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Social and Economic Influence of Abanyala Clan Politics on Resource Distribution

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ABSTRACT

Like many other communities, the Abanyala clan struggles with the intricacies of resource distribution, which is greatly influenced by the political environment and sociocultural dynamics. Essentially, who has access to resources and how they are allocated are largely determined by the Abanyala clan's political structure. Political elites, or those in positions of power and influence, control resources and, occasionally, put their interests ahead of fair distribution, which leads to inequities. To maintain their advantages, these political elites may use strategies like alliances and patronage networks. Various pieces of literature were reviewed, especially those that are deeply ingrained with historical customs and cultural standards that are similar to the Abanyala clan's interactions between politics and business. These relationships frequently reinforce the socioeconomic status and influence over the resource distribution of particular families or groups according to established hierarchies. Due to its qualitative nature, the study used a descriptive research design. This paper used Thorstein Veblen's theory to underscore the issue of resource distribution. It helped in analyzing the use of power, the people who profit from it, and the effects on the availability of resources for the larger community. The major finding was the need for the Abanyala clan to allocate resources in a way that is inclusive and deliberate.

Keywords: Clan & Hierarchies, Cultural, Customs, Socioeconomic Status

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I. INTRODUCTION

The distribution of resources within the Abanyala clan is greatly impacted by the intricate interactions between social structures, economic dynamics, and political influences that characterize many other communities. The topic of Abanyala clan politics' social and economic impact on resource distribution is complex and highlights the distribution of power, customary hierarchies, and wealth within the community.

Political institutions and mechanisms are deeply ingrained in the Abanyala clan's social structure, and they are crucial in deciding who has access to resources and how they are allocated (Ake, 2001). The distribution of resources is frequently influenced by the political climate, favoring particular societal groups, usually those with clout and influence. Sometimes putting their own interests and social prestige ahead of the fair distribution of resources throughout the community, these political elites may use their position to control and steer resources. The intricate relationship between politics and economics is at the core of this dynamic.

Both official and informal political structures within the clan might affect how resources are distributed (Ake, 2001). Due to methods like political allies or patronage networks, this can lead to inequalities where some people or organizations, especially those in the ruling or dominant class, may have better access to resources. Furthermore, hereditary power structures, cultural norms, and historical traditions may all have an impact on how the Abanyala clan distributes its resources through politics (Collins, 2006). Because of their historical background, some families or groups—often based on established hierarchies—may continue to receive preferential treatment when it comes to the distribution of resources, further solidifying their advantage in both the social and economic spheres. A thorough examination that takes into account both the overt political systems and the socio-cultural nuances that shape them is necessary to comprehend the social and economic impact of Abanyala clan politics on resource allocation (Collins, 2006). Examining power dynamics within the clan, the beneficiaries of this power, and the effects on the community's access to vital resources are all part of it.

1.1 Theoretical framework

This paper made use of the theories of Thorstein Veblen (Veblen, 1967). Power dynamics, social hierarchies, and resource distribution patterns are likely important aspects of the Abanyala clan's politics, according to this theory (Baskoy, 2003). The upper-class or elite members of the clan may use showy displays of money and resources as a means of establishing and preserving their status. Veblen's ideas offer a prism through which to view these behaviors (Baskoy, 2003). The distribution and allocation of resources within the Abanyala clan may be regulated by the political elites through the exercise of their power. Consequently, instead of being allocated fairly or according to need, resources may end up being dispersed in a way that maintains their own position and authority. According to Veblen, "conspicuous consumption" is the practice of purchasing things and services primarily with the intention of flaunting one's social standing (Bergman, 2010). This may have to do with how the Abanyala clan's elite utilize their power to manage resources, making particular products or resources easier for them to obtain and strengthening their social position in the community (Veblen & Galbraith, 1973). In addition, Veblen's notion of "the leisure class" contends that the wealthy elite in a community frequently partake in leisure activities and non-productive endeavors to flaunt their wealth and status (Veblen & Galbraith, 1973). This may illustrate how the political elite put their personal interests and leisure ahead of the fair distribution of wealth among the larger society in the context of the Abanyala clan. By applying Veblen's theories to the analysis, it was possible to bring attention to the differences in the allocation of resources within the Abanyala clan and throw light on the ways in which politics and power structures affect who has access to resources and how they are used. It can also indicate that changes are required to address these differences and work towards a more fair allocation of resources within the community.

1.2 Empirical Review

Resources must be readily available in each community since they are the path to economic empowerment. Land is the most significant resource that is highly prized throughout Africa and has an impact on the economic growth of any region. It has advantages in politics and the economy. The majority of African nations experience war over land, which is seen as having significant economic value. An illustration of this is the ongoing border dispute between Kenya and Uganda on the well-known Migingo Island in Lake Victoria, which Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda all share (Rossi, 2016). The key element in guaranteeing incentives to deploy resources in managing local sustainability is identified by Armenia et al. (2019). Concurrently developing the local economy and combining resources is a good strategy. The widespread disappointment with the central government's ambitions to offer resource consumers sufficient assistance to manage resource consumers on a sustainable basis has led to the development of the practice. Conflicts over access to political and natural resources arose among the local populations as a result of the establishment of administrative boundaries (Mworia & Ndiku, 2012). The Abanyala people, who inhabit the area, were positioned against one another as well as other smaller tribes like the Kabras, Batsotso, Bukusu, and Wanga. Because there were so many clans, as their history of migration and settlement makes plain, some places were clearly allocated for particular clans, while the colonialists' boundary-drawing merely helped to reaffirm their illegality and forced them to relocate in search of easier control. Kagwanja (2007) noted that land was limited and, hence, unequally distributed among populations in several colonial states, such as South Africa. Several prominent Abanyala individuals, including Jokitan Kasamberi, Isaya Kwara, Isaya Were, and Peter Wafula, banded together and ceded property to form the Chebuyusi Mission when missionaries arrived to set up mission stations. The mission was made up of Chebuyusi Primary School, Chebuyusi High School, and a church.

