

Kenya

Ethnicity in Kenya

Group selection

Kenya consists of over 40 ethnic groups. Five communities (the Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, and Kamba) each make up more than 10 percent of the population. The country covers eight regions, and regional divisions largely coincide with ethnic divisions. The Central Province is mainly populated by the Kikuyu, Nyanza is predominantly Luo, the Rift Valley is occupied predominantly by the Kalenjin and kindred groups (Masai, Turkana & Samburu), the Western is Luhya, and the North-Eastern predominantly Somali. Three regions are multi-ethnic: Nairobi, Coast and Eastern Provinces (¹⁶⁹¹, 59). Ethnicity has been a major feature of the Kenyan political landscape since colonial times, when the colonial government divided the country into provinces which were essentially created along ethnic lines (¹⁶⁹²). Political parties in Kenya have been organized along ethnic identities and state-power has been contested on the basis of mobilized ethnicity (¹⁶⁹³). In the absence of strong ideologies, ethnicity has provided the focus of party affiliation, and parties and ethnic groups tend to overlap. (¹⁶⁹⁴). Typically, a party is headed by an ethnic patron who engages with the electorate chiefly through the recruitment of clients (¹⁶⁹⁵). After independence from Britain in 1963, liberation struggle icon and President Jomo Kenyatta (a Kikuyu) centralized power and introduced a de facto one-party state from 1969, ruled by the Kenya African National Union (KANU). Kenyatta established a coalition of ethno-regional notables from all major ethnic groups, but Kenyatta's rule soon became dominated by Kikuyu nationalism (¹⁶⁹⁶, 152; ¹⁶⁹⁷). Kenyatta died in 1978 and was succeeded by his vice-president, Daniel arap Moi (a Kalenjin). After the accession of President Moi, the state turned more authoritarian, and in 1982 it became a de jure one-party state. Moi's government overtly pursued ethnic politics and attempted to polarize the opposition parties into ethnic-based parties. Political power gradually became increasingly focused on specific ethnic groups, notably Moi's own ethnic group, the Kalenjin (¹⁶⁹⁸). In effect, the so-called 'kikuyusation' of the state under Kenyatta was followed by a process of "kalenjinisation" under Moi (¹⁶⁹⁹, 30). Moi acceded to internal and external pressure for political liberalization in late 1991 introducing a multi-party system. However, the ethnically fractured opposition failed to dislodge KANU

¹⁶⁹¹ [Oyugi, 1997]

¹⁶⁹² [Kadima and Owour, 2006]

¹⁶⁹³ [Ajulu, 2002]

¹⁶⁹⁴ [Makoloo, 2005]

¹⁶⁹⁵ [Omolo, 2002]

from power in the elections in 1992 and 1997, which were marred by violence and fraud. Related to this, the Moi era would also see the cruelest and most intensive ethnic clashes since independence (¹⁷⁰⁰). On 27 December 2002 Kenyans made history when Mwai Kibaki (a Kikuyu), and his multiethnic, united opposition group, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) won the presidency following fair and peaceful elections, ending KANU's 39 years of monopoly rule. Although NARC was a multi-ethnic party or alliance, with voter support and leadership far more proportional of the ethnic groups than previously witnessed in Kenya (¹⁷⁰¹, 249), Kibaki soon came under heavy criticism of corruption, tribalism and nepotism (¹⁷⁰²). Despite NARC's comfortable majority, the coalition eventually split when the government presented its constitutional draft for a referendum in 2005, thereby widely disregarding the broad consensus that had emerged through three previous constitutional conferences. Luo leader Raila Odinga opposed this, left the cabinet and established a rival coalition to campaign for a "No" vote. In November 2005, Kenyans in a referendum rejected the proposed constitution because it failed substantially to curtail the powers of the nation's chief executive. As a consequence of the referendum loss, Kibaki dismissed his entire cabinet in the middle of his administration's term, the aim being to purge all Odinga's allied ministers from the cabinet (¹⁷⁰³). The ethnic divisions evident in the voting on President Kibaki's proposed constitution turned violent in December 2007, after he was declared to have defeated the Luo leader and presidential candidate Raila Odinga in an election that his supporting coalition, comprised primarily of Luos, Luhyas and Kalenjins, charged was marked by widespread vote fraud. More than 800 Kenyans are reported to have been killed and as many as 50,000 to have been displaced in the post-election attacks (¹⁷⁰⁴). In February 2008, the parties reached an agreement, brokered by former U.N. Secretary Kofi Anan, on a coalition government with Kibaki as president, Odinga as prime minister, and an equally shared cabinet reflecting Kenya's ethnic diversity. The new government was sworn in two months later. It remains to be seen whether this power-sharing arrangement will hold.

