

Census 2019: Negotiated Fertilities, Ethnic Head Counts and the Politics of Revenue Sharing

By John Githongo



It has become clear that for now, post the handshake between Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga in March, that our immediate politics is undergoing important possibly tectonic succession related shifts. Just over a week ago, government bulldozers destroyed the homes of 30,000 Kenyans in the sprawling Kibera informal settlement to make way for a planned road. This quite understandably caused profound [consternation](#) among [rights advocates](#). Politically the Kibera demolitions demonstrated the intensity of the handshake thus far in Kenya's political firmament. Kibera is one of the most concentrated pools of opposition supporters in the country. Yet the demolitions proceeded there without much in the way of stones or tear gas canisters being thrown. This would have been unimaginable in the recent past where its political cost would have been counted in dead bodies and hospitalized victims. But while the country is distracted by high profile corruption-related arrests and overdue demolitions of illegally constructed buildings, more significant governance processes have quietly ramped up.

Every decade Kenya carries out a census of its population. It is an essential development-planning tool as well as critical to the demarcation of constituency and other boundaries. The next one is due this coming year. The demarcation of boundaries is due to be carried out by the Independent

Elections and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) that conducted the two failed general elections last year. At the start of this month the Council of Governors held a consultation and issued a firm statement asking for a third revenue sharing formula between the central government and the Counties. They made the point that the 2009 census was fraught with problems and a [new formula](#) was needed post the anticipated 2019 census.

Censuses across the continent are intensely politicised affairs. Ethnic numbers have implications on political identity and legitimacy; the dishing out of patronage and government spending in general. The 'right to steal' for elites is partially derived from this ethnic math because the unspoken rationale is that people in public office steal for their tribesmen. These kinds of calculations even led to the interesting decision that saw Kenya's entire Asian community officially designated a tribe last year). In the 1989 census, our Asians were classified under: 'Kenyan Asian', 'Indian', 'Pakistani' and 'Other Asian'. Presumably, it was the 'Kenyan Asians' who became tribe No.44. Last week in the Oshwal Community, an important section of Kenyan Asians, when faced with the imminent demolition of the sprawling Oshwal Center that's built atop a river in Nairobi, appealed to even the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi on social media to help save it. Like many owners and tenants of illegal properties, they protest that they have all the legal documents for the properties. I shall return to this argument later and the way Kenyans have mastered the art of legalising the immoral, the unconstitutional and plain anti-people absurdities.

The demarcation of boundaries is due to be carried out by the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) that conducted the two failed general elections last year. At the start of this month the Council of Governors held a consultation and issued a firm statement asking for a third revenue sharing formula between the central government and the Counties. They made the point that the 2009 census was fraught with problems and a new formula was needed post the anticipated 2019 census.

Africa's most populous country Nigeria carried out its first reasonably comprehensive census in 1952/3. Another was conducted ten years later in May 1962. The results, however, were challenged politically. Another was therefore carried out in 1963 whose results were contested in the Supreme Court with some arguing that it had been an exercise in 'negotiation rather than enumeration'. Another census in 1973 was not published on the grounds of a falsification of figures for political/ethnic advantage. Another census in 1991 left out questions of ethnicity and region in order to 'improve accuracy and response' during the census process. The last broadly accepted census was carried out in 2006. The next one was due in 2016 but still has not taken place. Population numbers are also ethnic numbers and ethnic numbers deeply inform questions of political competition across Africa. Interestingly, the machinery of conducting a census was most robust in countries with a large white settler community such as Zimbabwe, Kenya and South Africa. In these cases, the census is also an instrument of political control and manipulation.