III. METHODOLOGY

This study employed a descriptive research design. This is because it made the contemporary social and economic structures of the Abanyala clan easier to understand (Kothari, 2004). Additionally, it enabled a comprehensive analysis of the existing distribution of resources, emphasizing power dynamics, resource allocation, and disparities within communities (Kothari, 2004). Furthermore, the power structures and social hierarchies within the clan could be recognized and documented thanks to this design. By observing and evaluating these structures, the researcher proved who benefits the most from the current resource allocation systems and how these allocations are influenced by political dynamics (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999). In the end, this study approach allows for a full exploration of the socio-cultural background that determines resource allocation. It provided a platform for





documenting how past, present, and customary norms influenced decisions made within the clan's political system about resource distribution.

IV. FINDINGS

4.1 Poor Resource Distribution

Many theories, including the colonial legacy, social pluralism, corruption, poor planning and administration, a limited flow of foreign capital, and low levels of saving and investment, have been advanced to explain why development in Africa seems to have failed, according to Ake (2001). These factors, alone or in combination, provide formidable barriers to advancement; yet, the issue is not that development has failed but rather that it was never really given priority (Ake, 2001). He claims that the political climate in Africa is the main barrier to advancement in line with the idea of Thorstein Veblen, according to which people display their social status through extravagant purchases (Veblen & Galbraith, 1973). Prominent figures within the Abanyala community may engage in conspicuous consumption, leading to an unequal allocation of resources towards individuals with higher social status. Resources may be distributed unevenly as a result of the focus being placed on status symbols rather than equitable societal needs.

Many of the causes of the Navakholo sub-county's underdevelopment were identified by the study, especially in the wards of Bunyala East, Central, and West, where most areas do not have the necessary development indicators. The results of the study showed several factors that residents agreed caused underdevelopment. The reasons for the unequal distribution of resources included poor communication systems, inadequate infrastructure, a lack of electricity, inadequate hospitals, a lack of clean water, poverty, unemployment, the nature of politics, witchcraft, culture, and corruption. KNA/DC/KSI/1/15 (Annual Reports, South Nyanza District, 1953) The suggestions of the Constituency Development Committee have generally not aligned with clan discussions about the sites of particular development projects (Veblen & Galbraith, 1973). Because of the divergent opinions, the project will usually not go further, or the funding will be transferred to another project. Veblen observes that individuals need to set themselves apart from one another in order to demonstrate a higher social status. Leaders or well-known clans in the Abanyala may try to set themselves apart by limiting access to important resources (Veblen & Galbraith, 1973). This could lead to an uneven allocation of resources, where some groups gain while others experience shortages.

Although the Navakholo sub-county has some infrastructure, the majority of it is in terrible condition and has a significant impact on service delivery. The sub-county's roads have long been impassable. This circumstance has made it difficult to access the natural riches in the interior and has hampered trade and other commercial endeavors. The majority of the pre-colonial areas lacked roadways. KNA/K.306 KEN, p.204 (KNA/DC/HB/2/1/50 Butende/Kuria/Mara Border Committee, 1955). The absence of roads did not stop the Abanyala from migrating, trading, or even just visiting family in distant areas. Notwithstanding the challenges associated with transportation, particular routes were developed to direct the flow of people and products so that they could obtain goods they were unable to produce. The Bunyala area of Kakamega was made accessible during the colonial era by the British, who needed to create a route from Shianda to Nambacha to Navakholo in order to gain effective control over the area. The construction of the road brought with it British administrative services and establishments like the Chebuyusi Intermediate School and the Navakholo dispensary. Poor roads in the area have greatly stagnated the development of most parts of Bunyala East, West, and Central wards during the post-colonial period (KNA/DC/KMG/2/24/94; KNA/DC/KSI/3/2-8: District Agricultural Reports, 1920–1930). Some areas like Sivilie and Sisokhe are usually impassable during the rainy season hence closing down investment opportunities;

Road network should be efficient in order to maximize economic and social benefits of any country. Roads play a significant role in achieving national development, socio-economic development and social functioning of the community with contributing to the overall performance (Ivanova & Masarova, 2013).

Today, electricity is a very important commodity that is crucial to the growth of any given location. In addition to the expenditures in health and education supported by Kenya's Vision 2030 (Government of Kenya [GoK], 2007), the provision of a sufficient, reasonably priced, and dependable energy supply will be crucial. Adequate energy supply is necessary for the Big Four Agenda's expanded manufacturing, food security and nutrition, universal health coverage, and affordable housing to be achieved (The World Bank, 2018). In 1975, during the post-colonial era, the Banyala people started receiving electricity. In contrast to other regions of the country where it had started much earlier due to accessibility, it was caused by closeness and extremely expensive costs at the time. The Navakholo Sub-County headquarters was among the first locations to receive power. Because power is currently poorly distributed in



the area, some residents must make do with fuel, which is always pricey, to meet their lighting demands. Notwithstanding the existence of the rural electrification scheme, it is clear that the Banyala purchase paraffin. Some Abanyala lack it as a result of unfavorable beliefs about possessing it held by other clan characters (Interview report, May 24, 2018, at Kochwa).

Another major contributing cause of underdevelopment in the area was found to be the insufficiency of the hospitals. Six dispensaries are dispersed throughout the Abanyala-occupied territories of Navakholo Sub-County; however, there is only one hospital. Pre-colonial Banyala had medical professionals who cared for sick people. Mrs. Juma Were was one such practitioner who assisted in removing bad luck and regaining good health (Masakha *et al.*, 2018:71). The death rate was higher even though they were there (KNA/K.306 KEN, p.206) (KNA/DC/KSI/1/7: Annual Reports, South Kavirondo District, 1945).

