brought up a happy family.

The next chapter examines Ayodo's nascent political career and his political career after independence, which includes his involvement in the politics of Kasipul-Kabondo constituency and Luo land up to 1983. He also spearheaded many development projects such as land consolidation. The chapter is divided into his nascent political career and his political career after independence. The chapter also examines his role as a minister in various ministries by looking at his achievements and failures.

CHAPTER THREE

AYODO'S POLITICAL CAREER, 1959-1983

3.1 Overview

Chapter three discusses Ayodo's nascent political career from 1959-1963 and his political career after independence between 1963 and 1983. The chapter discusses his involvement in the politics of Kasipul-Kabondo constituency and the entire Luo land as a Member of Parliament and a minister during specific periods. The study examined in depth Ayodo and elections of Kasipul-Kabondo constituency in 1959, 1963, 1969, 1974, 1979, and 1983. The chapter deals with Ayodo's contribution to nation building as a Member of Parliament and a minister.

3.2 Ayodo's Nascent Political Career, 1959-1962

The genesis of Ayodo's long political career dates back to his time as a teacher and his election to the Legislative Council in 1959. While teaching at Kamagambo and Kisii Government School, Ayodo was considered as an accomplished and inspiring teacher. These qualities had spread in the constituency and extended beyond the school grounds for he showed particular interests in local affairs as well. Ayodo who grew up as a privileged child, being son of a sub-chief was able to acquire education, a rare thing during that time. Education opened up his horizons as he joined some of the best institutions that time which included, Maseno, Makerere and Nebraska in the United States of America. It was these achievements that exposed him and enabled him to join teaching and later politics. It was also noted that the position held by his father who was a Sub-Chief also brought him to the attention of the public at an early stage in 1952 having descended from a family of leaders.

The bug of politics bit Ayodo early in life when he participated actively in teachers' industrial and welfare issues together with a former classmate at Makerere University, Samwel Ayany. Ayodo was one of the founder members of umbrella teachers' body, the Kenya National Union of Teachers' (KNUT). When elections were called for the South Nyanza branch chairmanship in 1970 he triumphed. Not contented with being a branch chairman, he lobbied his colleagues and supporters to form South Nyanza District Parents' Association. His star was to rise even higher when he plunged into politics. He contested and won the African District Council to represent Kabondo location where he served in the

District Education Board (DEB) as one of the councils' committee members for the location. Ayodo was instrumental in establishing his reputation as an outspoken defender of the interest of the teachers and his people. Ayodo's educational success earned him good reputation among the teaching fraternity in Kabondo and South Nyanza for attaining a University education and eventually joining an exclusive profession, teaching opening up his political career. Even the few students who managed to join Universities at that time were encouraged to pursue teaching as a profession. That certainly explains why majority of those well-educated Kenyans who entered politics at the time of independence were predominantly teachers. Majority of the respondents who included Okoth, Obongo and Nyaura when interviewed affirmed that, his sterling performance within the teaching fraternity and within the union earned him respect hence this formed a strong foundation for him to be elected in the Legislative Council in 1959¹⁵ where he represented entire South Nyanza then comprising of Gusii region.

Joining Legislative Council had a meaning for the African members. They were filling in the leadership gap that had existed for long between the people and the government. In effect, they would circumvent the political restrictions which forbade national political organizations at that time. If they could not build a recognized colony-wide nationalist organization, they could begin to build, countrywide through Legislative Council, a national feeling and belonging. This was because it was only through LegCo that they would speak their minds freely and with plenty of attendant publicity. Ayodo was one such members who criticised the colonial government on racism.

The first time Ayodo entered international politics was in 1959, when he was elected in the Legislative Council as a member of South Nyanza to replace Lawrence Gerald Oguda who was imprisoned for two years on grounds that he advocated civil disobedience to end colonial domination as reported in the *Weekly Review* of 26th October 1977.¹⁶ Following this pronouncement, Oguda was imprisoned for two years hence this paved way for Ayodo's election in the Legislative Council to replace him. In 1959, Kenyatta was released but was still under house arrest. It was in the same year that the British government provided for the election of Africans to the Legislative Council a few months later after the first Lancaster House Conference. Following this conference there was to be a general election and a sort of coalition government as part of the general preparation for Kenya's

¹⁵ Okoth, (OI), 30 December 2014, Obongo, (OI), 14 December 2014, and Nyaura, (OI), 14 December 2014.

¹⁶ 'L. G. Oguda', *Weekly Review*, 26 October 1977, p.77.

independence. For those elections scheduled for February 1961, there was to be only one elected representative for the whole of South Nyanza, Ayodo was re-elected during 1961 election where he defeated Oguda who also contested. 1961 election was the first election to be conducted under universal suffrage making KANU to emerge as the largest political party in the country, it was conducted as a result of the split in KANU, the consequence of the split was the breakaway of the rival party, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), led by Ronald Ngala and Masinde Muliro. During this election, KANU won 19 seats out of 33 seats while KADU won 11 seats. Twenty seats were reserved by quota for Europeans, Asians and Arabs. Ayodo did not only contest and win to become a representative in the Legislative Council but also distinguished himself as a politician with class. Being a member of the Legislative Council between 1961 and 1963 had just sort of challenges that were needed to bring out the special gifts of Ayodo.

The high and volatile political temperature predicated not only on African nationalism but also on the sensitive issue of racism required just what Ayodo had; both traditional and western type of education, eloquence in local language, English and Kiswahili, vision and courage to follow it on principled basis, integrity and dignity radiated and recognisable both by one's own illiterate people as well as the European colonialist, precision and honesty of purpose and particularly relevant for politics, multilingual eloquence that had to stun both friend and foe into listening as well as convince the unbeliever to see the truth for what it is. Three informants further affirmed that Ayodo was elected because he was the most suitable candidate for this post because he had attended the first Lancaster House Conference which exposed him to many political issues apart from his good academic background. Obongo, Omwae and Oketch affirmed that he was endorsed by Musa Nyandusi Ayacko who was a Chief from Kisii region.¹⁷

Soon after 1961, election Ayodo became very much involved in politics of Kenya African National Union. In the same year, he was elected as the District KANU secretary with Mark Bosire as the organizing secretary for Kisii branch where the two were instrumental in making KANU to be popular in the region. Ayodo was articulate in and out of parliament, he was thus never quiet when there were issues affecting his party and needed to be addressed. He attacked Kenyatta's government on policies of good governance, he was for good governance. In 1961, he demonstrated his strong leadership qualities by exposing the ills within his party. In that year he warned KANU against spying

¹⁷ Obongo, (OI), 14 December 2014, Omwae, (OI), 12 February 2014, and Oketch, (OI), 12 February 2014.

KADU members with the intention of murdering them on grounds that KADU members were plotting to overthrow Kenyatta's government, allegation that was not true, Ayodo termed this plan within his party as "filthy plans and murder plots".¹⁸ *The East African Standard* further reported:

Giving what he described as his Christmas and New Year warning to the people of Kenya, the KANU member for South Nyanza Mr Samwel Onyango, yesterday referred to rumours within his own party as filthy plans and murder plots. In a written statement, he said until KANU decides to expose the filth in it, fearlessly, and even to expel those in its leadership who are found responsible for the terrible confusion now harassing our beautiful land, KANU will never function as a party and will never govern anybody.¹⁹

In the same period, throughout 1961 and 1962, tension within KANU as a party was very high; the party factions disagreed about almost everything. The assumption by Jomo Kenyatta of the leadership of the party in October 1961 did not seem to solve the problem as factional conflicts continued unabated leading to two factions, the radicals led by Jaramogi Oginga and the moderates led by European elements. In the meantime, there was tension developing in a new front, the ethnic front. With the return of Jomo Kenyatta, a sense of concern immediately emerged regarding the conduct of the Kikuyu group within the party. Allegations of ethnic bias on the part of Mzee Kenyatta were being expressed publicly, this was because Kenya's one-party system had weak ideological base and weak party machinery, and Kenyatta had made sure that KANU did not play an important role in Kenyan politics. Instead, clientelism shaped and coloured Kenyan politics with Kenyatta himself as the patron. Political alliances became increasingly important, and politicians relied on linkages and network for support. Many political bodies such as trade unions and co-operative societies were politicised. Concerning this confusion, Ayodo's position was very clear and firm, he was the only daring member of parliament who came out boldly once again and expressed his fear publicly, he alleged that Kenyatta's return to public was causing unrest to certain African members of Legislative Council together with other political leaders in Kenya who feared that the Kikuyu might attempt to dominate over other tribes this fear almost led to Luo-Kikuyu rift. In 1962 some Luo leaders convened a meeting attended by nearly 3000 delegates including Ayodo where they criticised

¹⁸ 'KANU Member Speaks of Murder Plot Rumours', *East African Standard*, 28 December 1961, p.2.

¹⁹ 'KANU Member Speaks', *East African Standard*, 28 December 1961, p.2.

Kenyatta's government, this problem persisted up to 1967 making KANU to split into two as "KANU A" and "KANU B". Ayodo's unbending principles in 1960s made him not to be liked by some KANU members and at some point, he became a man treading a lonely political path because of his attack on KANU and that a few months before the 1963 general election, he contemplated quitting politics however this was not the case when 1963 general election was conducted in Kenya where he participated and won.

3.3 Ayodo's Political Career after Independence of Kenya, 1963-1983

For a long time, Kenya was under a state of emergency from October 1952 to December 1959 that arose from Mau Mau rebellion against the British colonial rule. During this period, African participation in the political process increased rapidly leading to the push for the attainment of the independence of Kenya. In December 1963, Kenya became independent and the first independent elections conducted. Prior to 1963, the electoral system was changed again to create 129 seats for the House of Representatives and 38 seats for the senate, Kasipul-Kabondo being one of them. The bicameral structure of the parliament was provided for in the independence constitution of 1962. In 1963 Ayodo was elected the first Member of Parliament for Kasipul-Kabondo constituency. Once again in recognition of him, he was appointed Mzee Jomo Kenyatta as the first minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs between 1963-1964 before he was moved to the ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Natural Resources in 1965. During this period the constitution allowed one to be elected as a member of parliament and to also be appointed as a minister. *The weekly Review* of 9 December 1988 reported:

Samwel Ayodo started as minister for Local Government. He later served as minister for Tourism, Natural Resources and Wildlife and was dropped from the cabinet in 1969 but continued to serve as the Member of Parliament for the constituency, he was ousted in 1983.²⁰

Figure 3 on page 47 was sourced from the Kenya National Archives, Nairobi to illustrate that Ayodo was among the first important ministers in the first African cabinet appointed by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta; in the photograph, Ayodo is first in the second row from left to right. Others in the photograph includes; front row left to right, Mwendwa, Koinange, Oginga Odinga, Jomo Kenyatta, Mungai, Joseph Murumbi, Tom Mboya. Second row left to right; Samwel Ayodo, Jackson Angaine, Julias Gikonyo Kiano,

²⁰ 'The first African Cabinet', *Weekly Review*, 9 December 1988, p.37.

Mwanyumba, Mackenzie, Achieng Oneko. Back row left to right; William Wamalwa (secretary to the cabinet), Joseph Otiende, James Gichuru, Lawrence Sagini, Charles Njonjo and Duncan Ndegwa (head of civil service).

Figure 3: Ayodo in the First African Cabinet in 1963, Second row far left



Source: *Weekly Review*, 9 December 1988, p.37.

The period between 1963 and 1983 represents some of the most significant moments in the life of Ayodo. It is arguable that during this period Ayodo was no longer a political nonentity, he was a player not only in local politics but also on the national front. Concerning Ayodo's political role on the national front, several development projects were initiated which have influence on the lives of Kenyans to date. Key informants such as Omwae, Okoth and Obongo stated that from 1963, Ayodo played a key role in the development of Homa Bay County, arguing that one could not speak of the development of this region without mentioning Ayodo's name.²¹ In other words, the life of Ayodo was

²¹ Omwae, (OI), 12 February 2014, Okoth (OI), 30 December 2014, Obongo, (OI), 14 December 2014.

associated with development of Homa Bay County and to some extent outside the county. These developments included facilitating the process of land consolidation in South Nyanza, constructing classrooms in various schools through fundraisings such as Wang'apala and Nyabola secondary schools. He also organised for fundraising to help women groups.

It is neither an accident nor sheer luck that Ayodo's political career spells success in spite of challenges of various times; Ayodo became the first African to hold the ministry of Local Government and Regional Affairs when the ministerial system was introduced. Anyone who knows the challenges faced that time such as racism and general planning that faced Ayodo can imagine the difficulties he was faced with. But he had the philosophy, the stature and the sincere pragmatism it required to handle the matters within the ministry such as Africanization. Ayodo had to do a lot of work to reform the ministry which was complex at that time. In an attempt to implement the provisions of the Regionalist (*majimbo*) constitution agreed on during the 1962 Lancaster House conference by KANU and KADU, Ayodo who was the minister had to redraw the local government boundaries throughout the country both to conform with the new regions established after the Report of Regional Boundaries Commission and to eradicate the racist boundaries created in 1919 by the policy of separate development. He had to constitute a new democratic membership for all the councils and abolish the racial electoral rules. Finally, he had to establish a uniform code of local government legislations to replace the separate ordinances for the African District Council and the European County Council areas. This required a heavy and complex implementation programme, which required several years.

While serving as the minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs, Ayodo with deliberate efforts made the ministry more active by facilitating Africanization process within Nairobi City Council. Before and immediately after independence in 1963, most positions within the council were held by the whites. It was the responsibility of the new government to ensure that Africans were considered for various positions. However, this was to be done on merit according to Ayodo. It was therefore Ayodo's responsibility to ensure that the process of Africanization was fully achieved in a young nation. As the minister, he did not fail to give satisfactory answers when questions were raised on different roles of the ministry and Africanization in particular. In 1963, Mbogo asked Ayodo to tell the house why the city council was lagging behind the Kenya government (civil service) in the Africanization of its services, Ayodo responded by giving exhaustive

explanation to this question. In his response, he outlined a scheme of order of £75 thousand for the next year for training Africans on various professional positions to fill positions within the city council. He further informed the house during the debate that as at 1963, there were thirteen Africans of good educational training for the qualification of charter municipal treasurer and that all senior positions within the city treasury's department would be suitably Africanized and that similar arrangements were in place for Africanization in all other departments.²² He further informed the house during the debate that between 1960-1963, through his effort the number of Africans' staff had increased by 24 which was an increase of 78%, while in the house department and social services, the number of European employees had reduced, in 1958 for instance there were 10 such officers employed but today there are only two, Ayodo explained to the house.²³ Ayodo believed in quality services and that is why he was in the forefront of Africanization.

In the same year when asked by Murgor if an African would be appointed as town clerk following the resignation of the former. In his response, he told the house that, "when we are talking of Africanization with regard to the city council, it is true we will think of Africans as such but we also have a duty to Kenya and East Africa because Nairobi is so to speak the window through which foreigners look at Kenya and that the services in Nairobi are maintained at high standard as possible and when it comes to the appointment of the town clerk, we will go by nothing but the suitability of the person to be appointed Ayodo said."²⁴ Ayodo's emphasis was he would ensure that the operations within the ministry were streamlined to ensure good service delivery, he too wanted to ensure that only those qualified would do jobs required of them. Using his educational background, Ayodo managed to facilitate the education of local government councillors through a series of seminars organized by the government through his effort, this was an insight which properly heralded the reforms that were deemed necessary and if not inevitable such as Africanization and the controlled strict management of finances.

As a minister, he facilitated legislations that ensured that hawkers operated within the city only if they had valid licenses. They were also required to have badges related to the work they were doing or the business they were running. To reinforce these laws, they were inspected by city inspectors or council "Askaris" in uniform while those who did not

²² Kenya National Assembly Official Report Vol. III Part II July 1963.

²³ Vol. III Part II July 1963.

²⁴ Ibid 1963.

follow the laws were fined Kshs. 1,000. As a minister during this time hotel development along the coast was much faster than the development of communication notably roads. Some hotels and lodges had to operate under the pretext of being private clubs in order to avoid rules and regulations falling under hotels and restaurant Acts. These hotels included Ras Ritan and Robinson Island, which were leased by the government. The study noted that the ministry of Local Government became renowned during Ayodo's tenure as the minister. The study further noted that Ayodo was held in respect in Kenya for his integrity, discretion and conscientiousness, he facilitated the process of land consolidation which was a government policy, therefore while serving in the ministry of Local Government and Regional Affairs (1963-1964) he made the ministry more respectable.