The Ethnic Landscape: New List (based on ¹⁷⁰⁵): Kikuyu-Meru-Embu 0.27 Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu 0.15 Luhya 0.14 Luo 0.12 Kamba 0.11 Kisii 0.06 Mijikenda 0.05 Somali 0.02 Starting out from Fearon's (2003) list, the following changes were conducted: The Kalenjin, Masai and Turkana were included into a joint group, along with the Samburu (although the latter is not mentioned by Fearon). Within this joint group the Kalenjin is by far the largest and politically most important group, but three of their fellow Nilote cousins, the Masai, Turkana and Samburu, have remained loyal associates to the Kalenjin since independence. However, no evidence was found that these three groups are politically relevant as single groups. Bennett (1963) referred to this joint group as the 'alliance of the pastoral tribes' (quoted in ¹⁷⁰⁶, 259), and since the 1990s this

¹⁷⁰⁵ [?]

¹⁷⁰⁶ [Ajulu, 2002]

configuration, or "supertribe" of Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu was organized as the "KAMATUSA", just like the Gikuyu (Kikuyu)-Embu-Meru Association (GEMA) from the 1970s (e.g. ¹⁷⁰⁷). On a smaller note, the name of Gusii-Kisii was replaced with the more common Kisii (see e.g. ¹⁷⁰⁸). The Boran and Rendille groups were dropped. There was no evidence for political organization of these groups- hence they do not seem to be politically relevant in the strict sense. (Although there was no evidence for political organization of the Somali either, this group was kept due to several examples of formal harassment and persecution of this group). With regard to the data on the size of ethnic groups, the figures from Fearon (¹⁷⁰⁹) were (slightly) modified relying on the 1989 Kenya Population Census of which figures are reproduced in Makoloo (¹⁷¹⁰, 12). This seems to be the most updated reliable source of ethnic composition in Kenya (in the latest population and housing census of 1999, the government stopped providing information of the ethnic breakdown of the peoples of Kenya). According to the 1989 census the Kikuyu-Meru-Embu make up 27% of the total population, the Luo make up 12%, the joint number of the Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu is 15%, and the Kisii make up 6% of the total population. Figures for the Luhya, Kamba, Mijikenda and Somali were identical to those reported in Fearon's list.

¹⁷⁰⁷ [Odhiambo, 1998]

¹⁷⁰⁸ [Makoloo, 2005]

¹⁷⁰⁹ [?]