In order to ensure the survival of their generation, males had to practice polygamy and bear multiple children due to the high infant mortality rate. According to Andambi (1980), the key to having a population that is healthy and prepared to participate in a range of economic activities in order to promote development is to provide adequate health care. Due to their traditional beliefs about medicine and mistrust of modern treatments, the majority of Banyala were initially hesitant to accept modern medical care. As a result of permitting medical facilities to be established in their wards, they are gradually moving towards modernization and seeing improvements in their health. Andambi (1980) highlights that a lack of health care in most of the sub-county, which was brought on by jealousy between various clan members, has killed many educated people who were supposed to be at the forefront of economic development, which has resulted in a change in attitude (Interview report, May 16, 2019 at Navakholo). Through two lenses-the direct labor productivity effect and the indirect incentive effect-the impact of health on economic development is examined. A higher return on labor input is claimed by the labor productivity hypothesis for healthy individuals. The financial advantages of better health are undervalued if the indirect function of health is not acknowledged. KNA/K.306 KEN, p.177 (KNA/DC/KSI/1/7: Annual Reports, South Kavirondo District, 1945). So, in order to maintain a healthy population, health facilities should be distributed fairly throughout communities. The degree to which workers are present at work but are unable to do their jobs as well due to health issues is known as presenteeism (Kristen, 2010). Places in Bunyala, like the Navakholo Sub-County headquarters, have access to both public and private healthcare facilities. The populace is healthier since the area is primarily cosmopolitan and there was less political influence during the facility's construction.

At first, several clans were unaware that their homes had been equipped with pipes carrying water and that certain locations were designated for shared usage. For fear of injury, the elders forbade their members from using such water. They thought the government wasn't just providing a service; rather, the establishment of such services made sense. They assumed they would be asked to make a financial contribution. They were at the vanguard of criticism when such projects were to be started. The population boom and modernizing process caused the water sources to become contaminated. Population growth was the cause of the pollution (KNA/K.306) (KNA/DC/KSI/1/7: Annual Reports, South Kavirondo District, 1945).

The spread of waterborne illnesses like cholera and typhoid was caused by a lack of clean water. The majority of people were made ill by the sickness, which prevented them from engaging in vital economic activities like agriculture, which was Banyala's primary source of income. Another reason for the lack of development was identified as communication, as the majority of Abanyala's regions lack reliable access to mobile service providers, making it difficult for residents to conduct business. the existence of a lone post office at Nambacha that offers barebones service in comparison to expectations. According to Wafula's (2019) (mkwangwachi) interview, when mobile firms first entered our territory, it was in 2003. One of my clan elders informed me that they were asking for a location to put up their communication masts, but I flatly refused, fearing that our ancient land would be entirely taken over. They relocated because the majority of the local families were antagonistic, and since then, communication has been difficult because we are separated from the communication device (interview report, July 10, 2019 at Naulu).

Negative attitude by the Abanyala due to wrong information by fellow clan affiliates affected communication. It happened for a while before communication was restored after enlightenment. The idea of most Abanyala concentrating mostly on their farms has made them less aggressive in matters of development. For the few clans that were enlightened early, like the Abayirifuma, Abasia, and Abatecho (KNA/K.306 KEN, p.216), They were able to acquire important development projects like schools and health centers, in addition to carrying out agriculture. Masakha *et al.* (2018:105) explain that the Catholic Church created their second parish, *Mumukhula*, at the home of Zechariah Juma Wamuchwa (*Omuirifuma*), where the first school was established. This uplifted most of their living standards and explains the prominence a majority of individuals from the mentioned clans have. Ignorance among



some clans resulted in poverty, which is another factor that brings about the aspect of underdevelopment. The state of poverty among the huge population of Abanyala has been attributed to reasons like their overdependence on one economic activity, agriculture, and, to be specific, sugarcane farming.

During a group interview at Chebuyusi, the respondents agreed that sugarcane farming has been recently experiencing lots of challenges due to the mismanagement of the giant sugar miller, Mumias Sugar Company (FGD, July 15, 2019). The collapse of the company has resulted in poor services and the inability to pay farmers their dues, stalling many areas of the economy as it is viewed as the pillar of the Banyala economy. Laziness was another cause of poverty. It mostly applied to men who could avoid working on their farms but were active participants in various ceremonies, such as night dances often held at night vigils during funerals. Poverty also set in due to areas with poor soils leading to poor harvests, which in turn affected their economic status. Therefore, Veblen's theories acknowledge the role of cultural norms in shaping consumption and resource allocation. In the Abanyala context, cultural narratives and traditions could reinforce patterns of resource distribution that favor certain clans or individuals. These cultural factors might perpetuate inequities in resource access.

Unemployment was identified as the biggest contribution to underdevelopment in the sub-county. Most of the Abanyala population is made up of youth, the majority of whom do not have jobs. A huge chunk of the population among the Abanyala is living from hand to mouth. This significantly cannot impact the community's development as the people lack the funds to invest in meaningful development projects in the area. They were strongly of the view that investors, whether local or foreign, should be brought into the region so that their people could secure jobs that would in turn provide a reliable source of income, thus enabling them to invest in other sectors of the economy that would spare economic development in the region. Christine Udoto (*Musia*) stated that:

In the period after independence, there was sufficient land for farming though Abanyala families were large. This made the jobless youth be engaged in farming. Nowadays the land size has greatly reduced as a result of an influx in population as well as selling of land to meet educational expences. After completion of school, the youth find themselves just being idle as they wait for job opportunities to open up (Interview report 12th June 2019 at Kakamega).