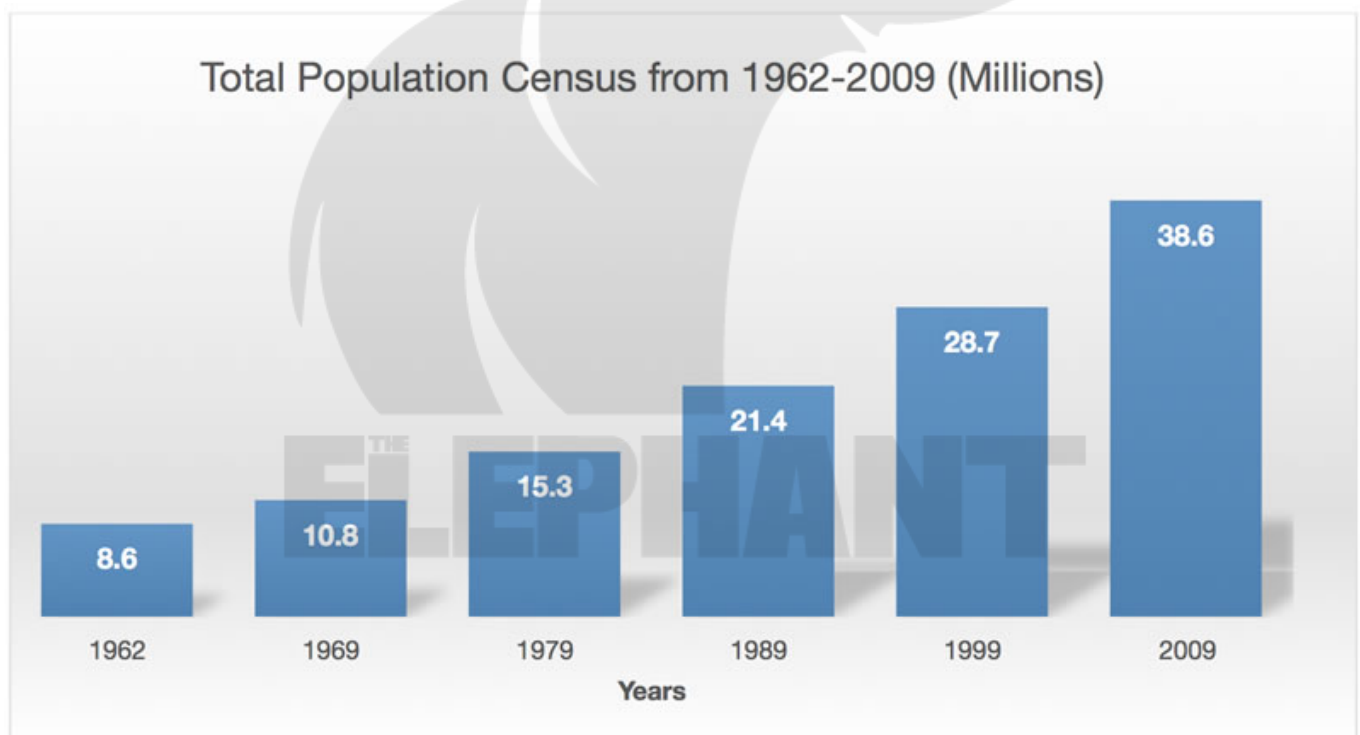
Analysts contend that at the end of the 1980s Chinese leaders saw something in Sub-Saharan Africa that all the continent's other global interlocutors did not. That Africa's population of roughly 850 million would reach over 2 billion by the middle of this century. By 2010 there were over 1 billion Africans. Of the 2.4 billion people projected to be added to the world's population between 2015 and 2050 1.3 billion will be Africans. By 2100 Africa's population will be between 4 and 5 billion people - a full third of humanity. If people of African descent on other continents such as the Americas, Caribbean etc - Brazil and USA in particular - are included, 40 percent of the world's people will be of African descent by the end of the century.

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Africa will have not only the world's most rapidly growing population but also its most rapidly urbanizing. Managed correctly, this is the kind of combination that creates a demographic dividend that has helped drive prosperity in other societies.

These trends are driven partly by rising fertility rates in Africa as they fall in other parts of the world and even where they have declined in Africa they are doing so more slowly than in other continents. Still, Africa's population is the most youthful and there has been consistent debate over the past decade as to how this demographic dividend can be tapped. In Kenya's case, 75 percent of the population is below the age of 35.