3.4 Land Consolidation in Kenya in The Early Years After Independence

Land consolidation had been underway since the beginning of Swynnerton plan in 1955. Modern methods of farming which is the basis for increased food productivity could not be applied to fragmented farms. However, once a holding has been consolidated into a compact unit, the farmer with the aid of extension services and the provision of credit could begin to improve his or her farm, modernise his methods and increase food productivity. Moreover, once a farm is consolidated and the small holder's title registered, the farmer may be in a position to negotiate credit from commercial sources, using his land as a security. By the end of 1963 an estimated 2.75 million acres of land in Kenya had been consolidated.

In 1969, the ministry of Economic Planning and Development emphasised on the importance of land consolidation in Kenya. With title deeds after land consolidation and registration of titles, people in rural areas had vested interest in staying in their districts instead of migrating to towns. Furthermore, people in the districts being consolidated or registered could take more interest in their land and will use it more effectively if only to ensure their claim is beyond dispute.

A large-scale programme of consolidation could absorb many of school leavers in jobs which do not require much specialised training. Indeed, Certificate Primary Education and secondary school leavers could be suitable. Land consolidation was to lay down the foundation for accelerated process of agricultural improvement and transformation for the next generation and so. The founding father of the nation also emphasised that Kenya is

primarily agricultural country as such agriculture was regarded right from independence as the crucial spring board for Kenya's economic, industrial and social growth.

3.5 Ayodo and Land Consolidation in South Nyanza

South Nyanza is potential in agriculture and its residents mostly depend upon agriculture for their livelihood. The residents earn their daily income from agricultural activities. The region receives annual rainfall from 700 to 800 mm near the lakeshore to 1400 and 1500 mm in the higher eastern areas with long rains between March and July and short rains between October and December. It is because of this that many parts of this region are suitable for crop cultivation. Mixed arable and livestock farming predominates at subsistence level. Agriculture provides over 95% of the employment in the region and some 85% of the incomes generating crops grown include Maize, Bananas, Coffee, Potatoes, and Cotton among others,²⁵ these crops to be grown required title deeds. Even though land consolidation process was chiefly the role of Ministry of Lands and Settlements, however having noted the potential of South Nyanza agriculturally and problems encountered with the residents such as inability to take loans, Ayodo who was the minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs took a lead in land consolidation process in the region.

While serving in the same Ministry of Local Government and Regional Affairs, Ayodo noted the difficulties that were faced by his people in connection with the acquisition of title deeds and land ownership. This process took place immediately after independence of Kenya and Ayodo's role was to ensure that Africans who had suffered land problems before and immediately after independence enjoyed the fruits of independence. The study found out that within South Nyanza a good number people were not happy about land consolidation, arguing that free grazing for those with cattle had been interfered with for they would lack free grazing fields. In each area where the process was carried out, land was to be set aside for public purposes such as schools, hospitals, dispensaries and other projects, a network of access roads had to be laid out, when it was done some places were preserved for free grazing to take care of those with cattle and remain public grazing lands today, they include Omuga free grazing field, Kadie and Kanyaliech free grazing field. On the other hand, some people considered land consolidation as giving rise to innumerable land disputes. This was also bitterly opposed by Ayodo's political rival James Mbori. The

²⁵ Magero, (OI),13 March 2014

study established that this was not a hotly disputed question as most people argued it was a good job done by the minister. This was the argument of key informants such as Obongo, Magero and Kipande.²⁶

The conscious process of issuing title deeds involved several steps as was planned by Ayodo, this was in line with the procedure for consolidation and registration of land holdings in the African farming areas in Kenya.²⁷ In collaboration with local leaders, Ayodo ensured that meetings were organized to sensitize the residents on the importance and need to have title deeds through a land consolidation programme and absolute land ownership. Land registration had begun in central province and it is from there that Ayodo was encouraged to have a similar programme done for his people of South Nyanza so that they could get title deeds and be able to access loans for development. In 1963 a committee to run the programme was formed chaired by William Ogega and included other members such as Selemia Ochieng, Joel Obongo and Ezekia Onyango who was the former Assistant Chief for Kodhoch East Sub location. This committee organized several meetings to allow residents to give their views and understand the importance of land consolidation. These meetings were organised in various places such as Got-Kamondi, Kadie, Kowidi and Kodumo. The researcher noted that after several meetings held in various places the residents unanimously accepted to support the programme noting that it would help eradicate land disputes.

In 1963, Ayodo invited Jackson Angaine who was the minister for Lands and Settlement to commission land consolidation project at Oriang' Primary School. A surveyor known as Ben Erage was invited to lead in surveying and demarcation of the entire region with the help of local leaders. The process involved amalgamation of parcels and sub-divisions by use of aerial surveys into economically viable units, including areas where access roads would pass. Although the programme started as a pilot project in Kasipul-Kabondo constituency, it successfully expanded to other areas where it was done in phases with the first phase done at Kadie village within Kabondo- Kasipul, second phase at Kodhoch East, Kariany and finally Kakoth as asserted by Mwage.²⁸

To ensure the success of the programme within his constituency and South Nyanza, he strongly debated in parliament to ensure that the number of land consolidation officers

²⁶ Obongo, (OI), 14 December 2014, Magero, (OI), 13 March 2014, and Kipande (OI), 5 May 2014.

²⁷Note on procedure for Consolidation and Registration of land holdings in the African farming areas in Kenya, KNA/BN/81/89, Ministry of Lands and Settlement 1967. P.2.

²⁸ Mwage, (OI), 7 June 2014.

were added. In 1965, they were only three in South Nyanza but more were required to speed up the process. The civil servants in the area were prevailed upon by Ayodo to ensure that they work with the local community to ensure that the programme succeeded, Ayodo wanted to ensure that the people of his constituency concentrate on their farmlands for much food production to ensure maximum food security. Through Ayodo's efforts, land consolidation was expanded to other areas such as West Kodumo and Ongoro where it was done later than other regions.

When the process was concluded Ayodo initiated a program whereby the stretch along river Sondu from East Kodumo down to Ongoro in the west of the constituency was to be used for growing sisal and pineapples. Though the project did not take off, some cash crops were introduced into the constituency through Ayodo's effort. The constituency has a very attractive pattern of rainfall and is blessed with red volcanic soil in some parts. It is because of these physical factors that Ayodo was encouraged to ensure that the residents were involved in serious farming after acquiring title deeds. Due to favourable climatic factors, most residents spend most of their valuable times working on their farms in growing a variety of crops to earn their livelihood. Thanks goes to their former member of parliament, Samwel Onyango Ayodo, who during his early years as their representative in parliament had faced a lot of difficulties in making the residents to understand the importance of farming as it would make them earn a living even if they are not employed. He was very prominent in convincing the residents of his constituency about the need to change from negative attitudes towards farming and to adopt the spirit of hard work so that they were able to reap the fruits of independence (Uhuru). He thus greatly influenced and organized the people of South Nyanza to form self-help groups such as Kowidi self-help group, Kanyaliech self-help group and Obuya self-help group and to shift to modern methods of farming. Through this endeavour, he empowered his constituents economically, which helped to reduce the level of poverty in the society.

The principles of the Big Man theory as articulated by the founders and proponents of development applied the theory in addressing economic development for communities. The theory notes that one strong man can make a community a great success, can select forms of projects which are the main driver of community development. The book is full of ideas for organising people around projects that when linked together offer program for community and economic development. The theory proved relevant in studying Ayodo's role in influencing economic development within South Nyanza. He organized his

community to form self-help groups such as Kowidi Women group and Kanyaliech Women group.

Ayodo used to emphasise to his followers, especially KANU youth wingers, not to rush into attending his rallies before they attended their family farms first in the morning. Ayodo is associated with the development of agriculture in the area; he ceaselessly preached the gospel of hard work on the farms. At times, his gospel and persistent call for hard work made him become so unpopular with the youths, who did not recognise farm work as important. Nevertheless, *Rao Radhianja*, which was his first election symbol in 1963, was not shaken. The study noted that those who positively responded to his teachings and calls are today the ones who are reaping the fruits of independence. In the real sense today, anyone driving along Sondu-Oyugis main road would probably witness small farms with good layout of fully cultivated farms of food grains. Kabondo area is producing a lot of pineapples and one would see a lot of pineapples displayed by farmers for sale to travellers at Chabera, Nyapalo, Ringa, Ober and Oyugis centres, making these areas feasible for the investment in fruit manufacturing and processing plants. All these important achievements in the field of agriculture were indeed the efforts of Ayodo during the time he was the Member of Parliament for his constituency. He insisted that people must work hard on their farms. It is important to note that the Big Man theory is full of ideas for organizing people around projects that when linked together offer program for community and economic development, Farrington emphasises that children must be taught to believe in and work hard for their own community. This was also emphasised by Ayodo when he told KANU youth wingers to work on their farms first before they attended rallies organised by him. The Big Man theory was therefore relevant in explaining Ayodo's role towards his community.

While serving in the post-independence cabinet as the minister for Local Government and later Tourism, Ayodo launched the campaign for a change in farming pattern, arguing that peasant farmers must change to new methods of farming. At the same time, he lost no chance in publicly denouncing laziness and idleness. Ayodo's campaign on hard work has produced good results and this is why in Kabondo and some parts of Kasipul farming is more advanced than the neighbouring Luo-Nyanza locations. The region is producing thousands of tonnes of sweet potatoes, which is minting millions of shillings when exported to bigger towns and urban centres. Due to good farming activities in crop production such as pineapples, potatoes, and millet a good amount of trading is carried

within the constituency within major and small urban centres such as Kadongo, Chabera, Misambi, Nyapalo and Oyugis (the major trading centre). Other people are also running good businesses such as shopkeepers as well as transport business. All these form a significant economic group. Ayodo the former Member of Parliament has since died but left a legacy of constructive socio-economic development which has changed his former constituency from small-scale farming or subsistence farming to well cultivated farms with cash crop growing.

Between 1965 and 1967 through Ayodo's effort, a total of 35,225 acres was demarcated in different sub-locations at a cost of £1 per acre as fees charged. These areas included; East Kodhoch 5,860 acres, East Kakangutu 5,854 acres, Kakello Kamroth 5,179 acres, Kowidi 2,322 acres, Kajulu 4,650 acres, East Kakumu 1,104 acres, Kakello Dudi 2,024 acres, and Kokwanyo 5,822 acres.²⁹ The programme was later on expanded to be completed in other regions in South Nyanza in 1970. The study observed that as a government minister he was quite influential since he had resources at his disposal, these included money, influence over government machinery both local and national and information that was required. Majority of the people interviewed noted that his service to the constituency was outstanding. They argued Ayodo was an admirable representative with the rural concerns and that since land consolidation was completed, the residents do not experience common land disputes, Ojwang argued.³⁰ The study established that after acquisition of title deeds farming has been boosted to date, as there are so many people who are today rearing dairy animals while others are tilling their lands without problems. Acquisition of title deeds on other hand has encouraged the growing of coffee which is the chief cash crop grown by majority within the constituency, since most people did not have formal employment Ayodo encouraged them to grow coffee in order to take their children to school, the constituency boasts of three major coffee factories which were initiated by Ayodo namely; Pala, Nyamwaga and Ogera which are located in rich coffee growing areas within the constituency.

In 1978 using his influence, land adjudication was declared in Homa Bay and the following members were appointed in the Land Arbitration Board to facilitate the process of land consolidation in Homa Bay, which was a continuous process;

²⁹ Land Consolidation Department, Ministry of Lands and Settlement, Nyanza Province Ref No: LND/ADJ/54/25, File No: LAD 34/A/Voll.XV/8028, Jan 1967.

³⁰ Ojwang, (OI), 4 September 2014.

Onyango Abuoga in charge of Gembe Location

Suleiman Agiyo in charge of Rusinga Location

Lawrence Alego in charge of Kasipul Location

Samwel Ware in charge of Gem Location

John Okello in charge of Central Karachuonyo Location

Joash Orongo in charge of Kabondo Location

Patric Omollo in charge West Kasipul Location

Alexander Akech in charge of Gongo Location

Ochieng Oloo in charge of Nduru Location

Christopher Nyojwang in charge of Kanyada Location

Elizaphan Nyamburi in charge of Homa Bay area

3.6 Ayodo's role in Tourism Sector in Kenya

Tourism is a major industry in Kenya. In 1962, a total of 68,000³¹ documented visitors spent £7.7 Million in East Africa based on average stay of 16 days and expenditure of £7 per day. Tourists create a considerable and lucrative internal market for Kenya giving a boost to country's major industry. Its effects spread through the entire economy and stimulate many other domestic industries. Tourists also help to fill airlines' capacity, creating the conditions for expanded services in the country. To meet this growth target, it was necessary to attract the desired tourists through publicity in the developed countries from which most of the tourists come. It was necessary to have sufficient flights on convenient routes to attract tourists and good communication infrastructure.

Between 1964 and 1967, the government under Ayodo's leadership improved the tourists' circuits and connections with northern Tanganyika, there were roads connecting parks and circuit roads within the parks. The basis of the tourist industry is the maintenance of Kenya's wildlife; the country maintains national parks of Nairobi, Tsavo, the Aberdare Mountains, Mount Kenya and Lake Nakuru, as well as a variety of game reserves.

³¹GOK Development Plan 1964-1970 P.85.

In 1965 after serving in the ministry of Local Government and Regional Affairs, he was taken to the ministry of Wildlife, Tourism and Natural Resources, a ministry that was responsible for the exploitation and management of natural resources in Kenya. While serving in the same ministry his role was to ensure the ministry's objectives were accomplished. Ayodo with deliberate publicity made the people aware of the tourism potentials and for the period 1966 to 1969, his name became almost identical with tourism and wildlife in Kenya. Because of this reason he embarked on a tour of the country which was the only way he believed he could get to know the tourism potentials in the country. His personal understanding and appreciation of the environment made him realise that the natural resources of our country, its wildlife as well as the beautiful places in which the animals live as well as the mighty forests which guard the water catchment areas are vital to the survival of man, beast and birds and that they are priceless heritage for the future. Equipped with this kind of information he was in a position to improve the tourism sector in the country.

In his preliminary tour of the country, Ayodo found out that for a long time the area which comprises of Kisii highlands, lake region of South Nyanza, Kisumu, Mount Elgon, the Cherangani hills and the Elgeyo escarpment to the north were all neglected by the tourism planners who concentrated most of the tourist activities and facilities at the coast and other parts of Kenya where there were big game abounds. Therefore, for many years tourists from overseas were always diverted to the coast and Kenya's fertile tourist areas such as Tsavo East and West National Game Parks and Reserves which are located between the coast and Eastern regions and famous Maasai Mara Game Reserve and others, like the Abardares and Lake Nakuru National Parks mostly which are situated in the highlands of the Rift Valley.

It was not until the end of the last decade that while trying to identify tourist benefits throughout the country that he started recognising the varied geographical features, flora and fauna of Western Kenya which included such attractions as the Roan antelopes of Lambwe Valley, the Sitatunga of Saiwa near Kitale and a wide array of fascinating bird life. In 1966, due to this kind of neglect, he officially launched a comprehensive programme of tourist circuits. The circuit programme launched by the minister was to give the communities living in the areas that were neglected such as the Lake Victoria basin to have an opportunity to receive overseas tourists. The visitors could have a chance to drive easily to places such as Lambwe Valley Game Park. According to the minister, the plan

was to open up the regions for tourists through several routes, which covered nearly all the tourists' attraction sites, pre-historic sites and other game parks with rare stocks of wildlife bird watching sites and fish landing beaches along Lake Victoria shores. A part from the routes covering along Lake Victoria basin, other routes were to take the tourists to important tourist sites where they would have an opportunity to view largest concentration of flamingo birds, Lake Elementaita and Lake Baringo in the Rift Valley area of Kenya.

According to Ayodo's circuit blue print, the circuit was to connect sites such as Maasai Mara and Lambwe Valley Game Park situated only a few kilometres on the eastern shores of Lake Victoria in Homa-Bay County. The middle route was to connect sites such as unique attraction areas such as *Kit Mikaye* the double storey rock which is located a few metres beside Kisumu-Bondo main road in the west of Kisumu. The visitors would also have an opportunity to view the "The crying rock" which is situated a few kilometres outside Kakamega town in Kakamega County. The visitors would also have an opportunity to visit Kakamega forest which is the home of the deadliest and most poisonous snakes in the world and unique species of birds. To that end, Ayodo demonstrated his belief in a holistic approach to development in all areas of development, Ayodo had exceptional courage and confidence in whatever he was doing.