A divisive kind of politics practised by Abanyala politicians was termed as a major cause of underdevelopment. This is so because most of the Abanyala felt that once a politician captured was elected at whichever level he or she was vying for, they clearly neglected the areas where their opponents hailed from. Neglecting such places subsequently meant that there would be segmented development in most areas occupied by the Banyala. Arthanus Efumbi from Bunyala central, pointed out;

It is really unfortunate to say this, but the only development we as the people of Chebuyusi saw from the period 1997 to 2007 when the late Hon. Dr. Newton Kulundu was MP for Lurambi constituency as well as the Labour minister in Kibaki's government was just an approximately 30m stretch of tarmac road at the slope as you descend towards Chebuyusi from Navakholo (Interview Report 10th July, 2019 at Chebuyusi).

Banyalas' belief in witchcraft was undoubtedly a cause for underdevelopment. It is the practice and belief in magical skills and abilities exercised by solitary witches or a group. Witchcraft embraces the use of magical faculties, most commonly for religious, divinatory, or medicinal purposes (Ankarloo & Clark, 1994). It was only practiced by a select few and was blamed on many misfortunes, such as childlessness, lightning strikes, a woman dying while giving birth, and poor performance in school.

The Banyala were greatly feared by their neighbors, like the Abatsotso, Abawanga, and beyond, and were often considered witches and sorcerers. Masakha *et al.* (2018:70–71) identify a famous witch, Sichiefuma, who was famous for his concoctions that would help boys get whichever girl they liked; he would also use his skill to kill and even make one mad. The vice has made many fear engaging in any meaningful development, as they believe those envious of them would resort to black magic to ensure they perish or lag behind in wealth acquisition. In most cases, when a Nyala engages in a conversation with people from other Luhya sub-tribes, the basic question they usually put across usually concerns witchcraft. This clearly shows the fear people from other sub-tribes have concerning the Abanyala. Fear of the unknown has resulted in a lack of investors in certain areas where the Banyala reside, hence the lack of development.

Cultural hardliners among the Abanyala have been perceived as those bringing underdevelopment in the sense that they strongly believe in what the tradition dictates about the role of various clans. For instance, the clan was tasked with being in charge of weapons of defense (*Abalindavyoki*), fighters (Abasindusa), foretold the future (*Abahola* and *Abakwangwachi*), rainmaking powers (Abairifuma), and nurturing leaders (Masakha *et al.*, 2018:88). They are of the view that clans should stick to their roles. This was not good for development, as those who had the



potential to lead were locked out of leadership. Those who came from the Abairifuma clan, though inefficient, were put in leadership. They frustrated their subjects, who at times had to take off for fear of their lives and comfortability, resulting in underdevelopment.

Corruption, which has made significant inroads in the sub-county, was viewed as a serious cause of undevelopment. This was because public funds were clearly diverted from what they were meant to do into individual pockets due to their selfishness and greed. The government has given funds to the constituency through the CDF. The existence of the CDF Act is an indication that the Government of Kenya is embracing the idea of decentralization and, therefore, devolution of management and planning from the central government to the grassroots (Ongoya & Lumallas, 2005). This Act provides the governance framework for a transparent and accountable utilization of the funds by giving the beneficiary communities a voice in planning and implementing their own development initiatives (Kimenyi, 2005). This is to ensure various sectors of the constituency, like education, health, and security, have been improved, but the funds are partly not used in that manner and end up in developing people's households. This is at the expense of the Abanyala people, who cannot even access essential services like education due to a lack of funds, which they would have gotten through the CDF if funds were to be utilized as required. Arthanus Efumbi, a longserving teacher, interviewed on July 10, 2018 at Chebuyusi, revealed that some of his former pupils at Chebuyusi Primary School hailing from needy families around some of the villages, like Naulu and Chebuyusi villages were unable to get any assistance from the CDF. This was despite their tireless efforts as teachers to try and get funding for their secondary education because of deplorable living conditions, unlike when they were in primary school. The irony is that most of the learners were able to complete class eight and managed to score a quality mark that was more than three hundred marks, not to mention the huddles they had to pass through. Most of the said learners were able to get admissions to some of the prestigious schools within the county and nationally. The dreams of some of the children were shattered, while others got a lifeline through the initiative of teachers who are always well versed in the other institutions that offer scholarships.

Projects such as piped water and dispensaries have also been diverted to other areas. This has resulted in some of the most important services, like water and health, being denied to those who deserve them. Some people have also been unable to take up jobs they qualified for because of such a vice. Moses Chemoto observed that:

Bunyala would have been a better place to stay if the leadership that is from the clan, ward and constituency level lived up to the expectation of the people. They are to ensure fair resource distribution among the Abanyala people (Interview Report 10th May, 2019 at Siyombe).

From Chemoto's observation, it is the attitude and lack of vision of most of the Abanyala leaders is the main cause of lack of various essential services important in the faster economic development of the region.

4.2 Political Supremacy among Clan Leaders

This is whereby leaders from various clans tend to work hard so as to ensure their people are bestowed as leaders with an aim of overshadowing the leaders from other clans prove that their clan is superior to others in terms of political influence (Douglas, 1979). As a result, other clans have merged so as to ensure that such tendencies stop as they play a major role in biasness in terms of the development agenda. As a result of the history among the Abanyala, clans such as Abairifuma have felt that they are the only clan that can ensure good leaders are put in place, despite the fact that some lack leadership qualities and are not accountable this has not been the case as history displayed.

However, Historians who study the pre-colonial history of Abaluyha hardly pay any attention to the movement of concepts. Osogo (1966) concentrates on the origins, migration and settlement of various Abaliyia sub-ethnic groups without even identifying specific concept that developed in the time perspective to characteristics the entire Abaluyia (Osogo, 1966). But in his article, Osogo attempts to trace the movement of some concepts. These include Mtemi, Omwami and Smithing which moved into different parts of east Africa from elsewhere. He argues that Smithing was brought into the land of Abaluyia from Ethiopia by Abang'ale clan, (KNA/RW 572.96762 KAK, p.11).