Power relations

1963-1966: Kenyatta's Rule (i) This period covers the first years of Jomo Kenyatta's unopposed rule from independence in 1963 until 1966. By all accounts, his own ethnic group, the Kikuyu, was the most powerful at the time, dominating the political life beyond merely occupying the presidency (e.g. ¹⁷¹¹). The formation of GEMA (Gikuyu, Embu and Meru association) was intended to strengthen the immediate base of the Kenyatta state by incorporating the Embu and Meru into a union with the Kikuyu (¹⁷¹², ¹⁷¹³). While allocating the main cabinet posts to GEMA members, Kenyatta also sought to establish an inclusive coalition of ethno-regional notables from most other important ethnic groups (¹⁷¹⁴, 152) in such a way as to ensure that all parts of the country enjoyed some benison of patronage' (¹⁷¹⁵: 96). The Kikuyu-Meru-Embu was hence coded as "senior partner" in an informal "power sharing" regime with Luhya, Luo, Kamba, Kalenjin and Kisii as "junior partners" (see e.g. ¹⁷¹⁶, ¹⁷¹⁷, 118). The Luo were in fact politically advantaged during the first few years of the Kenyatta rule, and the Luo leader Ogonga Odinga was even appointed as vice-president. However, Kenyatta stripped power from the position and also tried to muzzle Odinga (¹⁷¹⁸, 104). The Mijikenda people seem to have had very limited political influence under Kenyatta, although they did get one Minister in the Cabinet of 1973 (¹⁷¹⁹, 118). However, there is very scarce evidence about this group for the entire period and thus decided to label them as "powerless". The Somali are coded as "discriminated" under Kenyatta. Political restrictions against the Somali included

¹⁷¹¹ [Osamba, 2001]

¹⁷¹² [Muigai, 2004]

¹⁷¹³ [Odhiambo, 1998]

¹⁷¹⁴ [Andreasse, 2004]

¹⁷¹⁵ [Ingham, 1990]

e.g. limits of the freedom of expression, voting, and recruitment to the civil service (¹⁷²⁰), which must be interpreted as targeted discrimination with the intent of excluding the group from political power.

1967-1978: Kenyatta's Rule (ii) This period covers the second part of Kenyatta's rule from 1966 until his death in 1978. The reason for subdividing the Kenyatta era into two separate periods is the change of status for the Luos. The advantage of the Luo ended in 1966 when Odinga chose to form his own party (KPU) and join the opposition. Three years of political marginalization of the Luo led to increased tension between KPU and the KANU regime, which later exploded into violence. During the short existence of Odinga's KPU, the KANU government systematically harassed the party and its leaders until banning it completely in 1969 (¹⁷²¹, 45). These incidents along with the assassination of the Luo Tom Mboya, KANU's secretary general reflected the break of the unity between the Kikuyus and the Luos. In 1973 the Luos had less than half the governmental representation they enjoyed before the break. Due to the systematic isolation of the Luo from government over this period the Luo were coded as being 'discriminated'. However, this coding decision could be debated: Because the Luo were in fact represented in government during the entire Kenyatta regime (¹⁷²², 118-119) the group could have been coded as "junior partner".

¹⁷²¹ [Oyugi, 1997]

¹⁷²² [Hulterström, 2004]

1979-2002: Moi's Rule This period starts with Daniel arap Moi's accession to the presidency (following the death of Kenyatta), and ends when Moi stepped down after losing the election in 2002. Moi shifted the power base of KANU from Kikuyu to Kalenjin ethnic dominance supported other key minority tribes (Steeves 2006a). Like the previous regime, Moi eventually came to rest on a small clique, most notably the Kalenjin, but also including the Masai, Turkana, Samburu, the Luhya and the coastal alliance, associated with the Mijikenda (¹⁷²³, 262). Hence, Moi's regime can be seen as a kind of "power-sharing" regime consisting of different ethnic groups. The Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu is coded as 'senior partner', with the Luhya and Mijikenda as "junior partners". There is little information available about the Kamba and Kisii for this period, but according to figures presented in Hulterström (¹⁷²⁴) the Kamba representation in government grew slightly during Moi's regime. The Kisii were also represented in government during this period, albeit modestly. The Kamba and Kisii are hence also coded as "junior partners". It should however be noted that these "junior partners" enjoyed very limited power under Moi's harshly authoritarian regime (¹⁷²⁵), and it could be debated whether "powerless" would be a better fitting classification for these two groups under Moi's rule. Once in power, Moi swept out almost all the Kikuyus from high-ranking political positions and replaced them with his own Kalenjins (Carey, 2002; ¹⁷²⁶). Despite being economically advantaged, the Kikuyu

¹⁷²³ [Ajulu, 2002]

¹⁷²⁴ [Hulterström, 2004]