Even though the minister had very good plans, the program was however shelved for years for some unknown political reasons and did not see the light of the day. It remained in the drawing board for many years. Local political pundits were of the feeling that this was part of the elaborate scheme hatched by Kenyatta's government to marginalize economically strangled rural communities living in the region especially the highlands west of Rift Valley for political reasons but still the minister was very much determined to realise his dreams for the ministry and in 1969, he emphasised that tourist trade was increasing rapidly. *The Daily Nation* reported:

Ayodo told the *Daily Nation* this week that the tourist trade is increasing rapidly. Ayodo emphasised that the increase will double in the next five years. He stressed that such a rate of progress cannot be maintained unless we can provide the necessary hotel accommodation. He gave a comprehensive plan on how hotels would be improved with good facilities as well as road improved, he further emphasised that the government was putting a great deal of money into building of trunk roads to make travelling easier for the tourists particularly roads leading to

Tsavo, Malindi among other tourist attraction sites. He further noted that every visitor to this country must be made to feel that they are warmly welcomed guests and must be treated with courtesy and warm friendliness.³²

Having realised the potential of the Lambwe Valley Game Reserve, Ayodo put a lot of effort to make the Game Reserve be one of the leading tourist attractions in western Kenya. On 31st January 1965, the valley was surveyed by a surveyor from Kisii and found to be 45.6 square miles, ideal for wildlife preservation. Within a few days with Ayodo's support, approval was granted by the Attorney General and on 13th April 1966 the valley was gazetted as a game reserve and acquired National Park status in 1983. Lambwe valley was the only place in Kenya with a variety of mammals most notable Roan Antelopes, Hippo tragus Esquires which are rare species in Kenya. Others also include Oribi, Bohors reedbucks and Rotschild giraffes. The park is rich in chimpanzees; Impala Gazelles. The Park is also the only area in Kenya that has Blue Swallows which come to Kenya from Tanzania, which is their breeding ground. Having these potential, Ayodo ensured that the wildlife in Lambwe Valley Game Reserve was protected in its natural habitat and poaching completely stamped out. *The Sunday Nation* reported:

Ayodo reported on the *Sunday Nation* of 7 March 1965 that wildlife in these areas would be protected and poaching stamped out. He noted this would ensure that rare Roan Antelopes and Jacksons' hartebeests in Lambwe Valley would be seen and enjoyed now and in the future.³³ To ensure poaching is stamped out he increased the number of game scouts by employing 15 game wardens who included among others H.H Togo and Joseph Abur. When interviewed they said their duty was to curb out poaching.³⁴

He further made efforts to ensure that all the elephants that had been driven away in 1943 to Kilgoris in Maasai land by the former government because they were stubborn were returned to Lambwe Valley Game Reserve.³⁵ On the other hand, Ayodo's ministry under the Kenya Game Departments' Capture Unit captured forty-one Black Rhinos from areas where they were in danger and transported them to safety of Tsavo East National park. Speaking at a symposium in Nairobi in 1966 on wildlife and land use the minister

³² 'Mr. Samwel Ayodo Minister for Tourism and Wildlife', *Daily Nation*, 17 July 1969, p.2.

³³ 'Ayodo Opens Game Station at Nyanza', *Sunday Nation*, 7 March 1965, p.4.

³⁴ Abur (OI), 14 August 2014.

³⁵ 'Nyanza to get back elephants', *East African Standard*, March 1965, p.4.

said, "the tourism sector was giving Kenya a lot of revenue from tourism £12 million more than any other sector in the country".³⁶

Under Ayodo's leadership, the fishery department was not neglected. It has been a government policy to guide and assist development of commercial fisheries both marine and inland to a stage of optimum production as fast as available resources were allowed. While fisheries were being developed, it was essential to carry on a parallel development of potential markets for Kenya's fish. In certain cases, developments of transportation facilities were also required. Both markets and transportation were to receive priority considerations in fisheries development. In order to ensure optimum exploitation of these fisheries and to determine the potential markets for their products, the government carried out an economic and marketing survey of Kenya's inland and coastal inshore fisheries, with particular emphasis for exploitation of deep-sea fisheries.

In 1968, Ayodo invited Mzee Jomo Kenyatta to Usenge to oversee a fishing project at the beach where they addressed a big crowd assuring them how the fishing industry would change their lives if they work hard. In 1969, his ministry launched a programme worth £4000 for a fish-landing base at Lake Naivasha. Ayodo noted that even though commercial fishing in the area started as early as 1962, the licensed fishermen never landed their catch at any particular place, which made it difficult for them to market their fish economically. The minister further disclosed how negotiations were in hand for the transfer of ownership of the Naivasha fish-freezing company. He said, "it was Government's declared policy to encourage the primary producer to acquire ownership of the factories which process their products".³⁷

In another development, Ayodo outlined the policy of his ministry in relation to plans to revive the ministry's activities in Nyanza, he ensured that a fishery board was formed as well as fish cooperatives to assist fishermen's organizations, the fishing programme included; re-stocking of Lake Victoria with the view of increasing fish products. Ayodo also initiated legislation to prevent the use of gill nets, which were used to catch immature fish.³⁸ In 1964, Kenya's wildlife population had been safeguarded less by sufficient wildlife sanctuaries than by reasonable degree of safety outside the reserves and parks.

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ '£4000 fish landing base opened at Lake Naivasha' *Daily Nation* 17 July 1969 p.3.

³⁸ 'New Wildlife Reserve at Homa Bay', *East African Standard*, 3 March 1965, p.5.

However, this safeguard could be a fleeting one and that new sanctuaries were to take the form of county council game reserves.

After realising that Kenya had a wide array of fascinating birdlife, Ayodo embarked on a programme to establish birds' sanctuaries. One such sanctuary was established around Oyugis and another one in Kisumu. The potential of these pelican breeding sites around Lake Victoria was that ornithologists would be offered the opportunity to observe pelicans fly back with fish to feed their young ones. Because of a fascinating birdlife, Buoye (Oyugis) bird's sanctuary in Oyugis was immediately surveyed to cover a swampy area about 300 yards wide and 100 yards in length; the sanctuary was surveyed by John Williams and gazetted at the end of 1966.³⁹ The same was also done to West Kano birds' sanctuary which included additional places of ornithological interests on the Nairobi to Kisumu route. This study found out that the residents of Kano had initially resisted any attempt to gazette the area because it was used by the locals to drive their cattle into the swamp during the dry season and that if it was gazetted then they would have to look for another area to take their cattle to drink water during dry season.

However, after thorough consultations with the local leaders, the area was surveyed and gazetted. Establishment of Buoye birds' sanctuary in Oyugis was however not disputed because Ayodo was a respected leader in the area. Even though Buoye birds' sanctuary has not been well managed as a tourist attraction centre, Homa-Bay county government is working to ensure it becomes a leading tourist attraction in the region. The study established that the County government has hired four employees to manage the sanctuary. The researcher noted at the time of the research that there were sixty Guinea fowls, eighty ducks at the sanctuary and that efforts were being made to bring in more birds. Figure 4 on page 63 shows the entrance to Oyugis birds' sanctuary while Figure 5 and 6 on page 64 and 65 respectively shows some of the bird species in the sanctuary. It is important to note that if it were not for Ayodo's effort, the birds' sanctuary would not have been established.

Concerning other resources, Ayodo's ministry surveyed areas where workable mineral deposits could be found with the aim of extracting such minerals to improve the economy. Kenya is generally regarded as having insufficient mineral resources to make substantial contribution to the economy. It is true that no major deposits of such minerals as iron ore, coal, oil among others be explored serve as prime mover for rapidly expanding economy.

³⁹. Proposed Game and Bird Sanctuaries in Nyanza, GA3/5353, Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Natural Resources, Nairobi, Kenya, 1966

Nevertheless, Kenya's geology indicated that there were economically exploitable deposits such as copper, gold, silver, lead, phosphates, nickel and platinum.

In 1962, Kenya's mineral production reached a value of £5 million per annum,⁴⁰ but the potential was estimated to be far great. In the past, the government was mainly concerned with extending the geological survey of Kenya, along-term programme designed to lay the foundation for mineral exploitation and development. The programme was a notable success. During the period, projects were to be undertaken to develop promising deposits which had been surveyed. In Nyanza, the most promising project was the exploration of gold fields area of western Kenya, mainly the Migori gold belt, the Kitere-Oyugis areas of South Nyanza and Kakamega belt of western region and by 1965, three quarter of Kenya had already been surveyed by geologists.

⁴⁰ GOK Development Plan 1964-1970, P.76.

Figure 4: The Entrance to Oyugis Birds' Sanctuary



Source: Photo taken by the author in September 2015

Figure 5: Ducks at Oyugis Birds' Sanctuary



Source: Photo taken by Sanctuary management in September 2015

Figure 6: Guinea Fowls at Oyugis Birds' Sanctuary



Source: Photograph taken by sanctuary management in September 2015

Other achievements associated with Ayodo include the establishment of Wire and Koderia forests in Homa Bay County. Forestry has two important functions to perform for Kenya's economy; protection of its game, soil, water catchment and production of timber and its products, which would otherwise have to be imported. Without forests to protect its catchment areas, much of Kenya's land would be less valuable and a certain potential for economic development would be lost. It is essential that these forests be maintained. Food and Agricultural Organisation estimated that the consumption of timber was on the steady rise and that more areas were to be put under forest management. It was this background that Ayodo was interested in Forest conservation and one of his achievement as the minister for Natural Resources was the establishment of Wire and Koderia forests. The

forests are located within Kasipul-Kabondo constituency in a densely populated area. Wire forest reserve is about 5 km whereas Koderia forest is about 15 km away from Oyugis town.

The establishment of the forests were bitterly resisted by the local residents and Ayodo's opponent, (Mbori) who argued that the project entailed confiscation of land from the local inhabitants by the government. The forests were seen as breeding places for hyenas and their establishment would cause an end to firewood collection, from the designated area. Ayodo's opponent (Mbori) pledged to give the locals back the land taken for the establishment of the forest reserve if elected, this was the argument of Mbori.⁴¹ However, Ayodo used his influence as a government minister to ensure that the project was initiated. His ministry then embarked on a programme of planting trees to cover the gazetted area. Seedlings of various tree species were brought in thousands and planted by casual workers as affirmed by Okeyo and Mwage.⁴² Some serving casual workers were later on confirmed as permanent employees of the ministry. Figure 7 on page 67 shows part of Wire forest within Kabondo-Kasipul constituency.

⁴¹ Mbori, (OI), 12 February 2014.

⁴² Okeyo, (OI), 12 December 2014, and Mwage, (OI), 7 June 2014.

Figure 7: Part of Wire Forest within Kasipul-Kabondo Constituency



Source: Photograph taken by author in September 2014

The study further noted that Ayodo as an influential politician from the greater South Nyanza was resourceful in influencing the establishment of a Pier on the eastern shores of Lake Victoria in Homa Bay town. Ayodo's objective was to ensure that Kisumu, which was the headquarters of Nyanza Province, was connected to Homa Bay and easily accessible. Kisumu airport brought tourists to the Lake region but they could not reach Homa Bay as fast as expected since the main road connecting Kisumu and Homa Bay had not been tarmacked. Ayodo therefore thought it wise to have the pier constructed, so that people would cover a shorter distance and therefore save time by travelling on water. The pier linking the two towns would also enable travellers to view Lake Victoria while travelling on water and also view features around it.

When he realised that Homa Bay was going to be an important commercial town and a tourist attraction centre, Ayodo influenced the construction of Kabunde Airstrip in order to

help connect then South Nyanza with the rest of Kenya. Today the Airstrip has expanded with aircrafts flying in and out from Homa Bay to other towns in Kenya for business purposes and job opportunities have been created. During the same period, Ayodo proposed the establishment of the Marindi sugar industry due to the area's, favourable soils. However, the project did not take off.

Ayodo also made efforts to eradicate tsetse fly in South Nyanza. For a very long time, South Nyanza, especially areas covering Kadem, Olambwe, Kawabuaye, Dhiwa and most parts of Homa Bay were seriously infested with tsetse fly making the areas difficult for settlement and farming. Tsetse fly causes nagana and sleeping sickness. Firstly, these areas were surveyed and sprayed using aircraft as affirmed by Phoebe Asiyu who toured the area with Ayodo.⁴³ This became one of the most important contributions of Ayodo. These areas which were formerly not settled are now settled with most people taking part in livestock rearing and crop cultivation. The study found out that most cows kept in these areas are sold to Kenya Meat Commission where they are slaughtered and their beef sold locally or exported.

The constituency further experienced much generosity from Ayodo as a minister. Key informants stated that his role in education was paramount and vital, arguing that during this period one could not talk of development within the constituency without mentioning Ayodo's name. In the 1960s, only a few primary and secondary schools existed in the entire South Nyanza District and within his constituency included Agoro Sare, Nyabola and Wang'apala. Those interviewed, such as Philemon Okoth, who was the head teacher of Wang'apala primary, and Ismael Dianga, who was his former student, indicated to me that Ayodo valued education; they commented during the interview that the people from this area are very lucky because their leader is capable.⁴⁴ Throughout his political career, Ayodo was instrumental in initiating many community projects throughout his constituency and South Nyanza as a whole such as construction of schools. He is remembered for being the first to help introduce *Harambee* schools in Kasipul Kabondo constituency. For instance, in 1969, he was instrumental in organizing fundraisings to help support schools and self-help projects. The first important fundraising organized by Ayodo was to raise money to help transfer Wang'apala Secondary from the primary to its own land. During this fundraising he, invited Tom Mboya who was the guest of honour.

⁴³ Phoebe, (OI), February 2014.

⁴⁴ Dianga, (OI), September 2014.

According to Philemon Okoth and Dianga, a total of 25,000 shillings was collected and was used to construct three classrooms and one dormitory. Figure 8 on page 70 is the photograph of the dormitory at Wang'apala that was constructed after the fundraising organised by Ayodo and named after him.⁴⁵ In addition to a cash donation, Mboya also donated decker beads to be used by boarding students. The researcher observed that this was the first ever important fundraising to be organized by Ayodo in his constituency. It was after the fundraiser that the secondary was relocated from the primary school grounds to its own land. Since then Wang'apala has remained an important county secondary school, which has provided education to people who went to join teaching and laws. Away from his home area, Ayodo helped to raise funds to construct dormitories in Agoro Sare and Nyabola secondary schools. The researcher observed that several schools also expanded during his tenure and that there was hardly any constituency in the republic of Kenya as efficiently served as Ayodo's constituency, and that he frequently visited the constituency to supervise these projects. He planned the visits such that each was useful to the public rather than individuals. He brought ministers such as Tom Mboya, Ronald Ngala and Jackson Angaine to his constituency to raise funds for development projects within the constituency. Even President Kenyatta toured the constituency in 1968. On realising the gains he made through these projects, he embarked on activities aimed at uniting all the locations within the constituency.

⁴⁵ Okoth, (OI) 30 December 2014, Dianga, (OI), 2 September 2014.

Figure 8: Ayodo Dormitory at Wang'apala Secondary School



Source: Photo taken by author in October 2014

During the official visit by the president, Ramula was elevated to the status of a Chief's headquarters for Kabondo location by the president. This was to honour Ayodo for his role in ensuring that Kasipul and Kabondo became locations. Today, Ramula is the Sub-County headquarters for the newly created East Kabondo Sub-County in 2016 with many government offices; Ramula also has the Sub County hospital. In 1968, Ayodo invited Ronald Ngala for a fundraising where the latter donated 60 sewing machines to Kabondo Women Group under a *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* Initiative led by the group's chairperson, Damar Alila. The project has been able to train thousands of women on how to earn their livelihood.

Politically, the period from 1969 to 1983 was significant in Ayodo's life. Ayodo, who served as a member of parliament and as a minister, played an important role in national politics hence the constituency was not isolated from national politics. His appointment as the first minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs, and later Tourism and

Wildlife and Natural Resources in 1965 made him to acquire a lot of experience in the politics of Kenya. Ayodo's rising political star on the national front also influenced the politics of the county. In 1966 a conference was held in Limuru by KANU, this was followed by "Little general election" which resulted due to the deep ideological and personal differences between President Kenyatta and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. The session involved the implementation of Mboya's amendments to KANU constitution which abolished the powerful position of KANU deputy President held by Oginga Odinga. The whole idea was to water down Odinga's influence by creating eight new KANU vice President positions. During the meeting Odinga did not agree with the amendments as they had not been discussed in the earlier meeting and wanted the amendments to be differed but KANU refused and Odinga walked out of the meeting in protest accompanied by his allies like Bildad Kaggia and Munyua Waiyaki. From this time enmity emerged between Tom Mboya and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga on political grounds and the result was the formation of KPU by Odinga to accommodate those opposed to KANU.