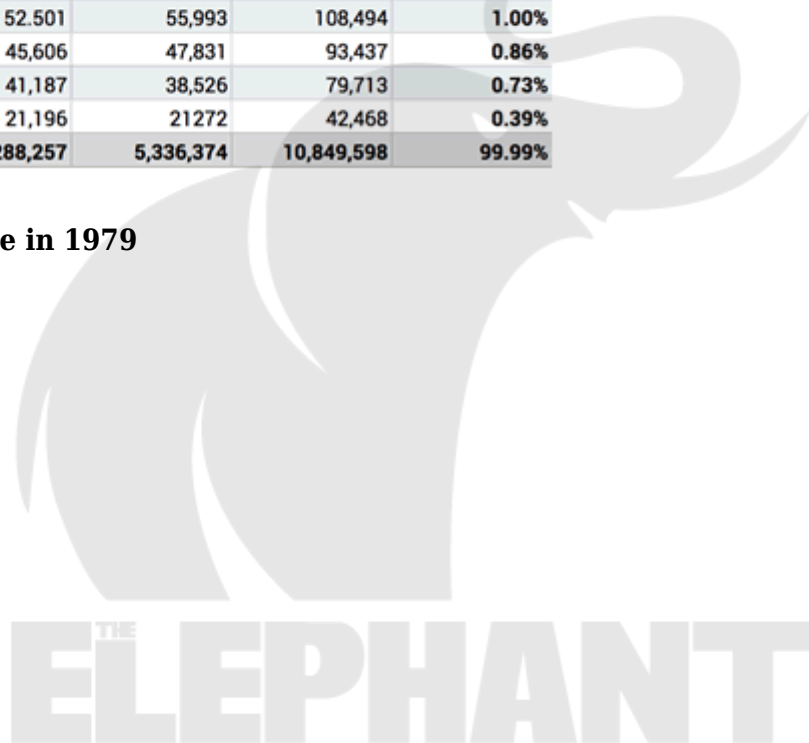
Kenya's population has grown from 8.6 million in 1962 to 11 million in 1969 when a census was conducted; to 15.3 million in 1979; 21.4 million in 1989; 29 million in 1999 and around 40 million in 2009.



Population by tribe in 1969

Tribe	Males	Females	Total	% of the total
Kikuyu	1,091,413	1,110,219	2,201,632	20.29%
Luo	763,080	758,515	1,521,595	14.02%
Luhya	723,071	730,231	1,453,302	13.39%
Kamba	592,889	604,823	1,197,712	11.04%
Kisii	356,730	344,949	701,679	6.47%
Meru	276,325	277,931	554,256	5.11%
Mijikenda	255,508	265,012	520,520	4.80%
All Other Tribes	249,046	249,548	498,594	4.60%
Kipsigis	237,578	233,881	471,459	4.35%
Nandi	131,001	130,968	261,969	2.41%
Somali	136,894	116,146	253,040	2.33%
Turkana	107,249	95,928	203,177	1.87%
Non-African	-	-	172,519	1.59%
Masai	77,745	77,161	154,906	1.43%
Tugen	66,461	63,788	130,249	1.20%
Embu	58,223	59,746	117,969	1.09%
Elgeyo	57,002	53,906	110,908	1.02%
Taita	52,501	55,993	108,494	1.00%
Pokot	45,606	47,831	93,437	0.86%
Marakwet	41,187	38,526	79,713	0.73%
Sabaot	21,196	21,272	42,468	0.39%
Total	5,288,257	5,336,374	10,849,598	99.99%

Population by tribe in 1979



Tribe	Males	Females	Total	% of the total
Kikuyu	1,582,145	1,620,676	3,202,821	20.90%
Luhya	1,048,914	1,070,794	2,119,708	13.83%
Luo	966,548	989,297	1,955,845	12.76%
Kamba	852,360	873,209	1,725,569	11.26%
Kalenjin	820,749	831,494	1,652,243	10.78%
Kisii	469,629	474,458	944,087	6.16%
Meru	416,800	423,704	840,504	5.48%
Mijikenda	357,116	375,714	732,830	4.78%
Masai	120,838	120,557	241,395	1.57%
Turkana	106,009	101,240	207,249	1.35%
Non Kenyans	96,572	87,246	183,818	1.20%
Embu	89,471	90,929	180,400	1.18%
Somali (So stated)	83,119	72,575	155,694	1.02%
Taita	74,068	79,051	153,119	1.00%
Teso	66,192	66,295	132,487	0.86%
Degodia	49,227	43,808	93,035	0.61%
Kuria	46,388	42,781	89,169	0.58%
Guruh	41,901	41,182	83,083	0.54%
Samburu	36,168	37,457	73,625	0.48%
Boran	35,306	33,588	68,894	0.45%
Mbere	29,242	32,483	61,725	0.40%
Basuba	29,889	29,779	59,668	0.39%
Other Kenyans	29,711	27,607	57,318	0.37%
Pokomo	19,835	19,906	39,741	0.26%
Bajun	18,304	18,667	36,971	0.24%
Asian	17,402	15,152	32,554	0.21%
Orma	16,134	15,993	32,127	0.21%
Gabbra	15,467	15,086	30,553	0.20%
Ogaden	13,584	12,058	25,642	0.17%
Ajuran	11,309	10,697	22,006	0.14%
Rendille	10,940	10,854	21,794	0.14%
Arab	9,486	9,375	18,861	0.12%
Tharaka	4,763	4,919	9,682	0.06%
Taveta	3,850	3,826	7,676	0.05%
Njemps	3,668	3,878	7,546	0.05%
Nderobo	3,698	3,502	7,200	0.05%
Swahili/Shirazi	2,903	2,743	5,646	0.04%
European	2,200	2,245	4,445	0.03%
Boni/Sanye	2,108	2,062	4,170	0.03%
Gosha	917	935	1,852	0.01%
Sakuye	926	898	1,824	0.01%
Hawiyah	811	793	1,604	0.01%
El Molo	277	261	538	0.00%
Not stated	169	174	343	0.00%
TOTAL	7,607,113	7,719,948	15,327,061	99.98%