¹⁷²⁵ [Makoolo, 2005]

¹⁷²⁶ [Okumu, 2001]

suffered the most under Moi in terms of political restrictions (see 1727, 257; 1728). Moreover, the representational marginalization of the Luo in government from the Kenyatta regime actually worsened under Moi (1729, 118-119). Moi banned all ethnic organizations, including both GEMA and the Luo Union (1730, 436; 1731, 108; 1732, 153). Furthermore, the Kikuyu and Luo were the main the victims of ethnic violence in the 1990s sponsored by the Moi regime (1733). Consequently the Luo and Kikuyu- Meru-Embu groups were both coded as 'discriminated' during Moi's rule. The Somali are coded as 'discriminated' under the Moi era as well. For example, since 1989 Kenyan Somalis are required to carry two identity cards to prove their citizenship (1734, 491-492)

1727 [Throup and Hornsby, 1998]

2003-2005: Kibaki's NARC Government This period starts in 2003 with the formation of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government. On 27 December 2002 NARC's presidential candidate Mwai Kibaki (a Kikuyu) was elected as Kenya's third president through the first electoral change of government since independence. NARC is in fact a coalition of two coalitions. The first, the National Alliance of Kenya (NAK) links Kibaki's Kikuyu-based Democratic Party (DP) with a dozen other ethno-regional parties. The second is the Luo-based Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). In the NARC cabinet of 2003 there were four factions comprising mainly Kikuyu, Luo and Luhya (1735, 91-93). Overall, Murunga & Nasong'o (1736, 7) conclude that the major discontinuity with the Moi regime is that power shifted away from the Kalenjin elite to the Kikuyu and their tribal kinsmen. According to Steeves (1737, 230), with the NARC government, the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru people have concentrated power narrowly in their hands. Despite criticism of corruption, tribalism and nepotism, however, NARC remained a multi-ethnic party (or alliance), with voter support and leadership far more proportional of the Kenyan population than previously witnessed in Kenya (1738: 249). In the cabinet of 2003, all the politically relevant ethnic groups were represented with two or more Ministers each (cf. 1739, 7), except the Kisii which lacked representation. The Kikuyu-Meru-Embu were thus coded as "senior partner" and the rest of the groups "junior partners", except the Kisii which were labeled "powerless". There was no evidence of political discrimination of any of the politically relevant ethnic group from government during this period. There was no evidence for any political organization that specifically represent Somali group interests for this last period either. However, the discrimination of the Somali under Kibaki seems to be of a more general character and not directly limiting the access to government positions of these groups (In fact, according to Throup (1740, 7), the Somali actually obtained a cabinet member in the NARC cabinet of 2003). Hence, the Somali were coded as being politically "irrelevant" for this period.

1735 [Barkan, 2004]

1736 [Murunga, 2006]

1737 [Steeves, 2006a]

1738 [Hulterström, 2004]

1739 [Throup, 2003]

2006-2007: Odinga leaves Kibaki's Government It appeared reasonable to split Kibaki's first term into two periods due to some major power shifts that happened in the wake of the constitutional referendum in late 2005, which led to a change of status for the Luos. Cracks within the broad interethnic yet fragile NARC coalition emerged when Kibaki's Kikuyu-dominated inner circle failed to honor several pre-election agreements, including the implementation of constitutional reform. This would have resulted in the creation of a strong prime minister, a role promised to Raila Odinga, the political leader of the Luo community and one of NARC's key figures (¹⁷⁴¹). The coalition eventually split when the government presented its own constitutional draft, perceived to consolidate powers of the presidency and weaken regional governments (harneit sievers). Raila Odinga opposed this, left the cabinet and established a rival coalition, the ODM (Orange Democratic Movement) to campaign for a "No" vote. He succeeded with the latter, as Kibaki's reform package was rejected by a wide margin of the Kenyan electorate in a constitutional referendum in November 2005. As a consequence of, and immediately after, the referendum loss, on 23 November 2005, Kibaki dismissed his entire cabinet in the middle of his administration's term, the aim being to purge all Raila allied ministers from the cabinet. Due to this systematic isolation of the Luo from government in the aftermath of the referendum the Luo were coded as being "discriminated". There is no information available about the exact ethnic composition of the cabinet in this period, but the author is aware that most other groups were at least represented in government, including members of Odinga's allies from the Luhya group (see e.g. ¹⁷⁴²). For this reason the status of any other group was not changed. Yet, some analysts refer to this second half of Kibaki's first term as a "hegemony of the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu governing coalition" (e.g. ¹⁷⁴³, 77). It could hence be debated whether one should rather view the GEMA (Kikuyu-Meru-Embu) as in "dominance", and the rest as powerless, or discriminated (as in the case of the Luos) Overall, the constitutional referendum led to a reformation of the political landscape and the formation of two major parties: Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU) and the Odinga-led Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Although both parties contained leading members of various ethnic groups, the Kenyan electorate viewed the contest as one between Luo and Kikuyu. This period ends with the presidential election in December 2007.