On the other hand, even though Mboya resided in the same county with Ayodo he was too not frequently visiting Kasipul Kabondo constituency represented by Ayodo but he supported Mboya because when he was asked to give his stand on the formation of KPU and its emergence in South Nyanza, Ayodo's reaction was mild. Despite all these problems, Ayodo still remained a friend of Odinga and advocated reverence for him on political grounds. While denouncing Odinga's policies and his party (KPU), Ayodo steered a middle course in the conflict which tore the Luo community into two opposing political camps, those that supported Odinga and those that supported Mboya. On many occasions, Ayodo had not allowed Odinga to come publicly into his constituency ever since 1959 when he represented South Nyanza and lastly Kasipul-Kabondo constituency. At the time Mboya's word in South Nyanza was like law, Mboya had upper hand over Jaramogi Oginga Odinga though Mboya and Odinga served the same party with Jaramogi as the vice president, while Mboya was the secretary general. The study established that Ayodo did not want Odinga to come to South Nyanza because Odinga and the people of central Nyanza undermined the people of South Nyanza, this time Ayodo was climbing the political ladder, he was not only a politician representing the wishes of people of South Nyanza but had secured a place for himself in the national political arena of Kenya.

In 1969 in the politics of South Nyanza Ayodo who was not supporting Odinga in the district, got support of a number of councillors and clinched the leadership of the party in their sub-branches but he failed to win any district party position, Amayo won the branch chairmanship after defeating Ayodo. The study noted that Ayodo seemed to have been unable to reassert himself on the national scene after getting back his seat. On the other hand, this meant that though he was more experienced in politics he was not able to give other members of parliament who were relatively young in politics the direction.

In 1969, Odinga's problems persisted, firstly KPU was banned and its members such as Achieng Oneko, Luke Obok, Tom Okello Odongo, Okuto Bala, Odero Jowi, Wasonga Sijeyo Ondiek Chilo were arrested including Odinga, in the same year Odinga was not allowed by KANU to vie for any elective position in Siaya District and anytime it was announced that he had been elected or confirmed chairman of Siaya KANU branch, the party headquarters ruled otherwise and any petition taken to the East African court of appeal to annul the result and stage by-election between Jaramogi Odinga and Omollo Okero who defeated him never materialised. In the same year Mboya was assassinated under unclear circumstances. Although Odinga and Mboya were rivals, his death altered the political game in South Nyanza and Luoland as a whole.

According to Mburi and Omwae,⁴⁶ Odinga's political woos and Mboya's death caused considerable division among the Luo politicians. Some viewed Odinga's misfortune as a frustration within his ethnic community. On the other hand, the political differences between Mboya and Odinga polarised the Luo community even though it was a polarization which involved only personal loyalties. For instance, Odinga's allies like Bildad Kaggia and Munyua Waiyaki were never in good terms with Mboya's allies such as Omollo Agar and Argwings Kodhek. The leadership rivalry between Odinga and Mboya made none of the two to accept the other to lead in Luoland politics which was then divided into two factions between Odinga and Mboya. Ayodo on the other hand would listen to peoples' views and gave sound judgement on situations. He equally enjoyed the trust of the people due to his modesty, composed mind, fair judgement, his display of common sense and respect for others. Therefore, in 1969, Ayodo was thus keenly involved in the politics of South Nyanza and his constituency at a time when there were a lot of serious problems in Luoland politics. In Kasipul-Kabondo constituency ever since independence, the political game was played between two personalities: Ayodo and his

⁴⁶Mburi, (OI),11 February 2014, Omwae, (OI),12 February 2014

political rival James Mbori. The 1969 election was an acid test for Ayodo, who was the area's representative prior to and immediately after independence. Of all the South Nyanza members of parliament, the one most sure of re-election in the September 1969 election was Ayodo who was viewed as a polished politician in Luoland. However, he was one of the casualties of 1969 wave of anger in Luo land politics following Mboya's assassination and detention of most Luo leaders who belonged to KPU, including its leader Odinga. These two incidents made Ayodo to lose the election to Mbori who got 8,422 votes against Ayodo's 2,554. *The Weekly Review* of October 30 1987 reports.⁴⁷ After this election, Ayodo exited the cabinet.

Ayodo's loss to Mbori made political analysts to speculate that his days in politics were numbered but he was to prove them wrong when he later defeated Mbori twice, in 1974 and 1979. This once again showed Ayodo's political supremacy over Mbori. However, most people could ask why Ayodo lost to Mbori during 1969 election, which was also the concern of the researcher. The study established that Mboya's assassination and Ayodo's approach to Odinga's new party KPU negatively affected his political strength, this was the argument of Phoebe, Damaris and Penina.⁴⁸ Concerning Mboya's death, most people expected Ayodo to resign from government because they knew he was Mboya's confidant with whom they shared a lot. Others felt that it was Ayodo who could satisfy their curiosity about the incident, while others expected him to come out publicly and condemn those who killed Mboya. But instead, Ayodo only addressed a press conference in Nairobi where he pleaded for calm following Mboya's death. *The Daily Nation* reported:

Ayodo told the *Daily Nation* that we appeal to those who believed in Mboya's leadership and particularly the Luo people to hold steadfastly to what Tom believed in and remember how he would have reacted in a situation such as that of his untimely death. As a nation, we have paid tribute to him for his contribution to our progress. Mboya was an unwavering believer in peaceful and lawful means of ensuring that justice was done and we must follow these principles. He reiterated that people should not individually or collectively take any action that may be prejudicial to the unity of the nation, we must stand together and realise that our unity is the best way to avoid exploitation by political opportunists.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Kasipul-Kabondo, *The Weekly Review*, 30 October 1987, P.8.

⁴⁸ Phoebe, (OI), February 2014, Damaris, (OI), 8 February 2014 and Pennina, (OI), 13 October 2014.

⁴⁹ 'Maintain Our Unity MPs Plead', *Daily Nation Reporter*, 17 July 1969, P.2.

Even after reading a heart-felt and moving eulogy during the requiem mass at the Holy Family Basilica, in his concluding remarks he asked 'why? why?' That was not enough for the Luo community that was affected following Mboya's death considering Ayodo's position both as Mboya's friend as well as a respected Luo leader. Ayodo was much involved in the funeral arrangements of Mboya, especially in drafting the plans. He and others came up with the eulogy that he read. Those close to Ayodo argued that it was the best Ayodo could do due to high political tension during that time following Mboya's death. It was felt that acting in a different way could bring more problems. The assassination of Mboya jolted the entire nation but the Luo community seriously felt betrayed. The incident also made the community to attempt a localised violence.⁵⁰ The long-term effect was that the tribal attitude hardened in favour of Odinga's stand with respect to the government of the time. Because of this, the Luo community expected Ayodo to come out vocally and condemn the incident and to give political direction as opposed to giving press statements.

Equally important and closely connected with Mboya's death was the incident in Kisumu in the late 1969 in which what was considered insubordination of the head of state was displayed by the opposition when Kenyatta was on official visit to Kisumu, leading to shootings following Odinga's differences with Kenyatta. This incident also led to the detention of several opposition members, the community felt betrayed again as the problem was not handled as they expected. The community felt this was the last straw and once again, Ayodo only appealed for calm and did not come out strongly to condemn the incident as was expected by the Luo community. However, in doing this, Ayodo defended the government on one hand and on the other hand, he defended the Luo community. All in all, the Tourism minister termed the incident that occurred in Kisumu as stupidity and hooliganism. *The East African Standard* reported:

The rioting and hooliganism which led to loss of lives was not the work of the whole Luo community but just a few who were anti-development. Ayodo further said that the head of state deserve respect and if there are issues then there are better ways of addressing them, Ayodo defended the president arguing that the

⁵⁰ P. M. Nyambala, 'New Era Dawns among the Luo', *Weekly Review*, 26 September 1980, P.10.

president is the government and hence cannot be stopped from doing his normal work.⁵¹

During a parliamentary session in 1980, Ayodo affirmed his support for President Kenyatta due to his close support for the Luo community. He informed the house how the president visited western Kenya on several occasions to initiate and oversee several development projects. He said that the President made Kisumu to be an important town. Ayodo caused laughter during this debate when he said he would support the president if he is a player playing football and he would support the president unconditionally.⁵² Ayodo therefore advocated respect for the head of state and peaceful co-existence of different communities living in Kenya. In addition to his everyday political activities, Ayodo enjoyed a brilliant moment as a trusted member of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta's government. This is the reason why the great man theory was used in my study because in this circumstance, Ayodo used charisma as a leader.

The study established that Ayodo showed very rare leadership qualities especially when there was a lot of pressure from his community that demanded for his stand. However, in his wisdom he both defended the government and the Luo community. His leadership integrity was again proved beyond reasonable doubt. When he was interviewed by the press to clarify whether or not KPU would be banned, he neither committed nor side stepped these questions but ensured that the people were convinced that there would be no problems. During this trying moment, his stand was that some diplomacy was to follow between the government and Luo community. His next challenge was when KPU entered the constituency in 1966. His reaction was quite sometimes mild. He had not unequivocally condemned the party when members of his constituency indicated to him that they felt attracted to the new party and in course of time, KPU grew from strength to strength with Odinga becoming more esteemed. When KPU was banned and its members in parliament detained following the incident in Kisumu, there was widespread disquiet and it was felt that the government had acted with undue severity. This incident again exposed Ayodo to a lot of criticism from the Luo community who felt he was supposed to defend them but he appeared to have ignored the protest for he actively engaged himself in making the Luo and the government to reconcile with one another.

⁵¹Standard Staff Reporter 'Luo Ministers Condemn Kisumu Hooliganism', *East Africa Standard*, 29 October 1969, P.10.

⁵² Kenya National Assembly Official Record Vol. V Motion 91, March 1980.

This pacific policy was unacceptable to many members of the Luo community who regarded it as unseemly humiliation. In that light, the Luo delegation led by Ayodo and Jowi to pledge loyalty to the president was bitterly resented and following this incident and his stand the constituency was at one with the rest of community and Ayodo was seen as a party to the cause of undesirable trend of events and so unlikely to execute the popular demand. The assassination of Mboya and the detainee question was a leading point for many informants as they indicated that they were the major factors that accounted for Ayodo's failure during this election. The detainee question and Mboya's assassination suggested that Ayodo's failure was majorly due to political reasons and therefore was not fit to be voted in as a member of parliament. Mbori on the other hand used Mboya's assassination and detainee issue as his major campaign weapon as he pledged that if elected as the member of parliament for the constituency, he would work better to ensure that KPU detainees were released, this made many people to believe that Mbori was able to bring the community back to the right political track especially the residents of Kasipul-Kabondo constituency.

Even though Ayodo tried to balance the politics between Luo community and the government to ensure there were no problems especially between the Luo community and the government. It was argued by Nyakomitta and Nyamburi⁵³ that in 1969, he was not generous to self-help projects especially in some areas within the constituency and sharing of pecuniary rewards with the constituents' proceeds from his political fortune compared to other politicians of his status such as Odinga and Mboya. On his part, Ayodo emphasised to members of his constituency that from his salary he could ill afford substantial regular contributions for public use. Ayodo argued that the money distributed by his opponent such as Mbori was political money and could not be their own. He also argued that even if he had access to much money, which he did not have, he would have a committee to draw its allocations and not him personally holding it and then have people look like dogs in expectation. According to him, such money would kill their initiative and incentive for hard work, as most people would not concentrate on activities that would earn them livelihood. He reiterated that such money was polluted and would kill in time, it would get stuck in their throats and if it descends into the bowels, it would cause chronic constipation.

⁵³ Nyakomitta, (OI), 5 April 2014, Nyamburi, (OI), 13 September 2014.

Ayodo believed in self-reliance based on an orderly economic structure in line with modern economic systems. Ayodo's approach to issues seemed too orderly and intricate for people to grasp. He confessed many times that he could not afford to give money to the tune of Ksh 500 as was the characteristic of his opponent and that the highest he ever did actually give was Ksh. 100. It was felt by some people that Ayodo was not willing to help most people from his constituency procure loans, which he said was because they needed some ample economic security and not political recommendations to be able to get a taste of the loan.

The study established that being a responsible person from his childhood, he too wanted other people to be responsible and hardworking because through that they would be able to get their livelihood. The study further noted that Ayodo emphasised that land consolidation would solve most of their problems such as getting loans to do developments even though some people came to view him as putting too stiff conditions to get what they wanted. He appeared to have made people to realise the importance of self-help projects and loans.

The stiff conditions put by Ayodo only made a few lucky people to get a taste of the loan. The study established that this was an important factor which contributed to his dismal performance during 1969 general election. Mbori on the other hand did not promise he would channel the goodies but the people from his constituency believed he would do that mainly from his criticism of Ayodo. The study further noted that Ayodo was not frequently visiting the constituency sufficiently, this was a widespread complaint since the time he was representing South Nyanza and that he always gave the people of his constituency the impression that he was a busy man and that he did not pay due attention to the people who wanted to meet him and consult about their problems. He had come to be referred to as the pre-occupied man. His office in Nairobi was too not easy to get into as affirmed by Mburi and Omwae.⁵⁴ His agents in the constituency and party officials mostly complained that they were left to conduct affairs too much on their own but when he came he tended to concentrate his attention on the elderly people at the expense of the youths. Nyaburi, Nyakomitta, Oloo and Ndegwa affirmed that Ayodo could take between 5 to 7 months before he was seen in most areas within the constituency in 1969.⁵⁵ However his nick name Onyango "*Adich*" (Luo word for I am busy or pre-occupied) was used by his

⁵⁴ Mburi, (OI), 11 April 2014, Omwae, (OI), 12 February 2014.

⁵⁵ Nyaburi, (OI), 13 September 2014, Nyakomitta, (OI), 5 April 2014, Ndegwa (OI), 12 May 2014, and Oloo, Oral Information, 12 September 2014.

opponents to discredit his tenure as a Member of Parliament and Cabinet Minister. Some people argued that Ayodo had no time for his voters in the village and that he spent most of his time in his home in Nairobi and his office in Nairobi.

The study observed that the duration taken by Ayodo to have contacts with the residents of his constituency was too long and that he only valued the elderly people at the expense of the youth. There were complaints that there were some areas within the constituency that Ayodo never visited and he developed procrastination for he used to say he would consider those cases, the implementation of which turned out to be long coming. It was however in contrast to note that some informants had a different view about Ayodo. Some informants argued that it was Ayodo's personal assistant in his office in Nairobi that prevented people from meeting Ayodo and that he was not a busy man as viewed by others.

The elderly people noted that he was a great politician who could not be compared with others. The study noted that those who were opposed to him and his political activities were summoned by the elderly people, cautioned and advised to support the minister a title he retained even after quitting politics. One of the informants recounts how he was summoned by the elderly people when during a stakeholders' meeting in 1982 at Wang'apala he said that Ayodo was not fit to be elected as their member of parliament since he failed to openly criticise those who killed Mboya. One informant by the name George said "I was summoned to a meeting by four elders namely; Selemia Ochieng, Joel Obongo, Aroko Awich and Mishael Anyango, they warned me to stop criticising the minister openly.⁵⁶ Mbori on the contrast offered himself for absolute service to the constituents with ready access to the people, this may have been possible since Mbori was in most cases around. After this election where Ayodo lost to Mbori, he disappeared into private life for a short period of time while hurled into oblivion by the public he had served. The research noted that the residents of the constituency felt that the verdict they imposed on Ayodo was unwarranted. They argued it was important if they warned him and let him serve for another term than voting him out as they did. At Oyugis centre in Kasipul-Kabondo, Ayodo recommended himself just before the election but it was met with derision as it was then a deathbed confession, a desperate attempt by a drowning man to cling to water facing object that was at hand to reach safely.

⁵⁶ George, (OI), 6 May 2014.

Before 1974 general election, it was not clear whether or not Ayodo would challenge Mbori who defeated him in 1969. Many people argued that should Ayodo declare his candidature during the time of election, observers would be kept busy guessing the outcome of the battle. It was important to note that just after the 1969 election when Ayodo lost, most people had hinted it was better if he was given another chance; this was only good to give him strong ground to search for votes from people during 1974 election, as it appeared he was still popular amongst most people within the constituency.