Population by tribe in 1989

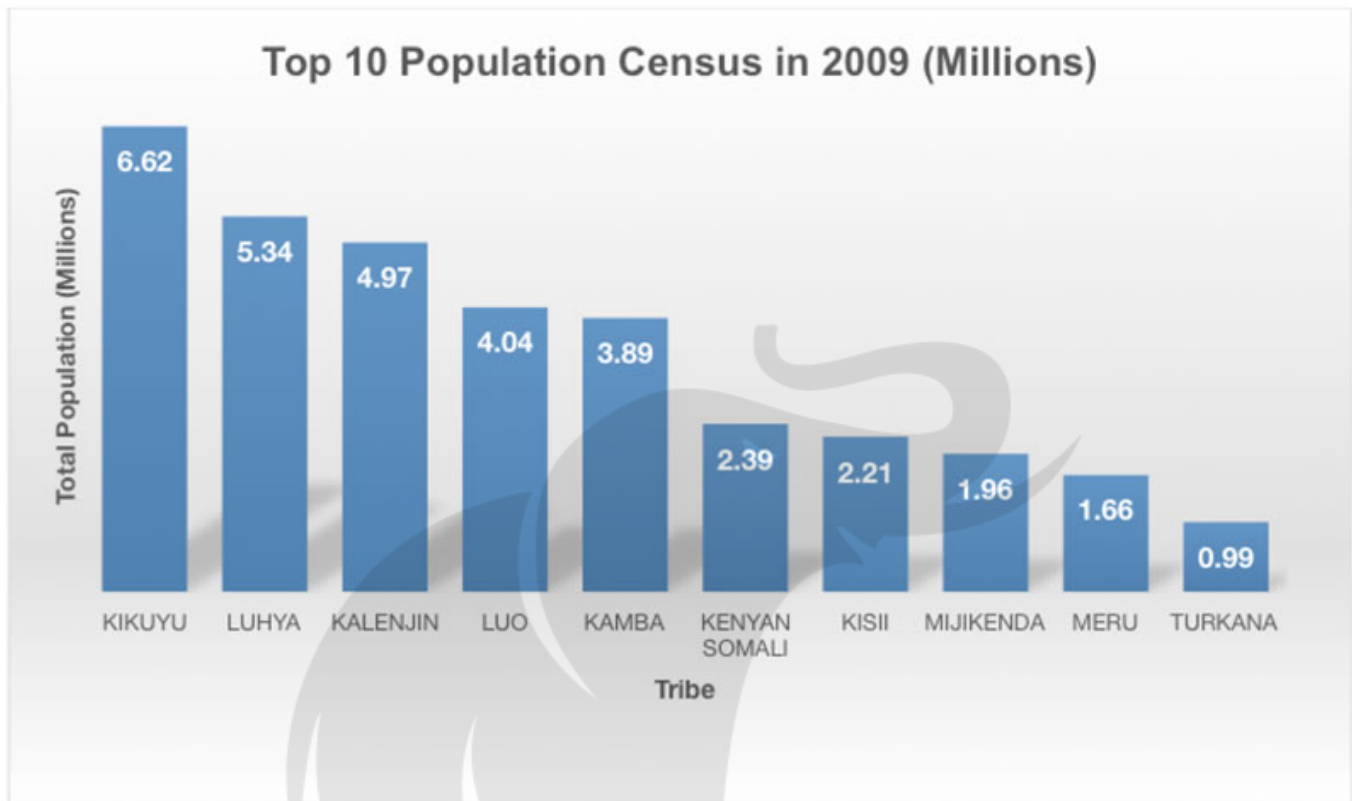
Tribe	Males	Females	Total	% of the total
Kikuyu	2,205,640	2,250,225	4,455,865	20.78%
Luhya	1,518,851	1,564,422	3,083,273	14.38%
Luo	1,306,323	1,347,609	2,653,932	12.38%
Kalenjin	1,223,037	1,235,086	2,458,123	11.46%
Kamba	1,212,635	1,235,667	2,448,302	11.42%
Kisii	653,150	665,259	1,318,409	6.15%
Meru	540,160	547,618	1,087,778	5.07%
Mijikenda	492,971	514,400	1,007,371	4.70%
Masai	188,950	188,139	377,089	1.76%
Turkana	140,071	143,679	283,750	1.32%
Embu	128,235	128,388	256,623	1.20%
Taita	99,546	103,843	203,389	0.95%
Teso	88,861	89,594	178,455	0.83%
Ogaden	71,797	67,800	139,597	0.65%
Kuria	55,904	56,332	112,236	0.52%
Basuba	55,380	52,439	107,819	0.50%
Samburu	53,182	53,715	106,897	0.50%
Mbere	48,365	52,643	101,008	0.47%
Degodia	52,101	48,299	100,400	0.47%
Tharaka	48,558	50,970	99,528	0.46%
Boran	41,714	38,446	80,160	0.37%
Gurreh	41,501	38,503	80,004	0.37%
Pokomo	29,276	29,369	58,645	0.27%
Bajun	27,556	27,631	55,187	0.26%
Kenyan Asian	28,113	24,855	52,968	0.25%
Orma	23,060	22,502	45,562	0.21%