Those interviewed in the various Bunyala wards asserted that the situation on the ground did not need any kind of questioning. For instance Agripina Isindu from Bunyala West ward said;

The Abairifuma clan has produced very many leaders but when you try to find out what they did in terms of development, you are left speechless. One of them, Wycliffe Wasike Ndombi (MP 1979-1988 and 1998-1992) was in parliament for two terms representing Lurambi south constituency. What was reminiscent of his tenure were poor health facilities and impassable roads from Kakamega town to Bunyala exposing the Abanyala people to untold suffering (Interview report, 24th May, 2019 at Kochwa).



So, since Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption suggests that individuals display their wealth to signal social status, it is important to note that, in the context of Abanyala clan leaders, those who engaged in conspicuous consumption might have garnered more attention and recognition from their followers. This display of resources could have elevated their social standing and political influence within the clan.

The idea of political supremacy clearly undermines democracy as the Abanyala themselves are not given an opportunity to make informed decisions about the kind of leaders they would like to put in place (Osogo, 1966). Making of decisions has been left to religious organizations like churches and mosques, Non-governmental Organizations, the government as well as the ever present clan leaders. Such situations has brought about complacency on the part of leaders as they believed support from the mentioned bodies and clan leaders would ensure a security of their leadership positions despite the fact that they might not be performing their roles as required (Osogo, 1966). Most of the Banyala from various clans in Navakholo sub-county agreed that, as leaders competed for their own reputation as the most influential persons in the society. The Abanyala in turn failed to get strong able leaders who could propel them to better living standards. As Ann Were pointed out;

A majority of political leaders in our sub-county have seemingly for long got elected to their positions mainly due to their clan affiliation, influence of clan heads and use of money to gain support. Such channels to leadership have brought about delayed development (Interview report, 13th July, 2019 at Kakamega).

In comparison to Tachoni, the study found that, a combination of factors during the colonial era drove Tachoni elders to insist on being identified by the colonial administrators as an entity with their own chief (Masakha *et.al*, 2018). One of them was the colonial behavior in appointing chiefs from other communities to rule over the Abatachoni. Similarly other neighboring communities like Bukusu and Abakabras were petitioning the colonial administration to appoint their own chiefs instead of being ruled by those drawn from Wanga (Masakha *et.al*, 2018). Also there was re-awakening of the people's sense of unity. Many clans usually assembled together in their functions of initiation ritual counseling and blessing. The elders now argued that all those clans who went to be initiated in esitabicha should be granted their own location known as Tachoni (KNA/DC/NN.3/3/1;Were 1967b:177-183).

Most occupants from Bunyala East, West and Central wards were of the view that the clan leadership in Bunyala had failed. The reason for failure was them not realizing that it was their responsibility to bring the people from various clans together as all them belong to the Abanyala and not the specific clans they made their people believe they belonged (KNA/DC/NN.3/3/1;Were 1967b:177-183). Such kind of attitude has resulted to slow development, they insisted on the need to work as a sub-tribe despite the fact that they might have different political affiliations so as to enhance faster development. This is so on Veblen's concept of emulation suggests that individuals imitate the consumption patterns of higher social classes (Veblen & Galbraith, 1973). Clan leaders who demonstrated political supremacy might have set examples for other leaders to follow. The emulation of their leadership styles and behaviors could have reinforced their dominance within the clan.

Another result of political supremacy was identified as segmentary development. This has been the case where most of the areas where the Abanyala leaders hailed from were always earmarked for development in contrast to the areas where political rivals hailed from which interestingly had mock development in the sense that minimal projects were imitated to cover up the feeling of being neglected. During the period 1988-1992, Wasike Ndombi was the MP of Lurambi while Newton Kulundu was MP for Lurambi for two terms 1998-2007 (GOK, 2010). Both MPs were from the most superior clan, the *Abayirifuma*. Their leadership was mainly concentrated at the national level as they held ministerial positions in Moi's and Kibaki's government; therefore forgetting their mandate as elected representatives of the people of Lurambi. Minimal development was experienced during their respective tenure (Masakha *et.al*, 2018). Emmanuel Wangwe from a minority clan, Abasuu was first elected as an MP representing Navakholo Sub-County in 2013, during which he has been better utilizing the CDF to establish more classes in schools with high population, a polytechnic which is still under construction behind Chebuyusi High school, tarmacking of Nambacha-Sidikho road which is atleast 5 kilometres. The CDF has issued bursaries in a slightly more transparent manner. All the mentioned has been achieved despite the MP occupying the position of vice chairperson, Departmental Committee on Agriculture and Livestock in parliament. However, he was recently promoted to Majority Whip in the National Assembly.

4.4 The Influence of Clan Affiliation on Resource Distribution

The National Government is usually involved in distribution of resources countrywide. The constitution of Kenya 2010 (GOK, 2010) has ensured devolution of public resources to the county level. The Kenyan Constitution objectives include: fostering national unity by recognising diversity; recognition of the rights of communities

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to manage their own affairs and to further on their development; and protection and promotion of the interests and rights of minorities and marginalized communities (Kenyan Constitution 2010: Article 174). In the Abanyala context, clan leaders might have sought to differentiate themselves based on their clan affiliation. Leaders from clans with historically higher status might have been motivated to maintain and enhance their position through resource allocation that further elevated their clan's status.

The county government is mainly tasked with ensuring proper resource distribution at the county level. Distribution of resources has been and still is a major cause of concern all over the world. In Bunyala, resource distribution is pegged on clan affiliations though it is not that pronounced. As Edgar Shisungu from Bunyala Central ward puts it;

Resource distribution is usually determined by individuals hailing from particular clans who were fortunate enough to be in power. Besides favouring their clans in development matters, they ensure that they initiate some projects in other areas so as to prevent people from raising eyebrows on the issue (Interview report 10th July, 2019 at Emuhuni).