The elections within Kasipul-Kabondo constituency were hotly contested between two personalities; Ayodo and Mbori, this also included 1974 election. As the election of 1974 grew nearer, Ayodo showed interest as a way of exercising his democratic right. It was established that little interest was shown during this election because of Mboya's assassination, the banning and detention of KPU leaders including the parliamentary group. These political developments appeared to have scared away even some prospective candidates in the constituency and dulled the voters' political appetite to participate during this important general election. Majority of informants stated that during his preliminary tours within the constituency, Ayodo found out that opinion favoured him to be elected unopposed. In another development a similar resolution was passed and sent to the people from his constituency working in Nairobi during a meeting held in Oyugis chaired by Aketch stating that Ayodo should be elected unopposed as affirmed by Opere, Onuonga and Owalla.⁵⁷ However it later emerged that this resolution triggered off sharp reactions from various people who claimed that unchallenged victory would tantamount to an acknowledgement of Ayodo's superiority over everyone else and this would put Ayodo in an irreproachable position. Others wondered if Ayodo could be trusted that much as they felt this would be an unconditional return of the mandate to him. Ayodo on the other hand wondered if the confidence expressed in him would work in his favour.

It is important to note that the elections within Kasipul-Kabondo constituency were mainly fought on local issues with Ayodo as the centre of controversy. The research established that all the candidates did not have clear manifesto this applied to Ayodo and Mbori who people thought had. The informants affirmed that neither Ayodo nor Mbori had good policies which could make them get more votes, the same way it was noted that the candidates did not have clearly defined policies such as manifesto and future plans for the

⁵⁷ Opere, (OI), 10 October 2014, Onuonga, (OI), 14 March 2014, and Owalla, (OI), 14 September 2014.

constituency,⁵⁸ this was affirmed by Omwae and Obongo, they argued all these are important components that make an individual to win any election. During various campaign rallies carried out in various places within the constituency the candidates only searched for votes based on their past records since each one of them had made it to parliament twice. Pressure was on Mbori to show that this was the best he could possibly had done to the electorates while Ayodo had to convince the electorates that he could have done much better.

In an attempt to woo voters, Ayodo laid before the electorates his achievement records on projects done and how they influenced the lives of the people. He also laid before them the projects that were to be completed if he was re-elected. He explained how land consolidation, establishment of Wire forest and Lambwe Valley Game Reserve were done due to his effort and that these projects transformed the lives of the people not only within the constituency but also in the entire South Nyanza. Ayodo reiterated that if elected again he would supply the area with electricity, create new locations and bring postal and communication services such as post offices within the constituency. It was established that both Oyugis and Kadongo post offices were Ayodo's doing. The electorates were convinced that he was capable of doing this having succeeded in land consolidation that was a major project. Mbori on the other hand concentrated on refuting the promises made by Ayodo accusing him of political complications in Luo land. Mbori also advanced inconclusive promises with clarity on Wire forest that he claimed would encourage hyenas that would cause a lot of destruction to the people around, Mbori also accused Ayodo that his family was doing well compared to others and must have acquired a lot of wealth due to his position as a minister.

At Kadongo shopping centre in 1974, Ayodo while referring to allegation of politics being his source of prosperity, told members of the constituency not to entertain false accusations levied on him, he told his supporters that he joined politics because the people needed his services and not the opposite. His rival Mbori extensively used propaganda with suitable seasoned adjustments to fit situations. To confirm Ayodo's popularity, those who visited Ayodo's home were amazed at the number of people who continuously visited his home on a daily basis to see the 'minister', as he was generally referred to even before he was elected in parliament in 1974, this showed the level of Ayodo's popularity as

⁵⁸ Omwae, (OI), 12 February 2014, Obongo, (OI), 14 August 2014

affirmed by Mwage.⁵⁹ The study established that during this general election, Ayodo was able to consolidate a lot of votes from East Kodumo, West Kodhoch, East Kodhoch and Kasewe. All these were sub-locations in Kabondo. He was also able to get a lot of votes from Sino Kagola, Kokal, Konyango and Kwoyo all these were sub-locations in Kasipul.

Those interviewed during focus group discussions indicated that Ayodo had very capable point men drawn from all the sub-locations indicated above and they were these point men from these different sub-locations and from the whole constituency that organized meetings where Ayodo met important and influential people before the actual rallies took place. Some of these meetings took place at night to strategize on how to counter Mbori's influence in many places and deny him confidence from his supporters. It was noted that Ayodo was advised to only talk about issues that affected the lives of the people and to avoid the use of propaganda, as was the characteristic of his opponent (Mbori). These point men were identified as Martin Ochar, Azaria Wende, Ochieng Deya, Patroba Opere, Diang'a Akal and Walter Swango.⁶⁰ With these strategies, Ayodo was able to get overwhelming support from such areas. On the other hand, the research noted that Mbori had not done a lot for the residents of his constituency compared to Ayodo who had participated in various projects such as land consolidation process, the support given to Ayodo by his point men made him to win this election.

On the other hand, Ayodo won this election because he changed KANU party leadership in Kabondo branch. Ayodo seemed to have expected to use the old KANU machinery but many changes had taken place over the years since the coming and influence of KPU because it was difficult then to know genuine KANU members. Many KANU supporters including officials within the constituency had defected to KPU. In Kabondo for instance, KPU executive was a replica of the old KANU. Ayodo therefore effected a purge in the party leadership in Kabondo branch thus equipping it with new personnel to manage his campaign; a scheme the informants affirmed made him quite successful. His success was also due to the fact that Ayodo's majority of agents were elderly people of over thirty years old, he had a few in the twenties and only a handful below twenty years old. It seemed he had a diminished volume in the last group because he believed that it was unbecoming to involve children of school age in politics, he ignored support likely to come from them and never sought it. The study established that he had

⁵⁹Mwage, (OI), 7 June 2014.

⁶⁰ Ongidi, (OI), 20 September 2014, Oluoch, (OI), 23 July 2014, and Ongawa, (OI), 22 November 2014.

constant consultations with the elderly at the expense of the youths. Age determined the roles, duty and responsibilities such as participating in electoral process. According to the findings a person of 18 years old and above was considered an adult and would participate in any election, this was the main reason why Ayodo heavily relied on the adults and elderly people aged 30 years and above. Apart from this, the elderly people were highly respected as they were the ones who determined the political destiny of politicians within the constituency. Most people who were interviewed that included Omollo, Odindo and Obaka asserted that Ayodo's strategies worked well for him during this election.⁶¹

Ayodo was a charismatic leader and used the power of charisma in handling critical issues such as blames and accusations from his opponents, which could deny him support. During 1974 election, the campaigns were characterised by a series of offensive statements launched by Mbori and his supporters on Ayodo, which put Ayodo's side on the defensive. There were endless accusations to be answered, allegations to be refuted, doubts to be cleared and fears to be allayed. During several campaign rallies held in different places within the constituency, Ayodo was challenged by Mbori several times to tell the people who Mboya killers were in 1969 and also to explain why KPU members were arrested, while he did not answer the charges as regarding Mboya's death and the incident in Kisumu, his supporters came out in his defence and justified Ayodo's action arguing that a leader deserve respect in his domains and that whereas no one was pleased with the occurrence and disorder that followed during a presidential meeting in Kisumu, it was any body's guess how a responsible member from Nyanza in the government could have acted other than what he did.

The argument from his supporters made him safe before the electorates as affirmed by informants such as Olweny, Odada and Ogwang.⁶² The detainee question and Mboya's assassination were issues Mbori used to defeat him claiming he ought to have explained to the people those who were behind Mboya's death and why KPU leaders were arrested. During a rally at Kwoyo, Mbori challenged Ayodo claiming that he was not vocal in parliament about Mboya's death, he said he was able to produce Hansard to prove the same about Ayodo, Mbori also argued that Wire forest was not anything good to talk about for it deprived the local people their land, hunting opportunities, and an area for fire wood collection, it had also increased the number of hyenas, monkeys, snakes and wild cats so

⁶¹ Omollo, (OI), 5 September 2014, Odindo, (OI), 5 September 2014, Obaka, (OI), 10 August 2014.

⁶² Olweny, (OI), 4 April 2014, Odada, (OI), 14 August 2014, and Ogwang, (OI), 13 September 2014.

that sheep, goats and chicken became commonly preyed upon and crops destroyed as recollected by Obaka, Omollo and Okul.⁶³ On his part, Ayodo instead renewed his achievements and assured the people he would continue operating in a similar manner for the constituency if re-elected. He further explained how he provided employment opportunities to many people as game wardens and forest guards in his speeches during several rallies held in different places within the constituency. He told the people who attended the rallies about his role in land consolidation process which begun in 1962, how he introduced birds' sanctuaries, how a number of schools such as Wang'apala and Nyabola were constructed when he was a member of parliament and a minister. Ayodo thus challenged the people that "you can see how I have channelled large sums of money on development and that the choice is for you people, Olel affirmed.⁶⁴" At Wang'apala a dormitory has been named after Ayodo.

It was noted during the time of the study that charisma which is defined as a powerful personal quality that some people have to attract and impress other people is a concept that was used in the study during 1974 election when it was established that Ayodo used charisma in handling false accusations and allegations from his opponent (Mbori). These allegations included the fact that he was not vocal in parliament, Ayodo's failure to clarify on his source of wealth, whereby in his response to his source of wealth he said it was not due to his election that he made wealth but that the people wanted his service.

During the same election period, Ayodo who was a good orator used his oratory skills to win audience. He used this ability during various political rallies to explain to the people how the Luo community had lost leading politicians claiming it would be a greater damaging loss to have a new member elected as it was more unlikely to have such appointed to a ministerial position than an old representative of his status, this was a swayed campaign tactic Ayodo used during this meeting which was also attended by his rivals, he argued that 'it was easy to have people mislead by fine talk but was inconceivable that any new representative would surpass my records in development however competent the person was. He was keen at reading the mood of the people but more importantly, he was informed in advance, what he would talk about during such rallies, the study noted that Ayodo had identified and used competent point men. To this extent the study relied on theme of wisdom as it was applied in the theory of Great Man to

⁶³ Obaka, (OI), 10 August 2014, Omollo, (OI), 5 September 2014, and Okul, (OI), 5 April 2014.

⁶⁴ Olel, (OI), 3 February 2014.

demonstrate how Ayodo used it to identify those capable as point men as well as strategizing on how to campaign and win more supporters on his side more than his opponents, without wisdom it is difficult to make wise decisions as Ayodo did hence wisdom as a theme was very relevant in interrogating Ayodo's strength. It can therefore be deduced that these qualities worked in Ayodo's favour and that his oratory skills and charisma kept him in politics for many years that he dominated politics of Kasipul-Kabondo constituency.

The study further established that Ayodo rapidly brought the constituency to its feet in terms of economic development. Ayodo's landslide victory was as a result, all other factors the mood of the time notwithstanding. His profession as a teacher helped him in as far as his leadership integrity was concerned and in reaching out to voters. The candidate who competed against the incumbent in the constituency was also a teacher whose adoption was engineered and upheld, as was understood by teachers. Time seemed to have integrated teachers into a more forceful political asset or liability to be reckoned with. Mbori's record was such that he could not get through the election by himself. Whatever he had done was mainly recognised in his county council ward and among his pupils more than everywhere else, for until the election campaign, he was not very popular compared to Ayodo, his personality compared to Ayodo was inferior.

Ayodo had overwhelming support and command in the entire constituency. His support was also due to the underlying sweeping influence of Odinga whom he supported. An informant, Odindo commented on his strength saying, "Ayodo was the Ox that was used to the yoke and would continue to pull harmoniously in the ploughing team."⁶⁵ "When elections were conducted Ayodo defeated Mbori by getting 9,653 votes against Mbori who got 7,292 while Ogweno Ombura got 1,076 as Agutu Dullo came last with 209 votes."⁶⁶ This was a very bitter loss for Mbori who many people thought would retain his seat. It appeared as if Mbori who ought to have contemplated quitting politics only for snap election of 1983 that changed the equation again. During this election contest, Ayodo who was a good orator used his oratory skills and magnetic personality to attract devoted followers and win audience with promises to improve their livelihoods, on platform he discredited Mbori on the grounds of a failed leader who did not bring any development to the constituency during his time as a member of parliament. The research noted that even

⁶⁵ Odindo, (OI), 5 September 2014.

⁶⁶ 'South Nyanza District, Kasipul-Kabondo Seniority', *Weekly Review* 15 July 1983, P.15.

after winning 1974 election Ayodo was not appointed a minister not even an assistant minister, while Odera Jowi resigned in silent protest. Ayodo the veteran politician showed his political maturity and stuck it out on the backbench where he remained for a whole term.⁶⁷

During the time Ayodo served as an ordinary Member of Parliament, he played an important role as a politician whereby he served as a bridge between South Nyanza politicians and those from Kisumu and Siaya regions even though he did not reside from any of the two regions. As an ordinary Member of Parliament he was particularly prominent in efforts at finding rapprochement between Odinga and other Luo leaders and it was probably because of this that the government regarded him with coolness.⁶⁸ In parliament, Ayodo who was then not a minister made a few contributions in parliament and spent most of his time in his constituency on development projects such as empowering the women through organizing fundraisings and convincing people to concentrate on their farming activities. The study observed that he was able to freely conduct campaign, which emphasised the fact of his seniority among Luo members of parliament.

The 1979 polls were the first general elections to be held under retired President Daniel Arap Moi's administration. During this election, the most notable politician who made another appearance in parliament for his second consecutive term since bouncing back from his political limbo in 1974 was Samwel Onyango Ayodo who was one time the minister for Tourism, Wildlife and Natural Resources in Kenya. Ayodo the soft-spoken man who was able to turn into alluring dramatist on the platform retained his seat against tough opposition mounted by the former Member of Parliament James Mbori whom he ousted out in 1974. The study noted that Ayodo had known Odinga's strength in Luoland politics and that is why he kept on supporting Odinga even when other leaders were against Odinga. In 1974 and 1979 Odinga exercised tremendous influence in Luoland politics which influenced the voting pattern as those who supported him were voted into parliament and one such person was Ayodo. He strongly supported Odinga after Mboya's death knowing very well that Odinga was a strong politician in Luoland politics. Ayodo wanted to appear as if he did not have any problems with Odinga. It is important to note that Ayodo was part of the cabinet which sent Odinga to detention in 1969 but was able to

⁶⁷ Ibid, P.15.

⁶⁸ Ibid, P.15.

speak courageously about Odinga as a national figure in politics of Kenya. *The weekly review* reported:

Ayodo is not hero-worshipping Odinga at all. What he appears to be saying is that the Luo community cannot re-enter fully the national political scene with only one foot because even if some Luo leaders now want to forget about Odinga, will the non-Luos' forget him? Odinga is a symbolic figure and if ignored in the national set-up, a good section of the Luo community may still feel left out.⁶⁹

Ayodo used Odinga's influence in Kenya's politics to make himself strong in Luoland politics. It was because of this reason that he strongly supported Odinga. Ayodo who was determined to win 1979 elections was very keen in using all means possible to go through during this election. He was a keen supporter of Odinga even though he was in a government that did not support Odinga. In the government, Ayodo could do what was required of him as a minister and as a member of parliament, he could go by the community wishes.

Before 1979 election, Odinga had problems with KANU party and was not allowed to contest and win the party elections. His attempt to take over the leadership of the Siaya District KANU branch failed. It was through this that Odinga could move or rise to meaningful leadership roles within the party's hierarchy and this strategy never worked in favour of Odinga. He was also barred from submitting his nomination papers to contest the post of party vice-presidency, a post he had held until 1966. Worse still, any petitions Odinga filed to annul the elections of Omollo Okero whom he claimed rigged party elections did not materialise. In view of these political challenges faced by Odinga, Ayodo was very prominent in organizing for a meeting that made Odinga to come back to the national politics after long frustrations by KANU government. The meeting was called *Oyugis Declaration of 1977* which passed key resolutions in favour of the Luo community and Odinga. The meeting organised by Ayodo and attended by most of the Luo members of parliament passed a number of key resolutions;

Firstly, Luo politicians at Oyugis passed that KANU election or no KANU elections; Odinga was still very much an issue in Luo community. *The standard* further reported:

⁶⁹ 'Odinga: Centre of Storm', *Weekly Review* 29 August 1977, P.38.