¹⁷⁴¹ [Bertelsmann Country Report, 2009]

¹⁷⁴² [Steeves, 2006b]

¹⁷⁴³ [?]

2008-2009: The Grand Coalition Government The ethnic divisions evident in the referendum on President Kibaki's proposed constitution turned violent in December 2007, after he was declared to have defeated the Luo leader and presidential candidate Raila Odinga in an election that his supporting coalition (comprised primarily of Luos, Luhyas and Kalenjins) charged was marked by widespread vote fraud. More than 800 Kenyans are reported to have been killed and as many as 250,000 to have been displaced in the post-election (1744).

¹⁷⁴⁴ [Kimenyi and Shughart, 2005]

This period starts in February 2008, when the parties reached an agreement (brokered by former U.N. Secretary Kofi Annan) on a PNU-ODM coalition government with Kibaki as president, Odinga as prime minister, and an equally shared cabinet reflecting Kenya's ethnic diversity. The new government was sworn in two months later. In the words of Chege (¹⁷⁴⁵, 126), "the political tools used to end the conflict are well known. They include a "grand coalition government" of all major parties and leaders; "powersharing" between ethnic-based factions; and allocation of executive positions so that all major groups are fairly represented". In order to double-check that all the ethnic groups listed above are in fact represented with at least one minister in the Grand Coalition Government, the entire list of cabinet members recording their ethnic affiliations was checked (based on numerous sources), and it can be confirmed that this indeed seems to be the case. The Kikuyu-Meru-Embu were thus coded as "senior partner" leaving all other groups as "junior partners". However, if it is possible to code more than one "senior partner", the Luo group could perhaps also be labelled so. According to BBC (¹⁷⁴⁶), the cabinet is fifty percent Kibaki appointed ministers and fifty percent Odinga appointed ministers, which reflects a carefully balanced ethnic coalition.

¹⁷⁴⁵ [Chege, 2008]

¹⁷⁴⁶ [BBC, 2008]

2010-2011: The grand coalition continued its existence until elections in 2013. In 2010, a new constitution was approved in a popular referendum with only the Rift valley (Kalenjin et al.) province voting "no" with the majority of its votes. Minor reshuffles took place during the years, but its nature as a "grand coalition" was not changed. With Kibaki as president, Odinga continued to be Prime minister for all years and no source indicates a change in the ethnic balance which has been considered to be balanced at the outset. Therefore, the previous period was extended to 2013.

2012-2013: In late 2011, Kenya led a Military attack against Al-Shabaab in Somalia causing terrorist reprisals in Kenya. In the following, Kenyan security forces engaged in ethnic profiling against its ethnic Somali population suspected to support Al-Shabaab. Human Rights Watch (¹⁷⁴⁷) reports: "The abuses by members of the security forces that Human Rights Watch documented included rape and attempted sexual assault, beatings, arbitrary detention, extortion, looting and destruction of property, and various forms of physical mistreatment. Human Rights Watch also found cases of degrading and inhumane treatment, such as forcing victims to sit in water or roll on the ground. The government has promised to investigate the abuses, but no police or soldiers have been charged, disciplined, or otherwise held accountable."