The respondents who filled in questionnaires were asked to identify the influence of clan affiliation on resource distribution. Most of those interviewed gave a variety of ways in which resource distribution is affected by clan affiliation both positively and negatively. This included; Unequal distribution of resources usually occuring when few members of particular clans are in power. The members, for instance, hold positions in the Constituency Development Committee (CDC) and use their positions to influence resource distribution. Consequently, ensuring some of the clans they are not in close working relationship with being side-lined, leaving them to struggle for survival.

A majority of the population interviewed, asserted that; clan affiliations always brought about rivalry. As a result, causing disputes among the various Banyala clans. Members of such clans would make it difficult to establish development projects as well as distribution of other resources like fertilizers as well as maize seeds for planting and even supply of drugs to deal with child related diseases like polio or measles for fear of the rival clans repulsing such advancement (Group Interview report 25th July, 2019).

When the government came up with the initiative of immunization against polio, one of the clan heads was of the opinion that;

It was a way of reducing their population by making them sterile thus urging most of their clan members to resist engaging in that programme as it would impact negatively on their numbers (Oral interview on 15th May, 2019 at Navakholo).

Whenever such occurrences took place it clearly affected distribution of government resources which were intended to ensure a healthier population. An example of clan rivalry occurred in the run up to the 1997 general elections. It was during the Ford Kenya party nominations between Dr. Newton Kulundu *Omuirifuma* and Dr. Caleb Wangia *Omutecho*. The former emerged victorious in a disputed nomination by delegates of the party. The event caused a dispute between the two clans.

Some of the respondents were in agreement that some of the clans that had been marginalised were able to get a good portion of the resources. It came about by affiliating themselves with the leaders from other clans who were in power. The friendship that developed resulted to their people benefiting in various spheres including employment opportunities that came up in the sub-county. When clans co-operate with each other it brings about the concern for each other in that the affairs of every clan are going to be put into consideration before coming up with a settlement on how to diversify the resources. Consequently, the most influential clans as well as the less influential clans are going to both appreciate and enjoy the presence of such huge changes in the areas they occupy. Before Kenya got independence, there were two major political parties; Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), with KANU made up of the bigger ethnic communities (Kikuyu and Luo) and KANU the smaller tribes. KANU advocated for a republican form of government where resources were controlled from a central location. The KADU advocated for a federal (*majimbo*) system of government with resources being controlled at the regional level. The first multi-party elections before independence were held in 1961 which KANU won but refused forming government unless Jomo Kenyatta was released from detention therefore KADU stepped in forming a coalition government with the colonialists.

The next election was carried out in 1963 which KANU won and formed a coalition government with KADU and Akamba People's Party (APP). Afterwards, KADU and APP agreed to dissolve their parties making Kenya a one party state. The first amendment in 1964 transformed Kenya into a Republic headed by a president who had both head of state and head of government powers (Sanger & Nottingham, 1964). The two top government positions; the president and vice president were given to the major tribes in the country while the rest of the government positions were distributed to members of other tribes. Having acted in a patriotic way most of the citizens shifted towards unity



following the footsteps of their leaders. Among the Banyala it became evident that after independence in 1963 the leaders had to accept fellow leaders irrespective of their clan. Bunyala leaders had to change their approach on resource distribution for fear of not being re-elected by the people this set a precedence that most leaders tend to have emulated. Nepotism was identified to be an influence in resource distribution. The term nepotism derived from the Latin word Nepos meaning "nephew", is defined Webster (1999) as appointment of nephews or other kin to duties based on relationships rather than qualifications. The feedback from those interviewed was that the leadership always considered people from their clans who were mainly close relatives in case of any employment opportunity that arises. Interviews for such positions are organised as a formality (Webster, 1999). Such situations meant that most development would occur in areas where those exposed to resources came from.

4.5 Instigators of Development

Navakholo sub-county has transformed into a vibrant economy tremendously overtime. The transformation is attributable to the interaction between the Abanyala and people from other communities such as the Nandi who mainly traded on livestock as well as the Agikuyu who diversified their trading activities (Osogo, 1996). The interaction has brought about a resounding change in the various sectors that propel Bunyalas' economy. Initially, the major instigation to development was the agricultural activities that the Abanyala people engaged in. Juma Machio, an elder from Bunyala East revealed that;

Agriculture took a new twist by farmers embracing cash crop farming by engaging themselves in sugarcane farming alongside dairy farming, fishing, maize farming and horticulture. This increased the revenue of the farmers hence improved living standards. Over reliance on subsistence farming had made the Abaluhyia lag behind in development as they did not have an extra coin to invest in other developments which rapidly changed from the year 1975 (Interview report 26th May 2019 at Sivilie).

Subsistence farming has been the common norm among the Luhya and the Abanyala. This can be attributed to the population increase amongst them. As per the Luhya and Abanyala tradition, sons usually inherit the land thus the practice over the time. Kavulavu (2017:659) observed that land allocation was through transmission from father to son. Importantly to note is that, Veblen's theories highlight the impact of social hierarchy on resource control. Clan leaders from historically higher-status clans might have held more influence within the broader community (Kavulavu, 2017). This influence could extend to resource distribution, with leaders from such clans having a greater say in how resources were allocated. When a father died, his land was handed either to his eldest son or divided among the sons by the clan elders. Usually, while a father was still alive he allocated land to each of his married sons. The remaining land would be allocated to the unmarried sons (Kavulavu, 2017). The constant sub-division has resulted to the decrease in land size resulting to inability of most Abanyala people engaging in plantation farming. Apart from land holdings, cash crop farming seriously needs technological knowhow and capital, which is another serious challenge (Kavulavu, 2017). Trading activities were initiating development among the Abanyala. The Abanyala had growing needs for commodities they were unable to produce hence markets developed independently in direct response to their needs. As a result, major market centres have developed such as Nambacha and Navakholo which have been important in improving the area. Informants noted that there were two kinds of trade in pre-colonial Abanyala, local and regional trade. Engagement in the trading exploits enabled the Abanyala to make strides in terms of its development as they were exposed to the outside world, hence a change in approach to a variety of issues. An informant Juma Wesisi observed that:

Local trade took place among the Abanyala clans and neighbouring luhya communities such as the Kabras, Batsotso, Wanga and Bukusu. While regional trade mainly involved the Nandi from whom they obtained livestock in exchange for grains mainly sorghum (Interview report 15th May 2019 at Navakholo).