The Members of Parliament and others present pledged their loyalty to President Kenyatta, KANU and the government. All Luos must unite and work in cooperation with the Government. Luo union should work hard to bring close cooperation with GEMA (Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru Association). All the MPs and everyone present unanimously passed a vote of confidence in Odinga and appealed to him to take up the Luo leadership.⁷⁰

The study established that even though Ayodo did not come from Siaya, the home of Odinga, he proved his political mightiness. This meeting also elevated Ayodo politically with regards to 1979 election for when the people realised he stuck with Odinga he was the best candidate for the election. It also made other Luo members of parliament who were close to Odinga to emerge victorious. Those who out rightly supported Odinga succeeded while those who opposed him failed these were Ayodo and Asiyo in South Nyanza while Omollo Okero, William Omamo and Okiki Amayo failed since they were anti-Odinga.

The importance of Oyugis meeting convened by Ayodo was that it was the first major meeting to be held outside Siaya in support of Odinga since he returned from political detention. Ayodo who was not from Siaya was determined to see Odinga become politically stable. He who was not a member of Odinga's defunct party KPU and was also part of the entourage of the fiercely anti-Odinga strongly supported Jaramogi. During the meeting, Ayodo came out publicly to the surprise of many people and said that. *The Weekly Review* reported:

Ayodo told *The Weekly Review* that was nothing wrong in supporting Odinga as a leader of the Luo as there was no longer any opposition in Kenya. Odinga was the first person to mention Mzee Kenyatta's name during the difficult days of the fight for freedom when Mzee was in detention. He also played a leading role in the formation of the ruling party, KANU.⁷¹

The study established that Ayodo was an important personality in the political arrangement in South Nyanza especially in the organization of meetings that gave political directions. This was because Ayodo knew how to interact with other important politicians as early as he entered politics. Some of these key politicians from South Nyanza he met and interacted with to ensure Luo unity included Thomas Mboya, Oluoch Kanindo and

⁷⁰ 'Odinga Odinga Still Centre of Luo Politics', *Weekly Review* 2 May 1977, P.4.

⁷¹. Ayodo's surprise support for Odinga, *Weekly Review*, 2 May 1977, P.4.

Omollo Agar. His popularity grew because he was very active in uniting Luo community. According to majority of the informants, Ayodo was able to see a head of others and that is the reason why his political career grew from strength to strength in South Nyanza. Figure 9 on page 88 is Ayodo in a photograph with some leaders from South Nyanza in 1976.

Figure 9: Ayodo to the left with Tom Mboya, Oluoch Kanindo and Henry Okwanyo in 1976



Source: Family album.

In 1980, Ayodo is on record to have convened another such important meeting known as *Wang'apala Declaration 1980*, a meeting that was meant to bring the Luo community together. A meeting that was held at his home school and attended nearly by all members of parliament from Luoland. The leaders present passed key resolutions such as affirming faith in Robert Ouko whereas Paul Mboya was elected the chairman of the Luo union while Odinga was voted as the leader of the Luo community.⁷² Within Kasipul-Kabondo constituency, Ayodo was able to marshal a lot of support and was never quiet whenever

⁷²'No Division, Luo leaders affirm faith in Ouko', *Weekly Review* 7 March 1980, P.7.

there was political malice. As election was nearing, it was realised that some candidates had gone round the constituency to lure voters arguing that they were closer to the president and the government and so should be elected. On realising this, the brave Ayodo came out, called a press conference, and lashed out at politicians who claimed to be closer to the president. He termed this as confusion caused by some politicians in Luo land who did not believe in democracy. He asked; who is close and who is not close enough to the president or government and what does that mean in a democratic country like Kenya.⁷³ He further argued that politicians should refrain from making irresponsible statements that created doubts, suspicion and division among sections of the community. *The Weekly Review* reported:

Ayodo told *The Weekly Review* that these claims have been made in my constituency with the sole purpose of dividing and misleading the people of the area. He further argued that these were people who were against government; they were people distracting people's attention from development work, he however would not name the people he had in mind.⁷⁴

The research noted that Ayodo was keen in playing mature politics and not looking for shortcuts to win the elections, this is why he came out strongly to condemn this behaviour within the constituency. It was noted that oratorical powers alone by the two candidates, Ayodo and Mbori could not guarantee any of them election into parliament. It was noted that he continued with his tactics of using able agents, point men and most experienced old men to win 1979 general election but *Oyugis Declaration* played a major role in his success. He was also successful during this election not only because of his political role but also his development roles. He had provided the residents of his constituency with employment opportunities when he was a minister, he also helped women groups and organised fundraisings for several schools, he also assisted some people to secure loans for their business as was confirmed by Mr Opere who has been a strong business man in Oyugis to date, that is why Ayodo was referred to as the Ox that was used to the yoke.

The research noted that Ayodo was also keen at using South Nyanza intellectuals drawn from all over towns in Kenya and at home. These intellectuals were regarded as opinion leaders and think tanks. Damar and Isdora when interviewed affirmed that the intellectuals

⁷³ 'Luo Politics Who is closer? Ayodo complaints', *Weekly Review*, 27 April 1979, P.14.

⁷⁴ 'Luo Politics Ayodo complaints', *Weekly Review*, 27 April 1979, P.14.

strongly supported him and influenced his election in 1979.⁷⁵ The researcher noted that Mbori on the other hand was not keen at using intellectuals even though he had a few he relied on. Within and outside the constituency Ayodo was a keen politician of his time and his political inputs were felt within Luo land as a whole. He was able to win support a cross class lines; peasants, the clergy, intellectuals and the peasants were all satisfied with Ayodo's role. On the other hand, Mbori's supporters interviewed noted to me that defeating Ayodo was not very easy as affirmed by Ochieng Deya who was Mbori's personal secretary then. The study established that Mbori's supporters were faced with a mountain to remove during campaigns and that it was like felling a fig tree using a razorblade this was the view of majority of the respondents such as Isdora and Okul.⁷⁶ When the election was held Ayodo defeated Mbori by 12,884 votes against Mbori's 7,063 votes as reported in the *Weekly Review* of 30th October 1987.⁷⁷ Immediately the results were announced and Ayodo declared the winner at Agoro Sare Secondary School, his supporters went mad with delight and he was carried shoulder high by his supporters.⁷⁸ At Kadongo shopping centre, his convoy from Oyugis was met with jubilation as his supporters sung songs of praises chanting the elephant (Ayodo's symbol) has swallowed maize(Mbori's symbol). Towards home the crowd became more larger with thousands of people chanting "*Liech, Liech, Liech*" (Meaning the Elephant) as Ayodo could not hide his joy from his open Datsun pick-up waving and acknowledging cheers from his supporters, the researcher observed it was a great moment for Ayodo who did not know this would be his last time to make it to parliament and his retirement from active politics.

However, when President Moi named his cabinet in 1979, most former ministers and assistant ministers were not re appointed which also included Ayodo. Most ministers and assistant ministers appointed by Moi were his cronies. They were appointed to various ministries because they supported Moi during the controversial 1976 change the constitution movement. The aim of the movement was to stop Moi from taking over from Kenyatta who was ailing and many thought was going to die soon. This movement was headed by Dr. Njoroge Mungai, Njenga Karume and Kihika Kimani. Moi's cronies who benefited included; G. G. Kariuki, Paul Ngei, Julias Kiano, Joseph Kamotho, Jonathan Ngeno and Simon Nyachae, from the list Ayodo was not one of Moi's cronies.

⁷⁵ Damar, (OI), 11 February 2014, Isdora, (OI)18 July 2014

⁷⁶ Isdora, (OI), 18 July 2014, Okul, (OI), 5 April 2014.

⁷⁷ Kasipul-Kabondo, *Weekly Review*, 30 October 1987, P.8.

⁷⁸ Oindo, (OI), 11 February 2014, Okinda, (OI), 18 July 2014.

Like his nickname, “Liech” (Dholuo for Elephant), Ayodo’s contribution to Kenya’s political landscape was gigantic. He was one of the most polished and eloquent politicians Kenya has ever had, he was a man with the gift of wisdom and a great sense of humour. He could speak for hours and not bore his audience. During his political activities, most people were fascinated by Ayodo’s pulsating jokes that left his audience in stitches and everyone wanted to attend his rallies and listen to his speeches. During his time as a member of parliament and a minister, his speeches were full of quotable quotes and parables even when he was on a platform addressing the crowd. He was astute politician with the ability to read the game of politics according to the prevailing circumstances. During his political career, he understood the exigencies of single party environment and toed the line by supporting the government as was appropriate.

3.7 Summary

The chapter examined Ayodo’s political career from 1959-1979. The chapter looked at Ayodo’s nascent political career, 1959-1962 and political career after independence, 1963-1979. The elections of 1969, 1974 and 1979 were explored. Ayodo’s failure in 1969 election was discussed. His success in 1974 and 1979 elections were also explored. The next chapter discusses the life Ayodo lead after his retirement from active politics.

CHAPTER FOUR

AYODO'S LIFE AFTER RETIRING FROM POLITICS

4.1 Overview

The chapter assesses Ayodo's life after retiring from politics. However, the chapter begins by examining the election of 1983 and issues surrounding this election, which was the last election he contested, after which he retired from active politics. The chapter discusses the views of voters from Kasipul and Kabondo clans on Ayodo's election. This chapter therefore examined Ayodo's life after his retirement from active politics by assessing the positions he held after quitting politics.

4.1.2 Ayodo and 1983 Election

Ayodo's retirement from active politics came after 1983 election, it was a snap election that were held against a backdrop of fall from grace of former minister for Constitutional and Home affairs, Charles Njonjo. In 1980, Charles Njonjo suddenly resigned as the Attorney General of Kenya to seek election to parliament. President Moi then created a new Ministry of Home and Constitutional Affairs. Within two years, allegations were made to the effect that Njonjo was making a bid for the President's position and had been making offers of money and promises of jobs to some MPs, if they would support his quest for the top position. By the time of election in 1983, he had also relinquished the cabinet and parliamentary positions. Many of the politicians who had been close to him, including G.G Kariuki, Minister of state Stanley Oloitiptip, Deputy Speaker and former Chief Whip were similarly expelled from the party.¹

It was not clear whether Mbori would take part during this election having lost to Ayodo twice in 1974 and 1979 consecutively. However, there was need for change in the constituency. The researcher observed during interviews that Ayodo was getting himself institutionalized while a political and social paraphernalia building around him. He was seen as the constituency's growing bourgeoisie, his home area was referred to as the favoured region within the entire constituency, a view more developed in his sub-location of Kowidi. He had come to be looked upon as a model of prosperity which exuded from

¹Vincent Khapoya, *Moi and Beyond; Towards a Peaceful Election?* *Third World Quarterly* Vol. No.1, Taylor and Francis Ltd, <http://www.jstor.org> P59.

his political position. He was viewed to have had enough of the cake and was expected to leave it for someone else to take turn.

The study noted that it was the feeling of majority that the constituency should try out a new representative, some of the informants had the view that Ayodo had represented them for two consecutive terms and that Kabondo area enjoyed the monopoly and that it was the turn of “Jo-K” meaning the Kasipul people to give a member of parliament, others argued that he had stayed longest in parliament and should quit, these were the arguments from Obaka, Owalla and Omwae.² Ayodo on his part maintained that the constituency stood to benefit more in the existing set up in the republic if he as an old member who was in the government was re-elected than when tables were turned and a new member elected. On his part, Mbori advocated equality of opportunity, that it was not Ayodo’s position, and that a new person was to be given a chance to become a member of parliament. *The Weekly Review* of 30th October 1987 reports that when time for election came Mbori defeated Ayodo by 7,619 votes against Ayodo’s votes of 6,988³ votes which was a slim victory for Mbori, this was an indication that even though Mbori won, Ayodo was still popular looking at the margin difference in terms of votes between the two, it also appeared that Ayodo only got majority of votes from Kabondo which was his area. After losing to Mbori, Ayodo did not attempt to contest any KANU seats within Kasipul-Kabondo constituency and maintained a low profile as *Weekly Review*, 21 June 1985 reports.⁴

The study established that towards the end of Ayodo’s political career in the 1980’s, interviewees indicated that although he was reputed as a supreme, dutiful and resourceful national servant they however wondered whether he was mindful of his constituents, Samson Ojwang who did not support him during 1983 general election noted that “it is my conviction that Ayodo showed an exemplary job in discharging his ministerial duties. However, it was not possible for him to live up to the expectations of the people from his constituency” as affirmed by Ojwang.⁵ Before 1983 election Ayodo appeared to have placed the pursuit of excellence above all other considerations with philosophical purity detrimental to political survival in a developing country.

Ayodo seemed to have had difficulties with the organisation of his campaign. His home in Kabondo was not centrally placed and was some two miles away from the main road.

² Obaka, (OI), 10 August 2014. Owlla (OI), 14 September 2014, Omwae (OI), 10 February 2014.

³ Kasipul-Kabondo, *Weekly Review*, 30 October 1987 p.8.

⁴ ‘South Nyanza, A man under Siege’, *Weekly Review*, 21 June 1985 p.15.

⁵ Ojwang, (OI), 4 September 2014.

He also had few people to campaign for him. There was also the problem of assessing the sincerity of the voters both in Kabondo and Kasipul and as a result of this he resorted to recruiting some agents from towns who were not used to the local people, on the other hand Ayodo's agents lacked sobriety while canvassing and they even quarrelled among themselves. Majority of the informants indicated to me that Ayodo did not have an accurate state of public opinion as his agents failed to cover the entire constituency geographically and socially. On the other hand, and the worst part of it was the fact that some of them were double agents, owing more allegiance to his opponent and spreading work across with the slogan of Ayodo but ended up voting for Mbori during this election.

Some of Ayodo's agents complained of hostility from their opponents' side and carried out little door-to-door nocturnal canvassing, a number of his youth wingers had difficulties campaigning for him for they were known to remove the coloured shirts, which were their uniform and put it only on the way to Ayodo's home. A lot of confusion seemed to have held sway in Ayodo's camp, a central organisation was lacking with the result that planning of a coherent strategy was hardly possible, and there was no clear division of labour as well as delegation of responsibility.

Ayodo further faced rebellion from his lieutenants who accused him of a complex centrism. Those from Kabondo felt that he was 'Kasipul-Centric' and was rewarding the people of Kasipul more than he did to the people of Kabondo. On the other hand, the people of Kasipul felt that he was 'Kabondo-Centric' and was rewarding the people of Kabondo more than he did to the people of Kasipul in his political considerations. In reality, his agents and supporters could not be convinced about which area was benefiting more than the other.

There was widespread complaint from Kodumo and Kakangutu areas that preference had been given to the central part of the location and that the former minister turned his back on their educational interests, there was disquiet about the fact that the chief came from his clan and a cooperative and social worker who as well was location's farmers' association by the name Richard Ngoma who also came from his area. Although it was true that these people were from his home area these were just political allegations to paint him with political mud and to make him lose this election.

The study noted that Francis Odada who was the chief of the location then together with Olela who was the assistant chairman of KANU in the location and Ochieng Deya who

was a fairly young man and a self-confessed critic of Ayodo out rightly supported Mbori since they were very influential with voters and conducted a thorough canvassing for Mbori as noted by Okoth.⁶ The study further noted that a prevailing argument this time was that more sympathy was shown to a representative from Kasipul, all these made Ayodo to lose this contest even though most of the allegations were baseless.

In Kowidi and Kodhoch clans, there was a divided loyalty. While many people supported him on the ground that he was one of them and whatever dirty linen they had, it was not good to be washed in public, however majority of the people still supported Mbori arguing that Ayodo did not elevate their plight above the rest and instead gave employment preference to other clans.

Ayodo remained rigid and not changing as circumstances demanded. He appeared to have stuck to what he believed in a propriety with saintliness an observer can see as self-defeating and so he permitted himself to be hammered in from all sides and fight from very close quarters while refusing even though to release his reserves. Some informants argued that he must have miscalculated the strength of opposition he would meet during this election and that the initial indications to return him unopposed built in him a misconceived self-confidence so that the battle caught him unawares, this was noted by Ademba, Magero and Regina.⁷ This must have been largely true as observed by the researcher. According to Ojwang and Ong'idi, they asserted that Ayodo did not become simple⁸ and that towards the end of his term, he did not interact well with the people as he did during 1974 and 1979 general elections, Ayodo failed to travel on foot and was ever in a vehicle which was the opposite of what he used to do during several campaigns. However, it is important to note that the loss of contact and accusations of neglect which Ayodo was hunted with was a universal phenomenon which also confronted Agar in Karachuonyo constituency, Odero Jowi in Dhiwa constituency, Okal in Nyakach constituency and Abok in Homa Bay during 1969 election. In 1969 election symbols and slogans did not play a significant role as they did during other elections such as Mboya's Aeroplane in 1961, Okondo's Canoe in 1969, CPU's Bull in 1966, KANU'S Cock in 1963 and Kodhek's Candle in 1961.