Somali (So stated)	24,232	20,866	45,098	0.21%
Gabra	18,194	17,532	35,726	0.17%
Kenyan Arabs	16,838	16,876	33,714	0.16%
Indians	14,925	14,166	29,091	0.14%
Other Kenyans	14,560	14,162	28,722	0.13%
Ugandans	12,965	14,302	27,267	0.13%
Hawiyah	14,091	13,153	27,244	0.13%
Ajuran	13,461	13,455	26,916	0.13%
Rendile	12,804	13,732	26,536	0.12%
Dorobo	12,396	12	24,363	0.11%
Tanzanians	10,796	8,529	19,325	0.09%
NR	10,769	5,947	16,716	0.08%
Njemps	7,826	8,046	15,872	0.07%
Other Europeans	8,350	7,418	15,768	0.07%
British	7,076	8,532	15,608	0.07%
Other Africans	8,357	6,114	14,471	0.07%
Taveta	7,090	7,268	14,358	0.07%
Swahili Shirazi	7,050	6,870	13,920	0.06%
Boni-Sanye	5,513	5,378	10,891	0.05%
Sakuye	5,307	5,371	10,678	0.05%
Other Arabs	4,153	3,728	7,881	0.04%
Rest	3,291	3,017	6,308	0.03%
Bulji	3,051	2,924	5,975	0.03%
Other Asians	3,044	2,220	5,264	0.02%
Elmolo	1,800	1,800	3,600	0.02%
Kenyan European	1,720	1,464	3,184	0.01%
Tribe Unknown	1,459	952	2,411	0.01%
Gosha	1,037	1,044	2,081	0.01%
Pakistanis	997	865	1,862	0.01%
Dasnach-Shangil	281	137	418	0.00%
Total	10,628,370	10,803,313	21,443,638	99.99%