Murram mining at Weremba and sand mining at River Lusumu as well as River Nzoia has contributed immensely to the development of the sub-county as this is a very important source of revenue for the Abanyala people who engage in the mining process. Sand is an important raw material in the construction industry as most of the development projects require sand. Availability of murram in the region has enhanced the carpeting of the dry weather roads enabling them to be accessible during the rainy season thus enhancing effective trading activities. Accessibility of the sub-county by roads has enhanced interaction with people from other sub counties thus enhancing development in various aspects of the economy. Villioth (2014), stated that road bases are another major sand use, with one kilometer of highway requiring 30,000 tonnes of sand a clear indicator of the importance of sand in economic development (Villioth, 2014). From the archival sources, the study found that;



During a rather hurried tour of the province early in July 1944 I made a point of finding out how the craft was being received by Africans. Everywhere it was the same story 'we like this work' 'we want to learn more'. At mumias I was told the little children make themselves to spin a thread and them take it to the sisters at the convent saying 'now you see we can spin let us join your class' other missions tell me they have had to forbid the girls taking their spindles to class and that every available moment between work is given to spindling, (KNA/PC/NZA/2/17/50, p.53).

Bunyala forest was widely mentioned as a critical resource in development. One of the respondents, Charles Situma during an Interview cited that:

Identified the forest to be important to the farmers in the sub-county in terms of providing opportunities for grazing their livestock more so during the dry season. Grazing of the livestock during such a time when pasture is hard to come by has enabled the Abanyala people have healthy animals all year round. Availability of healthy livestock in the market has enabled them to sell at very good prices (Interview report on 18th May, 2019 at Lutaso).

The forest has also enhanced good climatic conditions in the region which has in turn resulted in reliable rainfall. Availability of rainfall has encouraged agriculture which most of the inhabitants take part in (Villioth, 2014). Medicine men and women were able to get herbal medicine from the forest. Herbal medicine ensured and still ensures healing of the sickly in the society. A traditional healer by the name Andrea Makina has for many years treated people with mental illnesses (*okhukhuba olubao*). They also treated madness using traditional herbs called *omunyakasa* usually acquired from the forest. The herb was inhaled through an orifice. Therefore, livelihood among the Abanyala has heavily relied on the existence of the forest. According to a UN (2013);

The ratio between forests and people influences the role forests play in society and the economy. A society with abundant forests and relatively few people will manage its forests differently from a society centred on cities where an important human population exerts constant pressure on the forest resource (UN, 2013, p.2).

The above observation in the publication exists among the various clans who have been frequently using the resource for personal benefit as well as for the wellbeing of the numerous Abanyala clans (Wanyande, 2012). A majority of those residing in Sidikho and Sisokhe areas in Bunyala Central mentioned that the presence of Sidikho water falls on River Nzoia is a potential site for hydro-electric power production. With the establishment of such a project, power supply in the region will be enhanced. Whenever power is produced locally then the costs subsequently drop thus encouraging industrialization as well as tourism (Wanyande, 2012).

When the falls are identified as a tourist attraction site, the county government will increase its revenue hence enhance economic development in the sub-county by creation of jobs as well as improving existing facilities like schools, hospitals and roads (Were, 1967). As compared to the highland areas where most of the British had settled and developed the infrastructure. Bunyala did have very few educational facilities at the time of independence hence limiting those who wanted to acquire an education. The few schools in the area included; Namirama Girls, Chebuyusi Intermediate and Musaga. Jane Nangila from Buchangu area, Bunyala East stipulated that:

Several schools were set up in Bunyala East in the period 1970 onwards. The new Primary schools included; Weremba, Sikubale and Buchangu. Only two secondary schools were added Sivilie and Buchangu to facilitate transition into high school. In the late 1980s, Lutaso Polytechnic was also established (Interview report 10th May 2019 at Buchangu).

The new developments in the education sector ensured that a good number of the school going age, attended school. The results of education were being enjoyed by those who embarked on it earlier and it became a motivating factor for the youth. Nangila further acknowledges that without education the future is not promising.

During a group interview with Moses Chemoto and Jane Nangila, it was assertained that in 1989, a committee was formed and people assigned to move round and assess how people are living. The main intention being to enhance a healthy living. People living a healthy life would be guaranteed by presence of latrines in homesteads, availability of clean drinking water and maintaining general cleanliness (Were, 1968). Besides, environmental cleanliness, mid-wives were also taken for training on modern techniques of handling birth cases to avoid infections. The training has since reduced infant mortality and given rise to a healthier population, involved in various spheres of the economy.

4.6 Influence of Leaders on Resource Distribution

Most of the resources from the government are allocated to the leadership of a given area. For instance, a Ward, a Constituency and even a County. This is to be able to organize and plan for the necessary developments to be undertaken in the various areas they were elected or appointed to represent. The funds are usually misappropriated and



in projects that deem suitable for the leadership. The practice is anti-development as it aggravates the problem of income inequality and leads to resource scrambles harmful to growth (Alesina & Rodrik, 1994).