⁶ Okoth, (OI), 2 September 2014.

⁷ Ademba, (OI), 10 October 2014, Magero, (OI), 13 March 2014 and Regina, (OI), 1 August 2014.

⁸ Ojwang, (OI), 4 September 2014, Ong'idi, (OI), 20 September 2014.

After losing the 1983 election to Mbori, he took a low profile shortly before he was appointed the chairman of Kisumu Municipal Council by retired president Daniel Arap Moi in 1991 following cases of corruption whereby it was realised that big money was stolen from the council. Using his wisdom and vast experience, he reformed Kisumu municipality and improved the status of the town at a time when security was very poor, he made several reforms; Ayodo firstly held series of meetings with stakeholders to know their problems, the meeting identified insecurity, a small bus park, poor sewerage system and common accidents in some areas as most common problems within Kisumu. Having noted the problems from the stakeholders, Ayodo embarked on serious reforms to improve the status of Kisumu, he started by looking for money to construct a modern bus park with kiosks, and toilets. The bus park is spacious with areas specified for vehicles coming from and leaving for different areas, he ensured there was security within the bus park by increasing the number of security personnel to patrol the bus park area together with the police officers.

To make the town clean, Ayodo renovated the sewerage system to enhance free flow of sewage wastes, he also ensured clean water supply within the town. There was also insecurity within the town and at one time he differed with Mr Mathenge who was the Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza then over security lapse, to restore order within and around the town, Ayodo ensured that Senior Chief Onunga got maximum support to restore order within the town, the chief was accorded a lot of assistance from other security agencies and within a short period of time security was restored, this made chief Onunga to be in news all over. After resigning from Kisumu county council as the chairman in 1993, he only concentrated in his businesses in Nairobi and at home, which included his livestock farm in Ngong, filling stations among other projects, he was also one of the Directors of Uchumi Supermarket.

After quitting politics, he was rarely seen in public places until his death in 1998. Some informants indicated that it was rare to meet Ayodo except very close friends would do that, however Ayodo remained jovial and loving. They also noted that Ayodo continued to narrate his political experiences to the few he met in his home. Ayodo who was known to be using parables in most of his speeches at one point told some of his close allies that political path was very thorny and rough. On the burial day while reading her eulogy, Harrison Omwae recount how Damaris Ayodo the wife of Ayodo read her eulogy on the burial day where she described Ayodo as an important person, she said 'I know what my

late husband Sam did to me as his wife and my family, he was loving, caring and connected me to important people'...⁹ She was referring to her appointment to the position of vice chairperson of *Maendeleo Ya Wanawake* as the vice chairperson in the whole country, she was appointed to this position by retired president Daniel Arap Moi.

However, due to his amiable nature, the list of Ayodo's friends that used to visit his Nairobi and Kabondo homes reads like who was who in Kenya those days. Among these were Tom Mboya, Ronald Ngala, James Osogo, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Robert Ouko, Oluoch Kanindo, William Odongo Omamo and one-time President Kenyatta touring his constituency. The study found out that throughout his political career, Ayodo remained a good-natured and sociable person; he was thorough in all his endeavours, and a deep thinker who spoke only when it was necessary for him to speak. By the time of his death, he had actualised and blended his spiritual, political and philosophical self. Having been in position of authority, teaching, business, politics, he believed in God that ideal person is one who loves God.¹⁰ Ayodo died in March 1998 at the age of 68 years old.

4.2 Summary

The chapter examined Ayodo's life after retiring from active politics in 1983. The study started by assessing reasons why Ayodo lost during this election to Mbori. The study found out that majority of the informants had the view that Ayodo had represented the constituency for long and should give chance for another person. He was also accused of not being mindful of his constituents and that he remained rigid and did not change as circumstances demanded. The study found out that after losing 1983 to Mbori, he did not contest any political post within the constituency, he took a low profile and did not influence society politically, and he only concentrated in his business in Nairobi and home. The study established that due to his good character he had many friends who continued to visit him until his death in 1998 at the age of 68 years.

⁹ Omwae, (OI), 12 February 2014.

¹⁰ Okoth, (OI), 2 September 2014.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Overview

The chapter summarizes the study findings, conclusions, and give recommendations. The chapter is guided by the main objective of the study, which was to highlight Ayodo's contribution to nation building. To fulfil the main objective, the study specifically sought to; outline Ayodo's early life; Analyse Ayodo's political career between 1959 to 1983 and asses Ayodo's life retiring from politics. The study has systematically assessed his early life, his schooling from primary to University, his teaching career, his eventful political career and concluding with his exit from politics and death in 1998.

5.2 Background of Kasipul-Kabondo.

In the first objective, the study first looked at the background of Kasipul- Kabondo constituency and the extent it influenced Ayodo's life. The study established that the residents of Kasipul-Kabondo are descendants of great Rachuonyo. During the colonial period, the constituency was under Chief Gideon Magak who had collaborated with the early missionaries to introduce schools.

Kabondo area, Ayodo's home also consists of immigrants living in many sub- locations within the constituency. The predominant economic activity in the constituency is farming supported by sufficient rainfall and fertile soils used for growing cash and subsistence crops. The study established that it is because of its physical factors that Ayodo facilitated land consolidation and sensitized people to adopt modern farming techniques.

5.2.1 Ayodo's Early life, Childhood, Schooling, Teaching Career and Marriage Life

The study established that Ayodo was born in Kothuro clan of Kanyangii village in 1930. He was the second born child in their house but the eldest son in a family of six sisters and six brothers from an extended polygamous family with as many as twenty brothers and sisters in total. He lost the mother, Dusila Sawala in 1957 and the father in 1983, thus was take care of by Karen Asaka, the stepmother. Ayodo's father, William was a good man at heart helping the less fortunate in the society. It was this helping heart that his father inculcated in his son Ayodo. The study established that Ayodo was a responsible child helping the parents with the daily chores such as weeding, looking after cows among

others. Ayodo was a determined child who could work long hours in order to complete the task given.

Before joining school, Ayodo was baptized in 1938 under Seventh Day Adventist Church and given the Christian name, Samwel. He grew up as a strong Christian throughout his life. He respected God and gave in to church services. Ayodo's education begun in his early childhood at his grandfather's hut where he was taught values and traditions by his grandfather, Olero. This experience made him to be knowledgeable and have wisdom before he joined Whiteman's school. His entry to school was because the parents were Christians who valued Whiteman's education. He attended Wang'apala for Primary education when he was small in size. The study established that he loved school and could go to school very early even though the school is a few metres away from his home. He was a quiet boy but was good at debate and descriptional composition.

From Wang'apala, he joined Kamagambo for Intermediate level. He passed this level and joined Maseno for secondary between 1946 and 1949, which was one of the prestigious schools then and today. From Maseno he joined Makerere in Uganda in 1950 for matriculation and later on went for further studies in America for his degree work where he graduated with a degree in education specializing in Religious Studies and History. The study established that during his entire education life, he excelled and earned great reputation. In school and village, he was viewed with high regard by the villagers and colleagues.

From America in 1953, he taught at Kamagambo, Agoro Sare and Kisii School. He was an impressive teacher who readily helped in the absence of a staff member. He was elected the first chairperson of KNUT South Nyanza branch in 1957 as well as a member of the DEB. He married Damaris in 1952 and was close to his parents. The study established that he was a good friend to all and was blessed with nine children.

5.3 Ayodo's Political Career, 1959-1983

The second objective of the study was to analyse Ayodo's political career in Kenya between 1959-1983. To fulfil this objective, the study firstly looked at Ayodo's nascent political career, 1959-1962 and late political career 1963-1983.

5.3.1 Ayodo's Nascent Political Career, 1959-1962.

Ayodo's nascent political career dates back to his time as a teacher when he was elected as the first chairman of KNUT South Nyanza branch and his election to the Legislative Council in 1959. The study findings revealed that joining Legislative Council was important to the African elected leaders because they were filling in the leadership gaps that existed between the people and the government. The study further established that the position of his father as a Sub- Chief also brought him to the attention of the public much earlier.

For the first time in his political career, Ayodo was elected to replace Lawrence Oguda who was imprisoned for two years for civil disobedience against the colonial authority. In 1961 Ayodo successfully defended his seat after defeating Oguda who also contested. He was elected because he was one of the most suitable candidate having attended the first Lancaster House Conference.

The study findings revealed that soon after 1961 election, Ayodo was elected the District KANU secretary while Mark Bosire was elected, as the organizing secretary for Kisii. Ayodo was articulate in and out of parliament where he exposed KANU'S attempt of murder plot against KADU members. His firm stand against KANU made him a man treading a lonely political path during this period.

5.3.2 Ayodo's Political Career after Independence of Kenya, 1963-1983

The second part of the second objective was to analyse Ayodo's political career after independence, 1963-1983. The study established that there were various elective positions Ayodo held. The study also established the various achievements and his weaknesses. The study established that Ayodo's political career continued to rise further immediately after independence. The study findings revealed that he was elected the first Member of Parliament for Kasipul-Kabondo constituency in 1963. He was thus appointed the first minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs, 1963-1964.

The study findings revealed that, despite the challenges of that time. He was committed to introduce reforms within the ministry. To meet this need Ayodo facilitated Africanization within the ministry and through his effort the number of Africans' staff had increased by 78% in 1963 on merit to ensure efficiency. Further still Ayodo's ministry established a uniform code of Local government legislations to replace the separate

ordinance for the African District Council and European County Council areas. While serving within the same ministry the study findings revealed that Ayodo facilitated the process of land consolidation in South Nyanza (now Homa Bay and Migori counties). Though this was a government policy, he came up with various initiatives aimed at making the process successful. He organised for the formation of a committee which sensitised the locals on the advantages of land consolidation. The study findings revealed that by 1970s large areas had been put under land consolidation and that it was able to curb land disputes which was a common problem. It also made it possible to put large areas under productive use by growing crops without many problems. The program left a positive impact within the areas it was carried out.

The study revealed that when he was moved to the ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources, 1964-1967 Ayodo made remarkable reforms within the ministry. He realised the importance of the environment. In this respect, he targeted the animals, birds and vegetation. To succeed, he launched a comprehensive program of tourist circuits to connect many tourist attraction areas for easy access. Most significantly, he facilitated the establishment of Lambwe Valley Game Reserve which was the only area in Kenya with a variety of mammals such as the Roan Antelopes among other mammals. He also facilitated the establishment of Oyugis birds sanctuary after realising a wide array of fascinating birdlife. The study also established he ensured that fish species were preserved in their natural habitat by enacting legislations to prevent the use of gill nets used in catching immature fish. Other achievements associated with Ayodo included his role in the establishment of Wire forest, assisting the locals to organise for fundraisings to assist schools such as Wang'apala Secondary and Nyabola Secondary.

In 1969 election, study findings revealed that Ayodo was defeated by Mbori. The study findings discovered a number of factors which contributed to his failure. Firstly, following the assassination of Mboya in 1969 most people viewed Ayodo as a betrayer of Luo community, he did not come out strongly to condemn the government towards this incident. Most people expected him to resign but he did not. In the same year Ayodo was also accused of defending the government when bitter exchanges occurred between Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and President Kenyatta, this incident angered the Luo community for lives were also lost. Secondly, he was accused of not frequenting the constituency and when he went home he tended to associate with the elderly people than the young people.

In 1974 election, the study findings revealed that Ayodo was elected again as the Member of Parliament for the constituency. The study noted that the campaigns were based on local issues which included what Ayodo had done and what he was to do if elected. Majority of the respondents felt that he did a lot compared to Mbori and the verdict passed on him in 1969 election was un warranted.

The study established that he used his wisdom and charisma to earn more support. He laid down before the electorates his achievements such as land consolidation, establishment of Oyugis and Kadongo post offices among other development projects. On the other hand, Mbori discredited Ayodo's role without mentioning his achievements. The study findings revealed that Ayodo had capable point men that assisted him in his campaigns, he also changed the party leadership with more energetic individuals. He was also a good orator and this made him to attract many people.

Lastly, the study findings revealed that Ayodo got support from teachers and other professionals from most towns in Kenya. The study noted that after winning this election he was not appointed a minister and remained in the backbench where his role was to oversee development within his constituency, he also acted as a bridge between rival Members of Parliament in Luo land where he reconciled them whenever there were problems between them.

In 1979, election the study findings revealed that he defeated Mbori again. The study revealed a number of factors which made Ayodo to win the election. Firstly, the study noted that Ayodo's support to Odinga made him became more famous. Secondly, Ayodo organised for *Oyugis Declaration in 1977* which was used to endorse Odinga as the Luo leader, this meeting elevated Ayodo politically. The study established that any leader who did not support Odinga during this period failed to be elected because Odinga was enjoying influence in Luo land. The study established that he enjoyed support across class lines. His contribution to Kenya's political landscape was gigantic. He was a man with the gift of wisdom and great sense of humour. He could speak for long hours without boring his audience.

5.4 Ayodo's Life after retiring from Politics in 1983

The fourth objective of the study was to asses Ayodo's life after retiring from politics in 1983. To fulfil this objective, the study firstly looked at factors or issues that surrounded 1983 election. The study findings revealed that following a snap election in 1983 following

Njonjo saga, Ayodo lost to Mbori. The findings revealed that majority of the electorates felt that he had represented the constituency for long and was expected to give a chance to another person from Kasipul and not Kabondo. The study also established that Ayodo did not have an accurate state of public opinion while some of his agents were double agents. Those that stuck with Ayodo complained of hostility from their opponents hence these made it impossible for him to win.

The study also draws a conclusion that he faced rebellion from his lieutenants who accused him of being rigid and that he did not become simple. There was also complaint of widespread neglect from most regions by Ayodo. These were the major problems that contributed to his failure in 1983. The study revealed that after losing to Mbori, Ayodo took a low profile shortly before he was appointed the chairman of Kisumu municipality in 1992. As the chairman Ayodo looked for resources to expand the main bus park, he also improved the sewerage system within the town and worked with the local leaders to improve security. The study revealed that he resigned as the chairman of Kisumu municipal council in 1993 and only concentrated on his businesses in Nairobi and at home until his death in 1998 at the age of 68 years old. The study revealed that Ayodo remained a social man and a deep thinker who only spoke when it was necessary.

5.5 Conclusion

The study concludes that Kasipul-Kabondo constituency that Ayodo represented many times are descendants of great Rachuonyo and was under the colonial chief, Gideon Magak who collaborated with the missionaries to introduce schools. The study also concludes that Kabondo is a home of immigrants living in many Sub-Locations within the constituency. The study draws a conclusion that the major economic activity carried out in the area is farming however trade is also conducted. The study also draws a conclusion that the constituency has many denominations which spread across the constituency. The study also concludes that Ayodo was born in 1930 in Kanyangii village. He was the second born child and the eldest son in their family. The study draws a conclusion that after the death of his mother, Dusila Sawala in 1957, he was brought up by stepmother, Caren Asaka. His father however died in 1993.

The study concludes that Ayodo was baptized under Seventh Day Adventist Church in around 1938 and given the name Samwel. He grew up as a strong Christian and devoted his life to church services. The study draws a conclusion that he started his education at his

grandfather's hut where he was taught values and traditional customs. He later on joined Wang'apala Primary School, then proceeded for secondary at Maseno, Tertiary at Makerere and lastly University in the United States of America. The study concludes that he specialised in Religious studies and History. From America, Ayodo became a teacher and taught at Kamagambo, Agoro Sare and Kisii secondary schools before joining politics. The study also draws a conclusion that he was an impressive teacher during his teaching career. The study concludes that his background of education and teaching profession grounded his personality and his fast rise in politics. He married Damaris in 1952 and was blessed with nine children.

The second objective of the study was to analyse Ayodo's political career, 1959-1983. This objective was divided into two parts; His nascent political between 1959-1962 and Ayodo's political career after independence, 1963-1983. The study draws a conclusion that Ayodo's political career begun in 1959 while still a teacher. The study concludes that the position held by his father who was a sub-chief aided Ayodo to get support from his people and more importantly, his level of education and exposure. The study concludes that he was first elected to the Legislative Council in 1959 to represent South Nyanza when Lawrence Oguda was imprisoned for civil disobedience against the colonial government. The study concludes that Ayodo was very articulate in parliament and in 1961, he condemned KANU for plotting murder against KADU members.