¹⁷⁴⁷ [Human Rights Watch, 2012]

This status has not been changed in 2013 and amounts to the regime identifying "specific groups generally as subversive" and targeted state violence (EPR Codebook).

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Political status of ethnic groups in Kenya

From 1963 until 1966

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Kikuyu-Meru-Emb	0.27	SENIOR PARTNER
Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luhya	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luo	0.12	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kamba	0.11	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kisii	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mijikenda	0.05	POWERLESS
Somali	0.02	DISCRIMINATED

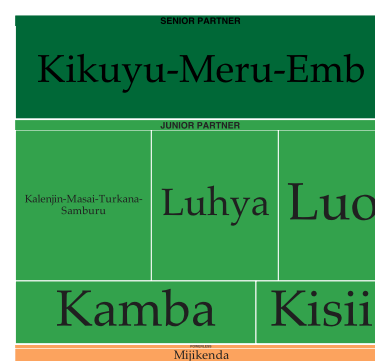


Figure 411: Political status of ethnic groups in Kenya during 1963-1966.

From 1967 until 1978

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Kikuyu-Meru-Emb	0.27	SENIOR PARTNER
Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luhya	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luo	0.12	DISCRIMINATED
Kamba	0.11	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kisii	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mijikenda	0.05	POWERLESS
Somali	0.02	DISCRIMINATED

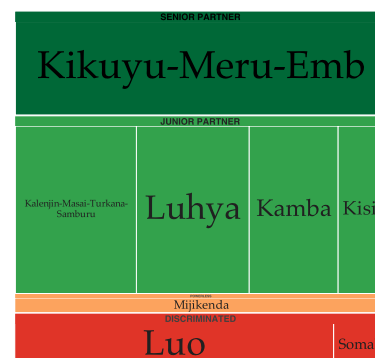


Figure 412: Political status of ethnic groups in Kenya during 1967-1978.

From 1979 until 2002

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Kikuyu-Meru-Emb	0.27	DISCRIMINATED
Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu	0.15	SENIOR PARTNER
Luhya	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luo	0.12	DISCRIMINATED
Kamba	0.11	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kisii	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mijikenda	0.05	JUNIOR PARTNER
Somali	0.02	DISCRIMINATED



Figure 413: Political status of ethnic groups in Kenya during 1979-2002.

From 2003 until 2005

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Kikuyu-Meru-Emb	0.27	SENIOR PARTNER
Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luhya	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luo	0.12	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kamba	0.11	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kisii	0.06	POWERLESS
Mijikenda	0.05	JUNIOR PARTNER
Somali	0.02	IRRELEVANT

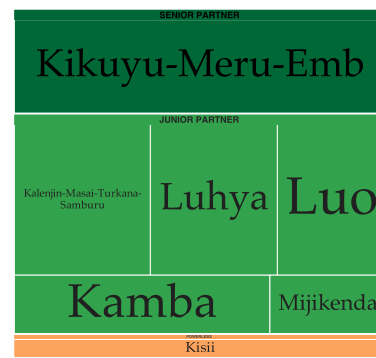


Figure 414: Political status of ethnic groups in Kenya during 2003-2005.

From 2006 until 2007

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Kikuyu-Meru-Emb	0.27	SENIOR PARTNER
Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luhya	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luo	0.12	DISCRIMINATED
Kamba	0.11	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kisii	0.06	POWERLESS
Mijikenda	0.05	JUNIOR PARTNER
Somali	0.02	IRRELEVANT

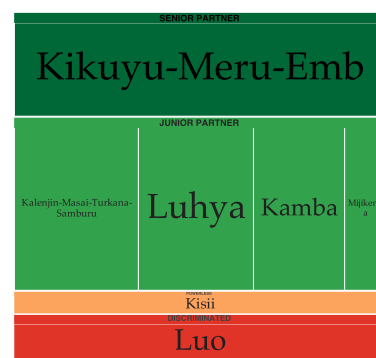


Figure 415: Political status of ethnic groups in Kenya during 2006-2007.