Grabowski observed that colonization re-drew the boundaries of African nation-states that were more or less disproportionate amalgams for easy administration. These states were modelled as extractive rather than investment destinations. The colonial powers were engaged in predatory activities regardless of the indigenous peoples' religious beliefs, culture and ethnicity (Grabowski, 2006). The re-drawn boundaries defied any genuine process of development. During the post-colonial period, the late 1900s and early 2000s, leaders have had a vital role to play in resource distribution. Though most tended to play politics with it. Most of the leaders tend to oppose reforms whenever their positions are threatened. Martinussen (1997:327) asserts that leaders manipulate members of their ethnic group into believing that reforms are threats to both their political and economic power bases, and that they have a relatively prosperous community, so that reforms are more likely to reverse than increase that prosperity (Martinussen, 1997). They effectively promote wider division within the diverse ethnic groups, especially if members of the leaders' own ethnic group are themselves experiencing job completion from other ethnic groups.

Members of various wards also mentioned that establishment of any development project had to be approved by the current leaders, failure to which the project would stall. The leaders would silently block the release of more financial resources to be infused into the projects (Martinussen, 1997). The MPs are usually the chairpersons of the CDF and no money can be utilized without their acknowledgement this meant that consultations were to be made with the leaders for any project to successfully take off.

Adelide Sakwa and Emmah Waswa from Bunyala West were of the view that:

One was able to secure a job within the sub-county in particular sectors of the constituency with the approval of the political leaders like the MP or ward representatives thus playing a huge role in the employment or lack of employment of individuals in the area. Thus, the fact that one did not need qualification to secure a job, but the word of the leader concerned. For instance, jobs involving elections in the sub-county as election officials either presiding officer or polling clerks (Interview report, 24th May, 2018).

It can therefore be concluded that, political interests of leaders also played a critical role in distribution of resources as leaders who were aspiring for higher seats used their positions to ensure that they entice the prospective voters by ensuring they establish different development projects as well as participate in harambee meant to initiate different facilities in various areas of the sub-county (Martinussen, 1997). During the planting season, some of the farmers did not have the necessary farm inputs to engage in agriculture. The farmers attributed it to the high cost of the inputs, high cost of living as well as the poor quality of inputs in the market. Hence the inability to grow crops. This becomes an opportunity for leaders to distribute such resources for the economic activity to go on, thus making them have a critical role in the economic activity their people engage in and in turn gaining an influential role on the people.

4.7 Individuals Directly Influencing Establishment of Development Projects

Among the Banyala of Navakholo Sub-County, development that has occurred since 1970 has been greatly influenced by a varied category of individuals who have ensured that the different clans engage in economic activities and participate in development projects that are beneficial to them as a people (Were, 1968). Respondents from Bunyala east, west and central identified political leaders as being the ones who have a direct say on the development projects to be established (Grabowski, 2006). On this, they believe that it would be for either personal gain or because of the people's needs. The tarmac road from Nambacha to Sidikho established in 2015 by current MP Emmanuel Wangwe. The road has enabled accessibility to both Navakholo and Nambacha markets, thereby improving trading activities.

Professionals were also considered as the brain child of the various projects that have been initiated in the subcounty as they form an advisory role to the leadership of the Sub-County (Alesina & Rodrik, 1994). The projects that they suggest as some of the respondents said were beneficial to the people who are found around the area they have been established. The other category was religion and religious leaders. The NGO's who though not very much considered are believed to play a major role in many of the projects that have been established in the sub-county. Five respondents; Jacob Sifuna, Charles Situma, Benard Oduki, Sydney Andambi and Emma Waswa identified NGO's as a critical part in important development projects as they establish projects free from clan influence.



V. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

This study was mainly concerned with the distribution of resources among the Abanyala, viewed as a cause for development. The causes of underdevelopment were poor distribution of resources, which included poor infrastructural facilities (ranging from roads, electricity, water, and hospitals), communication facilities, poverty, unemployment, leadership, corruption, traditions, and selfishness. The idea of leaders seeking recognition because they belong to particular clans has made them influence political and administrative leaders in the wrong way, making them forget other areas in the sub-county as regards development. Clan segregation has been brought about due to the huge number of clans among the Banyala. The segregation of clans in resource distribution has been attributed to factors like the form of politics employed mainly during elections, education level, and cultural practices like circumcision and selfishness, as well as the history and beliefs of the Abanyala. The chapter also discussed the ways clan affiliation influences resource distribution, which included unequal distribution of resources, location of development projects, nepotism, and cooperation among clans. The impact of both administrative and political leaders on development was widely assessed. The objectivity of a leader is viewed as key to development among the Abanyala. The onset of multi-party democracy and its impact on development in Navakholo Sub-County, both positively and negatively, were identified.

Some of the instigators to development among the Banyala were identified and briefly discussed; they included the introduction of alternative farming methods from the usual sugarcane farming, improvements in the transport system, the presence of Bunyala forest, which is very resourceful in terms of pasture and herbal medicine, engagement in both local and regional trading activities, the establishment of more educational facilities, enabling the existence of more literate people, and the improvement of the security situation in the region, which has made people have more courage while carrying out their economic activities.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, several recommendations can be made to address the causes of underdevelopment and enhance development in the Abanyala community. First, there is a need for improved and equitable distribution of resources, with a particular focus on infrastructure, healthcare, and communication facilities. Leaders should prioritize the welfare of the entire sub-county over clan affiliations and work towards reducing clan segregation in resource distribution. Additionally, efforts should be made to combat corruption, promote good governance, and prioritize the education and empowerment of the local population. The community should also explore diversifying their economic activities beyond sugarcane farming, invest in transportation infrastructure, and leverage the resource-rich Bunyala forest. Lastly, fostering cooperation among clans and improving security can contribute to a more conducive environment for economic activities and development in Navakholo Sub-County.

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