The second part of the objective was to analyse Ayodo's political career after independence, 1963-1983. The study draws a conclusion that Ayodo participated in many elections between 1963 to 1983. These included the first parliamentary election in 1963 when Kasipul-Kabondo was created in 1962, the second was the parliamentary election in 1974, the third was the 1979 parliamentary election and lastly the 1983 election. The study draws a conclusion that Ayodo was elected the first Member of Parliament of Kasipul-Kabondo constituency and was appointed the first minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs, 1963-1964. The study also concludes that as the minister for Local Government and Regional Affairs he initiated a good number of projects which facilitated developments such the process of land consolidation in South Nyanza (now Homa Bay and Migori counties). The process made large areas to be put under land consolidation in 1970 which lead to high land productivity. The study concludes that the history of much development in Kasipul-Kabondo constituency owes a lot to Ayodo's effort and that because of his exceptional commitment and wisdom, the constituency benefited a lot

during his time in terms of development. Ayodo also facilitated Africanization within Nairobi City council which was done on merit.

The study also concludes that when he was taken to the ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources, 1964-1967 he improved wildlife management in Kenya. The study draws a conclusion that Ayodo launched a program of tourist circuits to connect many tourists' attraction areas which had been neglected by the colonial government. He also facilitated the established of Lambwe valley Game Reserve and Oyugis birds' sanctuary to protect mammals and birds' life. The study also concludes that Ayodo ensured fish species were protected by enacting legislations to prevent catching immature fish. He facilitated the establishment of Wire Forest. He also organised for fundraisings to help build schools such as Wang'apala and Nyabola Secondary schools, he also did this to help women groups.

The study concludes that during 1969 election Ayodo lost due to the following reasons; firstly, he failed to come out strongly to condemn those who assassinated Mboya. This made people to lose faith in him. He was also accused of having defended the government when people were killed in Kisumu when Kenyatta differed with Jaramogi. People felt he betrayed the Luo community who expected him to give political direction. He was accused to have preferred dealing with elderly people at the expense of the youths.

The study concludes that in 1974 and 1979 elections he was re-elected the Member of Parliament for two consecutive terms. The success factors that aided Ayodo to win these elections included; firstly, majority felt that Ayodo was still the preferred candidate compared to Mbori and others. Ayodo laid down his achievements to the electorates as opposed to Mbori who did not. He also changed the KANU party structure of Kabondo equipping it with competent personnel to campaign for him. Secondly, the study concludes that Ayodo also got support from teachers and professionals from towns within Kenya. The study draws a conclusion that he had other qualities such as oratory skills and charisma.

However, the study comes to a conclusion that Ayodo was not appointed a minister not even an assistant minister. His role during this time was to oversee developments within his constituency. Apart from this, he also reconciled Members of Parliament from different parts of Nyanza whenever they had differences.

In 1979 election, the study concludes that Ayodo succeeded because he supported Jaramogi who was enjoying tremendous influence in Luoland politics and that those who supported him also won their elective seats. The study also concludes that the meeting

Ayodo organised in 1977, *Oyugis Declaration* made him earn a lot of reputation. This meeting endorsed Odinga as the Luo leader and even made him more popular at a time he had problems with the government.

The fourth objective of the study was to assess Ayodo's life after retiring from politics in 1983. The study concludes that before 1983 which was the last election he took part in and after losing he quitted politics. The study draws a conclusion that before this election there were a number of issues that surrounded the election leading to his defeat. The study concludes that most people felt he had represented the constituency for long and was expected to give chance to another person. In contrast he argued that if elected he would make the constituency benefit most. The study also concludes that he lost because he did not have an accurate state of public opinion. Some of his agents faced hostility from his opponents while some of his lieutenants rebelled against him. He was accused of being rigid and failed to change with circumstances. This led to a conclusion that after losing this election Ayodo took a low profile shortly before he was appointed the chairman of Kisumu municipality.

However, the study draws a conclusion that while he was the chairman of Kisumu municipality he improved the sewerage system within the town, improved security with the help of local leaders and expanded the bus park. In 1993 he resigned and concentrated in his businesses in Nairobi and home. The study also concludes that he had many friends who continued to visit him at his homes in Nairobi and home.

In conclusion, Ayodo's contribution to Kenya's political landscape was gigantic. He was a polished, eloquent, jovial and welcoming politician in Kenya. He was a man with the gift of wisdom and great sense of humour. However, he faced opposition and some challenges during his political career but his development achievements are still felt today. Some allegations that were levelled against him by his opponents did not have genuine basis and were just meant to discredit him for no reason. Ayodo died in 1998 at the age of 68 years old.

5.6 Recommendations

It is anticipated that the results of this study will have significant contributions in the study of the life of great individuals in Kenya, to ensure historians understand the role played by leaders. The researchers' opinion is that our leaders should be individuals whose

role can bring change to the society through development. After assessing the entire life of Ayodo and his contribution to nation building, these should be adopted by other leaders.

The study recommends that leaders should copy Ayodo's style of leadership which is development oriented. Leaders should work hard to help their people who need their services because they are representatives of the people. The study recommends that other leaders should adopt a participatory approach which brings togetherness and satisfaction to their subjects.

In view of this, the current research can help inform the development of policies and procedures regarding interests and need in the political process. This is especially with regard to policy development and the development of education materials for the electorate as well as materials for history and government in learning institutions. The study therefore notes and recommends that the contribution of other politicians or his contemporaries should be researched on to help reveal their contribution just like Ayodo towards the betterment of the society. The study also recommends that more studies ought to be done to find out why after retiring from active politics, Ayodo went silent and did not take part in political activities until his death in 1998.

SOURCES

Oral Informants

S/NO	NAME	SEX	AGE	OCCUPATION/ DETAILS	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	DATE
1	Ademba David	Male	70	Retired Teacher	Misambi	10/10/2014
2	Adie Elisha	Male	70	Retired Teacher	Kadongo	10/10/2014
3	Agutu Dullo	Male	72	Politician	Oriang	12/7/2014
4	Airo Mark	Male	66	Retired Teacher	Oriang	12/7/2014
5	Aoro Ogillo	Male	61	Retired Teacher	Ramula	13/3/2014
6	Amondi Albert	Male	71	Retired Teacher	Othoro	7/7/2014
7	Ayodo Modikai	Male	65	Lecturer	Wang'apala	8/2/2014
8	Ayodo Mark	Male	69	Retired Chief	Oyugis	20/8/2014
9	Phoebe Asiyu	Female	74	Politician	Kendu Bay	8/2/2014
10	Damaris E. Ayodo	Female	78	Wife	Wang'apala	8/2/2014
11	Dianga Ismael	Male	65	Retired Teacher	Kadongo	2/9/2014
12	Pennina Nyangwe	Female	77	Choir Mistress	Oyugis	13/10/2014
13	Kipande Onyango	Male	67	Retired Game Warden	Kowidi	5/5/2014
14	Magero Oluk	Male	80	Retired from Railways	Ramula	13/3/2014
15	Mwage Richard	Male	89	Luo Council Elder	Othoro	7/6/2014
16	Mburi Obudho	Male	84	Businessman	Ramula	11/4/2014
17	Nyaura Chwero	Male	74	Retired Pastor	Kowidi	14/12/2014
18	Regina Omenda	Female	69	Women Group Leader	Kosele	1/8/2014
19	Nyamburi Joseph	Male	79	Farmer	Kokal	13/9/2014
20	Nyakomitta Ogolla	Male	67	Retired Chief	Kodumo	5/4/2014
21	Ndegwa Amos	Male	88	Retired Hotelier	Kakolo	12/5/2014
22	Oloo William	Male	66	Politician	Oyugis	12/9/2014
23	Opere Richard	Male	77	Businessman	Oyugis	10/10/2014

24	Onuonga Joseph	Male	75	Farmer	Ringa	14/3/2014
25	Olweny Ochieng	Male	63	Retired TSC Personnel	Kowidi	12/452014
26	Omwaee Harrison	Male	85	Community Leader	Wang'apala	12/2/2014
27	Okoth Philemon	Male	82	Retired Teacher	Kakolo	30/12/2014
28	Owalla Maricus	Male	68	Retired teacher	Oyugis	14/9/2014
29	Ojwang Samson	Male	75	Retired teacher	Othoro	4/9/2014
30	Ongidi Benjamin	Male	68	Retired pastor	Kotienditi	20/9/2014
31	Isdora Okuta	Female	72	Businessman	Ramba	18/7/2014
32	Oluoch Ogendo	Male	60	County Council Officer	Oyugis	23/7/2014
33	Ongawa Samson	Male	70	Retired Asst. Chief	Ramba	22/11/2014
34	Olweny Ondiek	Male	69	Ayodo's cook	Wang'apala	4/4/2014
35	Odada Abur	Male	67	Retired forest officer	Kadongo	14/8/2014
36	Ogwang Joseph	Male	70	Retired policeman	Kosele	13/9/2014
37	Obongo Joel	Male	77	Farmer	Kakolo	14/12/2014
38	Obaka Peter	Male	72	Politician	Kokal	10/8/2014
39	Ogwang George	Male	60	Community leader	Kodhoch	6/5/2014
40	Omollo Joseph	Male	72	KEDRO Leader	Othoro	5/9/2014
41	Okul Erastus	Male	88	Farmer	Ramba	5/4/2014
42	Olel Odhiambo	Male	78	Doctor	Kisumu	3/2/2014
43	Odindo Johnson	Male	66	Retired Chief	Kodhoch	5/9/2014
44	Oindo Samwel	Male	78	Retired pastor	Kasewe	11/2/2014
45	Okinda Leonard	Male	77	Ayodo's driver	Oyugis	18/7/2014
46	Ongidi Aoko	Male	69	Ayodo's worker	Wang'apala	3/3/2014
47	Ogwang George	Male	68	Farmer	Kanyaliech	6/6/2014
48	Okeyo James	Male	63	Retired DEO	Kadongo	12/12/2014

49	Okul Kerry	Male	60	Retired Secretary	KNUT	Ramba	5/4/2014
50	Damar Alila	Female	84	Women Leader	Group	Oyugis	11/2/2014
51	Mbori James	Male	75	Politician		Kosele	12/2/2014

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4. In which year did Ayodo join politics?
5. Why did he join politics that time?
6. In what capacity did he join politics then?
7. What qualities did Ayodo possess to make him join politics?
8. Can you comment on the political situation in Kenya that time?
9. How long did Ayodo serve as a political leader and why?
10. What were Ayodo's contributions as a political leader in the following areas?
 - i) Social development
 - ii) Economic development
 - iii) Political development
11. Ayodo initiated some projects within his constituency and in Kenya
 - i) What were his objectives or what motivated him?
 - ii) What were the sources of funds?
12. What effects if any have the projects had. Give examples?
13. Ayodo was elected the first Member of Parliament in 1963?
14. What are some of the developments that Ayodo did not complete and appointed a minister. What qualities did he have?
15. In 1969 Ayodo lost the election to Mbori. Why did he lose the election?
16. Ayodo recaptured the seat in 1974 and defended it in 1979. Why did he win and what tactics did he use?
17. Why was Ayodo not appointed a minister not even an Assistant minister in 1974?
18. What role did Ayodo play as an ordinary member of parliament this time?
19. What challenges did Ayodo encounter as a leader?
20. How did Ayodo relate with the residents of his constituency?
21. Were there accusations levelled on Ayodo and how did he respond to them?
22. What issues surrounded 1983 elections?
23. Why did Ayodo fail to recapture his parliamentary seat in 1983?

24. Why did Ayodo quit politics in 1983?

25. What did Ayodo do after retiring from active politics did he continue to influence the society?

26. Did he continue to influence the society after quitting politics?

27. How do you compare Ayodo with his opponents and other leaders, Comment?

APPENDIX II: Interview Schedule/Checklist For Buoye Birds' Sanctuary Officials

1. When was Oyugis birds' sanctuary established?
2. Which types of birds do you keep?
3. Why was the sanctuary established?
4. What is the size of the sanctuary?
5. What was Ayodo's role in the establishment of the sanctuary?
6. What are the benefits of the sanctuary?
7. Under what management is the sanctuary?
8. What is the future of the sanctuary?



APPENDIX III: Letter of Authorization from Egerton University

EGERTON

Tel: Pilot: 254-51-2217620
254-51-2217877
254-51-2217631
Dir. line/Fax: 254-51-2217847
Cell Phone
Extension: 3606



UNIVERSITY

P.O. Box 536 - 20115
Egerton, Njoro, Kenya
Email: bpgs@egerton.ac.ke
www.egerton.ac.ke

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR, GRADUATE SCHOOL

Ref: AM11/2656/10

Date: 7th May, 2015

The Secretary,
National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
P. O. Box 30623-00100,
NAIROBI.

Dear Sir,

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH PERMIT – DENNIS OKOTH REG. NO. AM11/2656/10

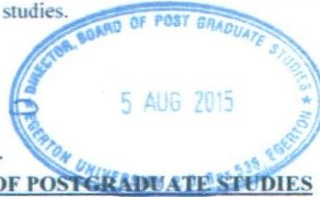
This is to introduce and confirm to you that the above named student is in the Department of **Philosophy, History and Religion, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.**

He is a bonafide registered Masters student in this University. His research topic is entitled **"A Biography of Samwel Onyango Ayodo, 1930-1998."**

He is at the stage of collecting field data. Please issue his with a research permit to enable him undertake the studies.

Yours faithfully,


Prof. Michael A. Okiror
DIRECTOR, BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES



MAO/ear

"Transforming Lives Through Quality Education"
Egerton University is ISO 9001:2008 Certified

APPENDIX IV: Research Authorization Letter from NACOSTI



**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. **NACOSTI/P/15/11294/8032**

Date:

16th November, 2015

Dennis Okoth Orongo
Egerton University
P.O. Box 536-20115
EGERTON.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*A Biography of Samwel Onyango Ayodo, 1930-1998.*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Homa Bay County** for a period ending **13th November, 2016.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Homa Bay 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: DIRECTOR GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Homa Bay County.

The County Director of Education
Homa Bay County.

APPENDIX V: Research Permit from NACOSTI

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. DENNIS OKOTH ORONGO
of EGERTON UNIVERSITY, 157-40223
Kadongo, has been permitted to conduct
research in Homabay County**

**on the topic: A BIOGRAPHY OF SAMWEL
ONYANGO AYODO, 1930-1998**

**for the period ending:
13th November, 2016**

Dennis Orongo
Applicant's
Signature

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/15/11294/8032
Date Of Issue : 16th November, 2015
Fee Received :Ksh 1,000**



[Signature]
for Director General
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(1) 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 **7227**

CONDITIONS: see back page

APPENDIX VI: Letter of Research Authorization from County Director of Education, Homa Bay

**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION**



Telegrams: "SCHOOLING", Homa Bay
Telephone: +254726961531
When replying please quote

**COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION OFFICE
HOMA BAY COUNTY
P.O. BOX 710
HOMA BAY.**

REF: MOEST/CDE/HB/ADM/11/VOL.1/73

E-mail: cdehomabay@gmail.com
DATE: 5TH JANUARY, 2016

**DENNIS OKOTH ORONGO
EGERTON UNIVERSITY
P.O BOX 536- 20115
EGERTON**

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

In response to the letter from the National Commission for Science dated 16th November, 2015 giving you authority to carry out the research on *A Biography of Samwel Onyango Ayodo, 1930-1998, Homa Bay County*.

I hereby give you permission to carry out the research in Homa Bay County.

Please submit a copy of your findings both in soft and hard copy form to us.


**CALLEB OMONDI
FOR: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
HOMA BAY COUNTY**

**APPENDIX VII: Letter of Research Authorization from County Commissioner,
Homa Bay**



THE PRESIDENCY

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telephone: Homa Bay 22104 or 22105/Fax:22491

E-mail: cc_homabay@yahoo.com

When replying please quote

COUNTY COMMISSIONER

HOMA BAY COUNTY

P. O. BOX 1 – 40300

HOMA BAY

REF: ED.12/1/VOL.II/28

5th January, 2016

**The Deputy County Commissioner:-
RACHUONYO SOUTH**

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION – DENNIS OKOTH ORONGO

This is to confirm that the above named has been authorized to carry out research on "*A Biography of Samwel Onyango Ayodo 1930-1998*" in Kasipul Kabondo for a period ending 13th November, 2016.

This is as per their letter under Ref: NACOSTI/P/11294/8032 dated 16th November, 2015.

**DAVID LUSAVA
For: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
HOMA BAY COUNTY**

C.C.

The County Director of Education
HOMA BAY

*Please note our e-mail address: cc_homabay@yahoo.com

APPENDIX VIII: A Portrait of Samwel Onyango Ayodo



Source: Family Album