Population by tribe in 2009

Tribe	Population	% of the total
Kikuyu	6,622,576	17.15%
Luhya	5,338,666	13.83%
Kalenjin	4,967,328	12.87%
Luo	4,044,440	10.48%
Kamba	3,893,157	10.08%
Kenyan Somali	2,385,572	6.18%
Kisii	2,205,669	5.71%
Mijikenda	1,960,574	5.08%
Meru	1,658,108	4.29%
Turkana	988,592	2.56%
Masai	841,622	2.18%
Kenyan (So stated)	610,122	1.58%
Teso	338,833	0.87%
Embu	324,092	0.84%
Taita	273,519	0.71%
Kuria	260,401	0.67%
Other Africans	244,866	0.63%
Samburu	237,179	0.61%
Tharaka	175,905	0.46%
Mbeere	168,155	0.44%
Borana	161,399	0.42%
Basuba	139,271	0.36%
Swahili	110,614	0.29%
Gabra	89,515	0.23%
Orma	66,275	0.17%
Rendile	60,437	0.16%
Kenyan Asian	46,782	0.12%
Kenyan Arab	40,760	0.11%
Asian	35,009	0.09%
Tanzanian	34,511	0.09%
Ugandan	33,002	0.09%
Ilchamus	27,288	0.07%
European	27,172	0.07%
Sakuye	26,784	0.07%
Burji	23,735	0.06%
Gosha	21,864	0.06%
Taveta	20,828	0.05%
Walwana	16,803	0.04%
Nubi	15,463	0.04%
Dasenach	12,530	0.03%
Galla	8,146	0.02%
Galjeel	7,553	0.02%
Waat	6,900	0.02%
American	6,014	0.02%
Leysan	5,941	0.02%
Njemps	5,228	0.01%
Kenyan European	5,166	0.01%
Rwandese	3,805	0.01%
Burundi	3,755	0.01%
Isaak	3,160	0.01%
Kenyan American	2,422	0.01%
Konso	1,758	0.00%
Australian	719	0.00%
Caribbean	112	0.00%
Total	38,610,097	100.00%

Source: *Kenya Bureau of Statistics*

In the 1979 census the Kalenjin sub-groups, Nandi, Kipsigis, Tugen et al. were amalgamated into one identity on paper and formed part of the basis of President Moi's politics from then on. The 2009 results were so controversial that at first the government disowned the results from entire parts of northern Kenya including: Lagdera, Mandera East, Mandera Central, Mandera West, Wajir East, Turkana North, Turkana South and Turkana Central districts.



Source: *Kenya Bureau of Statistics*

The two heavily affected communities here were the Turkana and Somali. The then Minister for Planning and current Kakamega Governor Wycliffe Oparanya tabled evidence in parliament that in some of the regions the population figures had been 'inflated' to 2.35 million people instead of the actual population size of 1.3 million. Indeed, the population in North Eastern Province had risen three-fold in a decade. Analysts argued that considering regional mortality and birth rates the higher numbers didn't make sense and in some regions would have meant women giving birth twice a year between 1999 and 2009. The higher figures had political import of course, for some of the reasons articulated above. The 2009 data, for example, meant that in a single decade the Somali community had overtaken the Kisii in size. The minister's review of the census data was challenged in court where the [High Court](#) upheld the census results.

Nigeria carried out its first reasonably comprehensive census in 1952/3. Another was conducted ten years later in May 1962. The results were challenged. Another was therefore carried out in 1963 whose results were contested in the Supreme Court with some arguing that it had been an exercise in 'negotiation rather than enumeration'. Another census in 1973 was not published on the grounds of a falsification of figures for political/ethnic advantage. Another census in 1991 left out questions of ethnicity and region in order to "improve accuracy and response" during the census process.

By the start of this year, a consistent debate based on population growth indicators among the Somali community had kicked off exploring the implications of the Somali becoming one of Kenya's 'Big Four' [ethnic groups](#) in the coming two decades. Ironically, it is frowned upon in most African cultures to count people like animals and therefore doubly offensive to be speaking of the 'Big Four' tribes in the same way we speak of the 'Big Five' types of wildlife in Kenya. But such are the political imperatives around being one of these big tribes in this era of 'tyrannies of numbers' determining political prospects, that cultural misgivings aren't allowed to hinder this trajectory. Like the building owners complaining that their properties are being demolished despite all the legal papers being in order, the census carries similar fiat power. Once the numbers are published that's it! It doesn't really matter if they are true or not but they have significant political and economic implications.

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The highly problematic 2009 census that ended up in court opened the eyes of our political class to this fiat power of the census. The political benefits that accrue from manipulation of a census are now manifest. All the more so in this era of a constitutionally devolved system of government. This partly explains why the governors have already invested heavily in the conduct of the 2019 census. It also raises the possibility in the future of census processes by negotiation more than enumeration.

Research by Juliet Atellah

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