From 2008 until 2011

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Kikuyu-Meru-Emb	0.27	SENIOR PARTNER
Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luhya	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luo	0.12	SENIOR PARTNER
Kamba	0.11	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kisii	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mijikenda	0.05	JUNIOR PARTNER
Somali	0.02	IRRELEVANT

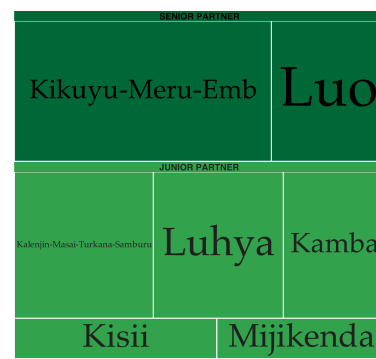


Figure 416: Political status of ethnic groups in Kenya during 2008-2011.

From 2012 until 2013

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Kikuyu-Meru-Emb	0.27	SENIOR PARTNER
Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu	0.15	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luhya	0.14	JUNIOR PARTNER
Luo	0.12	SENIOR PARTNER
Kamba	0.11	JUNIOR PARTNER
Kisii	0.06	JUNIOR PARTNER
Mijikenda	0.05	JUNIOR PARTNER
Somali	0.02	DISCRIMINATED

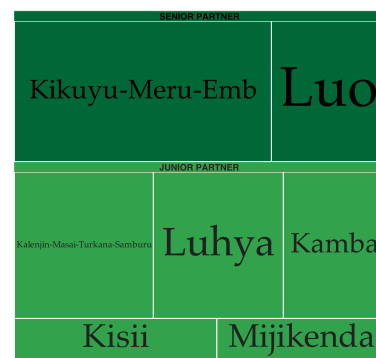


Figure 417: Political status of ethnic groups in Kenya during 2012-2013.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Kenya

From 1963 until 2013

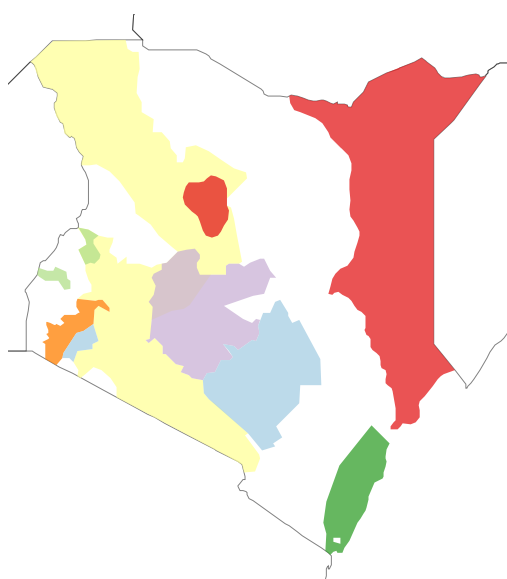


Figure 418: Map of ethnic groups in Kenya during 2012-2013.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Kalenjin-Masai-Turkana-Samburu	149 311	Regional & urban
■ Somali	120 251	Regional & urban
■ Kikuyu-Meru-Emb	38 585	Regional & urban
■ Kamba	36 010	Regional & urban
■ Mijikenda	16 363	Regional & urban
■ Luo	6 228	Regional & urban
■ Luhya	3 322	Regional & urban
■ Kisii	2 380	Regional & urban

Table 124: List of ethnic groups in Kenya during 1963-2013.

Conflicts in Kenya

Starting on 1952-10-22

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of United Kingdom	Mau Mau		1952-10-22			

Starting on 1982-08-01

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Kenya	Military faction (forces of Hezekiah Ochuka)	Luo	1982-08-01	No	Yes	No